

FROM LOST CAUSE TO FEMALE EMPOWERMENT: THE TEXAS DIVISION  
OF THE UNITED DAUGHTERS OF THE CONFEDERACY, 1896-1966

Kelly McMichael Stott, B.A., M.A.

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APPROVED:

Richard Lowe, Major Professor  
Randolph B. Campbell, Committee Member  
Ronald Marcello, Committee Member  
Jane Tanner, Committee Member  
Greg Cantrell, Committee Member  
Bullitt Lowry, Committee Member  
Richard Golden, Chair of the Department of History  
C. Neal Tate, Dean of the Robert B. Toulouse School of  
Graduate Studies

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The Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) organized in 1896 primarily to care for aging veterans and their families. In addition to this original goal, members attempted to reform Texas society by replacing the practices and values of their male peers with morals and behavior that UDC members considered characteristic of the antebellum South, such as self-sacrifice and obedience. Over time, the organization also came to function as a transition vehicle in enlarging and empowering white Texas women's lives.

As time passed and more veterans died, the organization turned to constructing monuments to recognize and promote the values they associated with the Old South. In addition to celebrating the veteran, the Daughters created a constant source of charity for wives and widows through a Confederate Woman's Home. As the years went by, the organization turned to educating white children in the "truth of southern history," a duty they eagerly embraced.

The Texas UDC proved effective in meeting its primary goal, caring for aging veterans and their wives. The members' secondary goal, being cultural shapers, ultimately proved elusive—not because the Daughters failed to stress the morals they associated with the Old South but because Texans never embraced them to the exclusion of values more characteristic of the New South. The organization proved, however, a tremendous success in fostering and speeding along the emergence of Texas women as

effective leaders in their communities. The UDC was an important middle ground for women moving from an existence that revolved around home and family to one that might include the whole world.

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By

Kelly McMichael Stott

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## INTRODUCTION

Civil War-era cannons had been strategically placed around the courthouse in Sherman, Texas, in the early part of the morning, well before the crowds were expected to arrive. The weather looked as though it would cooperate—a clear, fine day expected—no rain or wind as is so often the case in March in north-central Texas. Rain would have dampened not just the spring grass but also the celebration. The soldiers’ gray wool uniforms and the ladies’ hoop skirts would have been soaked, not to mention the banners, flags, and crepe paper that decorated the square and hung from the towering oaks. Mark Farrington, commander of the Colonel Reeves 11<sup>th</sup> Texas Cavalry Camp #349, Sons of Confederate Veterans, addressed the crowd, made up of the descendants of Confederate veterans and, perhaps, a few curious passers-by. “We are here today not to honor the war, but the warriors,” claimed Farrington in his speech to commemorate and rededicate the county’s one-hundred-year-old Confederate monument, originally unveiled on 3 April 1896.<sup>1</sup>

The Sherman chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy later estimated that about seventy-five people had attended, not an impressive number, certainly not compared to the original ceremony when more than five thousand spectators had gathered. Still, Texas citizens had attended a Confederate remembrance celebration in

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<sup>1</sup> Sherman *Democrat*, 24 March 1996.

1996, 131 years after the end of the Civil War, adorned in contemporary attire and ready to honor the memory of a war lost.<sup>2</sup>

Today many Americans harbor an almost cult like interest in the Civil War and especially in the defeated Confederate South. The popularity of Civil War re-enactments only begins to touch the surface of a phenomenon that began in the 1880s with the creation of the myth of the Lost Cause. A nostalgic celebration, the Lost Cause ritualized a largely invented past and honored a “civilized” culture. “Patriotism, duty, endurance, valor” became the central issues of the remembrance, not military might or slavery. The southern cause became just and legal. Confederates fought for constitutional rights, the principle of self-determination, and the preservation of the homeland. The Confederacy lost the war because of overwhelming northern numbers, not southern shortcomings.<sup>3</sup>

A host of organizations, particularly the United Confederate Veterans, the Sons of Confederate Veterans, and the United Daughters of the Confederacy, supported the growing Lost Cause mythology. The largest and eventually the most influential of the organizations, the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), was formed in Nashville in 1895 and eventually attracted members from all fifty states. Within one year Texas women were seeking to join the national UDC in an effort to commemorate and remember the Civil War experience. Texans took a leading role in the evolution of the

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<sup>2</sup> Sherman *Daily Register*, 3 April 1896.

<sup>3</sup> Susan Speare Durant, “The Gently Furlled Banner: The Development of the Myth of the Lost Cause, 1865-1900” (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, 1972), iii, 367; Edward L. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 334;

Lost Cause. By 1901 there were an estimated 18,000 to 27,000 living Confederate veterans in Texas, and of those veterans, more than 9,000 joined the 255 United Confederate Veterans camps active in Texas. Their wives, daughters, sisters, and mothers flocked to the UDC in even larger numbers. In fact, Texas consistently registered more chapters and more members than any other state division in the UDC. The *Confederate Veteran* magazine, the official organ for all the veteran organizations, claimed that Texas represented about one-sixth of all organizations for Confederates nationwide.<sup>4</sup>

This study examines the role that white Texas women (through their membership in the United Daughters of the Confederacy) played in creating and perpetuating Lost Cause mythology and the values and lifestyle they associated with the antebellum South. The women who belonged to and actively worked in the UDC attempted to “feminize” Texas society by offering citizens an alternative vision of what post-war Texas should be, a vision that was different from the one their male counterparts were creating. Members of the Texas UDC tried to replace the practices and values of their male peers with morals and behavior considered more characteristically feminine. In place of the acquisitiveness, the preoccupation with material interests, and the decline in personalism so evident in their male-dominated society, Texas UDC members preached benevolence, self-sacrifice, obedience, and honor. Though these women did

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Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, The Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 125.

<sup>4</sup> *Confederate Soldier* 1 (October 1901): 6; *Confederate Veteran* 5 (October 1897): 498.

not hold elective offices, own businesses, or even vote during most of the organization's peak years, they believed they could shape Texas culture. As Viola Bivins, president and life member of the Texas UDC, explained, "There's nothing like the uplifting influence of a noble life filled with unselfish devotion to the public welfare."<sup>5</sup>

These women grew to believe that their fathers, husbands, and brothers were abandoning the principles and culture associated with the Old South and were embracing the overpowering forces of modernism, commercialism, and urbanism linked with the North. They feared for the public and were convinced that if white women did not unite in a concerted manner, all the values, decency, and chivalry inherent in the Old South would be lost to the material interests of the New South. Mildred Lewis Rutherford, historian general of the UDC, explained this process to a Dallas audience in 1916 and expressed why it was necessary for women to unite to "remedy the evil if possible." She claimed that "organizations for women by women were not needed before the war," but "are now badly needed to meet present conditions. The women in club work have met and are still meeting fearful needs today." "Remember," she said, "this civilization that has replaced the old civilization rests with you and me whether it shall be a better

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<sup>5</sup> See Mrs. J. K. Bivins, *Memoirs* (no place: no publisher, 1950), available at the Longview Public Library, Longview, Texas. For a discussion of the UDC member providing the Lost Cause with religious undertones, see C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877 – 1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971), 156.

civilization or not.” “Upon the individual man and woman in this country rests a fearful responsibility. Shall our influence . . . be for the upbuilding or the pulling down?”<sup>6</sup>

The desire to uplift society led these women to sentimentalize the past, particularly a past they associated with the antebellum and Civil War South, through the rhetoric and symbols of the Lost Cause. Texas UDC members did not demand equal political rights for women nor were they radicals; they believed their strength lay in their femininity. They never attempted to grasp the reins of government or rise in mass protest. Instead they exerted their “influence” as socially prominent upper-class and middle-class southern ladies in an attempt to counter the traditionally male-dominated definition of southern society. Though they never referred to their actions as a form of “feminization,” the values that they proffered—obedience, self-sacrifice, benevolence as practiced in their memory of the Old South—were at the time considered to be female characteristics. The special role that members of the Texas UDC believed they held in life as wives and mothers demanded that they act as an agency of morals and virtue.

Though they would enjoy many successes, the women of the UDC ultimately failed to feminize Texas society. Their tendency to sentimentalize the past to the point of ignoring the reality of the present weakened their campaign against the modernizing forces so popular in the South after the Civil War, and that resulted in the continuation of a patriarchal culture with only a thin feminized overlay. What success they did achieve

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<sup>6</sup> Mildred Lewis Rutherford, “The Civilization of the Old South: What Made It: What Destroyed It: What Has Replaced It” (Address delivered at Municipal Hall, Dallas, Texas, November 1916), 20, available at the Center for American History, Austin, Texas.

in some ways contributed to the creation of a society that was provincial and narrow-minded and a society that embraced racism and separatism between whites and blacks and men and women.

Perhaps because the organization was viewed as ultra-conservative and non-progressive and therefore not worthy of serious scholarly research, historians have largely ignored the United Daughters of the Confederacy. One exception was Gaines Foster. In *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, Foster claimed that the UDC did little to expand the female role because traditional social activities remained the most important aspect of their organization. According to Foster, teas, refreshments, and special receptions consumed most of the ladies' time. Although it is true that the members of the UDC enjoyed social activities and never led Texas women to feminism, the organization did significantly enlarge women's power and autonomy. Some Texas Daughters joined the organization strictly for the social prestige it gave them; others viewed membership and potential leadership in the association as an incubator to nourish skills in their pursuit of other political and professional goals. These select Texas women, most of whom pursued UDC offices at the local, state, and national levels, gained an enormous sense of self-empowerment from belonging to and being active in the UDC.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 173. Though no full-length published study of the UDC by a historian exists, the UDC has been mentioned in several works, including Anastasia Sims, *The Power of Femininity in the New South: Women's Organizations and Politics in North Carolina, 1880-1930* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1997); Angie Parrott, "'Love Makes Memory Eternal': The United Daughters of the Confederacy in Richmond, Virginia," *The Edge of the South: Life in Nineteenth Century Virginia*, eds. Edward L. Ayers and John C. Willis (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991); Edward D. C. Campbell Jr. and Kym S. Rice, eds., *A Woman's War: Southern Women, Civil War, and the Confederate Legacy* (Charlottesville, VA.: Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond and the

Being a member of the United Daughters of the Confederacy gave Texas women a degree of influence in society that would have been unobtainable for individual women acting alone. By banding together, they acted with strength in an environment that had traditionally limited their power and ignored their talents. Working as a united group, UDC members gained new recognition from their male peers and redefined what it meant to be a southern lady.

Some historians (Drew Gilpin Faust and LeeAnn Whites, for example) have argued that the Confederacy's defeat and the subsequent emancipation of four million slaves created an environment for southern women to begin questioning the male dominance so long associated with their society. According to this view, the old arrangement of formal male authority and informal female subordination began to break down as women, disgusted with their emasculated husbands, sons, and brothers, demanded more access to the political arena, public ceremonies, and positions of prestige that men had always deemed most important and therefore kept reserved for themselves.

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University Press of Virginia, 1996); and Wallace E. Davis, *Patriotism on Parade: The Story of Veterans' and Hereditary Organizations in America, 1783-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955). In addition, there are several unpublished theses and dissertations on the UDC, including Karen Lynne Cox's "Women, The Lost Cause, and the New South: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Transmission of Confederate Culture, 1894-1919" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern Mississippi, 1997); Patricia Fay Climer, "Protectors of the Past: The United Daughters of the Confederacy, Tennessee Division, and the Lost Cause" (Master's thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1973); and Catherine L. Wells, "The Past in the Present: A Brief History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy" (senior thesis, University of Texas, 1997).

Southern white men no longer enjoyed exclusive rights to dictate control over their wives, daughters, and slaves, and their women were reluctant to let them regain control.<sup>8</sup>

Many Texas white women did begin to assert themselves in public affairs after the Civil War, but not for the reasons that Faust and White propose. Texas women never indicated in any fashion that they were disappointed with the war effort that their men had conducted. To the contrary, the white women of the state proudly hailed their husbands, sons, and fathers as true American patriots and heroes. Although Texas UDC members assumed a more prominent role in public activities in postwar years, they did not seek full equality with men since very few women at the time desired equality (for that indicated sameness). Instead, these women developed a sense of complementary power. Increasingly, Texas Daughters questioned their male peers regarding issues that the UDC considered to fall within the feminine domain, such as charity and city beautification, and they concluded that in regard to certain issues, male judgment was lacking. The previous pattern of public deference toward men relaxed, and in turn so did the monopolization of positions of authority and prominence. Texas men did not feel threatened as a group by the UDC's activities, cooperation reigned between the sexes, and communication between the groups flowed freely.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), and LeeAnn Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender: Augusta Georgia, 1860-1890* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995).

<sup>9</sup> UDC members achieved access to "public spaces" by being the featured speakers at reunions and monument unveilings and serving as members of the board at Confederate homes.



The white women who made up the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy dreamed of creating a community in post-war Texas that was an expression of their own interests and values, values they linked to proper moral conduct. At first unconsciously articulated, and then as women became more certain of the need, expressed with greater force and confidence, these ideals (such as self-sacrifice and personalism, or the quality of being part of humanity and not engaged in abstractions) were applied by Texas women to their communities. Texas UDC members were not unusual in taking on the role of cultural shapers. Anthropologists and sociologists have documented this conception of women as cultural “kinkeepers” in widely diverse groups of people over broad periods of time. Women in many different circumstances have taken on the role of creating, shaping, and reminding their communities of the values they deemed worthy. This view of women as the custodians of their culture’s morality became for many women an integral aspect of their notion of themselves as women—nurturing, caring, spiritual, life-giving creatures. Many historians have illustrated the ways in which women, particularly through organizations that originated at the turn of the twentieth century, used their influence to modify the direction society was moving socially.<sup>10</sup>

Daniel Scott Smith coined the phrase “Domestic Feminism” in 1974 to describe this concept, but Karen Blair in *Clubwoman as Feminist* would greatly expand its use.

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<sup>10</sup> For an anthropological perspective of women as cultural shapers, see Janet Mancini Billson, *Keepers of the Culture: The Power of Tradition in Women’s Lives*, (New York: Lexington Books, 1995), 3;

For Blair, the term described women who justified leaving their homes to exert their special influence on the male sphere. Women were simply invoking their natural talents as women to reform or reshape society. In doing so, women redefined the female sphere that had been limited to caring for their husbands, children, and homes to include engaging themselves in public work for the betterment of their fellow citizens.

Sociologist Margaret Nell Price, in her study of southern women, “The Development of Leadership by Southern Women Through Clubs and Organizations,” found that such activities might have taken a woman out of the home, but not the home out of the woman. The typical woman engaged in shaping her culture “remained a ‘home woman’ who had broadened her interests and had spread her talents to a larger group.”<sup>11</sup>

To spread their talents Texas women created a “woman’s culture,” or a network of close friendships, whereby they could enter a traditionally male public life to effect change. The “woman’s culture” was defined by a broad-based commonality of “values, institutions, relationships, and methods of communication that focused on domesticity and morality,” and the United Daughters of the Confederacy was only one organization of many that made up this network. Some historians have argued that such a “culture”

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Mary Ann Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender, and Fraternalism* (Princeton, N J: Princeton University Press, 1989), 185.

<sup>11</sup> Margaret Nell Price, “The Development of Leadership by Southern Women Through Clubs and Organizations” (Master’s thesis, University of North Carolina, 1945), 61; Daniel Scott Smith, “Family Limitation, Sexual Control and Domestic Feminism in Victorian America,” in *Clio’s Consciousness Raised: New Perspectives on the History of Women*, ed. Mary S. Harman and Lois Banner (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), 119-136; Karen J. Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914* (New York: Holmes and Meirer Publishing Inc., 1980). For another example of this idea, see William O’Neill’s description of the term “social feminists” in *Everyone Was Brave: A History of*

maintained the inferior position women have occupied in society, but as Gerda Lerner has explained, a separate woman's culture did not imply that women lived in a "subculture." Women lived within the general culture but when confined, transformed this restraint into a complementary role.<sup>12</sup>

Sophia Johnson typified the desire to feminize society and redefine women's social sphere. As president of both the Texas division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs, she spoke often about women being a "tremendous force for good in all directions." She explained that clubs like the UDC "have aided tremendously in broadening and strengthening woman's rightful conception of her true mission and in giving her a clearer and broader outlook." Certainly the club as a "force for good" that Johnson advocated appears now as inherently conservative. Texas UDC members never initiated reform that could in any way be construed as liberal, and yet, their vision of society is still worth engaging and should be taken as historically significant.<sup>13</sup>

If we understand women's activities to be historically worthwhile only if they are based upon such ideals as liberalism or progressivism, then we automatically ignore

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*Feminism in America* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971), in which he describes women activists who fought to reform society instead of fighting for social equality.

<sup>12</sup> Elizabeth York Enstam in "'They Called it Motherhood': Dallas Women and Public Life, 1895-1918," *Hidden Histories of Women in the New South*, Virginia Bernhard et al., eds. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1994), 71-95, argues that the Council of Women of Texas claimed Texas women, at least in urbanized areas, had created a "woman's culture." For the arguments surrounding the idea of a woman's culture, see Ellen Dubois, Mari Jo Buhle, Temma Kaplan, Gerda Lerner, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Politics and Culture in Women's History: Symposium," *Feminist Studies* 6 (Spring 1980): 29, 52.

<sup>13</sup> Stella L. Christian, ed., *The History of the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs* (Houston: Dealy-Adey-Elgin Co., Stationers and Printers, 1919), 140.

much of women's history. All facets of women's history are worth close examination. The Texas UDC did not function in society as a contending political body or as an example of generosity toward all humankind. Its members were born into the same environment as were their male peers, and though they would disagree with their men about some of the aspects of the emerging New South, they were in complete agreement with them as to the nature of relations between the races and differing socio-economic classes. To dismiss their validity because of these beliefs, though, would be to judge them only against our own standards of values and behavior.

Reform can take many shapes. Suffrage was not the only goal of women activists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. To understand the full shape and substance of women's lives, one must see the whole picture of institutions and goals that women championed through their work. Though the organization and the values they espoused were conservative, the UDC still did much to expand the female role in Texas society. In attempting to feminize the culture through moral reform, women exerted great influence in a directed, collective, and organized manner. Women led and initiated this effort to control behavior and change values and used their social position as a lever to influence others. Not only did they intend to curb the baser aspects of modernization; they also sought to define and give direction to women who would follow in the future as cultural shapers.

The women who actively worked in the Texas United Daughters of the Confederacy believed not only that they controlled their own lives but also that they

could determine how others lived and behaved. The Texas UDC exerted an influence in society that affected other institutions and organizations and also individuals and personal relationships. For these women understood, long before the phrase became popular in the 1970s, that the “personal was political.” They took their personal interests and goals, which sprang from their belief in the superiority of their femininity, and tried to make them the basis of their society.

Who were these Texas women and how did they come together to create “a force for good?” Organizational records, archived papers, obituaries, and census information reveal that they were socially prominent in their communities, though not always wealthy. They were women whose interest in the Confederacy had been nourished either by their own personal experiences or by their fathers’ and mothers’ stories of the war. Their social position lent them insight into the changing nature of their postbellum society and afforded them the means to effect change. Why and how they attempted to influence Texas society forms the core of this study.

I have explored the projects they promoted that had the most impact on Texas society, and while the UDC engaged in all of these activities simultaneously, their emphasis evolved over time. Initially, the Texas UDC worked primarily to aid and celebrate the living veteran. This effort included giving money, food, and clothing to poor Confederates, but the organization gained greater recognition by sponsoring and promoting the many Confederate reunions that proved so popular in Texas. The UDC viewed the reunion as a way of sharing their vision of society with a large number of

citizens. They were often disappointed that Texans not only did not want to hear their views but had an entirely different purpose in mind for the outing, a purpose that was in direct opposition to theirs.

As more veterans passed away, the Texas UDC turned to constructing monuments to recognize and promote the values they associated with the Civil War. As monuments often do, they represented different things to different people. The Daughters intended the monuments to beautify public spaces and serve as a constant lesson in history and morals for future generations. In addition, the organization used the monuments as a means of claiming cultural power for women and marking women's participation in the war and Reconstruction. Unfortunately for the Daughters, some Texans did not appreciate the serious values that the UDC attached to the pieces of stone.

The Texas UDC attempted to furnish a constant source of charity through Confederate homes for veterans and their widows. The homes provided accommodation and medical care and proved a much-needed resource in a period when public assistance was scarce and highly stigmatized. The UDC, however, imposed such a strict code of behavior on the homes' inmates that many sought relief elsewhere. The Daughters had based their ideal of Texas society on the imagined past behavior of the Civil War generation. When the very peoples they venerated failed to live up to the standard the UDC had set, tempers flared.

Southern women were supposedly irreconcilable after the war—a myth often retold by men in public speeches as a means of praising the women of the South. In fact,

Texas UDC members never avoided reconciliation with the North; they just demanded that it occur according to their terms and on their schedule. To be reconciled, the UDC demanded vindication for the men and women who had fought for the Confederacy. By the Spanish-American War, such an absolution appeared well on its way. World War I and the federal government's new stand on race relations after *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) would prompt many UDC women to declare that the South had indeed been absolved and that it was obvious to the world that the best example of an American was a "Southern American."

As time passed and the South increasingly embraced the modernizing influences the UDC associated with the North, the organization turned its attention to educating white children in the "truth of southern history." The women of the Texas UDC believed it was their duty to ensure that all white school children were exposed to the values and beliefs the organization associated with the Confederacy. By starting with young, malleable minds, the Daughters encouraged future Texans to "behave properly."

The UDC's activities were simply an extension of what they understood a woman's role in society to be. Their own understanding of femininity (for example, their belief that women were more caring and nurturing simply because of their sex) formed the basis of their attempt to feminize Texas society.

Despite increased access to the public arena and to a greater informal presence in the political process, Texas UDC members' activities and interests remained, by and large, "gender appropriate." In addition to adhering to their understanding of the nature

of womanhood, Texas Daughters generally retained their racial biases. Their labors have never gained from historians the recognition and status one would expect from such a large and active organization, perhaps because of this prejudice. In fact, some recent public planners and citizens have condemned many of the Texas UDC's projects, such as the Confederate monuments that adorn courthouse squares, as hopelessly racist. At the end of the twentieth century, some citizens called for the elimination of UDC monuments from the public landscape.<sup>14</sup>

This study has emerged from my sense of who these women were in their particular time and place. In attempting to understand their collective mission, I have read widely in their organizational records and the papers and books they wrote. To judge their effect on society, I have explored contemporary newspaper and magazine accounts and the journals, reminiscences, personal accounts, and photographs of Texans who felt the UDC's presence in society. This evidence makes it clear that the United Daughters of the Confederacy in Texas began and remained a conservative—and sometimes, backward-looking—organization. They included some of the most influential and prominent women in their communities. Many held joint membership in more progressive clubs and some even fought for suffrage, yet these women seemed oblivious to the apparent contradictions in their lives as defenders of a largely imagined past against an inevitable future, a future that they embraced in some ways. Many of these women, especially the state division officers, were highly privileged by race and

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<sup>14</sup> For only one recent example of the growing controversy regarding Confederate monuments, see



class, and the influence they exerted gave them real opportunity to shape their culture.

The Texas UDC believed it had a mission: to use the Lost Cause as a vehicle in the effort to redefine society along lines they considered more suitable for the descendants of the mythical Old South and Confederacy.

## CHAPTER ONE

### THE TEXAS DIVISION OF THE UNITED DAUGHTERS

#### OF THE CONFEDERACY

##### Feminizing Texas Society

Though the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) was organized in 1894 in Tennessee by Mrs. Lucian Hamilton Raines of Savannah and Mrs. Caroline Meriwether Goodlett of Nashville, Texas women played an early and important role in the federation's founding. Mrs. J. C. Myers of Dallas, Texas, was visiting friends in Nashville when she noticed a newspaper advertisement calling all southern women "interested in perpetuating the memories of the South" to meet at the Frank Cheatham Bivouac in September 1894. Myers attended the first meeting, one of only a handful of women and the only other non-Tennessean besides Mrs. Raines, and her attendance, based on a chance reading in a newspaper, propelled Texas women into the forefront of the organization. By the next year, solicitations by the "Daughters" were being published in the *Confederate Veteran* magazine. An appeal in the October 1895 issue claimed that "the time now seems ripe for the gathering of Southern women into one grand whole of sisterhood, banded together with 'hooks of steel,' standing shoulder to shoulder as a

bulwark of truth. . . .” The time was right—the UDC grew quickly and boasted 30,088 members by 1902.<sup>1</sup>

This chapter examines the origins and growth of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Beginning as an outgrowth of the work women performed during and immediately after the war, the UDC was only one of the many organizations—social, intellectual, and hereditary—that women across the state joined at the end of the nineteenth century. Unlike other organizations, the Daughters gained strength and momentum through the ideology of the Lost Cause.

Although the national United Daughters of the Confederacy evolved from women’s war work, women’s organizations in the South had much earlier precedents. Though historian Wallace Evan Davies claimed in *Patriotism on Parade* that southern women did not organize as quickly as northern women because of a lack of urbanism and because of widespread poverty, recent historians have recognized that the women of the South were in fact organizing at a much earlier period and in more diverse ways than previously thought, though most of these groups remained local associations. It would take the Civil War and the doors it opened for women to propel these small, isolated clubs into national federations.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 3 (October 1895): 302; notes on origins of UDC in Texas, composition book, p. 4, box 17, folder 3, Mae Wynne McFarland Papers, Sam Houston State University, Huntsville, Texas; Mary B. Poppenheim, *The United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, Inc., 1938), 9-10; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Ninth Annual Meeting of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Nashville: Press of Foster and Webb Printers, 1903), 251.

<sup>2</sup> Davis cites the Mount Vernon Ladies’ Association (1856), formed to save George Washington’s home, as one of the few organizations created by southern women in the antebellum period. Wallace Evan Davis, *Patriotism on Parade: The Story of Veterans’ and Hereditary Organizations in America, 1783-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955), 40. For examples of early organizations created by the women of the South, see Anne Firor Scott, *Natural Allies: Women’s Associations in American History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991). For examples in Texas, see Elizabeth Hayes Turner, *Women,*

Some historians have referred to the Civil War as a watershed in gender relations. Anne Firor Scott argues that the war weakened patriarchy and allowed elite women more options in education, organization, and politics. Drew Gilpin Faust claims the war generated a “general breakdown in paternalism” that allowed the creation of a public role for women. To whatever degree the war affected women’s lives, it is certain that southern women organized during the war in much larger numbers than ever before. In addition to ceremonial acts such as making and presenting flags to their men, Confederate women grew and prepared food, wove and sewed clothing, rolled bandages, cared for soldiers and their families, and raised money to aid the war effort.<sup>3</sup>

Though there is evidence that Texas women formed missionary societies as early as 1835, widespread organization was not evident in the state until the Civil War. As soon as the war began, Texas women formed aid societies to help the soldiers and their impoverished families. A group of women in Tyler prepared “for soldiers in the hospital” and furnished tents for three regiments, “vast quantities of clothing,” and several hundred dollars for medical needs. Those in Bastrop established a warehouse to store and distribute surplus supplies. Dallas’s Ladies Aid Society held concerts and a tableau in 1863 to relieve the “destitute families of absent soldiers.” The women of

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*Culture, and Community: Religion and Reform in Galveston, 1880-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

<sup>3</sup> For examples of historians who believe the Civil War opened doors for southern women, see Anne Firor Scott, *Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), and Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996). Other historians disagree, claiming the doors opened were closed quickly at the end of the war. For example, see George C. Rable, *Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989). For evidence of southern women’s wartime activities, see Scott, *Natural Allies*, 68. For Texas examples, see John Austin Edwards, “Social and Cultural Activities of Texans During the Civil War and Reconstruction, 1861-1873” (Master’s thesis, Texas Tech University, 1985), 237.

Refugio and Golidad provided hospitals with blankets, towels, and sheets. And Texas women kept working for the war effort until the end. The women in many Texas cities formed half-way houses in the spring of 1865 that provided lodging and warm food to soldiers traveling home. The women who organized the home in Columbus were said to have fed 2,000 soldiers in a three-day period.<sup>4</sup>

The Civil War does appear to have opened doors for Texas women, doors that the economy and society kept open afterward. Perhaps because the war gave women a sense of competence that they could manage, they went about afterward narrowing the gap between women's private domestic duties and civic obligations. Work and customs usually relegated to women, like bereavement and the maintenance of cemeteries—"feminine public activities"—acquired new importance. Ladies' Memorial Associations (LMAs) emerged immediately after the war to inter and mark the graves of the dead, and the LMAs began the process of making white women's work important to southern society, a process that the United Daughters of the Confederacy furthered. White women created a new, more public role for themselves, and the very organizational skills they honed during the war formed the foundation of their postwar activism in clubs like the United Daughters of the Confederacy.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The earliest record of a woman's church society in Texas was in the Baptist church in Nacogdoches in 1835. Megan Seaholm, "Earnest Women: The White Woman's Club Movement in Progressive Era Texas, 1880-1920" (Ph.D. dissertation, Rice University, 1988), 197; *Tyler Reporter*, 24 July 1862, clipping in Garnet A. Dibrell Collection, Texas State Library and Archives, Austin, Texas; *Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph*, 15 December 1862; Bill Moore, *Bastrop County: 1691-1900* (Wichita Falls, Tex: Nortex Press, 1956), 80-81; *Dallas Times Herald*, 25 February 1863, 26 April 1863; *Corpus Christi Ranchero*, 5 February 1863; *Austin Weekly State Gazette*, 1864, clipping in Charles J. Crane Family Papers, Texas State Library and Archives; *Galveston Daily News*, 29 April 1865, 1 June 1865.

<sup>5</sup> Scott, *Natural Allies*, 73; LeeAnn Whites, "The Charitable and the Poor: The Emergence of Domestic Politics in Augusta, Georgia, 1860-1880," *Journal of Social History* 17 (Summer 1984): 602; Karen Lynne Cox, "Women, The Lost Cause, and the New South: The United Daughters of the

The pattern of postwar activism as extension of war work that was so prevalent at the regional level applied also at the state level. Texas women continued their organizational efforts after the war, initially in aid societies and then, as women were doing throughout the United States, in clubs formed for self improvement. Reading Clubs, Shakespeare Clubs, and Chautauquau Clubs organized across the state. In large and small cities Texas women gathered. By the late 1880s at least twenty women's clubs existed in Texas, but the next decade, the 1890s, proved the most fertile period for women to organize in the state. In addition to the self-improvement and temperance clubs, Texas women formed hereditary organizations. They organized five chapters of the national Daughters of the American Revolution in 1899 and had already created a state hereditary organization in 1891—the Daughters of the Republic of Texas. By the time the United Daughters of the Confederacy came into existence, many Texas women were club members and were prepared to join even more.<sup>6</sup>

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Confederacy and the Transmission of Confederate Culture, 1894-1919” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Mississippi, 1997), 18. LeeAnn Whites argues that women were able to participate in society more fully after the war because their men suffered a decline in their public positions. With men's sense of power broken by the loss of the war and the freeing of their slaves, argues Whites, women faced the challenge of rehabilitating their men. Whites refers to this participation as the “politics of domestic loss.” See LeeAnn Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender: Augusta, Georgia, 1860-1890* (Athens, GA.: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 160-198. Contrary to Whites's claims, I did not find any evidence that Texas men suffered a decline in their positions as a result of their defeat in the war or the loss of their slaves. Though Texas women would increase their public activities yearly, to attribute this progress solely to male defeat is to oversimplify women's activities. Texas women did not want to “rehabilitate” their men—they wanted to be a force for good in their communities for the benefit of all Texas citizens.

<sup>6</sup> Judith Nichols McArthur, “Motherhood and Reform in the New South: Texas Women's Political Culture in the Progressive Era” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, 1992), 84. The women's clubs formed in Texas were typical of those forming throughout the United States at the turn of the twentieth century in that most were literary in nature and formed for self-improvement. For works that discuss women's club life in Texas, see Seaholm, *Earnest Women*, 198, 208-215; Elizabeth York Enstam, “‘They Called it Motherhood’: Dallas Women and Public Life, 1895-1918,” in Virginia Bernhard, et al., eds., *Hidden Histories of Women in the New South* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1994), 76; Patricia Evridge Hill, *Dallas: The Making of a Modern City* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 16; Dora Davenport Jones, *The History of the Julia Jackson Chapter #141 United Daughters of the Confederacy*,

Although increasingly large numbers of Texas women were joining organizations, most clubs were local and independent. The Texas state fair of 1893, held in Dallas, provided Texas clubwomen, representing numerous organizations, their first opportunity to gather at the state level. A “Woman’s Congress” convened every afternoon of the fair and attracted a wide audience. Many of the state’s clubs, such as the Eastern Star, the Masonic Women’s Auxiliary, the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union, and the Texas Woman’s Press Association, sent representatives who spoke about women’s ability to influence society. Bride Neil Taylor later wrote in the *Dallas Morning News* that the Woman’s Congress “would awaken Texas women to an understanding of their potential influence” and continued by saying that “it has been said that the Southern woman is too painfully conservative, but I find she is up with the procession.” Dallas women attended the fair in large numbers and were heavily influenced by the enthusiasm of the Woman’s Congress and by the women’s work at the World’s Columbian Exposition and Fair in Chicago the same year. The two fairs, following so closely on each other, had an enormous impact on one woman, Katie Cabell Currie Muse.<sup>7</sup>

Katie Currie Muse, a small woman with an iron will, was an active clubwoman throughout her life. Petite, dark haired, and with a temper her family later recalled was more “suited to a man,” she found personal fulfillment by organizing and serving as an

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*Fort Worth, Texas, 1897-1976* (Fort Worth: Kwik-Kopy Printing Center, 1976), 9; Mrs. Arch McKay and Mrs. H. A. Spelling, *A History of Jefferson: Marion County, Texas* (Jefferson, Tx.: no publisher, 1936), 40.

<sup>7</sup> *Dallas Morning News*, 27 October 1893. Katie Cabell Currie Muse is alternately identified in various sources by her maiden name (Cabell), first married surname (Currie), or later, after she remarried, as Muse. I will identify her as Currie Muse throughout this work. See Stella L. Christian, ed. *The History of the Texas Federation of Women’s Clubs* (Houston: Dealy -Adey-Elgin Co., 1919), 5-9, for a summary of the influence of the Woman’s Congress on club life in Texas. Some future UDC members attended and played important roles at the congress, such as Mrs. J. C. Terrell of Fort Worth’s Woman’s Wednesday

officer in several of Dallas's first women's clubs, but she concentrated most of her time and energy on creating the first chapter of the Daughters of the Confederacy in Texas, and then a year later, on organizing the state division (see photograph on page 48).

Currie Muse was the oldest daughter of Harriet (Rector) and General William L. Cabell who served the Confederacy in Virginia and the Trans-Mississippi. After the war, Cabell resided in Fort Smith, Arkansas, before moving his wife and seven children to Dallas in 1872. Though Cabell had been admitted to the bar in 1868, he worked in Dallas as the vice-president and general manager of the Texas Trunk Railway and as an agent for the Carolina Life Insurance Company. He was elected mayor in 1874 and 1882, and he served as a United States marshal for the northern district of Texas from 1885 to 1889.

Katie, born in 1861, enjoyed her family's prominence. She attended the exclusive private female school, Ursuline Academy, in Dallas in the 1870s and led an active social life.

Her mother's death in 1878 cemented her already close relationship with her father, who became the greatest single force in her life. Despite his misgivings, she married El Paso businessman and real estate agent, J. R. Currie in 1889 (family rumors imply that Currie was a dashing stranger and a known "gambler" and swept an inexperienced Katie off her feet). The newlyweds never established a separate residence for themselves. Currie traveled frequently and remained away for long periods of time. Katie remained in her father's home and lived much as she had before she married, caring for him and organizing the gatherings he held at his home for old Confederate soldiers. Within ten

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Club, who was elected to serve on the Congress's executive board. She was elected the fourth vice-president of the Texas UDC in 1897.



years she and Currie divorced, and the newly independent Currie Muse devoted her time to improving herself and those around her.<sup>8</sup>

It was during the early period of her marriage that she became aware of the United Confederate Veterans (UCV) organization. Her father was elected commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department of the UCV in 1894 but had been active on behalf of Texas veterans for the preceding year or two. In 1893 Cabell and his daughter were invited to Birmingham, Alabama, to unveil a bronze statue of a Confederate private. The piece was to be the crowning cap to a monument in Chicago for the six thousand Confederates who died at Camp Douglas, a Union prisoner-of-war camp. Worried that southerners would not make the trip to Chicago, the group sponsoring the monument unveiled the bronze private in Birmingham.<sup>9</sup>

Currie Muse wanted to see the monument's final setting, so in the fall of 1893 she traveled to Chicago. After the ceremony at Oakwood Cemetery, she visited the World's Columbian Exposition and Fair. There she encountered a beautiful "white city," an entirely planned industrial town, created by George Pullman but sponsored by many organizations, including a few that were exclusively female. Currie Muse undoubtedly visited the Texas Building while she was at the fair, a structure built entirely by funds raised by the Woman's Fair Association of Texas. She was immediately entranced. When she returned to Dallas, her mind was filled with plans, including a scheme to create

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<sup>8</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 2 (March 1894): 67-68; Ron Tyler et al., eds., *The New Handbook of Texas*, 6 vols. (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1996), I:880-898; Elizabeth Brooks, *The Prominent Women of Texas* (Akron, OH: The Werner Co., 1896), 199; Frances Aronson, interview by author, Dallas, Texas, 19 November 1999, notes in my possession.

a woman's club that could agitate for the beautification and moral uplift of her city and state. With her father's activities in the UCV as a model, it seemed for Katie Currie Muse a natural development to organize a similar group for women.<sup>10</sup>

With this inspiration and the example of the Woman's Congress at the Dallas Fair, Currie Muse asked a few of her friends to meet at her father's home, a modest two-story house on Ervay Street within walking distance of downtown, on 1 March 1894. These ladies formed an association, the Daughters of the Confederacy, and determined that they would purchase and maintain a burial lot for needy Confederates since none existed in Dallas. By the time Mrs. J. C. Myers, a member of Currie Muse's group, attended the meeting in Nashville in September 1894 to create a national UDC, the women in Dallas had already fulfilled their primary goal and had expanded their mission to include marking other Confederate graves, decorating the graves on Decoration Day in May, supplying food and clothing to ex-Confederates and their families, and funding three beds in the St. Paul's Sanitarium in Dallas for sick and needy veterans. The group grew quickly, and "in a short time there were three hundred members."<sup>11</sup>

The club Currie Muse formed in Dallas was the first Confederate women's organization in the state, but other cities quickly followed the example. Some were the

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<sup>9</sup> William W. White, *The Confederate Veteran* (Tuscaloosa, AL.: Confederate Publishing Co., 1962), 32-33; newspaper clipping, "Statue Unveiled in Birmingham," Katie Cabell Currie Muse Scrapbook, William L. Cabell Papers, Dallas Historical Society, Dallas, Texas.

<sup>10</sup> The Woman's Fair Association was headed by Bernadette Tobin who was largely responsible for the funding of a Texas Building at the Fair. A former Texas governor said that the building was "the result of the efforts put forth by her daughters and is no credit to the political government at home. It was a triumph by women and showed what kind of persons Texas women are—strong in mind and courageous to a degree that is hard to beat." Tobin would later be active in the Texas UDC. She served as president of the Texas Division in 1899 and 1900, when she died in office. For information about Texas women and the Chicago Fair, see Jeanne Madeline Weimann, *The Fair Women* (Chicago: Academy Chicago, 1981), 270; newspaper clipping, *Dallas Morning News*, 30 April 1896, Cabell Papers.

creation of women with similar convictions. Mollie Macgill Rosenberg, wife of philanthropist Henry Rosenberg, instigated the Veuve Jefferson Davis Chapter in Galveston, Texas, in 1895. Within three years the chapter had more than one hundred members who aided veterans and raised money to assist the Confederate home in Austin. Also in Galveston, Ruth Martin Phelps organized a Daughters of the Confederacy auxiliary to Camp Magruder, United Confederate Veterans (UCV). Fifteen members who were drawn together by their “love of the lost cause” entertained and raised money for Camp Magruder.<sup>12</sup>

Some chapters were created by women, but many were organized by members of local United Confederate Veterans camps. The UCV, formed in New Orleans, Louisiana, in June 1889, was attempting to create auxiliaries for its camps by 1894 because the men needed women’s aid and cooperation to raise money, host socials, and perform other “appropriate works” for the camps. The veterans’ sons formed a national group in 1896 similar to the Daughters, but the old Confederates looked to the UDC, not the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV), to assist the camps. Dr. T. J. Wilson, commander of Mildred Lee Camp (UCV) of Sherman, organized what would become the Dixie Chapter (UDC) in September 1894. Other UCV commanders followed Wilson’s lead and, like him, issued notices in their local newspapers that a United Daughters of the Confederacy chapter was to be formed in the community. Captain J. F. Harrard issued a call to the ladies of Huntsville to meet at the Baptist Church to organize, and thirty-five women attended the first meeting. The *Fort Worth Register* carried an advertisement in

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<sup>11</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 4 (January 1896): 22; *Dallas Morning News*, 5 May 1896, 30 April 1896.

September 1897 by K. M. Van Zandt, commander of the R. E. Lee Camp (UCV). Some seventy women attended the initial meeting—many of them had already been helping the camp by serving refreshments and hosting musical and cultural programs for the veterans. Van Zandt and other leaders in the camp believed that an organized group of women could do more for them than just making tea and cookies. They wanted the women to “carry on the work the camp was doing inadequately, namely helping indigent veterans.”<sup>13</sup>

The attitude of Van Zandt and the R. E. Lee Camp in Fort Worth may appear unusual, particularly since UCV historians like Herman Hattaway have claimed that the UDC simply lavished love upon the old men and “added charm and grace to the veterans’ affairs.” Though many of these local chapters were organized in response to the needs of the UCV, the women did not long remain auxiliaries to the veterans. The United Confederate Veterans gave impulse, structure, and support to the emerging organization, but the UDC soon surpassed it in membership and objectives.<sup>14</sup>

The move to join these isolated groups into one state organization began in Houston in May 1894, two months prior to the first meeting in Tennessee to form a national organization. At the Houston meeting a small group of women organized and called themselves the Winnie Davis Camp of the Daughters of the Confederacy. They

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<sup>12</sup> Turner, *Women, Culture and Community*, 177; *Confederate Veteran* 3 (October 1895):302.

<sup>13</sup> *Fort Worth Register*, 19 September 1897; quotation on “appropriate works” in *Confederate Veteran* 2 (February 1894): 38; Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980), 30; Herman Hattaway, “United Confederate Veterans in Louisiana,” *Louisiana History* 16 (Winter 1975): 5; vertical file, Grayson County, Civil War—Confederacy, etc., W. H. and Mattie Davis Lucas Collection, Sherman Public Library, Sherman, Texas; Jones, *History of the Julia Jackson Chapter*, 11; *Huntsville Item*, 6 March 1941.

<sup>14</sup> Hattaway, “Veterans in Louisiana,” 17-18.

were to serve as hostesses for the social affairs held in conjunction with the general Confederate reunion scheduled for Houston the next year. The ladies advertised in Texas newspapers that they were holding a meeting during the reunion at the headquarters of the Dick Dowling Camp, UCV, for all women who were interested in forming a state organization. They contacted Katie Cabell Currie Muse in Dallas, who had since been elected vice-president of the recently organized national UDC, and invited her to attend the meeting and explain the UDC's purpose and the procedure by which the individual groups could form a state organization and seek federation with the national United Daughters of the Confederacy.<sup>15</sup>

The meeting took place in May 1895, and Currie Muse was made president of the new Texas organization. Five vice-presidents were elected, "emblematic of the five points of the Texas star," as well as a treasurer and a secretary. A convention was planned for the next year to be held in Victoria. After spending the next year to prepare, most of the officers and a "small group of splendid Southern ladies" gathered at the Hauschild Opera House in Victoria on 26 May 1896. For some unknown reason Currie Muse was absent from the meeting, but Belle Martin, first vice-president of the William P. Rogers Chapter, Victoria, acted in her place. Kate Beatty Wheeler, also of Victoria, welcomed the women and spoke about how unusual it was for women to gather for a

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<sup>15</sup> Though the meeting was held in conjunction with the reunion, it was not mentioned in the souvenir album published after the reunion. William Bledsoe Philpott, ed., *The Sponsor Souvenir Album and History of the United Confederate Veterans' Reunion, 1895* (Houston: Sponsor Souvenir Co., 1895); notes on origin of UDC in Texas, composition book, pp. 6-7, box 17, folder 3, McFarland Papers. McFarland's notes on the origins of the UDC do not indicate whether Currie Muse asked the Houston ladies to invite her or if they approached her first. It is probable that if they were not personally connected, the Houston ladies read her name and knew of her affiliation with the national division in the *Confederate Veteran*.

convention. She asked for the ladies' "sympathy" in her "weak efforts or faltering steps" because "to most of us 'conventions' are something known only in name, but while pleading our inexperience in such matters we can truly say we are sufficiently mature to appreciate all the choice kernels of thought and fruits of knowledge which this occasion will undoubtedly offer."<sup>16</sup>

Despite the plea of inexperience, the women proceeded efficiently, nominated chairs, and divided themselves into committees of Credentials, Organization, and Constitution and By-Laws. The Credentials Committee reported that there were five chapters represented at the convention by proxy and two by delegates. The organized chapters were entitled to the following votes based on chapter membership: Dallas Chapter, Dallas—five votes; Waco Chapter, Waco—one vote; Lamar-Fontine Chapter, Alvin—one vote; Sherman Chapter, Sherman—one vote; Ennis Chapter, Ennis—one vote; Victoria Chapter, Victoria—five votes; and Veuve Jefferson Davis Chapter, Galveston—five votes. The Committee on Constitution and By-Laws recommended that the constitution and by-laws of the Georgia Division, UDC, be adopted with an amendment on fees and dues. The state organization would charge three dollars to each chapter for its charter and fifty application blanks, and each chapter was to be charged two dollars per year to cover state expenses and ten cents for every member on its rolls in good standing for the national UDC.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>Notes on Origin of UDC in Texas, composition book, p. 8, box 17, folder 3, McFarland Papers; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the First Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Galveston: Clarke and Coats, 1898), 2. The number of presidents of the Texas Division, UDC, was changed from five to four at the first annual convention.

<sup>17</sup>UDC, *Minutes of the First Annual Convention*, 25-26.

The Victoria convention concluded with the reading and adoption of the Committee on Organization's recommendations for state officers. Katie Cabell Currie Muse was re-elected president, Mrs. Sterling Price Willis of Alvin first vice-president, Mrs. F. R. Pridhum of Victoria second vice-president, Katie Daffan of Ennis third vice-president, and Mrs. W. C. Brown of Sherman fourth vice-president. Ruth Phelps nominated Galveston as the host city of the next annual meeting of the Texas UDC, the minutes were read and adopted, and the convention adjourned with no other proposed plans than to meet in Galveston in October 1897.<sup>18</sup>

The newly formed Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy wrote into its constitution that its objects were "memorial, benevolent, historical, and social." The association proposed to "fulfill duties of sacred charity toward Confederate veterans and their descendents," a need considered "pressing" by these women. Membership was based on heredity: the widows, wives, mothers, sisters, nieces, and lineal descendants of those who served or gave material aid could join, as could women and their lineal descendants who gave proof of aid during the war. Membership increased rapidly during the early years, although always with an eye on the "character and lineage" of the applicant. Katie Cabell Currie Muse was responsible for much of the early increase. She traveled thousands of miles to meet with and organize Texas women into local chapters. Initially, she or another officer wrote to "select" women in a community and let the local women spread the news and attempt to interest their friends.

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 26; *Confederate Veteran* 4 (July 1896): 202-203.

If the interest appeared genuine, then Currie Muse or another representative of the state division would meet with the women and explain the organizational process.<sup>19</sup>

UDC membership increased yearly: 31 chapters with 2,047 members in 1898, 56 chapters with 3,381 members in 1902, 105 chapters with 5,046 members in 1904, 146 chapters with 6,242 members in 1907, 154 chapters with 7,641 members in 1913. Large chapters like Galveston's Veuve Jefferson Davis had more than five hundred members; small communities like Forney or Somerville had memberships of only seven. The organization continued to grow well into the 1920s and surpassed almost every other state in the number of members and chapters.<sup>20</sup>

The Texas association grew into one of the largest state divisions of the UDC. Membership figures fluctuated from year to year, but a Daughter estimated in the *Confederate Veteran* in 1902 that twenty-five thousand women actively belonged to the UDC, and of those, five thousand were from Texas. Though this was an exaggeration of

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<sup>19</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Convention of the Texas Division United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Weatherford: Herold Publishing Co., 1908), 28; *The Southern Tribute: A Monthly Magazine Devoted to the Daughters of the Confederacy* 1 (April/May 1898): 297; C. W. Raines, *Yearbook for Texas, 1901* (Austin: Gammel Book Co. Publishers, 1902), 127. Mae Wynne McFarland spoke about the "type" of member preferred in her "President's Message" in the 1940s: "No project is more important to the Society than increase in membership—but careful increase. To secure members for the sole purpose of adding numbers would be a fatal error. . . . Never deny membership to a worthy woman seeking it . . . but choose carefully those whom you invite to join. We must value our own membership so highly that we cannot cheapen it by quantity at the expense of quality." "President's Message," box 17, folder 4, McFarland Papers.

<sup>20</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Third Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (no place: no publisher, 1899), 12; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Fort Worth: Press of Humphreys and Carpenter, 1902), 16; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Fort Worth: Speer Printing, 1905), 18-20; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Convention of the Texas Division*, 22-24; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones, 1914), 22-25; "Report of the President-General to the 35<sup>th</sup> Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1928" Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.



the actual figures, Texas women, at least in the organization's early years, constituted one of the very largest state divisions. Actual membership figures for comparison are generally unreliable. A report in 1906 claimed that Texas had 3,490 active members, second in number to Virginia, which had 3,590 members, and well ahead of Mississippi, which ranked third, with 2,195 members. Though these figures were estimates, they fell short of the state organization's report for 1907, which reported more than 6,000 members. Even allowing for these discrepancies, the Texas organization ranked at or near the top for membership totals well into the 1920s.<sup>21</sup>

With so many women seeking membership, chapters were organized across the state, though most were located in the more urban areas. The major Texas cities of Dallas, Fort Worth, Austin, San Antonio, Galveston, and Houston all had memberships in triple digits, but so did cities like El Paso, a gateway to Mexico, and Bryan, located in the center of the state and near Texas's Agricultural and Mechanical College. Since only seven members were required to form a chapter, even the smallest of Texas towns might sponsor a local UDC. Stamford, north of Abilene, and Memphis, southeast of Amarillo, both in west Texas, organized with eight members each.<sup>22</sup>

Wherever they gathered, the women who joined the UDC identified needs and set specific goals for their chapters, objectives that would expand their definition of the meaning of womanhood while reinforcing the rhetoric of the "southern lady." As one Daughter explained at a UDC convention, "I love the U. D. C. because they have

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<sup>21</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 10 (January 1902): 9; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Business Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Opelika, AL: Bost Publishing Co., 1907), 27-28.

<sup>22</sup> UDC, *Proceedings . . . Eighteenth Annual Convention* , 22-25.

demonstrated that Southern women may organize themselves into a nation-wide body without losing womanly dignity, sweetness or graciousness; that with a bedrock of sentiment and pride they do their altruistic work for the pure love of it, giving their time and talents without money and without price; their highest and only reward, success of the undertaking and the verdict of their fellow workers, ‘well done, thou good and faithful servant.’”<sup>23</sup>

Why did so many Texas women respond so quickly to the UDC’s appeals? After its creation, the organization grew rapidly and sustained itself on the ideology of the Lost Cause. The memory of the South’s defeat in the Civil War served as the impetus behind the UDC’s undertakings. Historians Thomas L. Connelly and Barbara L. Bellows argue that this memory remained central to the southern character for decades after the war, and American literature of the period reinforces this perception. Mark Twain provides only one example in *Life on the Mississippi*:

There [the South] every man you meet was in the [Civil] War; and every lady you meet saw the war. The war is the great chief topic of conversation. The interest in it is vivid and constant; the interest in other topics is fleeting. Mention of the war will wake up a dull company and set their tongues going when nearly any other topic would fail. In the South, the war is what A.D. is elsewhere; they date from it. All day long you hear things “placed” as having happened since the waw; or du’ in the waw’ or befo’ the

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<sup>23</sup> Quoted in Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, The Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 174; *Confederate Veteran* 4 (December 1896): 410. In 1896 chapter goals included: (Dallas) maintaining a cemetery lot and building a monument; (Sherman) dedicating a monument in December; (Galveston) aiding veterans and assisting the Confederate home in Austin; (Ennis) helping Dallas to erect a monument; (Waco,) newly organized, unsure of work, (Lubbock) laboring to ensure “true” history in the schools; (Alvin) working for the Jefferson Davis monument and to erect a monument in their own city; (Victoria) helping with the Memorial Institute planned in Richmond, Virginia; (San Antonio) attempting to impress upon “the youth” true history and to aid the living while erecting a monument to the dead. See UDC, *Minutes of the First Annual Convention*, 7-10.

waw; or right aftah the waw; or ‘bout two yeahs or five yeahs or ten yeahs befo’ the war or aftah the waw. It shows how intimately every individual was visited, in his own person, by that tremendous episode. It gives the experienced stranger a better idea of what a vast and comprehensive calamity invasion is than he can ever get by reading books by the fireside.<sup>24</sup>

Certainly there was a tendency in the South to relive and memorialize the war, a preoccupation that people in the North did not share to the same degree, perhaps because they had emerged the conquerers and not the conquered. Historian Robert Wiebe argues that the changes that occurred after the war created a “crisis in the local community.” Southerners linked these disruptions with northern values, such as a preoccupation with money, that seemed to be overtaking the region’s consciousness. The Texas Division of the UDC believed these northern values were a real threat and attempted to counter them by maintaining and encouraging particular characteristics they identified as southern—for example, a tendency toward generosity and hospitality.<sup>25</sup>

Some historians question whether it is possible to group Texas within a southern context at all. Citing its exceptionalism—for example, Texas functioned as an independent nation for nearly a decade—and its similarity to “western states,” these historians argue that Texas is linked more to the myths of the Old West than to a Confederate heritage. UDC members and their contemporaries argued to the contrary. They believed strongly that Texas was predominantly southern in thought and feeling, particularly the more settled eastern two-thirds of the state. Texas Governor James E.

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<sup>24</sup> Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi* (1875; reprint, New York: Signet, 1980), 257.

<sup>25</sup> Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), 76-110.; Thomas L. Connelly and Barbara L. Bellows, *God and General Longstreet: The Lost Cause and the Southern Mind* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), 119.

Ferguson claimed that the monument unveiling he attended in 1916 in Llano, in central Texas, made him “think of our miles of cotton fields, of Southern homes by moonlight, of banjos on the plantations picked by old-time Southern darkies, of happy children, of gallant youths and fairest maidens of soft breezes from Southern seas. . . .”<sup>26</sup>

Most white Texans during the period understood the southern images Ferguson invoked. Many believed they had endured and overcome in a great struggle, a struggle that separated them from the “promised land” of the past. The editor of the *Confederate Handbook* wrote of Confederates in the postwar period:

They were confronted by conditions more trying than any perils they had encountered on the field of battle. Disappointed in their hopes; enfeebled by four years of hardship and privation; without money, credit or the implements of labor; unaccustomed to manual labor, and in many instances without a roof to shelter their heads, they commenced a struggle to earn a support for themselves and those dependent upon them. Enduring want and suffering without a murmur; submitting to the oppressions of carpet-bag rule because of a determination to comply with the obligations of their paroles; moved by a stern purpose to succeed and cheered by the sympathy and example of their wives and mothers, they toiled as men had never toiled before.<sup>27</sup>

Historians like Charles Reagan Wilson, Gaines M. Foster, and Rollin G. Osterweis argue that a tradition evolved out of the defeat, poverty, and dislocation associated with the southern past, a tradition that became the myth of the Lost Cause.

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<sup>26</sup> James E. Ferguson, “Speech of Governor James E. Ferguson at the Unveiling of a Confederate Monument in Llano, Texas, February 22, 1916,” 4, Texas State Library and Archives. For a discussion of Texas exceptionalism, see Walter L. Buenger and Robert A. Calvert, *Texas Through Time: Evolving Interpretations* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1991).

<sup>27</sup> Robert C. Wood, *Confederate Handbook: A Compilation of Important Data and Other Interesting and Valuable Matter Relating to the War Between the States, 1861-1865* (New Orleans: Graham Press, 1900), 116.

The myth emerged as a reactionary defense against defeat immediately following the war with the writings of Edward A. Pollard but lapsed by the 1880s into a nostalgic celebration. Many historians have attempted to define and explain the myth of the Lost Cause. Connelly and Bellows argue that the phrase originated with Sir Walter Scott's accounts of the lost cause of Scotland and served to romanticize both events. They also claim that in the South, the myth represented the perpetuation of the Confederate ideal, an ideal, according to Gaines Foster, that declared the southern cause just and legal. Foster summarizes the region's postwar interpretation of the conflict: the South fought for constitutional rights, the principle of secession, and the preservation of the homeland. The South lost because of overwhelming numbers, not the Confederacy's shortcomings, and Robert E Lee, Thomas (Stonewall) Jackson, and Jefferson Davis were not traitors but perfect role models for contemporary society.<sup>28</sup>

Foster argues that this interpretation of the Civil War offered southerners a sense of stability during the transition from the Old South to the New South, an opinion other historians have shared. Charles Reagan Wilson likens the myth to a civil religion and argues that it served to meet the needs of postwar southerners, needs that included a "sense of identity" and cultural distinctiveness. If the people of the South found defeat unbearable, they could retreat into a made-up past that honored a civilized culture.

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<sup>28</sup> Rollin G. Osterweis, *The Myth of the Lost Cause, 1865-1900* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1973), x, 11; Connelly and Bellows, *God and General Longstreet*, 2; Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 125; Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1908), 11.

According to this interpretation, the Lost Cause enabled the region to take pride in itself through the myth or legend.<sup>29</sup>

Other historians disagree, arguing against this idea of a “social crutch.” Fred Arthur Bailey claims the Lost Cause was an “intellectual quest to reaffirm the southern aristocracy’s authority as the dominant force in the region’s political, social, and economic life.” Bailey wrote specifically that in Texas “the region’s social elite felt their status threatened by the aspirations of lesser whites and long oppressed African Americans. Southern elites once again manned their parapets to defend their status,” argued Bailey, and the Lost Cause insured that southerners would respect their “properly appointed leaders.” While not going as far as Bailey, LeeAnn Whites has commented that the myth did function as a means of continuity in the region, and even Charles Reagan Wilson writes that it served to associate the Confederate soldier with the economic and social revival of the South after the war.<sup>30</sup>

The Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy chose to use the idea as a vehicle for modeling behavior in their fellow citizens. In a sense, the organization did use the Lost Cause to bring stability to the lives of their fellow citizens, but contrary to Foster’s interpretation, these women were not trying to ease themselves or others from an Old to a New South. Instead, they were attempting to create a community based on a past ideal that would serve as the foundation for a future, purged of northern

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<sup>29</sup> Osterweis, *The Myth of the Lost Cause*, x, 11; Connelly and Bellows, *God and General Longstreet*, 2; Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 125; Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, 11.

<sup>30</sup> Fred Arthur Bailey, “Free Speech and the ‘Lost Cause’ in Texas: A Study of Social Control in the New South,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 97 (Fall 1994): 454-455; LeeAnn Whites, “The Charitable and the Poor: The Emergence of Domestic Politics in Augusta, Georgia, 1860-1880,” *Journal of Social History* 17 (Summer 1984): 166; Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, 123.

influence. UDC members used the myth to shape how all white Texas citizens defined and understood themselves. Contrary to Bailey's class interpretation, members of the Texas Division of the UDC did not differentiate between their economic peers and the mass public in their effort to be a force for good. The lessons they attempted to teach were aimed at all white Texans, wealthy or poor, prominent or obscure. UDC members continually attempted to mold all Texans through their interpretation of Lost Cause ideals. The organization viewed the past with the present in mind—they used the past to shape the present.

Most southern men had distanced themselves from Lost Cause mythology by the 1890s. Male disinterest and the general public's detachment allowed women to play a central role in creating and maintaining the myth of the Lost Cause. Anthropologists, like Janet Mancini Billson, have argued that even if men had been interested, women were better at creating these types of traditions. Women, according to these scholars, cope with great social upheavels more easily than men because the "interplay of domestic and public roles helps shield women from the ravages of changing times." Billson believes that men suffer a greater "identity dislocation: mothering and domestic tasks are always present, no matter what." The war and its aftermath represented a tremendous upheavel in the South—Twain's observation in *Life on the Mississippi* seems to confirm this—but equally upsetting was the rise of industrialism, commercialism, and urbanism associated

with the New South Creed. Texas women understood these tumultuous times and used their role as mothers and caregivers to shape the region's future.<sup>31</sup>

The members of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy saw themselves as custodians of the region's traditions. With this in mind, they acted as missionaries attempting to transform the cultural landscapes of their communities. Viola Bivins, a president of the Texas Daughters, claimed in 1950 that the UDC had been working as a "power for good in this reunited country for more than half a century," and that the Daughters represented the "greatest organized force for good the world has ever known." This was necessary, said Bivins, because "the need of the women's help was great" since "an invasion, dynamic and ruthless, set aside the whole order of the South."<sup>32</sup>

Bivins's description was echoed by many other Texas UDC members. Their ideals, based on their understanding of "virtue," sprang from their critique of society—a critique voiced by a few but which demanded acceptance by all white Texans. The Daughters believed in the moral power of women and considered the values they held dear—self-sacrifice, honor, benevolence—vital to human society. They proposed that this morality gave women a unique position in society to serve as a counterbalance to man's competitiveness. Another UDC president, Cornelia Branch Stone, asked the members, "do you realize that the Daughters of the Confederacy are moulding the opinion of the civilized world?" A typical response was, "this is a work of simple justice

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<sup>31</sup> Janet Mancini Billson, *Keepers of the Culture: The Power of Tradition in Women's Lives* (New York: Lexington Books, 1995), 379.

<sup>32</sup> Mrs. J. K. Bivins, *Echoes of the Confederacy*, (Dallas: Banks, Upshaw, and Co., 1950), 114-118.



to the South, to which the Daughters are pledged by all the ties of a sacred past and all the hopes of a glorious future.”<sup>33</sup>

The United Daughters of the Confederacy was only one women’s organization among many that were expanding into areas not fully male or female. To do so, many members would take on highly visible roles in public, such as addressing large gatherings of mixed-sex groups, all the while declaring their allegiance to the notion of the southern lady, an ideal that emphasized woman’s biological proclivity toward domestic nurturance and compassion. Texas UDC member Mrs. B. F. Eads declared, “it is always the woman who guides the great events which mark the destiny of mankind; history is replete with the influence of good women, who amid light and shade, victory and defeat have stood fast.”<sup>34</sup>

Their understanding of womanhood fundamentally bound these women and supported their creation of a fictive female family gathered to fight the changes they saw

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<sup>33</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Convention, Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Tyler: Sword and Shield Publishing Co., 1899), 17; *The Southern Tribute: A Monthly Magazine Devoted to the Daughters of the Confederacy*, 128. Patricia Evridge Hill quotes Anne Firor Scott’s use of the term “organized womanhood” to describe women who made reforms to counter laissez-faire capitalism. Scott claims that “female members of the elite exerted a powerful influence on civic affairs decades before the passage of the suffrage amendment” (Hill, *Dallas: The Making of a Modern City* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996, xxvii.) For a discussion of the moral power of women see Lorna Duffin, “Prisoners of Progress: Women and Evolution,” *The Nineteenth-Century Woman: Her Cultural and Physical World*, eds. Sara Delamont and Lorna Duffin (London: Croom Helm, 1978), 57-91. Nancy A. Hewitt and Suzanne Lebsack refer to this moral superiority of women as “maternalist condensation” because of its effects on race and class attitudes. Hewitt and Lebsack, eds. *Visible Women: New Essays on American Activism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 9.

<sup>34</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (no place: no publisher, 1901), 13. Megan Seaholm documented similar characteristics in Texas’s female Progressive reformers. She wrote that for these women “to believe that there was no such thing as a distinctly female soul would have been for white American club women, a dreadful—even regressive—conclusion. It was their essential femininity that they found empowering. It was the basis of their insistence that they become involved in public matters. It was the basis of their claim that women were important and necessary for the public good as well as the private home” (Seaholm, “Earnest Women,” 549.)

taking place in the South. UDC members drew little opposition from their male peers. White men supported the organization, though usually in the form of money and not service. Even when some Daughters began to venture into areas formerly reserved for men, the UDC continued to receive white male support—probably because the organization based its existence on the ideal of women’s nurturing and caring nature. The Daughters claimed it was necessary for them to engage in activities formerly considered unladylike because the need for their help was so great. More than likely, UDC members retained male support during the organization’s early years because women did not have the vote, and their actions were perceived as being above politics and therefore in line with male conceptions of the female role.<sup>35</sup>

For both men and women, the female role included being the primary caretaker of the family’s and, by extension, society’s traditions. Anthropologist Janet Mancini Billson refers to this role as “kinkeeper,” and she argues that “culture is at the heart of being a woman.” She claims that it has been women who have kept alive familial ties and have nurtured a sense of tradition to construct a social conscience in society. It seems a natural progression, then, that women have historically assigned themselves the role of cultural caretakers. In the South after the Civil War, when Reconstruction had ended but social problems still appeared dire, southern women organized to reverse the fragmentation they

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<sup>35</sup> Daniel Scott Smith coined the phrase “domestic feminism” to describe women in this period who sought greater freedom and who criticized the “male, materialistic, market society” (Smith, “Family Limitation, Sexual Control and Domestic Feminism in Victorian America,” *Feminist Studies* 1 [Winter-Spring 1973]: 40-57). Darlene Rebecca Roth refers to behavior similar to this as “matronage,” and defines it as the “phenomenon of capturing the various responsibilities of motherhood within a coherent social construct, of extending them into the community, and of making them the heart of organizational behavior.” See Roth, “Matronage: Patterns in Women’s Organizations, Atlanta, Georgia, 1890-1940” (Ph.D. dissertation, George Washington University, 1978), 88.

perceived rampant in their society. These women, and some men, linked the problems they witnessed with the northern values they believed were penetrating the South. Judge Norman G. Kittrell articulated the Daughters' opinions at the erection of Houston's Confederate Monument in 1908. He said in an address to the crowd that

when men in the mad hurry and whirl of commercial life, in the heartless struggle for gain, subordinate the spiritual to the material, and forgetting the achievements which have illuminated the past, elevate the dollar above the dead, gold above glory and mammon above holy memory, we draw nigh to that point where love of country—the noblest and most unselfish emotion that ever filled or thrilled a human heart—has lost its power and where across the nation's pathway fall the shadow of impending doom.<sup>36</sup>

Kittrell summarized the UDC's basic assumptions about the emerging values associated with the New South, and like the Daughters, Kittrell believed the region needed saving from "foreign" influences.<sup>37</sup>

Texas would be greatly affected by forces in the last quarter of the nineteenth century that at times did appear "foreign." Roughly 60,000 Texas men served in the Confederate armies. Although their deaths or battle-related disabilities surely led to disruptions and deprivations during and after the war, Texans did not suffer the ravages inflicted on other southern states.<sup>38</sup> Cheap land, good crops, and plentiful foodstuffs made Texas an attractive destination after the war. Though personal poverty was great,

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<sup>36</sup> *Houston Daily Post*, 20 January 1908.

<sup>37</sup> Billson, *Keepers of the Culture*, 2

<sup>38</sup> Edwards, "Social and Cultural Activities of Texas," 1. Though little scholarly research has been conducted, historians have commented extensively on the impact that Confederate soldiers' deaths had on southern women. One study is being made by Randolph Campbell for Harrison County, Texas, where he has discovered that men as heads of households decreased by only 3 percent between 1860 and 1880. In light of his findings, historians, at least in Texas, may need to rethink their opinions on the impact of male deaths on southern women in the postwar period (Randolph Campbell, "The 1860 Military-Age White Male Population of Harrison County in the Civil War," database).

the postwar period was one of immigration, growth, and geographical expansion, and many of the problems associated with expansion soon followed. By the end of the nineteenth century, Texas experienced, along with the rest of the nation, growing labor and farmer discontent. The Grange, Knights of Labor, and Farmers' Alliance entered the Texas political scene by the mid-1880s, and the People's party grew rapidly in the 1890s, with clubs springing up across the state and speakers spreading the Populist crusade. Other national conflicts followed that affected the state, including a financial panic in 1893 that brought the United States into a serious depression and industrial strikes and riots that precipitated the use of state troops and resulted in bloodshed, the destruction of property, and racial conflict.<sup>39</sup>

UDC members like Valery Edward Austin feared the changes taking place. She wrote, "the New South has much to be proud of, but there is in its civilization a haste, a materialism, a crassness, that are not admirable." Austin and her peers believed, though, that most of their male peers did not share their concerns. James A. King, an Austin lawyer, wrote to Jessie Bell Spring, president of the Barnard E. Bee Chapter, San Antonio, complaining about men's lack of interest in preserving the old values. He said, "It has been my painful pleasure to notice from afar, the noble and valiant fight that Southern womanhood in dear old San Antonio is making to preserve some vestage of the honor of our fathers." He continued by asking, "where are the men of San Antonio?"

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<sup>39</sup>In 1870 6.7 percent of Texans lived in incorporated urban areas with population of 2,500 or more. By 1900 urban incorporated centers contained 17.1 percent of the population. The population exceeded three million, with one quarter born in states other than Texas and almost 200,000 born in foreign countries. Rupert N. Richardson, Adrian Anderson, and Ernest Wallace, *Texas: The Lone Star State* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1997) 109, 307. Sources that discuss agrarian and labor discontent in the South

Must you make this fight alone? Has all the boasted chivalry of the Old South been swallowed up. . . ?”<sup>40</sup>

Texas UDC members believed their male peers were abandoning the past. Increasingly, these women associated that past, the Old South in a mythic form, with particular values like self-sacrifice, benevolence, and charity. A duality subconsciously emerged in the way Texans, and other southerners, thought about the Old South versus the New South. The designations defined a state of mind and took on new connotations. Though rarely articulated in such blatant terms, the words “New South” began to be associated with male characteristics—aggressive, impulsive, forceful—while the “Old South” was associated with very different traits—kindness, selflessness, gentleness—that were associated with femininity. Texas Daughters never spoke about “feminizing” the state’s citizens, but they frequently described the Old South in terms of feminine values. This is one reason that the UDC fought so vehemently to end the public’s use of the term “New South.” The Daughters argued that there was no New South, but such a denial revealed the organization’s struggle to maintain the past and the feminine values they associated with it in contemporary Texans’ lives.

Much to the Daughters’ dismay, Texans generally embraced New South values. An article in the August 1899 *Confederate Veteran* magazine maintained that “it is disheartening to see where so much good can be accomplished and then to be debarred

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include Jonathan M. Weiner, *Social Origins of the New South: Alabama, 1860-1885* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), and Barr, *Reconstruction to Reform*.

<sup>40</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Fort Worth: Speer Printers, 1905), 5; James A. King to Jessie Bell Spring, 19 October 1922, Sallie Ward Beretta Papers, box 5, folder 89, Daughters of the Republic of Texas Library, San Antonio, Texas.

from accomplishing almost anything at all by the lack of interest and cooperation and the want of zeal on the part of the officers and members of the various [United Confederate Veteran] camps.”<sup>41</sup>

A speech by Charles B. Emanuel, delivered at a United Confederate Veterans Reunion in Rusk in 1901 and reprinted in *The Confederate Soldier* magazine, suggests that most men were no longer actively engaged in work connected with the Civil War. Emanuel, in a tribute to southern womanhood, explained to his audience that the “echoes of that mighty storm,” as he described the Civil War, were over and that the men were finished with their task. That which remained, “preserving the memories,” was left to the women.” “Again, I ask you who,” pleaded Emanuel, “who it is that is erecting monuments all over this beautiful and prosperous land of ours?” “It is she,” he answered, “the untitled heroine of the Confederacy . . . the woman of the South.” Obviously in Emanuel’s opinion, men had moved on to other concerns.<sup>42</sup>

Texas UDC members believed that work associated with the war had reached a critical point and that the lack of male concern made it essential that women pick up the banner. The UDC’s critique of contemporary society combined with their belief that women were naturally nurturing creatures left UDC members with little choice but to fight against the rising tide of modernism. The Daughters went further than just making criticisms based on their ideals—they sought to preserve society by returning the state’s

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<sup>41</sup> Reprint of the report of Adjutant General and Chief of Staff S. O. Young to UCV, Texas Division, reunion, Austin, Texas, 3 May 1899, *Confederate Veteran* 7 (August 1899): 342.

<sup>42</sup> Charles B. Emanuel, “Tribute to Southern Womanhood,” *Confederate Soldier* 1 (October 1901): 14.

white population to the “social graces and charming manners that the civilization of the Old South had produced”<sup>43</sup>

The expectations and involvement of individual UDC members varied greatly. Though many Texas women joined, a relative few were responsible for the bulk of activities associated with the UDC. These were strong and independent women, and they formed the core of the Texas UDC and most of Texas’s other clubs and organizations. The women who followed these leaders did so for many reasons—society, friendship, admiration—but they agreed that Texas women were capable of shaping their society through organizations like the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

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<sup>43</sup> Quotation from Mildred Lewis Rutherford, “The Civilization of the Old South: What Made It: What Destroyed It: What has Replaced It” (address delivered at Municipal Hall, Dallas, Texas, 9 November, 1916), 20, available at the Center for American History.



**Figure 1. Katie Currie Muse in the 1920s. Courtesy of the Dallas Public Library, Dallas, Texas.**



## CHAPTER TWO

### “QUALITY MEMBERS, NOT QUANTITY”

#### THE WOMEN OF THE TEXAS UDC

The name Katie Daffan was synonymous with the United Daughters of the Confederacy for Texans across the state between 1900 and 1950. Known to all as “Miss Katie,” Daffan was credited with doing “more for the advancement of the [UDC] cause” than any other woman in the state. With beautiful long dark hair and a well-rounded figure, the confident and respected Daffan immersed herself in Confederate remembrance activities from the time she was a child. Born in 1874, the first of six children to Lawrence and Mollie Daffan, Katie loved her mother but was the joy of her father’s life, and the affection was mutual. She learned to love the Confederacy through her father, and as a young girl, she accompanied him to veterans’ reunions.<sup>1</sup>

Over the years the attention Daffan paid the veterans earned her a favored spot in their hearts, and they chose her as a “sponsor” (an honorary social position bestowed on women) for Texas at two national UCV reunions and for the South at a third national reunion. In addition to these honors, she was elected lifetime secretary of Hood’s Texas Brigade Association, an independent veterans’ group to which her father belonged. Colonel Daffan, as he liked to be called after the war (although he was actually a private throughout the war), joined Hood’s Brigade when he was sixteen years old and fought in

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<sup>1</sup> Vertical file —“Katie Daffan,” Austin History Center, Austin Public Library, Austin, Texas.

seven major engagements during the war. By the late 1890s Confederate activities consumed his spare time, and he encouraged his daughter to increase her involvement.<sup>2</sup>

Influential in the United Daughters of the Confederacy from its inception, Daffan served as a state officer ten times over a period of fifty years. She was elected president on five occasions—no other Daughter labored in that position more than twice. She worked on multiple committees at the state and national levels and was chosen president of the national UDC twice. In addition to these honors, Daffan was named superintendent of the Texas Confederate Woman’s Home in 1911, becoming the first woman in Texas ever appointed to head a state institution. She served in that position until 1918.<sup>3</sup>

As if she were not busy enough with UDC work, Daffan worked full-time during these years teaching at elementary and high schools because she had no other source of income. Though her family was well respected in Confederate circles, her father earned only a modest salary as a train engineer and then as a superintendent with the Houston and Texas Central Railroad. Daffan married Mann Trice in approximately 1892, then assistant attorney general for the state, but three weeks into the honeymoon, she returned home, alone, without explanation.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> “Katie Daffan: A Legend the Town has Forgotten,” p.3, vertical file—Miss Katie Daffan, Ennis Public Library, Ennis, Texas; newspaper clipping from the *Bohemian* (1904), vertical file—Katie Daffan, Austin History Center, Austin, Texas; Sinclair Moreland, *The Texas Woman’s Hall of Fame* (Austin: Biographical Press, 1917), 32; Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Texas, War Department Collection of Confederate Records (microfilm M323, roll 285, 4<sup>th</sup> Texas Infantry), Record Group 109, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

<sup>3</sup> Vertical file—“Katie Daffan,” Austin History Center, Austin Public Library, p. 7; Sinclair Moreland, *Texas Women’s Hall of Fame*, 32.

<sup>4</sup> “Katie Daffan: A Legend the Town has Forgotten,” pp.3, vertical file—Miss Katie Daffan, Ennis Public Library, Ennis, Texas; newspaper clipping from the *Bohemian* (1904), vertical file—Katie Daffan, Austin History Center, Austin, Texas.

Divorced and single the rest of her life, she sought emotional and creative outlet in writing and published eight books. Daffan traveled and lectured extensively—her favorite speeches included: “Woman’s Influence,” “The American Woman,” and “The Woman of the South.” Serving as literary editor for the *Houston Chronicle* in the 1920s, her “Miss Katie’s Literary Page” became a weekly feature in the newspaper. In addition to her work and her involvement in Confederate activities, Daffan belonged to at least twenty other organizations. She was elected to offices in the Texas Woman’s Press Association, the Daughters of the American Revolution, The General Federation of Women’s Clubs, the Texas State Teachers’ Association, and the Texas State Historical Association.<sup>5</sup>

Though Daffan’s career was wide and varied, she was best known for her work in the United Daughters of the Confederacy. If an opinion was sought on a monument’s appearance or location, the community asked Daffan. This was true of so many Confederate-related activities that her identity came to personify the movement in the state, but was she representative of the type of woman who belonged to the Texas Daughters? Were other members like her? Driven and ambitious in her public work, did she have more in common with the women who reached officer positions than she did with the rank-and-file membership?<sup>6</sup>

Many historians have documented the role that women’s voluntary organizations played in enlarging the female world prior to the 1920s. Suzanne Lebsock claims that these groups “forged a female public culture,” and Anne Scott argues that they served as

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<sup>5</sup> “Katie Daffan: A Legend the Town has Forgotten,” pp.5-10, vertical file—Miss Katie Daffan, Ennis Public Library.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

a “training school for women who wanted to serve in public life” and were a “major social tool” used to circumvent legal and social barriers. On the other hand, these historians more often than not referred to clubs other than hereditary societies. Studies made of groups like the UDC, or similar patriotic associations like the Daughters of the American Revolution, tend to claim, as historian Wallace Evan Davies did in *Patriotism on Parade*, that “most members . . . joined because of the social attractions.” Both observations are true of the UDC. Thousands of members chose to do little more than attend the monthly meetings and help with fundraising, but for others, the organization played a key role in building their public lives, as Daughters and as a preparation ground for membership and leadership in other clubs. Katie Daffan is only one example of hundreds of Daughters who eagerly sought to do all they could to be a force for good in their community and state.<sup>7</sup>

What kinds of women joined the UDC? Were they young and single or older and married? Did they lead Texas society from a privileged financial and social position, or were their husbands and fathers members of the working class? Were there significant differences between the kinds of women who participated minimally in UDC activities and those who sought officer positions?

Texas Daughters were a diverse group of women, but all felt honored to be part of an organization whose purpose and existence gave them an opportunity to help others while helping themselves. The UDC was a combination of sisterhood and personal

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<sup>7</sup> Suzanne Lebsack, “Women and American Politics, 1880-1920,” in *Women, Politics, and Change*, ed. Louise A. Tilly and Patricia Gurin (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1990), 35; Anne Firor Scott, “Historians Construct the Southern Woman,” in *Sex, Race, and the Role of Women in the South*, ed. Joanne V. Hawks and Sheila Skimp, (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1983), 107-108;

ambition. Members, many for the first time, thrilled in their own sex's significance in the larger community. They took great pride in their accomplishments and marveled at each other's capabilities and talents. Daughter after Daughter spoke of this emerging confidence in their "band of sisterhood." A poem in the *Confederate Veteran* in 1898, "Our Southern Girls," which was first read at a UDC convention in Hot Springs, Arkansas, reads like a manifesto:

Hers the mind for plan and action,  
Hers the will to dare and do,  
Hers the courage of conviction,  
Hers the soul of all that's true.  
On the page of art and science her bright-winged thoughts  
unfurl  
Keeping the mental pace with masters—Our brainy  
Southern girl.  
Duty calls, and softly she cometh, Not, O men, to take your  
place.  
Not unmaidenly and mannish would our girl with you keep  
pace;  
Not her wish to rule or rob you,  
Nor one right to take away,  
But she needs to work as men do, And as MEN to win her  
pay.<sup>8</sup>

The need to work was a common denominator among Texas Daughters. Though members joined for varied reasons, from a means of socializing to a belief that they could change their communities, few lacked the sense of camaraderie or purpose that the UDC cultivated in them.

One chapter, Marshall #412, was a typical United Daughters of the Confederacy organization in Texas. Marshall, approximately forty miles west of Shreveport, Louisiana, sits at the center of and serves as the seat of Harrison County. The

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Wallace Evan Davies, *Patriotism on Parade: The Story of Veterans and Hereditary Organizations in America, 1783-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955), 118.

community, founded in 1839, prospered, and by the beginning of the Civil War it was one of the largest and wealthiest towns in East Texas. With a history of pro-southernism, the city voted unanimously for secession, and the refugee Confederate government of Missouri located its capital there during the war. The creation of a UDC chapter was likely inevitable, and between 1900 and 1950, Marshall hosted an active organization.<sup>9</sup>

During that half-century 215 women joined the Marshall UDC chapter. With an average membership of fifty in any given year, the chapter was large enough to provide a sample for analysis, yet small enough to be manageable. While it is impossible to determine the specific reasons why the women of Marshall became Daughters, some trends offer insight. Women joined sporadically through the years, but more became members in the year of the club's inception in 1900, 38 women (18 percent), and the year immediately before and after the chapter unveiled its Confederate monument in 1906, 40 women (19 percent), than any other specific times. Membership growth in the organization was most obvious in periods of great excitement—for example, when a chapter was forming or when it had accomplished a goal prominent in the community, such as the building of a monument. Apart from such high-profile years, membership lagged in the general community, and the organization sustained itself by recruiting the extended family members of active Daughters.<sup>10</sup>

Women joined the UDC partly because it was a family affair. Thirteen families formed the core membership of the Marshall chapter. Mothers, daughters, sisters, and

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<sup>8</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 6 (November 1898): 538.

<sup>9</sup> Randolph B. Campbell, *A Southern Community in Crisis: Harrison County, Texas, 1850-1880* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1983), 3, 213, 236, 190-91.

<sup>10</sup> "Membership applications to the Marshall Chapter #412, UDC," Harrison County Historical Museum, Marshall, Texas.

cousins joined either together or, as girls came of age, following their elders' lead. Further, most of the women had male family members who were active in the United Confederate Veterans (UCV) organization. Ten of the most prominent veterans in Marshall's UCV camp had wives, daughters, and sisters who were Daughters.<sup>11</sup>

Most of the women who joined the city's chapter were in middle age. For the 126 women who could be found in the census records and whose year of application was known, the average age in which they joined the club was forty-three, and this average held fairly constant over the years. The mean age of those who joined in the chapter's early development, prior to 1915, was forty-one (104 of 126 women); for those who joined later, after 1915, the mean was fifty-one (22 of 126 women). The oldest woman to apply for membership was seventy-seven, but she was not unusual; eight women in their seventies sought membership in the chapter. But younger women wanted to become Daughters, too. Three joined at the age of nineteen, just a year after they qualified, and twelve more joined under the age of twenty-five.

The ages of the women reveal that the majority were in fact the real daughters of Confederate veterans. Among the 209 women for whom complete applications are available, 128 (61 percent) sought membership under their father's service. Wives and widows accounted for the next most numerous group: thirty women (14 percent) applied on the basis of their husbands' activities. The other applications were more evenly

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<sup>11</sup> "Socio-economic profile of Marshall's UDC members," compiled for this study (unless otherwise indicated, all measurements and figures on UDC membership in Marshall are based on this profile); vertical file—Confederate monument, Harrison County Historical Museum. Information regarding Marshall's UDC members was compiled from census records: Population Schedule, Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives, Washington, D. C. (microfilm M432, roll 1643); *ibid.*, Thirteenth Census, 1910 (roll 1562); *ibid.*, Fourteenth Census, 1920 (roll 1815).

distributed: twenty-three nieces (11 percent), sixteen grand-daughters (8 percent), and eleven sisters (5 percent) applied for membership. None of the city's women sought membership for their own war activities, nor did any claim eligibility as the mothers of Confederate sons.

Four-fifths of the members were or had been married. Of the 126 women found in the census, eighty-nine (71 percent) were married, thirteen were widowed (10 percent), and twenty-four were single (19 percent). Most had also been mothers; seventy-one of the 126 women (56 percent) were reported as having children. This number is probably lower than the actual figure because the 1920 census recorded only the number of children living currently in the home and not the total number born to the woman.

All of the members had received at least a basic level of education and reported that they could read and write. A majority, seventy-one Daughters (56 percent), received their educations in Texas, their birth state. The others showed birth locations equally distributed between lower and upper southern states. Only two were born outside the South—one in Michigan and another in Indiana.

The Marshall chapter was made up of women who lived within the city limits in stable home environments. Only two of the 126 found in the census reported living on a farm outside the city. Four out of five—sixty-eight women of the eighty-six (79 percent) who recorded the status of their homes—reported that they lived in a house that they either owned or mortgaged. Only eighteen women (21 percent) rented homes, and one woman boarded at the home of another member.

A few of the UDC members supported themselves and their families without the help of male family members. Of the 126 women, ten (8 percent) declared themselves



heads of their households and eight (6 percent) listed occupations. All but one of the women held jobs typical for women during the period: four owned and operated their own boardinghouses, one worked as a schoolteacher, and two labored as sales clerks in stores. One member, who was sixty-eight when she joined the UDC, called herself a “capitalist” in the 1900 census and listed herself as head of her own household.

Working women were only a small proportion of the Marshall chapter. Most stayed at home to care for their men (husbands, fathers, and brothers) and their children. In most cases, their male partners’ jobs allowed the Daughters to stay home. Nearly one-third (twenty-six members [29 percent] of the ninety-one whose husbands or fathers listed jobs in the census records) were the wives or daughters of professionals (for example, doctors, lawyers, or real estate agents). Another twenty-two (24 percent) had husbands or fathers who were involved in commerce, mainly as merchants, and seven such men (8 percent) held public offices; one was a judge and another a sheriff. Nineteen women (21 percent) declared that their husbands or fathers labored in skilled trades. A dozen (13 percent) reported that their husbands or fathers followed occupations connected to the railroad. No members reported husbands or fathers who worked as menial or unskilled laborers.

Contrary to the assertions by historians such as H. E. Gulley, Marshall’s Daughters were not drawn only or primarily from the upper class. Gulley and others (for example, Gaines Foster in *Ghosts of the Confederacy*) have argued that “poor women without adequate social or family connections” could not become members. Such a statement masks the reality of life in Texas during the period. The UDC overwhelmingly attracted women who had “social and family connections”—as a hereditary organization,

it was impossible that it would be otherwise—but a woman’s ability to become a Daughter was not based on her financial condition. These historians cite a one-dollar annual membership fee as proof of the wealth of UDC members, a mistake because records reveal that membership fees varied greatly between chapters. Belton’s members paid only twenty cents a year in dues, and even those chapters who set their fees at one dollar allowed members to pay in installments and, sometimes, overlooked the fees entirely.<sup>12</sup>

A “typical” Texas UDC member was middle-aged, married, and a mother, but her children were no longer infants and did not need her constant care. She was financially secure enough that she did not have to work for a living, but she was not rich by any means. She was well respected in her community and came from a stable family that had lived in Texas and, more than likely, in the immediate area for more than one generation. She resided in an urban environment and endured less of the daily work that consumed women on farms. The men in her life held city jobs that required skill and education. She came from a forward-looking middle-class family that invested its future in the New South and did not engage in agriculture. She originally became involved in Confederate remembrance activities because of another family member’s (either a father’s or brother’s) involvement in the UCV or (a mother’s or sister’s) participation in the UDC. Most important, she was educated and, finding herself with extra time and energy, believed she could make a difference in her community through her club work.

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<sup>12</sup> H. E. Gulley, “Women and the Lost Cause: Preserving a Confederate Identity in the American Deep South,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 19 (Summer 1993): 131; Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865-1913* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 197; Emily W. Countess, “History of the Bell County Chapter #101—UDC, 1896-1982,” p. 6, Belton Public Library, Belton, Texas.

One Marshall Daughter, Laura Elgin, was a model of UDC activity. Though she deviated only slightly from the “typical” Daughter, her life illustrates the difference between the women who were social members of the UDC and those who sought leadership positions. Elgin first became involved in the Confederate remembrance celebration because of her husband, Thomas Elgin, who had been an active member and officer in Marshall’s local UCV camp for many years. She attended veterans' functions with her husband and helped the camp in a multitude of ways, from assisting needy families to serving tea and cookies at monthly meetings. First learning of the Daughters at a UCV meeting, Elgin gathered her own daughters, neighbors, and friends and formed the city’s chapter in 1900. She was elected its first president and remained a powerful force in the club until her death in 1929.<sup>13</sup>

Born in 1846, Elgin was fifty-four years old when she became a Daughter. She applied for membership under her husband’s service, to whom she had been married for thirty-two years. Thomas was a successful cotton broker in the county and made a comfortable living for his family, a living that allowed Elgin to have several servants who performed the bulk of the house and yard work for the couple. Elgin’s six living children were grown, and by 1900, the year the Marshall chapter organized, Elgin found herself with a surplus of time and energy.<sup>14</sup>

The UDC became Elgin’s passion, and she devoted much of her remaining life to the organization. As president, she led the local chapter with an iron fist. Monthly minutes reveal the power she wielded over other members. She finalized all decisions,

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<sup>13</sup> “Socio-economic profile of Marshall’s UDC members;” vertical file—Confederate monument, Harrison County Historical Museum.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

despite some dissent. Her strength was due at least in part to her personality—she harbored an almost religious conviction that her decisions were always right.<sup>15</sup>

Three years after organizing, Elgin decided that Marshall needed a Confederate monument. She led the chapter in fundraising and choosing a design. Three years later in 1906, the city's citizens credited her with being the driving force behind its newly erected \$2,500 monument. Arranging an unveiling ceremony that included speeches, a parade, and musical numbers, Elgin served as the principal speaker, an honor that pleased her, and she relished the attention.<sup>16</sup>

Elgin's hard work and devotion may have caught the eye of Daughters in other cities, but more than likely it was her ability to promote herself that made her a nominee for a state UDC position. In 1907, the year after she had completed the erection of Marshall's monument and her speech was published in the state's major newspapers, Elgin was voted second vice-president of the Texas Daughters. Such an election was not a coincidence. Like her, many of the women who sought state-level officer positions found that they could elevate themselves in the organization by crafting a careful campaign, a campaign that was often kicked off by making a well-publicized contribution, such as a monument, to the Confederate remembrance celebration. Elgin may have had no other motive in erecting a monument in her city than to honor veterans, but her subsequent quick ascent illustrates how the two were linked for many women.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Vertical file—Confederate monument, Harrison County Historical Museum.

<sup>17</sup> "Profile of Texas's UDC Officers," compiled by and in the author's possession. Information regarding Texas's UDC officers was found in a variety of sources including census records, blue books, city directories, county histories, biographical compilations, newspaper obituaries, and UDC organizational records. The data collected on individual women was not consistent, however, and a full quarter of the officers were not traceable because of changes to their surnames or because they were listed in UDC

Personal ambition separated women like Elgin from those who were primarily social members of the UDC. Most women who became state officers dominated the leadership positions in their local chapters. Like Elgin, they almost single-handedly ran their city's clubs. Long-term local leadership was typical of Texas's UDC officers, and women who had not shown a record of leadership at the chapter level filled few state positions. Texas UDC leaders tended to have aggressive personalities, and many considered the chapters to be their personal organizations and fought to maintain control. Arguments often broke out if members contested an election or ran for an office against the dominant leader. For example, the infighting became bitter in Fort Worth's Julia Jackson Chapter in 1899 when its president attempted to create life offices. News of the dispute reached the national organization, which voted that "such a thing was unconstitutional." Two members of the Julia Jackson Chapter resigned over the incident, and the secretary, who was angry at losing her position, recorded in detail the exchange of words between members. The new secretary was instructed by the recently elected president to "rewrite the minutes and delete all personal remarks."<sup>18</sup>

The Fort Worth chapter was not the only club to encounter problems because of a long-term leader. Mollie Macgill Rosenberg held virtual control of Galveston's UDC chapter for years, and although it was not a "life office," no one dared contest her in elections. Rosenberg was the wealthy widow of merchant, banker, and philanthropist Henry Rosenberg. Born in 1839, she was slightly older than the "typical" UDC member

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records only under their husband's given initials, but the data were sufficient to indicate certain patterns of women's lives and involvement in the Texas UDC.

<sup>18</sup> Dora Davenport Jones, *The History of the Julia Jackson Chapter #141, United Daughters of the Confederacy, Fort Worth, Texas, 1897-1976* (Fort Worth: Kwik-Kopy Printing Center, 1976), 20.

and far wealthier. She had no children, and because the family retained several servants, she had ample time to devote to the UDC at the local, state, and national levels.<sup>19</sup>

Rosenberg became known as the “patron saint” of the Texas UDC because of her substantial financial contributions. She was equally generous to her local chapter. She built and furnished a large hall for the Galveston chapter—a rare luxury for the Daughters. Most clubs held their meetings in churches, courthouses, or in each other’s homes. But Rosenberg’s philanthropy came at a price. She attempted to control every facet of her local chapter, no matter how small the detail. For example, she would not allow fellow members to take the cups and saucers she had purchased for the Memorial Hall to veterans’ gatherings. The Daughters had little choice but to purchase a second set, a set they did not need permission to use, for entertaining the city’s old soldiers.<sup>20</sup>

Even when Rosenberg became too ill to attend meetings, she still tried to maintain control. Prior to her death in 1917, the chapter’s secretary sent multiple letters to Rosenberg’s niece, who was taking care of her, requesting the old minute books. Finally the secretary herself asked Rosenberg, who at first denied having the books, but “afterwards found one and brought it to the Hall, but took it off again.” Further, the secretary pleaded that the keys to the cabinets in the hall be returned, “as we have to use some things in them.”<sup>21</sup>

The minute books were returned to the chapter but only after Rosenberg’s death—a small consolation since the use of their beloved Memorial Hall ended at the same time.

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<sup>19</sup> Vertical file—Mollie Macgill Rosenberg, Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Texas.

<sup>20</sup> Newspaper clipping “Macgill Memorial Hall,” in Cornelia Branch Stone Scrapbook, Rosenberg Library; Veuve Jefferson Davis Chapter Scrapbook, 1917, pp. 124, Rosenberg Library.

<sup>21</sup> Anna Tucker to “Miss Nellie Macgill,” no date, Miss Anna Tucker Papers, box 3, file 76, Rosenberg Library.

The Veuve Jefferson Davis Chapter attempted to buy the building that Rosenberg had built but could not afford it because the family wanted a “northern market price.” Within months the chapter was meeting at the First United Methodist Church.<sup>22</sup>

Rosenberg’s style and length of leadership at the local level was not unusual. And it was women like Mollie Rosenberg and Laura Elgin who became officers at the state level. Hundreds of members who had made careers out of their UDC work campaigned to become state officeholders, but few were chosen. A leadership position at the state level was the pinnacle of a member’s club career, and organizational records testify to the heated contests that erupted year after year. The 1912 officer elections represented a particularly bitter struggle, and local newspapers headlined their account of the convention, writing, “UDCs drift into skirmish for president—strong undercurrent of division politics marks yesterday’s session.”<sup>23</sup>

The women who sought officer positions at the state level promoted themselves much like any other politician seeking office. The competition was taken seriously, and candidates organized family and friends into campaign machines. Hundreds of hand-written letters and pre-printed cards were sent out to chapter presidents and influential members asking for support each year as the convention neared. The recommendation of a previous well-liked officer might make all the difference, and these women were under

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<sup>22</sup> Veuve Jefferson Davis Chapter Scrapbook, 1919-1929, p. 93, Rosenberg Library.

<sup>23</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Tyler: Sword and Shield Publishing Co., 1899), 34.

intense pressure to choose sides. Some simply handpicked successors and did all they could to influence election outcomes.<sup>24</sup>

Some years the elections were more bitter than others. Mollie Rosenberg had easily won positions, at both the state and national levels, but when age and health forced her to curb her activities, she was surprised that her chosen successor was defeated. She claimed to be shocked by the actions of Adelia A. Dunovant, who became state treasurer in 1898, and her treatment of the other candidate. Rosenberg said that Dunovant had tried to “walk over her [Rosenberg’s choice] with both feet” and “threatened to tear her to pieces in her own home. . . .” It is unlikely that Dunovant actually made such a threat, but Rosenberg’s words reveal how seriously the Daughters took these elections. Officer positions indicated prestige and recognition in the organization and were, for many women, comparable to a raise or promotion that a man might seek in his profession.<sup>25</sup>

Rumors of scandal surrounded the 1923 officer elections. Margaret L. Watson, also from Galveston, held state officer positions from 1906 to 1908 and remained well respected in the organization. She received a letter from another member asking if she knew anything about the elections that year. This woman claimed that her local chapter had not received “letters or any circulars from headquarters” regarding the upcoming contest. She blamed this on two prominent members, Katie Currie Muse and Decca

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<sup>24</sup> File—“letters and cards,” Sallie Beretta Ward papers, Daughters of the Republic of Texas Library, San Antonio, Texas.

<sup>25</sup> Mollie M. Rosenberg to Ida Austin, 24 August 1901, Veuve Jefferson Davis Chapter Records, Rosenberg Library.



Lamar West, who had “schemed to get into office so as to bleed the chapters of the state for money—got it and quit!”<sup>26</sup>

Another letter (from Houston UDC member Mrs. C. S. Hutchins to Sallie Ward Beretta, a prominent socialite in San Antonio) confirms that the 1923 elections were hotly contested. Hutchins argued that all clubwomen should be fair and adhere to the rules and regulations in the bylaws and constitution, but apparently there were officers who disagreed with her. She claimed to have read a letter that described a “midnight meeting” in a room in Houston’s Rice Hotel, “where a few members planned the entire state ticket. . . .” She wanted Beretta to back her when she demanded an explanation at the next state convention.<sup>27</sup>

It is difficult to determine whether Muse and West conspired to become officers in 1923 for their own gain, but such a perception was not unusual in Texas’s UDC elections. Sallie Ward Beretta, who held five officer positions over a ten-year period, had her own rival—one who prevented her from reaching her ultimate desire, state president. She contacted several past officers and complained about the infighting among members over positions, especially those who seemed to want appointments to further their own careers. As director of the Texas portion of the Jefferson Davis Highway marker project in 1945, she complained bitterly about her rival, Mrs. W. G. Robertson from Rosebud, stating that the woman wanted to lead the project in order to “commercialize it for her

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<sup>26</sup> Margaret L. Watson to “My Dear Cecile,” 7 June, 1923, Labadie Tucker Family Papers, box 3, file 28, Rosenberg Library.

<sup>27</sup> Mrs. C. S. Hutchins to “Dear Mrs. Beretta,” 11 April 1923, Sallie Ward Beretta Papers, Daughters of the Republic of Texas Library, San Antonio, Texas.

own purposes.” Beretta argued that the other woman worked “unceasingly in her own behalf, and couldn’t hesitate to undermine anything or anybody to gain her point.”<sup>28</sup>

Historians who have documented this type of competition for leadership roles in other clubs claim women’s limited ability to find meaningful work in the professions or business made officer positions in voluntary organizations extremely important. This was true for many women in the Texas UDC. Some women probably did seek office primarily for the glory and recognition it brought, but others became leaders because that was a natural evolution for their personalities. Their drive and interests separated them from other women. Had they been born men, they undoubtedly would have succeeded in their chosen professions.<sup>29</sup>

Many of these women viewed their leadership roles as avenues for learning and developing skills not often associated with most women’s daily lives. Constitution-making and parliamentary procedure excited some leaders, who made their reputations on their ability to grasp and govern in a legalistic manner. Cornelia Branch Stone was one of these women. As a member of Galveston’s Veuve Jefferson Davis Chapter, she was often in the shadow at the local level of the more outspoken Mollie Rosenberg. Yet Stone’s ability to speak in front of large crowds and her command of parliamentary procedure facilitated her ascent to the presidency at both the state and national levels. Stone, fifty-seven when she was first elected president of the Texas UDC in 1897, was hailed as the “lawyer of the convention” and the most able “woman of the division.” A

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<sup>28</sup> Sallie Ward Beretta to “Dear Mrs. Boyd,” 26 October 1945, Sallie Ward Beretta Papers, Daughters of the Republic of Texas Library; Sallie Ward Beretta to “Dearest Miss Daffan,” 25 May 1946, Sallie Ward Beretta Papers, Daughters of the Republic of Texas Library.

<sup>29</sup> Anne Firor Scott, *Natural Allies: Women’s Association in American History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 180.

newspaper clipping from 1903 claimed that she had a “full and solid comprehension of fundamental law” and the “brain of a legal colossus . . . enshrined in the dainty head of a most womanly woman.”<sup>30</sup>

Stone could be ruthless and aggressive in her pursuit of officer positions. Having served two years as the president of the Texas division, she sought the office of president-general of the national division in 1906. Ida Austin, also a member of the Galveston chapter, was chosen state delegate that year to the national convention and carried with her several proxy votes from the Texas delegation which had been pledged to a specific candidate for president-general. Stone demanded that Austin hand over the votes—she wanted the Texas delegation to vote for her unanimously. When Austin refused, Stone withdrew her name from nomination. Though Stone won the president-general election in 1907, she never forgave Austin for her “principles” and circulated a defamatory letter that criticized Austin’s work in the Galveston chapter and as the state president in 1905.<sup>31</sup>

Texas’s officers varied greatly in style of leadership, but they shared much in common. For example, they were strong and determined women who held deep convictions and believed that they could realize their goals through club work. In addition, they sought a larger and greater meaning to their lives than could be found in simply taking care of their homes or families.

Who were the officers of the Texas division? Between 1896 and 1966, 276 women filled state positions, including president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer,

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<sup>30</sup> “Cornelia Branch Stone President,” newspaper clipping, Cornelia Branch Stone Scrapbook, Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Texas; “Some Notabilities,” newspaper clipping, Stone Scrapbook, Rosenberg Library.

<sup>31</sup> Minutes, Vieve Jefferson Davis Chapter, January 5, 1906, February 2, 1906, Rosenberg Library.

historian, custodian, registrar, recorder of crosses, chaplain, and poet laureate. The majority, 157 women (57 percent), served between one and four years. Far fewer Daughters maintained state officer positions over a long period of time: thirty-nine women (14 percent) were chosen as leaders for five to ten one-year terms, and only eleven (4 percent) wielded power more than ten times. The majority held positions in consecutive years, although they were not always re-elected to fill the same office. One election pattern emerges clearly: either a Daughter made her reputation in one position (usually as historian, recorder of crosses, or poet laureate) and was re-elected for multiple consecutive years, or she systematically climbed the officer hierarchy. She might first be elected secretary, then the following year be elevated to vice-president, and then, if her campaign was successful, reach the ultimate office, president. But most of these women remained in power for relatively few years. Only twenty-two women held officer positions for a cumulative period of more than one decade. From there the number grows even smaller; only six Daughters maintained their influence more than two decades, and two women held power for more than thirty years: Katie Daffan and Willie Word Kelly.<sup>32</sup>

Willie Kelly was a model of club activity. Born in Mississippi in 1869, Kelly moved to El Paso in 1892 and worked as a schoolteacher for several years prior to her marriage to the local druggist, Charles Kelly. The couple prospered, lived in the most fashionable area of town, and made many friends. Kelly became prominent in El Paso's

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<sup>32</sup> "Profile of Texas's UDC officers."

society, and her husband's terms as mayor of the city between 1910 and 1915 guaranteed that she was a highly visible member of the community.<sup>33</sup>

Kelly belonged to several women's organizations in El Paso, including the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Sunset Heights Garden Club, and held officer positions in the majority of the clubs in which she belonged. Active in the local UDC chapter for several years, Kelly increased her clubwork in the 1920s after her children left home. No longer satisfied to lead only at the local level, she campaigned for and won her first state election in 1922. Though she won re-election the following year, she did not seek another position until 1939 because her husband became ill. After his death, Kelly devoted the majority of her time to the UDC and held positions continually from 1939 to 1945, including the presidency, and then again in 1959.<sup>34</sup>

Kelly's career—as a model of UDC leadership—offered many points of comparison. Her age, marital status, and family situation were similar to those for the majority of Texas's UDC leaders. She was educated and had worked for her living but after marriage gave up teaching and raised a family. With her children grown, she sought meaningful activities to fill her time and believed that clubwork could both satisfy her personal needs and provide her with a means to contribute to society. Her popularity as a UDC officer spanned a longer period than most, but her tenure was representative of the nature of officeholding in women's organizations. Family emergencies and other

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<sup>33</sup> Lea Vail, "Courting Mother Earth: A Brief History of the Sunset Heights Garden Club," pp. 72-72, University of Texas at El Paso Library—Special Collections, University of El Paso, El Paso, Texas; Louis H. Hubbard, "A Boy's Impression of El Paso in the 1890s," *Password* 11 (Summer 1967): 87-88; Frank W. Johnson, *A History of Texas and Texans* (n. p.: American Historical Society, 1914), 1374; citizens vertical file—C. E. Kelly, Border Heritage Center, El Paso Public Library, El Paso, Texas .

<sup>34</sup> Vail, "Courting Mother Earth: A Brief History of the Sunset Heights Garden Club," pp. 72-72; Hubbard, "A Boy's Impression of El Paso in the 1890s," 87-88; Johnson, *A History of Texas and Texans*, 1374; "Profile of Texas's UDC Officers."

unexpected events often broke a string of continuous office holding, but despite these turns, she, like most of Texas's UDC leaders, persevered with her work.

A sense of meaningful work drove Texas's UDC officers, who were on average middle-aged but slightly older than the typical member (the officers' ages averaged 47 compared to 43 for Marshall's members). Of the 132 officers whose birth dates could be determined, most ranged between their late thirties and their early fifties: about one-third (48 women or 36 percent) were over fifty, fourteen (11 percent) were in their forties, and eighteen (14 percent) were in their thirties when they first became officers. Texas Daughters elected women in their sixties more than three times as often as they did members in their twenties; twenty-two women (17 percent) first held positions when they were over sixty, but only six (5 percent) were similarly honored in their twenties.<sup>35</sup>

The average age of the women indicates that they were in a position to dedicate themselves to club work, and other aspects of their lives confirm this observation. Most of Texas's officers were married: 235 of 276 women (85 percent). Of the remaining women, twenty were single (7 percent), fourteen were widowed (5 percent), and two were divorced. Married officers overwhelmingly chose husbands who worked in the professions. Of the 136 husbands whose occupations could be determined, half were lawyers, doctors, dentists, or bankers. Another thirty-six (26 percent) were primarily public servants—mayors, sheriffs, and judges. The remainder worked in commercial enterprises or for railroads. Only four officers married men who were principally farmers.

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<sup>35</sup> "Profile of Texas's UDC Officers" (unless otherwise indicated, all measurements and figures on Texas UDC officers are based on this profile).

Approximately 43 percent of the officers considered themselves working women—a far greater percentage than among rank-and-file members. The majority, 64 of the 148 women (43 percent) whose occupations could be determined, described themselves as writers, poets, or journalists. Another forty-four women (26 percent) were teachers, librarians, secretaries, and owners of boarding houses. Two women worked in the professions; one was a lawyer and another the chairman of a bank. The remaining forty women (27 percent) considered themselves primarily housewives.

The officers were split about equally between those who had many children and those who had none. Of 108 officers, thirty-eight (35 percent) had three or more children, but twenty-eight (26 percent) were childless. An additional twenty-six women (24 percent) had only one child, and sixteen (15 percent) had two. Far fewer officers had children than did the average member, but those who were mothers did not generally seek leadership positions until their children were grown. For example, Varuna Lawrence had eight children but was not elected poet laureate of the Texas UDC until her children had left home. Women like Lawrence, who chose to have children but also wanted to take on a large amount of responsibility in a voluntary organization, generally waited to do so until their offspring were older and needed less attention and care.

It was not possible to obtain a statistically reliable sample of these women's educational backgrounds, but of the fifty-eight women whose schooling could be determined, forty-six (79 percent) claimed to have studied at a college or university (usually literature or music), and another twelve (21 percent) said that they had spent time at a finishing school. Impressionistic evidence suggests that many of the officers were deeply committed to their educations. Their interest in parliamentary procedure, the

sheer number of study and culture groups they belonged to, and their ability to manage a large organization indicate that these women were better educated than the average female at the time.<sup>36</sup>

Daughters of many religious affiliations (virtually all Christian) became state officers. Of the 123 women whose religion could be determined, thirty-six (30 percent) were Methodist, twenty-seven (22 percent) were Episcopal, twenty-four (19 percent) were Presbyterian, twelve (10 percent) were Baptist, twelve (10 percent) were Catholic, and twelve (10 percent) belonged to the Christian church.

These women were active club members, and not just with the UDC. All 108 women whose club affiliations could be determined belonged to at least one other organization, and many belonged to more than ten. These other groups included hereditary associations like the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Colonial Dames, literary clubs, music groups, writers' circles, free-library committees, mothers' congresses, and auxiliaries to male organizations, but these are only a few examples of the hundreds of women's groups that existed in Texas from the 1890s well into the 1950s.

Two-thirds of Texas UDC officers, 72 of 108 women (67 percent), belonged to two or more clubs and at least 36 (33 percent) others joined more than ten women's associations. Fleecie Purnell of Austin, for example, was active in her local UDC chapter

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<sup>36</sup> Few women nationwide finished high school in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (13,000 in 1880, 57,000 in 1900, and 93,000 in 1910), and even fewer earned college degrees (2,682 in 1890, 5,237 in 1900, and 16,642 in 1920). U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Bicentennial Edition: Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*, Part 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1975), 379, 386. For an analysis of educational achievements of the Daughters of the American Revolution, see Francesca Constance Morgan, "'Home and Country': Women, Nation, and the Daughters of the American Revolution, 1890-1939" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, New York, 1998), 552-53.



for several years and served as the state registrar from 1954 to 1956. At the same time, she belonged to at least fifteen other women's groups, including the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Daughters of American Colonists, the Colonial Dames, the Daughters of 1812, the Huguenots of Texas, the Minerva Study Club, the National Society of Grandmothers, the Austin Heritage Society, the Travis County Council of Women, and the Parliament Club. Purnell not only belonged to these clubs; like most of Texas's UDC officers, she was a leader in the other organizations as well. Two-thirds (72 of 108) of the women were officers in organizations other than the UDC.

The general characteristics of Texas's UDC officers remained consistent through the years. Of the 122 women whose biographical information was known in detail, seventy were first elected officers prior to 1930; sixty-two of the seventy women were married, and over half (forty-four) had at least one child. Similarly, the majority of women who first took office after 1930 were married (forty-eight of fifty-two) and had children (thirty of fifty-two). In both groups roughly a third of the women worked in paying jobs (twenty-four of seventy prior to 1930 and twenty of fifty-two after 1930), and three quarters belonged to other women's organizations (fifty of seventy and thirty-eight of fifty-two). Only the officers' ages at the time they were first elected show a difference. The majority of officers in both groups were in their early fifties (ten of seventy or 14 percent, and twenty-two of fifty-two or 42 percent), but in the early years, women of many ages were likely to be elected while in the latter group, officers were almost exclusively in their fifties and sixties. Of the thirty-four women in the early group whose ages were known when they first became officers, eight were in their twenties, six were in their thirties, eight more were in their forties, ten were in their fifties, one was

sixty-one, and one was seventy-seven. The later group, however, had only six women elected who were under fifty years old. Twenty-two became officers in their fifties, six in their sixties, and one woman first took office when she was seventy-four. Despite the difference in the ages of Texas's UDC officers, the types of women elected remained remarkably consistent.

These women were personally and seriously dedicated to their club careers. Their days were shaped by their club work, which took on the appearance of a regular job. Most were seeking greater fulfillment in their lives, now that their childbearing and rearing days were over, and believed that they could find satisfaction through the work and sisterhood inherent in women's voluntary associations. They threw themselves into their work, and the particular mix of their personalities and lifestyles—mature, married, mainly middle class, and educated—offers a good description of the typical Texas UDC officer.

Katie Daffan, the Daughter most often associated with the organization in Texas, does not fit the “typical” example of a Daughter exactly. She was divorced and in her twenties when she first took office, but she does represent the type of commitment white women across the state placed on their club work. She wrote in detail about the changes she believed women were making in society through their work and the impact this had on white women. She explained in *Woman in History* in 1908 that

To-day women have a sympathetic and intelligent interest in all that is going on about them; developing not one side, but all that is good in their characters. At the present day in every civilized nation there are women of talent and genius in private and public station who are contributing to the moral and intellectual progress of their age. By their industry, thrift, and economy they stimulate and encourage

others, and by finding out and developing the best in their characters, they take the place, which is intended for them.<sup>37</sup>

Daffan believed that women's club work filled a void in their lives and allowed them to make a significant contribution to their communities. It was a chance for women to enlarge their world while simultaneously making it better. The Daughters in Texas embraced this philosophy and joined in an effort to be a force for good. To promote their ideas, the UDC sponsored and helped with the many veterans' reunions that became popular in Texas in the late 1800s. The Daughters viewed the reunions as a perfect venue for sharing their vision of what society could be.

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<sup>37</sup> Katie Daffan, *Woman in History* (New York: Neale Publishing Co., 1908), 344-45.



**Figure 2. Portrait of Kate Daffan. Courtesy of Austin History Center, Austin Public Library, #PICB 02008.**

## CHAPTER THREE

### CELEBRATING THE CONFEDERACY: DECORATION DAY AND CONFEDERATE REUNIONS

Confederate veteran J. E. Gaskew stood before fellow members of the Lee Camp (UCV) and talked to them about the apathy of the younger generation. Gaskew spoke passionately, declaring, “the young people are forgetting the hardships that we underwent at the end of the war that they and their children might enjoy prosperity and plenty. Our homes were burned and our belongings were sent away. We returned ragged and dirty, some with our arms, legs, or eyes gone. Then we went to work and made Texas what she is today. And now we are being forgotten by those who enjoy the fruits of our suffering.” Perhaps Gaskew exaggerated his case against young Texans—a generation gap between the old and young was not unprecedented—but he was not the only individual to complain about Texans’ disinterest in remembering the old war or its soldiers. He requested that Lee Camp propose a resolution that their sons be urged “strongly to attend the meetings of the old reunion.”<sup>1</sup>

Judge John N. Lyle of Waco wrote the *Confederate Veteran* magazine with a similar complaint in 1904. He did not expect the veterans’ camps to “get up a celebration” for Lee and Jackson Day, one of the many days that the United Daughters of the Confederacy created for remembering the Confederacy and its heroes. He claimed

that few citizens attended the celebrations, not even the veterans. “As to the sons,” Lyle wrote, “when you get beyond a parade where they can display themselves, they are not worth killing,” and such events would “perish from the earth,” argued Lyle, if the Daughters of the Confederacy did not “take them under their wings.” For citizens like Judge Lyle and J. E. Gaskew, too few of Texas’s citizens remembered the daring deeds and accomplishments of their fathers. And yet, as late as 1939 the editor of the *Kyle News* seemed genuinely puzzled when he asked his readership why three thousand individuals had “suspended their usual employments” to attend the annual reunion of Camp Ben McCulloch, UCV. The editor said that the tabernacle in Kyle, thirty miles south of Austin, was filled to capacity for three days, “a thousand at a time and not the same each time.” Was Kyle just a better location than Waco or Hereford for such a gathering? Surely its citizens were not more loyal than other Texans to the memory of the Civil War. Perhaps, as Judge Lyle had recommended, Camp Ben McCulloch had left its reunion arrangements to the Daughters of the Confederacy.<sup>2</sup>

The Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy was certainly up to the challenge of organizing such celebrations on behalf of the veterans. In addition to the many veterans’ reunions held throughout the state, the Daughters helped to organize, sponsor, and host other “sacred” days: a Confederate Memorial Day (also called Decoration Day), a Texas Heroes’ Day, a Lee and Jackson Day, birthday celebrations for Jefferson Davis and Judge John H. Reagan (Postmaster General of the Confederacy and a

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<sup>1</sup> “Sons urged to attend reunion,” newspaper clipping in Woodburn Chapter UDC Scrapbook, Hereford, Texas, United Daughters of the Confederacy Papers, Division Records, 1863-1965, Southwest Collection, Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Texas.

<sup>2</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 12 (March 1904): 112; *Kyle News*, 4 August 1939 in vertical file, UCV Collection, 1901-1939, Texas State Library and Archives, Austin, Texas.

Texan), and a memorial day for General John B. Hood. The UDC intended that these be days of remembrance and celebration of the Confederacy and of the morals and values they attached to the men and women of the Civil War generation. Some Texans held the days sacred, as the Daughters intended. Kyle's newspaper editor assumed that Texans still attended Confederate reunions in 1939 because they wanted to "honor a few worn and battered old men" and not "allow the world to lose sight of the South's noble experiment." All the southern soldier had "ever gotten out of it has been the satisfaction of duty well done, and the hearing of their sons and daughters sing their praise."<sup>3</sup>

Many Texans did still feel emotionally tied to the war. Judge Nelson Phillips addressed an audience in Hillsboro in 1925 and, like a young boy, related the romanticism he associated with the Confederacy. Standing on a dusty, crowded platform on a hot July evening, Phillips transported the large crowd back in time. He said that as a boy, his earliest recollections centered on his "first sight of a tattered, shot-ridden Confederate flag" and the reunions of Parsons's Confederate Brigade. "It thrilled me, the mere boy," claimed Phillips, "It was my first sight of a faded Confederate uniform." In his mind's eye, he related, "I could visualize that long, thin gray line on the fiery edge of battle beneath the streaming folds of the Starry Cross."<sup>4</sup>

Unlike Phillips, most Texans associated little meaning with these Confederate remembrance days and reunions and used them strictly as opportunities for friends and family to gather and socialize. Others understood, as did many members of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, that such gatherings could be used as a means of social

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<sup>3</sup> *Kyle News* 4 August 1939, in vertical file, UCV Collection, Texas State Archives; *Galveston Daily*, 21 January 1906.

<sup>4</sup> *Hillsboro Mirror*, 29 July 1925.

indoctrination. Still other citizens used these days, especially the reunions, as business ventures—opportunities to promote their own interests and the interests of their communities. This chapter explores these days of celebration and the various purposes for which different Texans gathered. Individuals, and some state governments, set aside Decoration Day (also called Memorial Day) as one of the first official Confederate celebratory days, but participation in the activity waned by 1900. Only women, usually members of a local UDC chapter, continued to decorate graves and attend the accompanying ceremonies. National and local veterans’ reunions, on the other hand, remained popular activities through the 1920s, with a few of the county-hosted celebrations still attracting crowds in the early 1940s.

Monotony was a part of everyday life for most nineteenth-century Texans, the regularity of farm life broken only occasionally by leisure pastimes and activities. Fraternal organizations provided a few much anticipated activities—usually community-wide celebrations. A young Civil War refugee from Louisiana, Kate Stone, recorded the Masonic celebration she attended in Tyler during the summer of 1864. She described the procession, barbecue, and speeches and claimed, “all the town and county turned out to see.” That night, she wrote, a party and dance at the city’s hotel captivated the community. Such occasions drew large crowds, especially in smaller towns where entertainment was scarce. A circus, new railroad line, or holiday might prove the biggest event of the year for many Texans.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> John Q. Anderson, ed. *Brokenburn: The Journal of Kate Stone, 1861-1868* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1955), 189; Edwards, “Social and Cultural Activities of Texans,” 11, 58. For a contemporary account of Confederate Decoration Day, see Mrs. William J. Beham, *History of the Confederated Memorial Associations of the South* (Washington, D C: Confederated Southern Memorial Association, 1904), 29.



It was within this atmosphere that remembrance days such as the Confederate Decoration Day arose. The day's existence, also referred to by some as Confederate Memorial Day, is attributed to one ladies' association, which began decorating graves in Columbus, Georgia, as early as April 1866. The knowledge of and popularity of such a designated day spread quickly throughout the South and North. The widow of Union general John A. Logan wrote a letter to the *New York Mail Express*, explaining how in 1868 she had described to her husband, then the national commander of the Grand Army of the Republic veterans' organization, the beautiful way in which southern women decorated soldiers' graves. Mrs. Logan had witnessed a Decoration Day celebration when she traveled through Virginia, and she later attempted to popularize a similar day for Federal soldiers.<sup>6</sup>

Decoration Day was popular with many Texans during Reconstruction. Though always organized and hosted by women, members of Ladies' Memorial Associations and later the UDC, the day of remembrance and celebration attracted a wide audience—civic, church, and commercial organizations joined in the activities. As late as 1902 small communities hosted Decoration Days that included streets decorated with United States and Confederate flags. Assembling at the courthouse and moving in a procession to the cemetery, the Cleburne parade included the Allen Rifles, the town's fire department, veterans and their families, and citizens on foot, horseback, or bicycle. After laying wreaths on soldiers' graves, the crowd gathered at Memorial Park, next to the cemetery, and listened as a choir of young girls sang *Dixie*. The mayor, O. T. Plummer,

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<sup>6</sup> *Confederate Veteran*, "The Confederate Memorial Day," 1 January 1893, 20; Stephen Davis, "Empty Eyes, Marble Hand: The Confederate Monument and the South," *Journal of Popular Culture* 16 (Spring 1982): 3.

delivered an address to the audience and claimed that the Confederates were “the greatest warriors the world ever saw.”<sup>7</sup>

The large crowd gathered in Cleburne in 1902 was unusual, though. By 1900 few Texans participated in Decoration Day activities. Women and a few of the old veterans were the only citizens who still seemed to remember the dead. In 1898 San Antonio attempted a celebration “under discouragement which would have frightened any less resolute beings than true Southern women.” The attendance was “not notable in numbers.” By 1917 Cleburne’s Decoration Day was also poorly attended. “Only a few members (of the local UCV and UDC chapters) met at the cemetery and sat mourning and decorating the graves of the Confederate dead.”<sup>8</sup>

Perhaps it was the day’s emphasis on bereavement that many Texans found unappealing. Despite the parades and decorations, the day was essentially given over to exalting the dead. The UDC intended the activities to serve as an example of “chivalrous manhood.” Through speeches, the Daughters created a myth about the war generation, claiming that these men and women were “the typical representatives of a people who were the soul of honor and whose chief virtue was the abhorrence of dishonor.” Such lofty thoughts eluded most Texans, who were mainly interested in the holiday aspects of the day. As attendance plummeted, many local chapters looked to schoolchildren to make up the difference. The Marshall chapter in East Texas resolved that local schools should be encouraged to dismiss children for the day so that they could be “brought to

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<sup>7</sup> Newspaper Clipping, 5 June 1902, Binder: Social Life—Clubs—Organizations—Recreation, Leyland Museum, Cleburne, Texas.

<sup>8</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 6 (February 1898): 82; Newspaper Clipping, 6 June 1917, Binder: Social Life—Clubs—Organizations—Recreation, Leyland Museum, Cleburne, Texas; Martha E. Kinney, “If

and encouraged in this work.” Farther west, in the Texas panhandle, the UDC chapter in the community of Hereford hosted a bazaar on their Decoration Day to attract a larger crowd and to make money to buy books “for the benefit of our children who are growing up with the wrong idea of the war of 1861.”<sup>9</sup>

In the end such attempts proved futile. The general public stopped attending and participating. Decoration Day lost its celebratory aspects and became, for the few who still attended, purely funerary in nature. The UDC continued to decorate soldiers’ graves (and are still decorating them today), but few other Texans committed themselves, as did Dallas Chapter #6 in 1896, to spending an entire day “weaving wreaths and other designs” to lay on graves.<sup>10</sup>

The annual veterans’ reunions held throughout the state, on the other hand, were among the most important social events of the year. The reunions began and remained festive occasions, especially for smaller towns where “the bright lights were seldom turned on and where throngs of visitors seldom assembled.” The annual reunion held in Hillsboro has been called, “the biggest historical, recreational, and social event in Hill County during the years 1902-1904.” In anticipation of such a prolonged and important assembly, many of Texas’s veterans’ camps purchased and improved land so that reunions could be held annually. Veterans in Limestone County maintained land on the

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Vanquished I am still Victorious’: Religious and Cultural Symbolism in Virginia’s Confederate Memorial Day Celebrations, 1866-1930,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 106 (Summer 1998): 244.

<sup>9</sup> Newspaper Clipping, 1895, Binder: Local Newspaper Clippings, pre-1900, Leyland Museum, Cleburne, Texas; Marshall UDC Chapter Ledger, 45, Harrison County Historic Museum, Marshall, Texas; Report of Mrs. James. W. Sellars of E. L. Woodburn Chapter, Hereford, Texas, 1913 in United Daughters of the Confederacy Papers, Division Records, 1863-1965, Southwest Collection, Texas Tech University. For the decline of participation in the North’s Memorial Day activities, see Nina Silber, *Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 61.

<sup>10</sup> *Dallas Morning News*, 5 May 1896.

Navasota River, and they called it the Confederate Reunion Grounds. It is now a state historical park. Limestone's veterans held reunions there for fifty-seven consecutive years, starting in 1889. During the peak years special trains ran daily from Houston, Dallas, and Fort Worth. As many as 5,000 Texans attended over the three or four days of a reunion—quite an assembly considering the event was held in the heat of late July or early August.<sup>11</sup>

Local Confederate reunions were held in the name of the area's UCV camp but were usually organized by the Daughters of the Confederacy, not the veterans. Despite the UDC's claim that they performed this work simply to "commend them [the soldiers] and the women who supported them," the UDC expected to have wide discretion and authority when planning a reunion. Reunions averaged three or four days in length, and the UDC would often designate one of those days as "Daughters' Day." Veterans did not seem to mind, and in the general spirit, the veterans dedicated other days to other groups. In addition to a "Sons' Day," the veterans often initiated honors such as "Old Settlers' Day," or "Woodmen of the World Day." Some stretched the tradition far enough to include "Prohibition Days" and "Education Days."<sup>12</sup>

Though the veterans enjoyed having the Daughters cook and care for them during the reunion, the old soldiers often grumbled about the UDC's tendency to take charge. During a business meeting at a reunion held in Corsicana in 1905, Joseph B. Polley spoke against sending the flag of the Fourth Texas Infantry Regiment to the Confederate

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<sup>11</sup> Harold B. Simpson, *Hood's Texas Brigade in Reunion and Memory* (Hillsboro: Hill Jr. College Press, 1974), 59, 77; brochure from Confederate Reunion Grounds State Historical Park, Mexia, Texas, in vertical file, Limestone County, Texas, UCV, Texas Heritage Center, Hill County College, Hillsboro, Texas. For a description of the importance of the annual reunion, see William H. White, *The Confederate Veteran* (Tuscaloosa, AL.: Confederate Publishing Co. Inc., 1962), 35.

Museum in Richmond, operated by the National Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. The UDC members present at the meeting became quite perturbed with Polley's opposition to their plan and pleaded with him to let them have and care for the flag. Eventually Polley and the faction he led conceded, saying with a smile and a bow, "Comrades, I surrender to the daughter of Colonel Winkler (Mrs. Kate Morris) and the Daughters of the Confederacy." Not all of the differences between the UDC and the veterans regarding the reunions were so easily resolved. The annual state reunion of the UCV in 1912, held in Cleburne, resolved, "that the reunions hereafter held in the State of Texas be reunions strictly of Confederate Veterans, and that the sons of Veterans and the Daughters of the Confederacy hold their reunions at a different time and place from that of the Confederate reunions."<sup>13</sup>

Most veterans viewed their annual reunions as a time of socializing and reminiscing. They wanted to relive their youth, and as long as their audience was willing to listen, they enjoyed the extended company. A veteran explained this attitude when he wrote, veterans' "reunions are more of a social nature, held for the pleasure of the veterans themselves and those who venerate them and love their society." The Daughters and Sons, however, had different purposes for promoting the veterans' reunions. The Daughters attempted to use the activities as living history lessons to express their own values and morals regarding the issues they believed important. UDC members even attempted to ensure that the veterans maintained the organization's expectations and

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<sup>12</sup> *Austin Daily Statesman*, 27 October 1910; *Confederate Veteran* 11 (November 1903): 521.

<sup>13</sup> Minute Book, Hood's Texas Brigade Association, Corsicana, 1905, Hood's Texas Brigade Association Archives, Texas Heritage Center, Hill County College, Hillsboro, Texas, 181, 187 (hereafter cited as Minute Book); *Minutes of the Twenty-first Annual Meeting and Reunion of the United Confederate*

image by limiting the old soldiers' ability to bring, buy, or drink alcoholic beverages at reunions.<sup>14</sup>

The UDC also wanted to emphasize southern women's actions in the war and its aftermath in speech or pageantry, and while most veterans generously agreed with the importance women played in the war and Reconstruction, they usually did not like to share the audience's adulation. Veterans preferred that the emphasis of the event remain on themselves, a tribute that seemed to pass more quickly once crowds of Texans began to attend the reunions. By attracting such large numbers, the focus of the activities shifted away from celebrating Confederate veterans and onto the carnival-like atmosphere that increasingly accompanied the outings. The veterans' sons, aware of the large attendance, began to see the commercial opportunities possible with the reunions and began using them as a means of advertising their city, county, or state.

The Sons used the reunion held in Dallas in April 1902 for the national United Confederate Veterans organization for exactly this purpose. Though Texas had already hosted a similar gathering of all Confederate veterans from across the nation in Houston in 1895, these general reunions were by 1902 attracting far more people and required much more planning. An announcement in the *Confederate Soldier* magazine in 1902 described the commercialization of the national Confederate reunion. Thousands would come to the reunion, claimed the magazine article, and "it will be the biggest and best advertisement Texas ever had and it behooves Texans to see to it that there are ample

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*Veterans, Division of Texas* (1912) in UDC Box, Archives/Special Collection, Victoria College—University of Houston Library, Victoria, Texas.

<sup>14</sup> Minute Book, Calvert, 1895, Texas Heritage Center, 82. For details of the Daughter's taking over the reunions, see Reunion folders, 1872-1934, Archives Hood's Texas Brigade Association, Texas Heritage Center, Hill County College, Hillsboro, Texas.

funds to put Texas forward in her true and best light by making the Reunion a magnificent success in every way.”<sup>15</sup>

The Veterans’ sons in Dallas did plan the reunion as an “advertisement” for the city and state. An article in the *Confederate Soldier* held that “it was an immense undertaking . . . but Dallas is equal to the emergency. Dallas does not care for little things. Anybody, any place almost, can run a little thing, but it takes a metropolitan people, a metropolitan city such as are the people of Dallas, such as is the city of Dallas, to run a big thing.” And the reunion was big. The city’s sons set up a camp at the Texas State Fair Grounds strictly for the veterans with tents, tables, and provisions enough to feed 10,000 veterans every meal free for two days. Four rows of tables, each 520 feet long, seated 2,400 of the old soldiers at the same time. The city provided 39,500 pounds of bread, 41,000 pounds of meat, 5 ½ tons of “edibles, canned goods, rice, potatoes, and various delicacies” such as “12,960 pounds of canned peaches and 121 barrels of pickles.” Such a feast required 150 waiters. In addition, the city contracted for 1½ tons of coffee accompanied by real cream (priced at \$1.25 per gallon) and 15 soup ovens serving 1,500 gallons of soup. The city dug trenches in which to barbecue the meat, mainly beef, but five buffalo were also slaughtered, after they were placed on exhibit for all to view.<sup>16</sup>

Such a spread was impressive and was reported in the newspaper so that other cities could see how well Dallas provided for the veterans. Although the main feature of the reunion was supposed to be the celebration of Confederate veterans, cities like Dallas hosted these events largely as a means of establishing their reputations as progressive

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<sup>15</sup> Newspaper clipping from *Confederate Soldier* (February 1902) in Christopher Columbus Slaughter Papers, Scrapbook of 1902 Reunion – Dallas, Southwest Collection, Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Texas.

cities. The *Confederate Veteran* magazine reported that the reunion would prove good for the city and state that hosted it because people came not only to reminisce but also to look over the state's resources and opportunities. Dallas officials were aware of this and intended to make good use of the opportunity, as reported in the *Confederate Soldier*: "but this reunion next year is not strictly a local affair. It will bring multiplied thousands of people here to see Texas, to prospect for new homes, to look about them for investments and it will be the means of largely increasing both the population of the State and the investment of money in agriculture and in industrial and commercial enterprises."<sup>17</sup>

Mayor Ben Cabell, brother of Katie Cabell Currie Muse, opened the first session of the reunion with a welcome to the veterans that would have pleased the United Daughters of the Confederacy: "we are grateful for the opportunity to show our children our unchanged and unchangeable devotion to the heroes whose deeds of valor fill the brightest pages of our country's history." But neither Mayor Cabell nor the other men selected to organize the reunion consulted the Daughters or the veterans. Their intentions for the event were clearly at odds with those of the veterans and the UDC. An unsigned article in the newspaper published in Greenville (a city roughly forty-five miles northeast of Dallas), reproduced in the *Dallas Morning News*, expressed the veterans' opinion of the reunion. The writer suggested that the money raised should have been spent honoring the veterans and that the "grand balls and other rollicking festivities should be mere incidents to the entertainment itself." Indeed, "Whatever displays and festivities are

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<sup>16</sup> *Confederate Soldier* 1 (October 1901): 5; *Dallas Morning News* 20 April 1902.

<sup>17</sup> *Confederate Soldier* 1 (October 1901): 6; *Confederate Veteran* 10 (May 1902): 196; Michael V. Hazel, "A Salute to the Past: The Reunion of 1902," *Heritage News* 9 (Spring 1984): 5.



arranged for in the city should be entirely separate from the reunion features of the great occasion.”<sup>18</sup>

Very few Texans—at least Texas’s city leaders—seemed to agree with the editorialist. The *Dallas Morning News* was filled with advertisements from cities around the state promoting themselves to the estimated 144,000 people who attended the reunion. Communities as far away from Dallas as Galveston, Quanah, and Donley County promised that cheap land and homes and varied opportunities abounded, if only the visitor would come for a look. Some city officials took out half-page advertisements to promote the beauty and possibilities of their areas. Such commercialism was not confined to outlying city builders. Dallas’s businesses also viewed the reunion as a chance to profit by offering “reunion specials,” such as discounts on clothes, bedding, curtains, and fancy work. While the men visited, promised the advertisements, the ladies could shop. Sanger Brothers, Barbee and Smith Books, Art Wall Paper Mills, and Burke and Company Clothiers were only a few of the local establishments that hoped to prosper from the reunion. Burke and Company, in the spirit of the occasion, sold pictures of Robert E. Lee and, for those who wanted a distinctive memento, also sold replica Confederate uniforms for \$5.00.<sup>19</sup>

The UDC openly opposed such unabashed profiteering from an event that was meant to be sacred. *Dixieland* magazine, a UDC organ, complained that commercialism took away from the dignity and meaning of these occasions, claiming that “there are too many dishonest people, who are trying to make capital out of the principles of the

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<sup>18</sup> First quotation in Hazel, “A Salute to the Past,” 6; second quotation in newspaper clipping, Christopher Columbus Slaughter Papers, Scrapbook of 1902 Reunion, Dallas, Southwest Collection, Texas Tech University.

Southern people.” Much more to the Daughters’ liking was the appearance of the “mothers of the Confederacy.” Mrs. Jefferson Davis, Mrs. Maggie Davis Hayes, Mrs. Braxton Bragg, Mrs. A. P. Stewart, Miss Lucy Lee Hill, and Mrs. Mildred Lee were all expected to make appearances at the reunion and would, of course, display the appropriate image and attitude of a true “southern lady.”<sup>20</sup>

The United Daughters of the Confederacy believed the attendance of “unreconstructed slaves” to be another important aspect of the reunions. “Uncle” Isom Gamble, an honorary member of Willis Long Camp, UCV, in Marlin, south of Waco in the center of the state, attended the 1902 General Reunion in Dallas and was “thrilled with anticipation of a grand time.” Gamble said, according to the *Dallas Morning News*, that all he needed “to fix him for enjoying the evening of his life is a suit of Confederate gray.” Perhaps one of the Daughters bought him one from Burke and Company because testimonies like Gamble’s appealed to the UDC’s sense of history.<sup>21</sup>

The United Daughters of the Confederacy never intended for veterans’ reunions to be used for profit seeking. The Daughters expected that such events would serve as “living” history lessons for Texans, and the attendance of former slaves only helped to reinforce the “history” about the region that the organization promoted. Though the UDC would not be the only voice in the South advancing the idea of the Old South’s “higher civilization,” it was at times the loudest. When Mildred Lewis Rutherford, Historian General of the National UDC, spoke about how the “servants were very happy in their life upon the old plantation,” her words carried great weight and legitimacy. Had not

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<sup>19</sup> *Dallas Morning News*, 20-23 April 1902.

<sup>20</sup> “Mothers of Confederacy,” *Dixieland* 6 (October 1907): 163; *Dallas Morning News*, 20 April 1902.

former slaves attended the same veterans' reunions as former Confederates? Henry Johnson, an aged African American from Bossier Parish, Louisiana, attended the 1902 Dallas reunion and was billed as a "prosperous farmer with 320 acres of land" who was "highly respected by his white friends and [who] came to the reunion as a Confederate soldier." Bettie Porter, an elderly woman from Bremond, Texas, also attended. The newspaper reported that though her name was Porter, she liked to be called "Covington after her dead master."<sup>22</sup>

These individuals figured prominently in the images the UDC promoted regarding slavery, as did the black man who robbed a Confederate veteran in Sherman in route to the reunion. When the veteran claimed that a "negro drew a pistol and leveled it at my face," he was only reinforcing the dual image of freedmen that the UDC regularly spoke and wrote about when they contrasted blacks who had been raised under slavery with those who had come of age during and after Reconstruction. This type of comparison helped to reinforce racial images that the UDC regarded as fundamentally right.<sup>23</sup>

The appearance of former slaves at Confederate reunions was apparently not uncommon. Freedmen not only attended such major events as the General UCV reunion, but also participated in local reunions. Reverend Nick Blain, the former body servant of George Blain, was the featured speaker at the 1901 Fairfield Confederate reunion. He supposedly "held the audience almost spellbound" as he testified about his faithfulness to

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<sup>21</sup> *Dallas Morning News*, 22 April 1902.

<sup>22</sup> Mildred Lewis Rutherford, "The Civilization of the Old South: What Made It: What Destroyed It: What Has Replaced It." (Address delivered at Municipal Hall, Dallas, Texas, November 1916), Center for American History, Austin, Texas, 7; *Dallas Morning News*, 26 April 1902.

<sup>23</sup> *Dallas Morning News*, 22 April 1902.

his master who had fallen at the battle of Franklin, Tennessee. Blain retold how he had carried guns and knapsacks for members of Company G, 7<sup>th</sup> Texas Infantry, and helped them when they were sick, carried them off battlefields when they were wounded, and tied and dressed their wounds. He said he “deserved to be classed with and called an ex-Confederate Veteran.”<sup>24</sup>

A newspaper clipping summarizing the major attractions at a local UDC/UCV reunion held in Mineral Wells in 1934 reported that “one of General Hood’s Negro Slaves is here.” The paper said that Bill Hood, 101 years old in April 1934, had been the body servant of General John B. Hood and attended the reunion “decorated with gold medals of patriotic honor and is wearing a U.C.V. badge.” He was the “only Confederate negro in the South and is certainly proud of it too,” the newspaper claimed. “Bill credits his good health and long life to the ‘good white folks’ and says they were the ones who kept him alive and not the Lord,” quoted the paper.<sup>25</sup>

It is difficult to know if this is how Bill Hood and Nick Blain felt or if they were simply play-acting to pacify local whites. It is hard to believe that Hood would claim that the “good white folks” were more powerful than “the Lord.” Regardless of their intent, these appearances and speeches reinforced the types of racial stereotyping that the UDC hoped to promote through the “living history” lesson of a Confederate reunion.

If the Daughters insisted that these celebratory days be used as a means of socializing Texans, the Sons continued to view these occasions as commercial ventures. Local reunions were also used, as were the larger statewide or region-wide reunions, to

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<sup>24</sup> P. D. Browne, “The Fairfield Confederate Reunion, 1890-1933,” in vertical file, Red River County, Texas, UCV 1900, Texas Heritage Center, Hill County College, Hillsboro, Texas.

attract visitors and potential citizens and their money. A reunion sponsor in Huntsville in 1895 claimed that “nothing has proved such a powerful agent in advertising the great resources of our county to the world as these annual gatherings, nor have all other factors combined done one half as much in dispelling the illusions held up by ignorant and designing men that Madison County is the abode of evil doers and the city a refuge for violators of the law.”<sup>26</sup>

In northeast Texas, Mt. Pleasant’s City Council and Commercial Club invited southerners to their annual combined UCV and UDC reunion in 1909 with the promise that “you will find no prettier women on Texas soil.” And if that was not enough of an enticement, then the “big watermelons raised in this county will tempt your appetite.” “We are not here to discuss politics,” promised Mt. Pleasant’s leading citizens, “but to mingle as one common people.”<sup>27</sup>

The mingling referred to at Mt. Pleasant was typical behavior at Texas’s Confederate reunions. W. L. Sanford addressed veterans at a reunion in Sherman in 1903 and said, “it is both refreshing and hopeful to witness a scene like this, when for a season the people of all classes and ages and sexes, of every religious creed and political faith, putting behind them their various differences, have gathered in harmonious assemblage to honor a great cause, to recall the events of a glorious past. . . .” Not all Texans agreed with Sanford’s opinion—a Huntsville newspaper article claimed that there were some men, “good citizens of our county who oppose these reunions. Why we do not know. No

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<sup>25</sup> Newspaper Clipping (1934) in vertical file, UDC, Stephen Wilkenson Chapter, Records, Southwest Collection, Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Texas.

<sup>26</sup> Newspaper Clipping, 8 August 1895, in vertical file: The Reunion, CSA Madison County, Texas, Huntsville Public Library, Huntsville, Texas.

<sup>27</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 17 (September 1909): 441.

harm, but much good, comes of them, and nothing of a political nature is countenanced on these occasions.”<sup>28</sup>

It is true that very little purely political activity occurred at these reunions, but the indoctrination that the United Daughters of the Confederacy promoted at these events surely had political intentions. By mingling Texans of different races, classes, and sexes together under the auspices of one unifying, symbolic history, the UDC attempted to ensure that future generations of Texans understood their place in society and were exposed to the good values of chivalry and honor that UDC members expected Texans of all creeds to follow.

If the veterans’ sons were not living up to these expectations, then the Daughters would have to lead the way in showing Texas’s citizens how truly civilized their past had been and how the future held similar promise if only it was based on the values the UDC promoted. A speech delivered by Charles B. Emanuel at a reunion in Rusk in 1901 praised the Daughters for their efforts. He explained to the crowd that southerners as a conquered people had become the subjects of “misrepresentation . . . and their descendents are being taught to receive and hold opinions hostile and derogatory to their fathers.” These opinions were the northern values that seemed to penetrate the South after the war, and only the Daughters had saved the region from doom. “Veterans, I ask you,” said Emanuel,

who hath preserved and perpetuated the sentiments, memories and traditions which enrich and glorify the past with your deeds, your sufferings and your sacrifices and has linked them all into an immortality of glory? I answer that it was and is the woman of the South, the untitled heroines of the Confederacy, that through all

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<sup>28</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 11 (September 1903): 400; newspaper clipping, 8 August 1895, in vertical file: “The Reunion,” CSA Madison County, Texas, Huntsville Public Library, Huntsville, Texas.

these changing years has kept the fire of the true faith alight on the altar of the hearts of the present generation.”<sup>29</sup>

Try as they might to perpetuate “sentiments” and “traditions,” the UDC faced a losing battle. Crowds did not gather at these Confederate reunions to keep alive the flame of the Confederacy or to embrace the soldiers as living history lessons. They came primarily to enjoy and partake in the social activities that accompanied the events. Pretty girls and ripe watermelons proved small attractions as each year cities competed to host the grandest reunions. City leaders and business owners decorated town squares and downtown districts with flags and bunting. Floresville dismissed school for the opening day of their 1915 reunion so that children, numbering more than 500, could parade through the streets waving Confederate battle flags and singing Dixie.<sup>30</sup>

The parks and land purchased for the reunions were elaborately decorated with electrical lights strung throughout the trees. UCV and UDC organizations that purchased large tracts of land for their local reunions, like the veterans of Hill County Camp #166, built permanent structures to make their parks more attractive. The grounds outside Hillsboro sported cottages and bungalows, pavilions, a gazebo over a spring, and a baseball field 400-foot square with seats for 1,000 people and enclosed by an eight-foot fence. The board of directors for the reunion grounds discussed the possibility of raising \$20,000 to landscape the area with flowers and trees, pave walkways and driveways, cement the bottom of the pond, build a permanent grandstand, and create drinking

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<sup>29</sup> *Confederate Soldier* 1 (October 1901): 13-14.

<sup>30</sup> *Houston Chronicle*, 14 October 1915.

fountains. While few of these proposals materialized, the effort to attract crowds continued.<sup>31</sup>

In addition to the comforts provided on the actual grounds, reunion organizers tried to ensure that “distinguished speakers from abroad”—usually governors, senators, congressman, judges, or future political officeholders—came to speak and campaign. The crowds were always larger if there was a promise of meeting and hearing a prominent citizen.<sup>32</sup>

Eventually even these enticements proved too meager, especially as the aging veterans dwindled in numbers. Confederate reunion organizers began to combine their reunions with the activities and events of other organizations, usually those of the Old Settlers’ or Pioneer Associations, though occasionally with Masonic lodges. By 1908 Granbury was holding an “Old Settlers’ and Soldiers’ Reunion” for Hood County instead of a “Confederate Reunion.” Fairfield’s W. L. Moody Camp #87 reunion, which formerly drew record crowds of 3,000 to 4,000 Texans, had become the Freestone County Fair and Homecoming by 1930.<sup>33</sup>

These consolidations were common throughout the state after World War I, probably because Texans did not want the events to die along with the old soldiers. It was not the emphasis on the veterans or the Confederacy that Texas’s citizens cared about. Nor did most of them ever truly understand the Daughters’ attempts to make the reunions living history lessons. Texans attended Confederate reunions in such large numbers because they enjoyed the social aspects. In addition to pretty girls, ripe

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<sup>31</sup> Harold B. Simpson, *Hill County (Texas) Trilogy* (Hillsboro: Hill College Press, 1986), 72.

<sup>32</sup> *Granbury News*, 13 July 1908.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*; Browne, “The Fairfield Confederate Reunions.”



watermelons, and prominent politicians, Texans enjoyed music, day and night, from many types of bands, and they could see plays produced by local and professional organizations.<sup>34</sup>

Midways offered concessions for sale like “cotton floss, ice cream, confections, fruit and watermelons, and peanuts and popcorn.” Flying Jennies (merry-go-rounds), boat rides, and semi-professional baseball games provided entertainment, as did activities like balloon ascensions and parachute jumping. Free balloon ascensions proved the most popular event at the 1917 Hillsboro reunion. A swarm of children, said Ellis Baily of Itasca, “would follow the balloon cross-country on the ground until it descended a mile or so away.”<sup>35</sup>

For Texas’s rural citizens, many of whom thought it was a thrill to go into town once a week, such activities proved the highlight of their year. Hillsboro attracted crowds in 1909 by having a “fire slide” show. The daredevil “Vacquero” was saturated with gasoline and ignited, and then he slid down a 150-foot cable every night at 10:30. Not to be outdone, Calvert hired a stunt pilot to perform in a Curtis biplane at 9:00 a.m. and 5:00 p.m. on the opening day of their reunion in 1912. Hillsboro’s 1917 reunion had midway shows that included “Jack Wall’s Wild West and Bucking Bronco Show,” “Jimmie O’Dare’s Champion Athletic Exhibitions,” “Mysteria, the Show Beautiful and Mystifying,” “Emmett Moss’ Dandy Dixie Colored Minstrels,” and “The Famous Texas Fat Boy” (611 pounds).<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Browne, “The Fairfield Confederate Reunions.”

<sup>35</sup> Browne, “The Fairfield Confederate Reunions”; *Confederate Veteran* 19 (December 1911): 581.

<sup>36</sup> Simpson, *Hill County Trilogy*, 75; *Calvert Picayune* 27 June 1912, 4 July 1912.

Margaret E. Frazier of Hillsboro recalled these reunions in 1975 and said that the “annual reunion was the social event of the year.” Mrs. M. Byrd Bailey Barnes of Itasca remembered the reunion grounds as a “place where friends met friends” with freezers of homemade ice cream, electric lights were strung through trees, politicians campaigned for votes, women traded recipes and showed off sewing skills, and children swam and waded in a creek and chased lightning bugs into the night. An article in Atlanta, Texas’s *Citizens Journal* in 1979 referred to the old Confederate reunions as “fun” because of the bands and drills (by men and girls), the plentiful food, cold drinks, cigars and tobacco, fiddles and guitars, and speeches.<sup>37</sup>

These reminiscences illustrate how little importance Texans placed on the Confederate aspects of the veterans’ reunions. Though most who attended were probably aware of the soldiers and their historical importance, most Texans attended Confederate reunions strictly for the social activities, especially since similar community sponsored events—July 4<sup>th</sup>, San Jacinto Day, and even ground breakings for railroads—were accompanied by similar crowds who were entertained with similar amusements.

Citizens celebrated the groundbreaking for the first railroad line through Waxahachie in 1875 with a grand barbecue. A cornet band played music while an estimated 4,000 people mingled, ate, and socialized. Throckmorton’s citizens celebrated the beginning of regular train service to their community with a rodeo, buffalo hunt,

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<sup>37</sup> Simpson, *Hill County Trilogy*, 80-81; *Atlanta Citizens Journal*, 29 March 1979.

Indian dance, wolf hunt, band concerts, and patriotic speeches. Town leaders estimated that 15,000 Texans participated in the celebration.<sup>38</sup>

San Antonio celebrated Texas history in 1900 with San Jacinto Day. Forty thousand Texans lined the streets as the city hosted carnival festivities and a parade. More than 5,000 children, wearing red, white, and blue to represent a living Texas flag, brought up the rear of the parade. That same day the cities of Victoria, Cameron, Bryan, and Laredo closed their public buildings and hosted similar, if smaller, celebrations. Houston's San Jacinto Day in 1897 included the usual southern association and participants from the Grand Army of the Republic veterans' organization and its auxiliary, the Woman's Relief Corps.<sup>39</sup>

Not wanting to be left out, some Spanish War Veterans hosted their own reunions. One such reunion in Longview was held at the fairgrounds and was billed a "Monster Celebration." Activities included track and field contests, baseball, dancing, picnicking, swimming, golf, and for the less athletically inclined, bridge playing. Patriotic addresses entertained the people and a large barbecue fed them.<sup>40</sup>

Communities seemed willing to turn any special event or occurrence into a celebration. Cisco dedicated a dam and swimming pool by having a band concert, boat races, and a "bathing girl revue." Governor Dan Moody attended the celebration, and he congratulated the city for "bringing the pleasures of the seashore to West Texas."<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Newspaper Clipping *Waxahachie Daily Light*, 20 September 1933, in vertical file: Waxahachie History, folder 3, N. P. Sims Library, Waxahachie, Texas; *Dallas Morning News*, 5 May 1928. For an example of a gathering in Waxahachie, see photograph on page 194.

<sup>39</sup> *Galveston Daily News*, 22 April 1900; *Houston Post*, 21 April 1897.

<sup>40</sup> *Longview Morning Journal*, 3 May 1970 from the *News-Journal* files, 4 July 1931.

<sup>41</sup> *Dallas Morning News*, 23 July 1925.

By far the most popularly attended community events in Texas were the Fourth of July celebrations sponsored by cities and local organizations. Waxahachie sent out an invitation to its July 4<sup>th</sup> celebrations of 1895 to “the people of Ellis County at large, and the Masons, Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, B. P. O. E. and all other secret lodges, Fire Departments, all day and Sunday schools, members and officers of all cities and towns in the county and in fact to every man, woman and child in Ellis County.” The newspaper article headlined with this invitation continued by claiming the 4<sup>th</sup> of July was “our national holiday” and should be set aside so that all people in the county could take part in the “barbecue and basket picnic, street parade, merchant’s display and general celebration.” The event’s organizers planned to make it the “grandest day in the history of the county.” The article concluded by saying, “Let us join hearts and hands in brotherly union, rejoicing at our prosperity, forgetting the past, linking our efforts for the future as the greatest provincial commonwealth in the state. . . .” It was estimated that 15,000 people attended the July 4<sup>th</sup> celebration in Waxahachie in 1895. The local newspaper reported that

By 9 o’clock the streets were so crowded that one could hardly get through them. The sidewalks were jammed and the people had only begun to come in. The town was in gala attire. Everywhere our national flag floated in the breeze, a silent emblem of our liberties. The big forty-foot flag secured by the committee had been planted at the corner of the new courthouse and its stars and stripes awakened the enthusiasm of years long gone by. No true American could look upon it but with feelings of pride and admiration.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Newspaper clipping (1895) in vertical file: Ellis County Courthouse, N. P. Sims Library, Waxahachie, Texas.

The celebration in Waxahachie was not unusual. Most of Texas's cities hosted similar events to celebrate the Fourth, and while the activities were not extended over a three- or four-day period as were the Confederate reunions, they drew crowds of equal or larger numbers. Texas cities across the state celebrated the "glorious fourth" in 1901 with parades, band concerts, speeches, drills by military companies, and races of every kind: foot races, sack races, egg races, fat men's races, bicycle races, horse races, and the first automobile races in the history of the state. Ball games, barbecues, picnics, and rodeos provided entertainment, and one town held a prohibition rally. The most popular celebrations occurred in the communities that offered free balloon ascensions.<sup>43</sup>

The "Fraternal Picnic Association" used the Confederate reunion grounds in Hillsboro every year from 1908 to 1914 for its July 4<sup>th</sup> basket picnic celebration. Thousands attended each year. The largest estimated crowd was in 1912 when 8,000 to 10,000 Texans ate, visited, and celebrated Independence Day together. They congregated on land purchased and maintained by Confederate organizations but saw no contradiction in holding their July 4<sup>th</sup> celebration on the same ground where they honored the Confederacy.<sup>44</sup>

Perhaps Texans did not see a contradiction because there was not one. Despite the UDC's hopes that Confederate celebratory days would make a lasting impact on the state's citizens, the events appear to have held little significance or meaning for most Texans beyond being an opportunity to meet with old friends, eat well, and enjoy the sponsored activities. The veterans and the United Daughters of the Confederacy

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<sup>43</sup> *Dallas Morning News*, 5 July 1901.

<sup>44</sup> Simpson, *Hill County Trilogy*, 76.

frequently complained that Texans were forgetting the war. They were probably right. Texas's citizens were more interested in the future than in the past. Decoration Day, too often associated with grieving, offered little that interested most people. Confederate reunions, on the other hand, became a much-anticipated social activity, not because the average Texan wanted to relive the Civil War or be taught a moral lesson, but because the activities provided a break from their normal lives. July 4<sup>th</sup> was celebrated in a similar manner—Texans appear not to have noticed the ideological contradiction in honoring both the Confederacy (the conquered) and the United States (the conqueror.)

The United Daughters of the Confederacy did not depend alone on celebratory days to teach Texans about the Civil War and the men and women who fought in it. Though few people internalized the values the Daughters tried to demonstrate through Decoration Day and Confederate reunions, the UDC was simultaneously offering these same lessons through the building of monuments in cities across the state. UDC chapters proposed to build monuments because they could serve as constant reminders of the morals and values the organization held sacred, a more tangible token of their ideology and one that the Daughters believed would be more effective at teaching a lesson than were Confederate reunions. The monuments would in fact become points of competition and pride as individual women struggled to build bigger and more expensive monuments.



**Figure 3. Veterans, Daughters, and family members gathered after the monument, "The Last Stand," unveiled at De Leon Plaza, Victoria, in 1912. Courtesy of Local History Collection, Victoria College, Victoria, Texas.**

CHAPTER FOUR  
HONOR TO THE DEAD  
MONUMENTS

The small talk and gossip that filled the Hauschild Opera House in Victoria, a prosperous community southwest of Houston, in May 1896 hushed as local UDC member Kate Wheeler approached the podium to welcome the “band of sisterhood” present at the first United Daughters of the Confederacy state convention. In her remarks, Wheeler urged the five chapters represented to build Confederate monuments because they stood for the “imperishable remembrance in our hearts.” Quoting a poem, Wheeler said that southern soldiers were “slain for us; and the years may go, but our tears will flow o’er the dead who have died in vain for us.”<sup>1</sup>

Most Daughters believed that despite losing the war the southern soldier and the cause he fought for were worthy of honor and deserved to be memorialized in stone. One of the state UDC’s most popular presidents, Cornelia Branch Stone, claimed, “the history of a people and their monuments measure their consequence as a nation, and the character of their intelligence, their morals, religion and civilization.” An often reprinted quotation written by a UDC member argued that “a people who have no monuments erected to perpetuate heroism and virtue have no history, and we must have our shining

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<sup>1</sup> *Minutes of the First Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Galveston: Clarke and Coats, 1898), 22.



shafts of marble pointing to the fadeless stars, fit emblems of their [the Civil War generation's] lofty aspirations."<sup>2</sup>

The United Daughters of the Confederacy engaged in many Confederate-related activities but pursued the building of monuments most vigorously. Virtually every UDC chapter in almost every city or county in Texas at some time considered and attempted to raise the funds necessary to commemorate the Civil War through statuary. Many chapters were successful; some gave up on this dream and pursued goals that were easier to achieve.

What types of monuments did the Daughters build and when? Who was most interested in building Confederate memorials, and why? The regional, state, city, and county monuments erected in Texas share much in common—similar planning stages, fundraising, and unveiling ceremonies, and they appear to have been erected with the same purpose in mind. Though always claiming that “Confederate monuments were an object lesson in history,” UDC members and chapters engaged in monument building for reasons in addition to memorializing southern soldiers. For example, much of their work attempted to guarantee that southern women were recognized and remembered for their efforts in the Civil War and its aftermath. In the ideal, these landmarks represented the sacrifice and duty the UDC associated with the white people of the Old South in general, male and female. The monuments also brought out a crass materialism in the public expression of the Lost Cause—sculptors and marble companies vied to win bids, and UDC chapters competed to build bigger and outwardly more impressive monuments.

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<sup>2</sup> *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Tyler: Sword and Shield Publishing Co., 1899), 17; *Southern Tribute Magazine* 1 (May 1898): 289; *Confederate Daughter* 1 (January 1900): 1.

Most Texans never internalized the values the UDC hoped the monuments projected, and they were essentially disinterested in monument construction, except to partake, as Texans did at Confederate reunions, in the festivities associated with the unveilings.<sup>3</sup>

The first monument dedication in the South occurred in 1875 in Richmond, Virginia. Ten years later the cities of Montgomery, Alabama, Atlanta, Georgia, and Savannah, Georgia, also erected monuments, but it was not until the late 1890s that such memorials became widespread and common throughout the South. Historians and cultural geographers who have written about Civil War memorials have found that most monuments were constructed between 1900 and 1912, and they attribute the long delay to the postwar economic situation in the South.<sup>4</sup>

John J. Winberry, a cultural geographer, found that the bulk of Confederate monuments in the South were dedicated between 1910 and 1918. Most of these were courthouse monuments. The memorials stood on the grounds of the county's courthouse and were usually one of two types: either a smooth obelisk or a Confederate soldier atop a column. Of the 63 Confederate monuments erected in Texas, 22 (35 percent) were unveiled between 1910 and 1918, and 30 (48 percent) were erected on or were later moved to courthouse grounds. The most active period of monument construction in Texas occurred between 1906 and 1910 (see Chart 1). While Winberry's research is

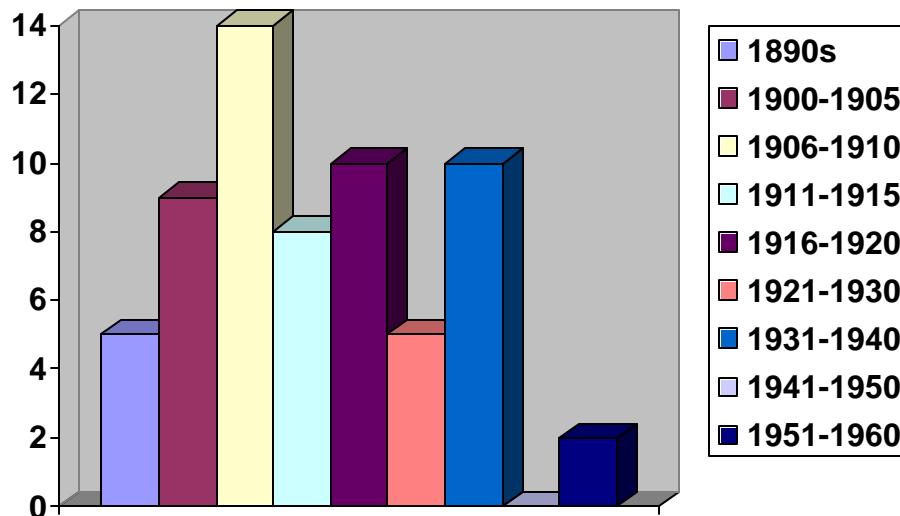
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<sup>3</sup> James E. Ferguson, "Speech of Governor James E. Ferguson at the Unveiling of a Confederate Monument in Llano, Texas" (February 22, 1916), Texas State Archives and Library, Austin, Texas.

<sup>4</sup> Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980), 18; John A. Simpson, "Cult of the Lost Cause," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 34 (Winter 1975): 353; Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, The Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865-1913* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 158; James M. Mayo, *War Memorials as Political Landscape: The American Experience and Beyond* (New York: Praeger, 1988), 171.

interesting, it does not reveal when these local communities began the fund-raising drives to erect the monuments.<sup>5</sup>

**Chart 1: Construction of Texas Monuments**



The depressed economic conditions of the region contributed greatly to the forty-five-year delay between the end of the Civil War and the unveiling of most Confederate monuments, but so too did veterans' general lack of interest or concern. The United Confederate Veterans made the first attempts in Texas to erect Confederate memorials, but the organization found that the public and even many veterans themselves were simply not interested in these proposals. A great many veterans' camps spoke of erecting monuments, but few took action.

Former Confederate general William L. Cabell, chairman of one monument committee and father of Katie Cabell Currie Muse, grew exasperated in his attempts to

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<sup>5</sup> John J. Winberry, "Lest We Forget': The Confederate Monument and the Southern Townscape," *Southeastern Geographer* 23 (November 1983): 110.

raise money for a monument to the Confederacy's only president. In a letter to the *Confederate Veteran*, he suggested that the committee turn over the work to his daughter, then president of the National Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, so that the women could raise the funds necessary to build the memorial. Cabell claimed that the men had tried but were unsuccessful. He said, "we believe that if the Daughters of the Confederacy could be induced to undertake this work they would by their energy, earnestness, and unfaltering loyalty succeed in accomplishing the desired result." Cabell was right, although he probably did not expect the Daughters to need nine years to raise the necessary funds.<sup>6</sup>

A monument to Jefferson Davis was finally unveiled in Richmond in 1907. Observers estimated that 200,000 southerners turned out for the monument's unveiling ceremonies, including one thousand veterans who marched in the parade. This large turnout has convinced historians like Charles Reagan Wilson and Gaines Foster that such Lost Cause activities had the support of most southerners. Certainly the sheer numbers involved suggest this, but numbers alone are misleading. As the UDC would find, southerners participated in the entertainments associated with the unveilings but hesitated before digging into their pockets to pay for them. Texans' attendance at a monument's unveiling did not imply that they supported the values of the Lost Cause. If a monument to the Confederacy's president took nine years of hard fundraising, how much longer did it take local UDC chapters to build their monuments? And why did this task fall to the Daughters and not the veterans or their sons?<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 7 (June 1899): 253.

<sup>7</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 7 (June 1899): 253; Angie Parrott, "Love Makes Memory Eternal": The United Daughters of the Confederacy in Richmond, Virginia, 1897-1920," *The Edge of the South: Life in*

Many sources have recognized the United Daughters of the Confederacy as the main force in promoting and funding monuments in the South. This was certainly true in Texas. Even UCV camps that erected monuments were heavily indebted to the aid and fundraising of local UDC Chapters. Kate Alma Orgain of Temple explained why she believed the women of the Texas UDC were so interested in and successful at monument building when she said, “it is natural and appropriate that women should engage in commemorative work. When death comes to our homes and takes the loved ones, it is the woman, the wife, the mother who lays away the old worn hat, the baby slipper, the broken toy. It is the women who keep the grave and cultivate the flowers around it.” Orgain believed, as did most of her contemporaries, that women by their very biological nature were more inclined toward remembrance. A letter printed in *The Southern Tribute* in 1898 by the UDC’s committee on anniversaries explained to its members that “to cherish the memory of the illustrious dead is a sacred privilege, this loving duty being the special province of woman since the days when Mary brought fragrant spices to the tomb of the world’s Redeemer.” Texas UDC members believed that it was their sacred duty to commemorate those they loved, and this duty found expression in Confederate monuments.<sup>8</sup>

It appears that most men agreed, at least to the point that they allowed women to lead in this type of work, but their agreement may have had less to do with their belief in

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*Nineteenth Century, Virginia* ed. Edward L. Ayers and John C. Willis (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991), 219. For examples of southerners allegiance to the Lost Cause, see Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, and Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*.

<sup>8</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Convention of the Texas Division, United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Ennis: Hal Marchbanks, Printer, 1900), 7; *Southern Tribute* 1 (April/May 1898): 307. For sources that discuss the UDC and monument erections, see Melody Kubassek, “Ask Us Not to Forget: The Lost Cause in Natchez, Mississippi,” *Southern Studies* 3 (Fall 1992): 155-170; and Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 129.

women's natural talents and more to do with the fact that they were busy pursuing other interests. Charles B. Emanuel summarized men's attitudes in a speech he delivered at the Rusk Confederate reunion in 1901. Emanuel argued that men's work ended with the war, and the next task, that of "preserving the memories of the gallant heroes who fell in defense of our native land," was left to the women. In other words, southern men had moved on and were engaged in more profitable, and in their opinion, more important matters—such as rebuilding the region and making money. If men became involved, explained J. W. Graves in the *Houston Chronicle*, it was because as "commercial men, even putting the question on its lowest plane, we believe that our commercial prestige would be enhanced and our material standing elevated in the minds of the whole world by an exemplification of finer feeling and nobler sentiments, as such a movement [to build a Texas monument at Vicksburg, Mississippi] would prove." Memorial work, while appreciated by veterans, was not of primary importance, and because men gave it such low priority, the task of memorializing the Confederacy could be and was taken up by women.<sup>9</sup>

UDC members, unlike their male peers, embraced the work and were empowered by their ability to raise funds to create monuments when others had given up. Some men may have seen only the commercial prospects in monument building, but the Daughters saw Confederate memorials as one of the best means to remind Texans of their obligations and duties as citizens. The UDC believed that each time an individual passed a lone soldier cast in marble on a courthouse lawn or at a public park, he or she would comprehend and internalize the beliefs and values the organization associated with the

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<sup>9</sup> *Confederate Soldier* 1 (October 1901): 14; *Houston Chronicle*, 13 June 1909.

Old South. Such assimilation would, according to the Daughters, encourage correct social order by stressing patriotism, duty, and resignation. Not only did these monuments offer another history lesson to Texans, as did Confederate reunions, but their unveilings provided UDC members a chance to focus public attention on women. Chapters seized every possible opportunity to promote and emphasize southern women's strength and independence. Their subtle reminders underscored women's place in Texas society. Though the Daughters would have as difficult a time raising funds as had the veterans, they, unlike the old soldiers, never gave up. They were not necessarily better fundraisers, but they did have more free time to pursue the projects and believed that they had more to lose if a monument was not erected and more to gain if it was unveiled.

One of the Daughters' first attempts to erect a state monument reflects both the public's general disinterest in Confederate monuments and the UDC's desire to build them despite the public's lack of concern. Though the monument drive was filled with setbacks, the Daughters eventually succeeded. When they did, the women of the Texas UDC realized that they could gain power and prestige for themselves with such projects.

The Albert Sidney Johnston Chapter of the UDC organized in Austin in 1897 and reported that their "grand objective" was to "erect a monument over the grave of Albert Sidney Johnston, that gallant commander, who when dying, begged that his body might be laid to rest in Texas soil. . . ." The chapter soon realized that it could not raise sufficient funds to create a fitting tribute. That same year, the state secretary, Sarah Fontaine Sampson, said that she knew "every chapter in the state is probably contemplating the erection of a monument," but that it would be wiser for the organization to "unite their efforts and produce one great work, that of the Albert Sidney

Johnston monument in Austin.” This proposal was brought before the division at the 1897 convention, but the ladies did not even consider it. Most of the Daughters preferred to work toward the raising of monuments in their local areas, but the Texas Division’s president, Benedette Tobin, agreed with Sampson that a single great monument would better represent the state than several smaller ones.<sup>10</sup>

President Tobin and the Albert Sidney Johnston Chapter of Austin then began in earnest to raise the funds necessary to create a monument. Tobin organized a monument committee of thirty-four women, who then presented a petition to the regular session of the Texas legislature in 1898 asking for a state appropriation to build the monument. The legislature denied the UDC’s petition. Tobin then increased the committee to fifty women and asked Senator R. N. Stafford of Mineola for suggestions and advice. Though Tobin died in 1900, her successor, Eliza Sophia Johnson, continued to pressure the state for money to build an Albert Sidney Johnston monument. Following Stafford’s instructions, Johnson organized a media campaign to influence the state legislature. She and the UDC monument committee sent a copy of the petition to all the leading state daily newspapers. They also mailed 2,600 copies of the petition to prominent men of the state with a personal letter asking each of them to sign the petition and return it to the governor. The committee sent an additional 200 copies to all the United Confederate Veterans camps in Texas. The UDC tried again in 1901 to secure an appropriation at the state legislature’s regular session but failed. Not discouraged, Johnson made one more

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<sup>10</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Texas Division Chapter Histories* (Austin: United Daughters of the Confederacy, Chapter 105, Albert Sidney Johnston, 1990), 8; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Second Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Galveston: Clarke and Coats, 1898), 11-12; *Confederate Soldier and Daughter* 1 (February 1902): 17-18.



attempt. She sent 200 circulars and personal letters to all of Texas's legislators and wrote every newspaper in Texas seeking support. Finally, at a special session of the legislature in the autumn of 1901, she brought the petition before the house once more, and "after having first aroused a healthy sentiment over the state for its passage," received a \$10,000 appropriation.<sup>11</sup>

The UDC had succeeded in building a state Confederate monument, but by eliciting help from the state of Texas, the Daughters sacrificed control of the monument. The legislature organized a committee to direct the monument's construction, and while Johnson served on the committee, she was the only representative of the Daughters of the Confederacy to do so. Still, the Daughters considered the monument's completion a success, and many of the women realized that they held great power potentially if they banded together and applied pressure on their state or local governments and their local newspapers.<sup>12</sup>

The majority of UDC members, however, found city or county monuments more appealing. Most required less cash to build and allowed local chapter members greater control in determining a monument's style and location. Some chapters erected monuments rather quickly, like Dallas Chapter #6, which took only three years to erect a sizable and expensive monument. On the other hand, Huntsville saved for fifty-seven years to unveil a small stone to the Confederacy. Regardless of the length of time, all UDC chapters struggled to raise the necessary funds. Some chapters simply gave up;

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<sup>11</sup> C. W. Raines, *Yearbook for Texas, 1901* (Austin: Gemmel Book Co. Publisher, 1902), 129, in Robertson Colony Collection—Ella Fulmore Harlee Collection, box 82, folder 1901, Special Collections, University of Texas at Arlington, Arlington, Texas; *Confederate Veteran* 10 (January 1902): 10; *Confederate Soldier and Daughter* 1 (February 1902): 17-18.

<sup>12</sup> *Confederate Soldier and Daughter* 1 (February 1902): 18.

others chose to make their monuments points of pride. Those chapters that succeeded intended their monuments to act as visual history lessons that would instill values such as duty, sacrifice, resignation, and patriotism. Viola Bivins, a Texas UDC president, summarized the Daughters' purpose for erecting monuments in an address to Longview's citizens at the city's monument unveiling: "Men's memories are short. This bond of sisterhood is keeping the fires of patriotism kindled by these gatherings. It is our absolute duty to observe these ceremonies with public and dignified exercises by which the young, ignorant and the careless should be instructed and thrilled to a higher patriotism."<sup>13</sup>

The UDC chapter in Sherman, located in north-central Texas near the right bank of the Red River, erected the first Confederate monument on a courthouse lawn in Texas in 1897. The Sherman chapter did not want their memorial simply to honor the dead but to serve as a visual reminder to the city's citizens of the sacrifices and values the chapter associated with the Civil War generation. The monument's inscription states the Daughters' objectives for the memorial: "sacred to the memory of your Confederate dead, true patriots, they fought for home and country, for the holy principles of self-government—the only true liberty, their sublime self-sacrifices and unsurpassed valor will teach future generations the lesson of high born patriotism, of devotion to duty, of exalted courage, of southern chivalry."<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> *Dallas Morning News*, 4 June 1911, in vertical file: Confederate Monument, Longview Public Library, Longview, Texas; Kelly McMichael Stott, "The Lost Cause in Dallas, Texas, 1894-1897," *Legacies* 12 (Spring 2000): 4-12.

<sup>14</sup> Mattie Davis Lucas, *A History of Grayson County, Texas* (Sherman: Scruggs Printing Co., 1948), 202; *Dallas Morning News*, 22 April 1897. Sherman claims to have erected the first monument in Texas, but this is not true. Both Waco and Cleburne unveiled monuments on May 2, 1893 (Decoration Day) in their city cemeteries. For Cleburne's reaction to Sherman's claims, see the letter from Dr. J. C. J. King, *Confederate Veteran* 5 (July 1897): 388. For a photograph of Waco's monument, see Ralph W. Widner Jr., *Confederate Monuments: Enduring Symbols of the South and the War Between the States* (Washington, DC: Andromeda Association, 1982), 231.

Sherman unveiled its monument on 22 April 1897, the day set aside to commemorate the Battle of San Jacinto, to an estimated crowd of 5,000. A huge procession led citizens to the courthouse in a parade that consisted of local bands, military organizations, college students, Masonic and other secret societies, veterans, UDC members, and school children. The city's streets were decorated with red, white, and blue bunting, and the *Dallas Morning News* stated that the ceremony represented that grand type of "Americanism, the southern soldier." The *Sherman Daily Register* referred to the monument as a "permanent tribute to the loyalty and patriotism of southern sons and daughters."<sup>15</sup>

Word of Sherman's monument spread throughout the state, causing other UDC chapters to begin fundraising drives to erect their own "visual history lessons." Tyler's memorial, unveiled in 1909, was dedicated to Smith County's soldiers and the 321 unknown Confederate dead buried in the city cemetery. The local newspaper reported one of the speeches that accompanied the ceremony: [Tyler's] "cemeteries and public squares contain a history of men and events associated with the war written in imperishable bronze and marble, and though their inscriptions be brief yet they speak more eloquently and teach more truly than all the records of history's pages." The history lesson that the Tyler UDC chapter intended its citizens to learn was revealed as the speech continued: "this monument . . . becomes a silent but eloquent witness to the

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<sup>15</sup> *Dallas Morning News*, 22 April 1897; *Sherman Daily Register*, 3 April 1896.

youth and to coming generations of the righteousness of the South's cause and of our belief in its righteousness."<sup>16</sup>

The UDC repeatedly stressed the constitutional validity of secession in its monuments, intending future generations to view Confederates as true Americans and not as rebels or traitors. Corsicana inscribed this lesson directly on its monument, and it represented the Daughters' attempt to link the southern soldier with the patriots of the Revolutionary war. The monument inscription reads: "Soldiers of the Southern Confederacy fought valiantly for the liberty that the state bequeathed them by their forefathers of 1776. Who glorified their righteous cause and who made the sacrifice supreme in that they died to keep their country free." In southeast Texas, Beaumont's monument also stressed the theme of patriotism. Miss Eddie Kuhn unveiled the marble shaft in 1912 and addressed the crowd, saying, "we as granddaughters of Confederate soldiers now unveil to your view this monument, erected in memory of those whose valor and achievements will live in history while patriotism and civilization endure."<sup>17</sup>

Patriotism was not the only value the UDC wanted to convey through their monuments. The Daughters considered the lesson of resignation equally important. San Antonio's Bernard E. Bee chapter unveiled its monument in 1900, and one of the members described its appearance in *The Confederate Daughter* as a lone soldier standing with his finger pointing upward, demonstrating that he "leaves all to the God of Battles and Dispenser of Justice." Such a pose represented, she wrote, a "sad but beautiful lesson of resignation." Galveston unveiled "Dignified Resignation" in 1911—a

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<sup>16</sup> *Tyler Semi-Weekly Courier Times*, 10 July 1909, newspaper clipping at Smith County Historical Museum, Tyler, Texas; "Monument Erection," newspaper clipping, 12 May 1998, vertical file: UDC, Tyler Public Library, Tyler, Texas.

monument of a figure portraying a “typical southern soldier and gentleman, torn battle flag crossed to his breast and in the right hand a broken sword.”<sup>18</sup>

Denton’s UDC chapter inscribed on its monument of 1918 these words: “their names graven on memorial columns are a song heard far in the future, and their examples reach a hand through all the years to meet and kindle generous purpose and mold it into acts as pure as theirs.” Judge W. L. McKee’s speech in Hillsboro in 1925, at the city’s combined unveiling ceremony and annual reunion, summarizes the many lessons the Daughters intended their monuments to teach. McKee claimed that the monument being unveiled was meant to “preserve in the memory of the present generation and the coming generation memorable things that have transpired in the past long ago.” He continued by saying that Confederates were “men whom power could not corrupt, whom death could not terrify, whom defeat could not dishonor, teaching all who may claim the same birthright, that truth, courage and patriotism endure forever.”<sup>19</sup>

McKee’s speech, however, hinted at Texans’ limited interest in Confederate monuments and the values they supposedly demonstrated. McKee asked, “Why? What is it that has drawn the m [Texans] together? The greater number, no doubt, of the purest motives,” said the Judge, but “would to high heaven that it [their pure motive] was universal.” While it is true that thousands of Texans attended the unveiling ceremonies of Texas’s Confederate monuments, most came for the same reasons that they attended the reunions—to meet friends, socialize, and enjoy a rare day out. Bonham’s newspaper

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<sup>17</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 16 (May 1908): 210; *Confederate Veteran* 21 (March 1913): 126.

<sup>18</sup> *The Confederate Daughter* 1 (February 1900): 3; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the Texas Division, United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Austin: Von Boekmann-Jones, 1914), 92.

<sup>19</sup> *Hillsboro Mirror*, 29 July 1925; *Denton Record Chronicle*, 3 June 1918.

seemed to understand why its citizens might attend their local monument's unveiling. It encouraged Fannin County's population to "take a few days off, wash up the children, get your wife a new dress, fill your baskets full and then hitchup old Jack and Beek and come down to the county seat for a few days of jollification. It will do you good, your family good, and allow your team to get a little rest."<sup>20</sup>

Texans enjoyed the varied activities associated with a monument's unveiling. Some cities, like Hillsboro, chose to dedicate their memorials during the annual Confederate reunion as a means of ensuring a large attendance. Others hosted elaborate parades, barbeques, and balls to raise money and increase citizen participation; fiddlers' contests proved especially popular. Tyler's Mollie Moore Davis Chapter, UDC, hosted one in the city's opera house, and Edward W. Smith Jr. reported that "it was fine, and the people enjoyed it ever so much. It set one's heart busy with memory, and the good old days from the dust of recollection trooped before the mind's eye." Tyler raised \$200 at its fiddling contest, but such a successful fundraising event was unusual.<sup>21</sup>

UDC chapters across the state struggled to raise the funds necessary to build monuments. Most Texans were simply not interested in contributing financially to the Daughters' visual history lessons. Laura Elgin, known as the "mother" of Marshall's monument, chastised the crowd gathered at the memorial's unveiling in 1906 in her speech (see photograph on page 134). "Tis true there has been lagging with some of us," Elgin said sarcastically, "but thank God this monument to those noble heroes stands like a 'stone wall' to commemorate their many virtues and bravery until time shall be no more." The UDC and UCV in the nearby town of Jefferson could not interest their

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<sup>20</sup> *Hillsboro Mirror*, 28 July 1925; *Fannin County Favorite*, 13 July 1905.

citizens in building a monument until after their rival city, Marshall, the seat of Harrison County, unveiled one. Many Jeffersonians attended Marshall's ceremonies and afterward began to plan a monument and program that would "surpass those of Harrison County."<sup>22</sup>

The UDC represented in their monuments ideal soldiers who never shirked their duty, ran away from a fight, or debased themselves in drunkenness or dishonor. Not all Confederate soldiers met such high standards, but the Daughters liked to believe they did. A Texan who attended a reunion in Fairfield in 1900 reported to the *Confederate Veteran* that he "never saw or heard of one single instance of drunkenness, and no veteran present was known to pollute his splendid individuality or befoul his sacred past by indulgence to any degree in strong drink." Thirty-five years after the war ended, the veterans too liked the sainted image of themselves that the Daughters portrayed.<sup>23</sup>

Every UDC chapter that attempted to build a monument found it difficult to raise the necessary funds. Unless there were other motivations, many Texans did not care enough about commemorating the Confederacy to contribute money. Perhaps this was because money remained scarce, but more than likely it was because Texans chose to spend their money on things other than Confederate monuments. The Daughters in Corpus Christi commissioned a celebrated sculptor, Pompeo Coppino, to create their 1916 monument, which would be the first piece of public art in the city. Coppini conceived of something radically different from the "stereotyped memorial," but the local chapter could raise only \$1,000, despite using "every means of turning an honest penny."

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<sup>21</sup> *The Confederate Daughter* 1 (July 1900): 113.

<sup>22</sup> Program, vertical file: Confederate Monument, Harrison County Historical Museum, Marshall, Texas; Fred Tarpley, *Jefferson: Riverport to the Southwest* (Austin: Eakin Press, 1986), 205.

The chapter held rummage sales and waffle suppers, and members served as clerks at furniture stores for percentages of the profit. Such limited funds forced Coppini to create the work in cast stone that looked like granite, instead of the more costly bronze he had intended to use. Though the chapter hosted a celebration that included an opera singer, the crowd was estimated at just over 100 people. Few of Corpus Christi's residents showed any interest in aiding or seeing their local Confederate monument.<sup>24</sup>

Llano's Daughters planned to build a memorial by voluntary subscriptions, "but met with indifference as the people thought it was too great an undertaking for the Daughters." The project became more appealing, though, when the Daughters announced that they had secured Governor James E. Ferguson as the keynote speaker at the unveiling. Local historian Wilburn Osatman said of the event,

Llano as a town benefited in more ways than one on that gala day. First, by the monument itself as it adorns the public square; second, that it was honored by a visit of the State's highest officer who had passed an invitation to speak at a banquet of a large city in order to come to our little town, and but for this occasion, many might never have had this opportunity of seeing and hearing the Governor; and third, Llano gained publicity in the large daily newspapers of the State, which carried the news of the dedication, a publicity it could not have gained otherwise.<sup>25</sup>

Unlike Llano, Palestine's businessmen saw little advantage to themselves if they aided their local UDC chapter in building a monument to native Palestinian John H.

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<sup>23</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 8 (September 1900): 391. For examples of the Confederate soldiers' "bad" behavior, see Bell Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970), 36-58.

<sup>24</sup> Mary A. Sutherland, *The Story of Corpus Christi* (Houston: Rein and Sons, Co., 1916): 142; newspaper clipping, "Forgotten Historical Fountain May Soon Brightly Spout Again," vertical file: Historical Sites—Confederate Memorial, Archives, Bell Library, Texas A&M University—Corpus Christi, Corpus Christi, Texas.

<sup>25</sup> Wilburn Osatman, *Llano: Gem of the Hill Country. A History of Llano County, Texas* (Llano: Pioneer Book Publishers, Inc., 1970), 115.



Reagan, postmaster general in the Confederate government. The local chapter tried for years but could not raise the necessary funds. A monument was finally unveiled in 1911, but only because the Michaux Park Land Company donated \$2,950 to the project—the money they had made from selling about eight acres to the city to create a park. The Palestine UDC chapter did not plan any activities or celebrations to accompany the Reagan monument unveiling, so few people attended. Only UDC members and their sons and daughters, city commissioners, and a handful of local veterans and their families were present to hear Mrs. W. J. Crawford, president of the local UDC chapter, speak.<sup>26</sup>

Perhaps it did not matter ultimately to the Daughters that Texans were basically disinterested in erecting Confederate monuments. Though Texas's citizens might not help or contribute money, local UDC chapters continued to believe that they could impart particular values and lessons by erecting monuments. In addition to teaching sacrifice, resignation, and patriotism, the UDC intended its monuments to mark Texas women's roles in the Civil War and aftermath.

Dallas Chapter #6, under the direction of Katie Cabell Currie Muse, erected the second and one of the largest Confederate memorials in Texas. The Dallas chapter began immediately upon organization in 1894 to save money to erect a monument in the city. Three years after the project's inception, the monument was unveiled on 29 April 1897, to an estimated 40,000 people, one of the largest gatherings in Dallas's history to that time. Parades, a "love feast," banquets, and a ball marked the two-day celebration, and thousands of Texans attended the ceremonies. These same citizens cheered for the

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<sup>26</sup> Mary Kate Hunter Notebooks, vol. 1, 48, 59, Palestine Public Library, Palestine, Texas.

women of the UDC, who had marked in a conspicuous place on the monument that the piece had been “erected by the Daughters of the Confederacy.”<sup>27</sup>

Though the monument was dedicated to the common soldier and consisted of a single tall column topped by an eight-foot bronze image of a private soldier, surrounded by four smaller columns with the likenesses of Jefferson Davis, Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson, Robert E. Lee, and Albert Sidney Johnston, the Daughters were adamant that an inscription to southern women accompany the memorial. They “pointed with pride to the tribute they had placed there in memory of the mothers of the Confederacy: this stone shall crumble into dust before the deathless devotion of the southern women be forgot.”<sup>28</sup>

UDC Chapter #6 wanted the public to know that Dallas’s women were responsible for erecting the monument and that it memorialized more than just the men who had fought. Though the Daughters would argue that they erected Confederate monuments purely to venerate the old soldiers and instruct southerners, the organization and individual women consistently made sure that the public knew who raised the funds and organized the campaigns. Katie Cabell Currie Muse, the individual most responsible for Dallas’s monument, basked in the recognition she received at the grand ball held at the Oriental Hotel in Dallas the night before the unveiling. She claimed that she was totally surprised when she was led onto the dance floor, proclaimed “the daughter of monuments,” and presented with a diamond, ruby, and sapphire broach on behalf of the local UCV camp.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> *Dallas Morning News*, 28 April 1897; *Dallas Times Herald*, 28 April 1897; unidentified newspaper clipping in Scrapbook, Katie Cabell Currie Muse Papers, Dallas Historical Society Papers, Dallas, Texas; Stott, “The Lost Cause in Dallas, Texas,” 4-12.

<sup>28</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 6 (July 1898): 299.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

San Antonio's Barnard E. Bee chapter's lifetime president, Sallie Moore Houston, did not shy away from the recognition she received as the individual responsible for her city's first public monument, unveiled in 1900. Not wanting to take all the credit, Houston recognized the efforts of Mrs. J. P. Nelson with a "beautiful medal" of appreciation for her single contribution of \$500. These women and the other chapter officers sat prominently on the stage in front of the estimated crowd of 6,000 to 10,000 people gathered for the monument's unveiling. These "representative women of San Antonio whose lives are full of social duties, of business and home cares" were responsible for the erection of their monument, and with this responsibility came the opportunity to exercise power.<sup>30</sup>

The Daughters realized that by erecting monuments to the Confederacy, they had also found a means of claiming power for themselves. Historian H. E. Gulley writes that southern women erected monuments as an "expression [of their] devotion to Confederate veterans . . . to reassure these men of the value of their wartime sacrifices," but Gulley's argument is too limited. Though Texas women did not hold high government positions or other means of exerting official power, they were not so subordinate that they did not conceive of expanding their own influence. Male soldiers may top monuments across Texas, but an equal number reflect in inscription or dedication female participation in the Civil War and Reconstruction.<sup>31</sup>

Not only did the UDC insure that southern women were properly remembered in the Lost Cause celebration; they also took the lead in organizing and speaking at the

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<sup>30</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 8 (June 1900): 261; *The Confederate Daughter* 1 (February 1900): 3.

<sup>31</sup> H. E. Gulley, "Women and the Lost Cause: Preserving a Confederate Identity in the American Deep South," *Journal of Historical Geography* 19 (Summer 1993): 132.

festivities. The Daughters preferred to have full control of their monuments and the accompanying ceremonies and hesitated before allowing male intervention. The William P. Rogers chapter of Victoria dedicated a monument in De Leon Plaza called *The Last Stand* on 3 June 1912 (see photograph on page 103). An entirely female committee planned the day's events, including a parade consisting of a silver cornet band and the local UCV, UDC, Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV), and Grand Army of the Republic (GAR). Kate Wheeler was responsible for the monument's erection but died before the unveiling. Her daughter, Katie, was honored by being chosen to pull the cord to reveal the statue.<sup>32</sup>

The Barnard E. Bee chapter in San Antonio chose a woman's design for their monument. Virginia Montgomery of New Orleans, daughter of one of the chapter's members, became the first female designer of a monument erected in the United States. Such an opportunity was rare, though, and more often Texas women were honored by a monument's inscription. Gainesville's courthouse monument reads, "To the women of the Confederacy, whose pious ministrations to our wounded soldiers and sailors soothed the last hours of those who died far from the objects of their tenderest love; and whose patriotism will teach their children to emulate the deeds of their revolutionary sires."<sup>33</sup>

In one quick motion, Gainesville's Daughters had established both the importance of their participation in the Civil War and the validity of their new role as instructors of patriotism. Mrs. J. M. Wright, president of the Lou Dougherty Chapter, UDC, spoke to Gainesville's citizens in 1908 at the city's unveiling ceremony and said,

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<sup>32</sup> William P. Rogers Chapter #44 Yearbook, Archives/Special Collections, University of Houston-Victoria College, Victoria, Texas.

<sup>33</sup> *The Confederate Daughter* 1 (June 1900): 8.

in the sixties [1860s] woman by sacrifice and practical management made possible the maintenance of an army to defend country and rights. Now by sacrifice and practical management she made possible the erection of monumental stones that perpetuate the principles for which that army fighting died or fighting lived and endured. The mission of woman was to inspire. Now the mission of woman is to commemorate, and in commemorating inspire future generations to be like the mothers of the South. . . .<sup>34</sup>

Confederate monuments across Texas bear inscriptions to and about Texas's women. Bastrop's UDC chapter carved on their monument's foundation stone, "erected by the United Daughters of the Confederacy of Bastrop" and presented the stone to the "citizens and county as a tribute of gratitude of Southern women to the devotion and chivalry of Southern men." The UDC column in the *Houston Daily Post* wrote that the unveiling of the "spirit of the Confederacy" by the Daughters in Sam Houston Park marked more "than the rearing of another Confederate monument in a southern city—it marks the reward that crowns long and faithful and consecrated service of self-sacrificing womanhood."<sup>35</sup>

In 1910, Mary Hunt Affleck spoke to the large crowd gathered in Austin for the unveiling of the Hood's Texas Brigade monument, which sits on the capital grounds. She was only one of the numerous women who took on prominent roles in the public ceremonies that accompanied the erection of Texas's Confederate monuments. In cities across the state, Texas women stood before large, mixed-sex crowds and spoke eloquently about war, patriotism, sacrifice, and the capabilities of women. While they

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<sup>34</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 16 (July 1908): 377; Mrs. B. A. C. Emerson, *Historic Southern Monuments* (New York: Neale Publishing, Co., 1911), 355.

<sup>35</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 19 (January 1911): 1; *Houston Daily Post*, 19 January 1908.

spoke for themselves, they also carefully chose prominent men to address the crowds, men who would deliver speeches the Daughters deemed appropriate.<sup>36</sup>

W. R. Hamby spoke after Mary Affleck in Austin and claimed that the memorial represented “American valor, American citizenship, and American patriotism,” all values that the UDC intended their monuments to reflect, but he continued by urging the audience that “in the race for success in life, in the eager rush for commercialism, do not forget the great principles for which the South fought and to which your fathers so bravely and faithfully consecrated their young hopes and aspirations.”<sup>37</sup>

While Hamby’s address may have been aimed at a general audience, it certainly applied to the many sculptors and granite dealers who sold monuments to the Daughters for the sake of lining their own pockets. A letter to the *Confederate Veteran* in 1908 chastised southerners for their pride and stupidity. The writer said that he or she doubted that local committees read over monument specifications, and they were “drawn up by dealers who did not care if the figure was on its head or on its feet, so they got their money.” The writer claimed, “the dealer does the talking and the tenor of his song is ‘What I offer you is bigger than the other dealer is presenting and for less money.’” “Give us more art in less space,” argued the writer, but few UDC chapters heeded the advice.<sup>38</sup>

The Daughters meant for monuments to represent particular values, one of which was the rejection of materialism. Instead, the erection of memorials fostered a huge industry that pushed UDC chapters and their cities into competitions to see who could

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<sup>36</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 18 (December 1910): 564.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 16 (January 1908): xii.

raise the biggest and most impressive monuments, a competition fueled by aggressive dealers who used sentimental language to encourage the building of even more monuments.

The Italian sculptor Pompeo Coppini wrote extensively about the commercialism that sprang up around the building of Confederate monuments. He wrote, “It is easy to influence small communities to give parks or other utilitarian projects for memorials, as the small masses are not educated to art appreciation.” Coppini added that some unscrupulous men appealed to the Confederates “with sentimental hypocritical devotion to their cause, that as the Confederate Army wore the gray uniforms, that their Memorials should be built of gray granite, even if it came from Yankee states to make Yankee manufacturers rich.”<sup>39</sup>

Coppini saved his most scathing comments for his toughest competitor in the erection of Texas’s monuments. Though the largest and eventually wealthiest monument dealer in the South was the McNeel Marble Company of Marietta, Georgia, Texas had its own sculptor, Frank Teich of Llano, who made an enormous amount of money peddling and producing Confederate monuments. Coppini said that Teich was responsible for developing the gray granite industry in the state because he had “worked that gag [building monuments out of “Confederate gray”] with the Confederates and the State politicians for all it was worth and with a handsome profit.” Coppini stated that there was “no question about it, he was a good salesman. He could talk the language of those that know nothing of the value of the thing they were to buy, by misrepresenting himself as something he never was.” Teich Monumental Works, claimed Coppini, was

responsible for the “lowgrade commercial distribution of shameful public monumental monstrosities” in Texas.<sup>40</sup>

Certainly from an artistic standpoint, Coppini’s monuments are more sophisticated than those produced by Teich, but many UDC chapters chose to buy mass produced memorials rather than wait five, ten, or even fifteen years to attempt to raise enough money to hire a sculptor. Fort Worth’s Julia Jackson Chapter contacted Coppini in 1921 to request a catalogue of designs ranging from five to twenty thousand dollars. The sculptor sniffed that, “artists have no catalogs because each monument is individually made.” Coppini claimed he would meet with the Fort Worth chapter and discuss plans, but he could not “compete with the cold blooded and mercenary stone dealers, who love no art and build monuments simply to sell stones.” The UDC in Fort Worth could never raise sufficient funds for such an ambitious project. They eventually erected a small stone to the Confederacy on the courthouse lawn in 1938.<sup>41</sup>

The United Daughters of the Confederacy seemed to accept the reality that some individuals became wealthy through the erection of monuments. And while they loved to be praised for their efforts (for example, Longview’s Mayor, G. A. Bodenheim, claimed that “no tongue can do justice to their heroism, no pen can tell what they suffered and endured, but this much may be said for them, that they never gave up, and that some of them are fighting to this good day”), most adamantly did not want men to erect a monument in stone to Confederate women. It was not that Texas’s women did not want

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<sup>39</sup> Coppini-Tauch Papers, file 2, notebook, 111, 128, 172, Center for American History, Austin, Texas.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 111.

<sup>41</sup> Pompeo Coppini to Mrs. W. P. Lane, 18 April 1921, Julia Jackson Chapter UDC Papers, box 6, folder 20, Fort Worth Public Library, Fort Worth, Texas.



their men to praise them or remember them or that they did not want stone dealers to make even more money. Most simply believed that if men wanted to spend money commemorating them, the women could find a more useful and necessary project.<sup>42</sup>

The United Daughters of the Confederacy built monuments to instruct citizens in the values and behavior they deemed appropriate, but in addition to teaching patriotism and resignation, the UDC built monuments with inscriptions that represented the heroic characteristics of women's personalities. They feared, and later found their concerns justified, that men who wanted to commemorate them would deliver a vastly different message. A letter in the *Confederate Veteran* in 1897 suggested that a monument be built to southern women that cost no less than \$50,000 because the women were "unfailing" in their "devotion to their loved soldiers, a devotion which amounted to heroism of the highest type." Another in 1903 claimed that "If the Southern soldier made the Confederate armies immortal and covered all this Southland and their respective States with imperishable glory and renown, it is due to the fact that he sprung from such motherhood. We will prove ourselves unworthy of such motherhood if we do not perpetuate in some endearing memorial the . . . virtues of our women."<sup>43</sup>

It was exactly this type of commemoration that Texas women wanted to avoid. The men who discussed building a women's monument spoke of portraying females as the helpmates and mothers of men, as though women achieved heroism only vicariously through the support and birth of males. UDC members viewed their mothers, and in turn themselves, as individuals who were worthy of praise for their own actions and not simply for their support of men's actions. Organizational members believed that the war

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<sup>42</sup> *Dallas Morning News*, 4 June 1911.

years had “evolved a special type of Southern womanhood,” one that had fought bravely to the end and then had endured great hardship afterward, not as mothers but as “southern women.” The Daughters strongly suggested that if the men wanted to remember them, they should do so in a way that recognized their equal sacrifice and their continued need—by building an industrial school or a university for women.<sup>44</sup>

Several proposals were offered across the South in 1900, one in Texas, to use any funds made available for commemoration purposes to build a school “as a more enduring and useful monument than marble or brass.” Other women’s organizations, such as the Southern Industrial Educational Association (SIEA), petitioned the veterans’ camps and the Sons of Confederate Veterans to defer to the wishes of southern women and their “universal objection to a “shaft.” The SIEA president begged the veterans “that the proposed monument will not be a shaft, but that it may take the form of an industrial college.” She argued that “such a monument, with its great purpose and lasting results, would challenge the admiration of the world.” Southern women did not object to being honored, but they knew that funds were limited, and they preferred that the money available be used to help white women in a more concrete and permanent way. In addition, the building and maintenance of a college would signify southern men’s recognition that southern women had proven themselves loyal during and after the war years and would address their continued need for training so that they could support themselves and their families. The men interested in building a women’s monument

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<sup>43</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 5 (June 1897): 245; *Confederate Veteran* 11 (July 1903): 310.

<sup>44</sup> *Galveston Daily News*, 23 January 1911.

ignored their requests. Perhaps an industrial college called attention too publicly to the need for white women to care for themselves without male support.<sup>45</sup>

By 1910 the United Confederate Veterans had accepted a monument's design that the Daughters immediately protested. The *Confederate Veteran* described the memorial, claiming that the design represented a "wounded and dying Confederate soldier supported by Fame [a female allegorical symbol]. Just as his spirit takes its flight to his god a typical Southern woman crowns the soldier with laurels, and it is then that Fame crowns the woman for her patriotism and devotion." A photo of a preliminary sculpture of the monument reveals a cast of three with their heads bowed. The "typical Southern woman" appears downtrodden and largely enveloped in Fame's robes. Her posture and appearance speak of defeat.<sup>46</sup>

The Texas Division president, Katie Black Howard, formally rejected the proposal, and accepted resolutions against the monument because the design was,

Wholly inadequate to represent the matchless women whose memory it is designed to perpetuate. Nay, more, we believe that the design gives an utterly false idea of the women of the war. It was a period that called for immediate action, not for timid shrinking and fearfulness of spirit. Our mothers met the call of the hour courageously, undauntedly, and when Appomattox came, faced defeat as proudly as once they exulted in success. This monument is supposed to commemorate the women of '61-'65—a period of years that evolved a special type of Southern womanhood—but the design has singled out one feature, Appomattox alone, wholly ignoring the long, brave days of selfless, loving endeavor that made shine survivors of that epoch which proved the worth of Southern women, one with them both

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<sup>45</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 5 (August 1897): 420; *Confederate Veteran* 14 (April 1906): 159; *Galveston Daily News*, 23 January 1911; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Ennis: Hal Marchbanks Printer, 1900), 72. The state appropriated money for a women's vocational school, now Texas Woman's University, in 1902 but the UCV never contributed to its creation.

<sup>46</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 18 (March 1910): 97, 101.

by blood and tradition, it is but jest that we should have a voice in deciding what we think fitly hands down their memory to the future.<sup>47</sup>

Howard said that if this was simply a state monument, the Daughters would not protest, but since it was to represent the entire South, the organization would not tolerate the monument's adoption. Theirs was not a protest against the "chivalrous compliment of the Confederate veterans, . . . but of the unmeaning, unrepresentative design adopted by them."<sup>48</sup>

The Daughters' protests did not stop the veterans, but the old soldiers' inability to raise sufficient funds did. No regional monument to southern women was ever erected, nor did the veterans ever offer the UDC the money they raised to build an industrial school for women. Texas has only one monument erected specifically to women. A veteran in Texarkana contributed the greatest part of the \$10,000 required to erect a monument in the city to "southern mothers." The monument represents a reduced representation of the female participation in the war. Texarkana's 1918 monument reads, "O great Confederate Mothers, we would paint your names on monuments that men may read them as the years go by, and tribute pay to you, who bore and mustered hero-sons, and gave them solace in that darkest hour, when they came home, with broken swords and guns." Not a recognition of women's war work, the monument recognizes only women as the mothers of sons who conducted war.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> *Galveston Daily News*, 23 January 1911, newspaper clipping in Cornelia Branch Stone Scrapbook, Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Texas.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> Lela McClure, "Captain Rosborough and the Confederate Memorial: A Short History (Civic project of the Texarkana Chapter, UDC), manuscript at the Center for American History, Austin, Texas.

Confederate monuments represented more than just a rhetorical space on the southern landscape. For the United Daughters of the Confederacy, they provided a physical location where Texans could gather and learn particular values, values that most citizens did not care enough about internalizing to contribute large amounts of money. The majority of Texans did not willingly give of their earnings. The monuments erected either did not reflect a collective memory that most Texans wanted to identify with or they simply wanted to forget the past altogether. Although it is difficult to determine whether the monuments or the speeches delivered at the unveiling ceremonies taught anyone lessons like patriotism or resignation, it is obvious that while the UDC felt good about their participation in the festivities and believed they were claiming cultural power, such subdued messages were not easily assimilated by the veterans. When it came time to discuss the erection of a monument to southern women, southern men continued to view them as simply the vessels that produced great manhood.

Though their attempts at acculturating Texans in the ways of the Old South through Confederate reunions and monuments were not obviously successful, the UDC refused to give up. Still with the intent of shaping citizens, the Daughters turned to the Civil War generation itself by providing charity and built or aided in the construction of Confederate homes for both men and women. These institutions, created to function as living memorials to the South's greatest heroes, became the pet projects of many UDC chapters, whose members assumed that they had the power to dictate terms and conditions to the homes' residents.



**Figure 4. Laura Elgin with veterans in front of Marshall's monument in 1906. Courtesy of Harrison County Historical Museum, Marshall, Texas.**

CHAPTER FIVE  
CHARITY TO THE LIVING  
THE CONFEDERATE WOMAN'S HOME

Katie Daffan, president of the Texas Division, explained to Texans in the *Galveston News* in 1906 that the Daughters wanted to build a “widows home” because it “embodies every object for which we are organized.” Daffan explained that the home would serve as a great memorial to the “noble mothers” of the Confederacy and would function as a “teaching tool of history,” reminding citizens of the beliefs of these women. Daffan justified the UDC’s desire to undertake such a large and expensive project—one that would demand not only a tremendous amount of money but require that its members lobby the state government openly to ensure state aid—by claiming that “a work of this character [building a home for women] is essentially a woman’s work; it savors not of politics, of statecraft, of unseemly action, but it is womanly. . . .” Though Daffan argued that the project did not involve politics, she and several UDC officers would lead the Daughters directly into the political arena as they fought for state funds, first to erect and then to maintain a home for Confederate women.<sup>1</sup>

As with their other projects, the UDC intended the Confederate Woman’s Home to serve several purposes. First and foremost, the home was intended to be a charitable institution that offered a respectable alternative to destitution or living on a county poor

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<sup>1</sup> *Galveston News*, 30 July 1906.

farm to needy but worthy recipients. In addition, the home served, as Katie Daffan explained, as “the Texas monument to the noble women of the Confederacy.” It not only provided warmth and shelter, but the structure symbolized southern women’s dedication to the Confederate cause, and like monuments erected in stone, the home would remind Texans of women’s participation in the war and Reconstruction. The building of a women’s home in Texas represented the best of the drive and determination of the UDC and their willingness to step beyond the roles normally associated with women, but it also illustrated the organization’s inherent limitations. Limited by contemporary gender conventions and hindered by laws that barred Texas women from voting in general elections, UDC members struggled to convince the state and its citizens to pay for a home for women.<sup>2</sup>

Gaining experience from their work aiding the veterans to create a men’s home, the Daughters soon proposed that the state’s widowed and indigent women were equally deserving of a charitable institution. The task of going from conception to reality proved quite difficult for the organization. Though the veterans’ home was quickly taken over and supported by the state, the UDC found that male Texans, the only ones allowed to vote at the time, were not as willing to contribute state funds for a home for women. Despite setbacks, the Daughters persisted, and a home for women was built and eventually came under state control.

In July 1886 veterans of the John Bell Hood Camp, UCV, of Austin purchased a seven-room house and fifteen acres on a hill overlooking the Colorado River in Austin. The house, eventually named the Texas Confederate Home for Men, was the first such

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<sup>2</sup> Newspaper clipping, “Texas’s Confederate Woman’s Home,” in scrapbook, Woodburn Chapter,



charitable institution in the state for veterans and one of the first in the South. Though the project originated with the veterans, women raised most of the funds for its purchase and maintenance. Lou Giles, whose husband, Val C. Giles, was a popular author and member of the Home's Board of Trustees, raised over \$1,000 and suggested, in an effort to increase revenues, a "Grand Gift Concert and Lottery." The event, held over three days in 1886, consisted of musical entertainment and a drawing to give away items donated by local businesses to individuals who had purchased admission tickets. The fundraiser brought in another \$11,000 for the men's home. This money paid the remaining balance on the property, but more was needed to maintain the home and its occupants. The veterans of the John Bell Hood Camp then created a committee and hired three men to act as fundraisers for the institution. Despite being paid employees, the three could not raise sufficient funds. The Camp dismissed the fundraisers and turned, once again, to their wives and daughters for help until a more permanent solution could be found.<sup>3</sup>

Four women undertook the task of fundraising—Mrs. Mary H. Mitchell, Mrs. Rosine Ryan, Mrs. Benedette Tobin, and Mrs. Frank Rainey—and they soon received donations or pledges that amounted to \$12,000 by calling upon the leading women across the state to canvass their cities, requesting that all citizens contribute one dollar each toward the home. Though the women had raised a large sum of money, it did not compare with the amount necessary to operate and expand a home large enough to

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Southwest Collection, Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Texas.

<sup>3</sup> C. W. Raines, *Year Book for Texas* (1901)(Austin: Gammel Book Co., 1902), 56; R. B. Rosenberg, *Living Monuments: Confederate Soldiers' Homes in the New South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 32; *The Confederate Daughter* 8 (August 1900): 4; *Confederate Veteran* 4

accommodate all of Texas's poor or feeble veterans. In an attempt to aid the home, the Twenty-first Legislature passed an act in March 1889 that secured a ten-year lease of the old capitol building at five dollars per annum for the camp, beginning immediately. The John Bell Hood Camp then rented out office space, which generated permanent revenue for the home. The next year, one of the veterans' wives suggested that the old soldiers make the proposition for full state appropriations for the home a campaign issue by having every veteran pledge to vote against any candidate who failed to support their endeavor. In addition to the veterans' direct participation, their wives and daughters wrote to their local representatives, asking them to support the proposition. The lobbying efforts proved effective. House Bill No. 242 passed the legislature (116 votes in favor to 101 votes against) and was signed into law on 6 March 1891.<sup>4</sup>

Many of the wives and daughters who raised money for the men's home became members of the UDC after it organized in 1896. These same women made the first suggestions at the state convention in 1903 that a similar home was needed for poor and defenseless women. In response to the many pleas at the convention, UDC state president Katie Daffan urged the Daughters to initiate a movement to secure a state-supported home for Confederate wives and widows. The Daughters voted unanimously to make such an institution their highest priority during the next year.<sup>5</sup>

Katie Daffan emerged as the state leader in the effort to secure a woman's home. She immediately restructured the division by creating a separate Widows Home Fund

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(May 1896): 156. Organization of the John Bell Hood Camp in Texas predated the organization of the United Confederate Veterans. Hood Camp joined the UCV in March 1892.

<sup>4</sup> Rosenberg, *Living Monuments*, 32; *The Confederate Daughter* 8 (August 1900): 4.

<sup>5</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Fort Worth, Tx: Speer Printing Co., 1904), 14.

under the Treasury Committee and establishing a thirty-member Wives' and Widows' Home Committee (or Home Committee) under the leadership of Katie Black Howard (of Palestine). Daffan assigned Howard and the Home Committee the work of directing fundraising, lobbying the Texas Legislature for a construction appropriation, and convincing the governor and the state legislature to assume ownership of the facility once the home was open.<sup>6</sup>

Many UDC members supported the creation of a women's home and began to make plans for its realization. Past president Sophia Johnson wrote the *Confederate Veteran* and sent a circular to every Texas chapter requesting that "each Daughter write to some man of influence or prominence who would likely become interested in this matter, and solicit his cooperation and influence with the Legislature, and that each Chapter memorialize its Representative and Senator to be liberal in the provision for the Confederate Home." Johnson believed that the Daughters would be successful because they were not without "influence when our demands are reasonable and for such worthy objects as these." In case their demands were not met, Johnson suggested that members write to their local newspapers because "Legislation is always the result of a proper public sentiment."<sup>7</sup>

After the convention and in the early months of 1904, the Home Committee's chairperson, Katie Howard, divided the state into four districts and appointed a sub-chairperson for each of the districts. The district sub-chairpersons organized the regional fundraising events and coordinated the local activities for each chapter within their areas.

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<sup>6</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Eighth Annual Convention*, 15; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones Co., 1911), 143.

Luella Styles Vincent, sub-chairperson of the North Texas District, reported on her year's activities at the ninth annual convention in 1904, claiming that she had written

an appeal which was intended to be irresistible, urging the Daughters to realize the emergency and unite in the endeavor to succor the aged and homeless. . . . This letter was printed in the Dallas News, and was widely copied. My home paper published almost weekly some reminder of our debt to the women who bore the brunt of suffering the in 60s. I wrote many letters to men of means, with the thought that a simple statement of the need would send her generous checks. This postage, stationary and printing was at my own expense, as was that of my letters in the fall, asking my committee members to tell me what had been accomplished. Four out of the thirty-two had responded; two had not acted, two had sent money to the Treasurer.<sup>8</sup>

The Home Committee's head, Katie Howard, spoke more directly about the difficulties the Daughters faced in building a home for indigent women. She said "When I was assigned the duties of chairman, I felt considerable dismay. I knew that I had before me a work that would require strenuous effort to make it prove successful, and I felt loath to undertake the work. . . ." Howard continued by saying that if the "whole Division had worked as it should, the Texas Confederate Wives', Widows', and Orphans' Home, would soon be ready. . . ."<sup>9</sup>

Though Howard was disappointed with the Daughters' efforts, the Home Committee had raised nearly two thousand dollars, most from individual donations that amounted to ten dollars or less. (Each of the committee's members had personally pledged ten dollars.) Major K. M. Van Zandt of Fort Worth, a prominent Texas politician and veteran, donated three hundred dollars and pledged another one hundred

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<sup>7</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 2 (November 1903): 64.

<sup>8</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Fort Worth, Tex.: Speer Printing Co., 1905), 38-41.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

dollars each year until the home was completed and in state ownership, which made him the largest individual donor.<sup>10</sup>

In addition to her fundraising, Howard announced at the 1904 convention that she had discovered that the Cotton Belt Hospital, located in Tyler, could be purchased for \$10,000. Her announcement created a stir. Lou Giles, Mrs. W. P. Baugh, and Luella Robertson Fulmore (who all lived in Austin and had aided the veterans in establishing the men's home) proposed immediately after Howard's announcement that the Daughters look for property only in Austin, near the Confederate Men's Home. Sophia Johnson, who had been president of the Division in 1902, recommended that the Daughters defer such a decision for another year, but Fulmore vigorously fought the motion. She pleaded with the Daughters, promising that if Austin were chosen as the home's site, she would personally do all she could to assure its success. Fulmore's emotional speech swayed the convention, and the members selected Austin as the future site of the women's home.<sup>11</sup>

The Wives' and Widows' Home Committee (created during the 1904 Convention) held a special meeting in January 1905 in Austin to discuss strategies for securing property for the home. Luella Fulmore's husband, Zachary Fulmore, attended the meeting and advised the women that the organization would have to file for incorporation if it planned to purchase and take title to any property. Upon his suggestion, the committee immediately filed to incorporate the Texas Division of the UDC. The Home

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<sup>10</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Fort Worth, TX: Speer Printing Co., 1907), 23.

<sup>11</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Ninth Annual Convention*, 41. Luella Fulmore held potentially enormous influence. She was the granddaughter of Sterling C. Robertson, an early founder and leader in the state, and wife of Zachary T. Fulmore, a judge and lawyer and Chairman of the Board of Trustees for the men's home. See Ron Tyler et al., eds., *The New Handbook of Texas*, 6 vols. (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1996), 3:27.

Committee then divided itself into two sub-committees. Alice Colquitt, wife of O. B. Colquitt, a state railroad commissioner and later governor of Texas, headed the Legislative Sub-Committee. Colquitt's committee proposed to lobby the state legislature for an immediate construction appropriation. Lou Giles, wife of Val C. Giles, a member of the men's home's Board of Trustees, led the Purchasing Sub-Committee, the purpose of which was to buy land for the home in or near Austin.<sup>12</sup>

Within a few weeks of the January meeting, the Purchasing Sub-Committee found eight contiguous lots for sale, approximately two miles north of Austin. The committee regarded the property as the perfect location for a women's home: it was located near an established middle-class suburb, it was large (roughly one-half block), it included many large oak trees, and the State Insane Asylum (later the Austin State Hospital), a facility with a hospital and a full medical staff, was located only two blocks to the east. On 2 February 1905 the UDC purchased the property from Jennie Swearingen for \$1,200.<sup>13</sup>

The Legislative Sub-Committee did not share its counterpart's success. Initially it appeared that the Daughters might have an easy time of obtaining an appropriation from the Texas legislature to construct a building. After only a few days of lobbying, a senator from Waxahachie agreed to sponsor an appropriation bill for a women's home that authorized the state to allocate funds to cover the costs of constructing a home for the wives and widows of Texas's Confederate veterans. Although the legislation passed both houses of the state legislature, Governor S. W. T. Lanham vetoed it, claiming that the

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<sup>12</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Fifteenth Annual Convention*, 145.

<sup>13</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Eleventh Annual Convention*, 145; warranty deed executed between Jennie H. Swearingen (Grantor) and the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (Grantee), 2 February 1905, Deed Records, 1907: 500-502, Travis County Courthouse, Austin, Texas.

special appropriation could become state law only by constitutional amendment, an act that required the approval of Texas's voters.<sup>14</sup>

The governor's veto surprised the Daughters and forced them to reevaluate their position. In light of the new situation, the Home Committee proposed (and the Daughters agreed at the state convention in 1905) that the UDC no longer seek a state appropriation to construct the home, but instead, build a smaller structure on the north end of the site that would allow for further construction later when more funds were available. Over the course of the next year and into 1906, the organization intensified its fundraising efforts. Chapters across the state hosted events like the one sponsored at Weimer in January 1906 to celebrate the births of Robert E. Lee and Thomas (Stonewall) Jackson. The president of the local chapter, Mrs. W. A. Baar, spoke to the citizens gathered at Wiemer's Opera House before the concert and said, "we have done well in the past, but have been remiss in one great duty. We have spent our time in hero worshipping, forgetting to care for the heroines of that glorious time."<sup>15</sup>

While the Daughters worked to raise money, Lou Giles, chairperson of the Purchasing Sub-committee, organized a Building Sub-committee, consisting of three women from the Albert Sidney Johnston Chapter in Austin, to oversee the planning and construction of the home. Giles also asked three men, Zachary Fulmore and John Hornsby, both judges in Travis County, and George Littlefield, a wealthy rancher and patron of the University of Texas, to form an Advisory Building Sub-Committee. By the summer of 1906, the Building Sub-committee and the men advising it had contracted an

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<sup>14</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Fifteenth Annual Convention*, 145.

<sup>15</sup> *Galveston Daily*, 20 January 1906; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Eleventh Annual Convention*, 58-59.

architect to prepare preliminary drawings and plans for construction. The Texas Division unanimously approved the plans at its December 1906 convention. A construction contract amounting to eight thousand dollars was let the same month, and eleven months later, November 1907, the home's construction was completed (see photograph on page 160).<sup>16</sup>

The Daughters planned a dedication ceremony for the home to coincide with their annual convention. Governor T. M. Campbell spoke to the women, claiming “the Confederate woman was the Confederate soldier’s inspiration in every victory. She was his renewal of strength and hope in every defeat, and when the end came she was the one who stood at the threshold of our homes and heroes and, when the thick shadows of a Lost Cause settled upon his beloved home and country, she was the light by which he again made the waste places bloom. . . .” The governor glorified southern womanhood with his speech, but no more than did Katie Howard, chairperson of the Home Committee, when she spoke after him. Howard asked the Daughters, “will it detract from the reputation for courage and devotion of the southern soldier to say that the mother and wife, who suppressed their tears and wreathed their face in smiles, to bid him go, was the braver spirit?” “No,” claimed Howard, who continued by arguing that the women of the South gave their all to their country and “certainly theirs was the greater sacrifice—crushing their hearts, hiding their own emotions they became the inspiration of the splendid armies led by Lee and his Paladins.”<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Fifteenth Annual Convention*, 145.

<sup>17</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Weatherford, TX: Herold Publishing Comp., 1908), 76, 74.



The Daughters had accomplished an amazing task in only four years. Ella Dancy Dibrell, president of the Division in 1907, reported during the convention that she had written 1,849 letters during the year and that each letter contained a request for donations for the home. She told the members that they would be “filled with astonishment” to know that in the past two years they had paid \$11,700 for the building, and in addition had paid taxes and incidental expenses and had pledged to furnish “twenty-one rooms at an estimate of from fifty to one hundred dollars each.” Dibrell congratulated the Daughters: they “should feel proud for these are your achievements.” Katie Howard, chairperson of the Home Committee, congratulated the Daughters also but did not dwell on their recent achievement. Instead she told the women that their work was not finished. “We are now confronted by this problem: How to maintain this home? For the Daughters of the Confederacy will not, cannot be defeated, so ‘up and at it again’—open this Home and let these women, who are deserving, find refuge from the ‘inhumanity of man.’”<sup>18</sup>

Howard knew that the Daughters faced their greatest challenge not in building a home but in maintaining it. While Texas veterans had received revenues from the state very quickly, first in rents from a public building and then through passage of a house bill, their wives and widows did not share in that good fortune. The woman’s home’s fate depended largely on the “humanity” of Texas’s men because they held the power to vote for or against a law to fund the home permanently by taking it over and making it a state institution. Such a proposal was brought before Texas voters during a special election in August 1907. An amendment to the Texas Constitution specified that the home would become a state-owned facility. Texas’s voters (all men) rejected the

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 33, 56.

proposal (41,079 for and 43,732 against). The Daughters had already paid for the complete construction costs, but would they be able to continue their fundraising efforts to maintain the home?<sup>19</sup>

This question weighed heavily on Howard's mind in the following months as the organization prepared for the home's official opening on 3 June 1908, which was timed to coincide with centennial celebration of Jefferson Davis's birth. Katie Daffan, who had been the Division president in 1903 when the home was first imagined and who had recently been re-elected president, served as the ceremony's keynote speaker. Daffan formally opened the home to all wives and widows of honorably discharged Confederate soldiers who either entered the Confederate service from Texas or came to live in the state prior to 1890 or who could themselves prove active service on behalf of the Confederate war effort. She stated that "to them [these women] it shall be a home in name and in fact, and to those who have gone before it shall be a monument more enduring than brass or marble or granite."<sup>20</sup>

Katie Howard spoke after Daffan and once again urged caution. She claimed it was "much easier to build a home than to maintain one." She spoke much more pointedly about the insensitivity of Texas's men when she said that it was "pitiful to be so near the goal, and yet so far, because the thoughtlessness of man in his careless way of voting last August made it thus." She urged the Daughters to "once more place this important question before the men of Texas, and see if they will prove worthy of the confidence you once placed in them." Howard held little back as she expressed her anger

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<sup>19</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Fifteenth Annual Convention*, 147; "Texas Election Registers: Constitutional Amendments, 6 August 1907," roll 17, #552, Texas State Library and Archives, Austin, Texas.

toward the callousness of male voters. She challenged the men emotionally, crying, “Men of Texas, again we appeal to you! Cast off your indifference and prove that you are worthy to be descendants of the men who so gallantly wore the gray. Tis a duty that you dare not neglect, ere it be too late.” Though Howard may have been referring to the possibility of wives and widows dying before the house came under state control, her experience and her forced reliance on womanly “influence” to achieve political goals may well have led her and other UDC members to the woman-suffrage campaign. While Howard did not verbalize her intent, similar threats were soon spoken by other UDC members. In the interim, the Daughters struggled to maintain the home they had built.<sup>21</sup>

The Confederate Home for Women, as it was christened in November 1907, was funded, operated, and governed solely by the United Daughters of the Confederacy from its opening in June 1908 until October 1911. During this period a thirteen-member Board of Managers administered the institution while Lou Giles, Superintendent, and Annie McDaniel, Matron, handled the day-to-day operations. The Daughters also asked seven men (Colonel D. A Nunn, Cone Johnson, T. M. Campbell, Zachary Fulmore, K. M. Van Zandt, O. B. Colquitt, and George Littlefield) to serve on an advisory board. The organization outlined procedures for the home at its 1908 convention, setting the responsibilities of the matron, creating a process for voicing grievances, and establishing grounds for dismissal from the institution. They also drafted a series of house rules,

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<sup>20</sup> *Austin Statesman*, 3 June 1908.

<sup>21</sup> *Austin Statesman*, 4 June 1908.

including directions for the occupants to clean their rooms, be on time for meals, and cooperate with the management.<sup>22</sup>

The Daughters were forced to continue their fundraising efforts during this period. Chapters, members, and private citizens signed pledges to furnish individual rooms in the home. In addition the Daughters collected items from any individual willing to donate something useful: books, linens and clothing, toiletries, household articles, and furniture were added to the growing collection at the Woman's Home. Because of these donations, the UDC was able to modernize the building with a coal furnace, running water, electric lighting, and a telephone. Individual donations also allowed for the construction of a cesspool on the property, since no sewer connections were available.<sup>23</sup>

Despite the generous contributions they received, the Daughters continued to seek state support for the home. After its opening in 1908, the UDC formed a new Legislative Committee to write and encourage the passage of an amendment to the Texas Constitution that would make it possible for the state to assume control of the Women's Home. Alice Colquitt, chairperson of the Legislative Sub-committee, wrote a letter to each member of the Texas House of Representatives in March 1909 and explained the Daughters' stand regarding the passage of their proposed amendment. She claimed that the UDC had

Worked hard to establish it [the home] and have never relaxed our efforts or energies in doing those things which we could to

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<sup>22</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Weatherford, Tx.: Herald Publishing Co., 1909), 43; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Fifteenth Annual Convention*, 43-47, 147.

<sup>23</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Eleventh Annual Convention*; 58; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Twelfth Annual Convention*, 77; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Thirteenth Annual Convention*, 43-46; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy*, (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones, 1910), 37; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Fifteenth Annual Convention*, 147.

alleviate the suffering of the Confederate soldiers and bring them to the realization of the reward which is justly due them. . . . We have always stood by you and beg you now not to let us suffer defeat in this manner. It seems hard on us, after we have labored so incessantly and unselfishly both for the men and the women of the Lost Cause to have our hopes in this matter defeated at the last moment. I have been working as chairman of the committee appointed by the Daughters of the Confederacy to look after this matter, and have tried to do the work assigned to me without giving offense to anyone, and I am making this last appeal through you to do what is possible to accomplish at least that which the Democratic platform has promised the Daughters of the Confederacy to do so.<sup>24</sup>

Colquitt's letter, like Howard's earlier speech, hinted at the Daughters' frustrations with Texas's male lawmakers and voters.

In an attempt to express their frustration more powerfully, the organization launched an intensive statewide canvassing drive in January 1908. By the next year, their campaigning efforts on the local level and their continued veiled threats brought results. The Texas legislature agreed in the early months of 1909 to sponsor once again a constitutional amendment for a state-supported Confederate Woman's Home. The new amendment was submitted to Texas's voters during the general election of November 1910, and this time the measure passed by a wide margin (113,549 for and 28,534 against), due entirely to the Daughters' efforts at arousing a "proper public sentiment." In March 1911 the Texas legislature adopted an act empowering the state to receive the Texas Confederate Woman's Home from the Texas Daughters. The property was formally conferred on 23 December 1911, eight years after the first UDC member had suggested a state-supported home for women.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Fourteenth Annual Convention*, 43-44.

<sup>25</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Fifteenth Annual Convention*, 13, 147; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Sixteenth Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the*

Transfer of the home did not occur smoothly. The state failed to take over maintenance of the institution until October 1912, despite the fact that the home had been immediately placed under the jurisdiction of an all-male board of managers appointed by the governor. Though the new board officially replaced the UDC's involvement in the home, the Daughters found themselves maintaining the facility for ten additional months without the benefit of the contributions they had expected. Lou Giles, superintendent of the home prior to its transfer, claimed that it was only by the generosity of local merchants, "accepting the small contributions sent in by the different Chapters and applying it as far as it went," that the home had continued to function.<sup>26</sup>

Though men now took over managerial control of the home, the day-to-day operations were left to a woman, Katie Daffan. Her appointment as Superintendent of the Confederate Woman's Home by Governor O. B. Colquitt made her the first woman in the state ever to serve on the board of a state institution. Daffan continued to function in that position until 1918, constantly lobbying on behalf of the home's occupants and the women of Texas. Daffan's appointment appeared to be a landmark for Texas women's political participation, but the general displacement of the Daughters from the home's management speaks volumes about the male perception of the female role. Mrs. Milton Morris lamented the decision when she addressed her fellow members at the eighteenth annual convention in 1913. She said, "Tis true that our last Legislature saw fit to relieve the Daughters of the privilege of serving on the board of the institution, but this should

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*Confederacy* (Austin: Von-Boekmann-Jones Co., 1912), 6; "Texas Election Registers: Election Returns, 8 November 1910, roll 18, #654, Texas State Library and Archives; warranty deed executed between the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (Grantor) and the State of Texas (Grantee), 23 December 1911, Travis County Deed Records, 246: 544-555; *Confederate Veteran* 2 (November 1911): 64.

<sup>26</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Sixteenth Annual Convention*, 51.

not lessen our interest in the home, but spur us on to familiarize ourselves with the laws of the state governing these homes.”<sup>27</sup>

The members of the UDC had learned much from their experience of building and maintaining a home for indigent women. The form of “influence” they had used in the past in an attempt to persuade their male peers to respond to their requests proved slow and cumbersome when the women wanted to create something as costly as a state-supported institution. More and more, the leaders of the movement to create the home found themselves threatening Texas men that if they did not come to the organization’s aid, the men would pay a price. Male reluctance to vote for and fund a state-supported home for women, and then to administer the home, may have spurred many UDC members to reevaluate their legal and political positions. Their threats and the suggestions they made (like Morris’s that the Daughters learn more about state laws) indicate that women who actively pursued club life and the various projects their clubs proposed faced tremendous difficulties in achieving their goals because of their inability to vote.

Membership in organizations, even those as inherently conservative as the United Daughters of the Confederacy, inevitably forced women to question the male-female political relation. Though some women did little more than that, others began to speak out against the inequalities they faced. Many Texas UDC members joined other clubs, including the national suffrage organizations, and some like Sophia Johnson, who held several positions in the state and national Democratic party, and Annie Webb Blanton, elected Texas’s state superintendent of public schools in 1918, sought political office.

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<sup>27</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the*

Though the UDC remained non-political officially, the organization never discouraged its members from taking the lessons they learned as Daughters and applying them to other areas of their lives.<sup>28</sup>

Despite setbacks, the UDC ultimately achieved its original goal, a state-supported institution for the aid of elderly Confederate women. Their success involved years of prodding and constant reminders to their male peers of the debt they owed women for their aid in the Civil War and Reconstruction. Probably such reminders reached the ears of influential Texas men frequently. Almost all the men involved in aiding the women, directly or as state representatives or senators or as governor, had wives, mothers, or daughters (some not even UDC members) explaining to them the necessity of a home for women. It is surprising (considering that these men had to live with these women) that a state appropriation took as long as it did. Even after the law came into effect, the men were slow to take action. Not only did the home sit without money or direction from December 1911 until October 1912, when the state finally took over, but also later, when improvements were needed, Katie Daffan had to lobby the state for aid once again.

The story of the Confederate Woman's Home reveals the general insensitivity of turn-of-the-century Texas men toward women's issues. The Confederate Men's Home received state aid almost immediately because its board of directors was made up of some of the most politically prominent and wealthy men in the state. The wives and daughters of these same men found it far more difficult to receive similar consideration.

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*Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones Co., 1914), 37.

<sup>28</sup> Alice J. Cooksey, "A Woman of her Time: Birdie Robertson Johnson," *East Texas Historical Association* 24 (Fall 1986): 33-45; Debbie Mauldin Cottrell, *Pioneer Woman Educator: The Progressive Spirit of Annie Webb Blanton* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1993).



Katie Daffan labored diligently throughout 1915 in an attempt to get the state to add a hospital to the home's grounds. She addressed the all-male board of directors and explained that "the long-needed improvement . . . will enable us to concentrate our sick, thereby giving them the best attention . . . [and] giving us room for new applicants." Daffan's efforts eventually proved effective, but only after an agreement was reached to name the hospital the Fannie Ferguson Memorial Hospital, a token of appreciation perhaps or possibly payment for the influence and efforts of the state's governor, James E. Ferguson (Fannie was James Ferguson's mother).<sup>29</sup>

The hospital, completed in 1916, did increase the capacity of the institution. With the chronically ill removed to the hospital and a recent addition added to the old building, the facility was capable of supporting eighty women. All available slots filled quickly. Admission requirements to the home remained broad: wives and widows of honorably discharged Confederate soldiers or women who had aided the war effort and who were over sixty and without means of support or the ability to make a living were eligible to live in the home. Women who sought admission, though, had to be recommended and endorsed by two citizens of good standing from their local area. Most of these recommendations came through UDC chapters, and the local clubs determined most of the admission decisions.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Board of Managers and Superintendent of the Confederate Woman's Home, *Fourth Annual Report of Board of Managers and Superintendent of the Confederate Woman's Home* (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones Co., 1915), 5-7.

<sup>30</sup> "Ceremonies in the Celebration of the Centennial of the Birth of Jefferson Davis and the Dedication of the Confederate Woman's Home," 3 June 1908, Confederate Woman's Home Subject File, Austin History Center, Austin Texas; "Everything Now Ready," *Austin Statesman*, 2 June 1908; *Confederate Veteran* 22 (June 1914): 273.

Though admission requirements were generous, some local chapters drew lines of distinction when they determined the women whom they deemed “worthy” of aid. In 1917 the Galveston UDC chapter received a letter from the home’s superintendent, Katie Daffan, asking for financial assistance for one of the female occupants. Daffan suggested that the chapter give either \$.25 or \$.50 a month until the state could provide more care. The chapter voted, instead, to give the woman one dollar and no more, despite the fact that the Veuve Jefferson Davis chapter in Galveston was one of the largest and wealthiest chapters in the state. The request, however, was apparently not unusual. As one member, Margaret Watson, explained, “the woman hunting around to get help and money from our chapter has cheek—just turn them down every time—I call them floating derelicts.”<sup>31</sup>

Ironically, Watson soon found herself at the mercy of the state’s support. Watson served the UDC loyally for many years. An officer in her local chapter, she also worked as a state officer (historian) for three years (1906 to 1908.) When her husband’s health failed, Watson found herself unable to care for or support them both. With no other options, she followed her husband to Austin, where they both moved into the Confederate Men’s Home. (By the 1920s the men’s home had begun to allow the wives of ailing veterans to accompany them into the facility.) Just a few weeks after she referred to the woman who had sought aid from Galveston’s UDC chapter as a floating derelict, she wrote a fellow UDC member and claimed, “if I die here I will never be reconciled as long as I have my senses. I stay here because Mr. Watson will not leave the only home he has, so he says—If I desert him, all I have suffered is in vain so I am between the devil and

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<sup>31</sup> Margaret Watson to My Dear Cecile, 12 June 1923, box 3, file 28, Labadie-Tucker Family

the deep sea—I am here but not by my will.” Watson’s friend responded that “It is better for you both to be together and the Lone Star State considers it a blessed privilege to have a home for the men and women who have served so faithfully.” One wonders if Watson re-evaluated her judgment of “floating derelicts.”<sup>32</sup>

Watson, like her friend, probably did not see the similarities in the women’s positions. Though all involved were female, they did not necessarily align themselves based on gender but rather according to perceived social standards. Even women who met the home’s admission requirements and had been recommended by other women of good standing found themselves potential targets if their behavior veered from the Daughters’ expectations. Mrs. G. A. Whitehead, a resident of the home in 1910, was dismissed because she became “unmanageable and was giving trouble.” She was pronounced of “unsound mind” and was moved to the State Insane Asylum by the Board of Managers. Daffan did not explain the specific “trouble” Whitehead was creating in her annual report, but she did say that Mrs. Whitehead was “found to be ineligible in other ways.”<sup>33</sup>

Daffan described the difficulties the Daughters faced in recommending the right type of women they believed should receive state aid. She said that “in making out application papers, the Chapters are compelled to rely upon the information they can gather from friends and acquaintances for the applicant, and the true conditions are not always known until they have been admitted, and the Superintendent has had time and

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Papers, Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Texas.

<sup>32</sup> Margaret Watson to My Dear Cecile, 3 July 1923, box 3, file 28, Labadie-Tucker Family Papers, Rosenberg Library; Mrs. C. C. (Cecile) Yancey to Dear Mrs. Watson, 13 August 1923, box 3, file 28, Labadie-Tucker Family Papers, Rosenberg Library.

<sup>33</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Fourteenth Annual Convention*, 38.

occasion to become thoroughly acquainted with them. The Board must necessarily rely upon the evidence furnished in the applications.” At times this preliminary screening process failed. In such instances, they were either dismissed, as was Mrs. G. A. Whitehead, or, in the case of Mrs. M. A. Chambers, reprimanded. Chambers had been discovered writing letters in 1910 to acquaintances that portrayed the home in a poor light, some, as Daffan explained, anonymously and some “fictitiously signed.” The Navarro Chapter of Corsicana, which had originally recommended Chambers, satisfied of her “guilt,” at once “reprimanded her severely,” and as Daffan explained of her subsequent behavior, “I find her at the present time much improved.”<sup>34</sup>

Though the UDC did not intend the women’s home to function as a teaching tool in the same manner as they did Confederate reunions or monuments, the Daughters believed there were still lessons to be learned from Texas’s older Confederate women and men. The UDC encouraged groups of school children and young people’s societies to gather at the home and visit and learn from the older generations, always under the watchful eyes of the Daughters, who ensured that the youth of Texas met the finest of Texas’s Confederates. At times the organization’s surveillance proved ineffective, since women like Chambers mailed out letters that the UDC frowned upon. Much more frequently, though, the organization attempted to lead the home’s occupants (both the widows and the veterans) to control their own behavior.<sup>35</sup>

The minister of a local Methodist Church, who was also the chaplain of the Albert Sidney Johnston Chapter, UDC, and a veteran, held services every Sunday afternoon in

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> “Haven of Rest for Women of the Southern Confederacy,” *Austin Statesman*, 27 July 1919, p. 3, sect. B.

the women's home where the old ladies, "neatly dressed," were encouraged by the Daughters to assemble. Katie Howard described the scene as a moment of "perfect peace, rest, and comfort."<sup>36</sup>

The UDC instituted similar programs for the veterans. Austin's local UDC chapter brought in girls from the city to read to the veterans, but "the program was so long, the old men so deaf, that the house was about deserted after an hour." Margaret Watson, who described the day in a letter, claimed that "this made Mrs. Spain [from the local UDC chapter] mad, and I left her lecturing them about not appreciating the U.D.C. It came out that the men wanted a woman Evangelist to preach at that hour and Mrs. Spain got ahead of her."<sup>37</sup>

The Confederate Woman's Home remained one of the only options available in the state for destitute white women, and one of only a few in the region. The institution reflected the UDC's concern about the care and welfare of Texas's women. It reached its highest occupancy levels between 1920 and 1935, when admissions began to slacken. Death rates mounted, and most of the surviving women were either bedridden or frail. The home's 1938 biennial report stated that "more than half of the . . . ladies . . . require almost constant hospitalization, and . . . most of the applications being received are from those whose senility and poor physical condition require hospitalization and . . . constant

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<sup>36</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Fourteenth Annual Convention*, 37; Margaret Watson to My Dear Cecile, 3 July 1923, box 3, file 28, Labadie-Tucker Family Papers, Rosenberg Library.

<sup>37</sup> Margaret Watson to My Dear Friends, 30 May 1923, box 3, file 28, Labadie-Tucker Family Papers, Rosenberg Library.

care.” The home’s occupancy rate fell between 1938 and 1945 from eighty-seven to fifty-five.<sup>38</sup>

In 1949 the Woman’s Home fell under the control of the Board of Texas State Hospital and Special Schools. Rumors of physical and emotional abuse at the home spread quickly. The board was generally indifferent to maintaining the institution’s existence because other institutions under their control, like the State School for the Blind and the State Hospital System, held a higher priority. By the late 1950s the nine women who remained in the home were consolidated into a wing in the hospital, and in 1963 the last three residents were moved to private nursing homes at the state’s expense.<sup>39</sup>

The UDC faced its greatest challenge in attempting to build a home for poor and feeble women. This type of charitable work revealed the depth of the members’ commitment to aiding not only the soldiers of the Civil War, but the women who suffered alongside them. The home offered shelter for many women who otherwise would have lived and died in far poorer circumstances. To view the organization as existing simply to worship the Confederate veteran is to miss the lengths to which the Daughters went to ensure that the efforts of their sex were remembered and properly honored. Serving as a place of refuge and a monument more meaningful than stone, the Confederate Woman’s Home revealed the organization’s strength and its weakness. Though the Daughters

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<sup>38</sup> State Board of Control, *Ninth Biennial Report of State Board of Control* (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones Co., 1939), 81.

<sup>39</sup> Board for Texas State Hospitals and Special Schools, *Report of the Board for Texas State Hospitals and Special Schools* (Austin: Board for State Hospitals and Special Schools, 1950), Appendix, 1; Barbara Ann Stocklin, “The Texas Confederate Woman’s Home: A Case Study in Historical Preservation and Neighborhood Conservation Planning” (master’s thesis, University of Texas, 1991), 64-67.

carried out an enormous task, they faced difficulties to such a degree that many began, possibly for the first time, to vocalize dissent against their men publicly.



**Figure 5. Eastern view of the Confederate Woman's Home, 1917. Courtesy of Austin History Center, Austin Public Library, #C00913.**



CHAPTER SIX  
VINDICATION FOR THE SOUTH: RECONCILIATION,  
PATRIOTISM, AND THE FEMALE CITIZEN

Texas resident and Confederate veteran J. B. Beck wrote his state representative, James W. Truitt, also a Confederate veteran, in 1893 to express his concern over what he perceived as the declining status of the region's Civil War soldiers. Beck pleaded for the politician to do something that would help him inform the "sons of Confederates and the public generally" about the South's participation in the war, but Beck was not optimistic. He explained to Truitt that, "I know, however, the hard and faithful pull that is necessary to ever arouse the public mind sufficiently to come together and listen quietly and gently to the quivering voice of the ex-Confederate Soldier." The old soldier was pessimistic: "It's going to be very hard to impress this generation to ever see that we were loyal to the Constitution of the U. S.," wrote Beck, "and unless the old Confederates take hold and at once the truest, best and most patriotic people on earth will be handed down to the history of our country as traitors, and the coming generation will be in a condition to believe it too."<sup>1</sup>

If the veterans had depended on their sons or the general public to vindicate the southern soldier, as Beck suggested, southerners might well have remained branded as traitors. But while the veterans' sons seemed to have little interest in proving their

<sup>1</sup> J. B. Beck to James W. Truitt, 25 January 1893, James W. Truitt Papers, Center for American History, Austin, Texas.

fathers' loyalty, their daughters took up the cause whole heartedly. Adelia Dunovant, Historian General of the Texas UDC, announced at the 1900 annual convention that "the vindication of the Men of the South is our [the United Daughters of the Confederacy's] first and highest duty." Although Dunovant may have exaggerated the organization's commitment (most Daughters considered caring physically for the veterans and their wives to be their greatest obligation), her statement certainly stressed the perceived need the Daughters felt to prove that southerners were loyal to the United States and its Constitution.<sup>2</sup>

UDC members maintained that not only were Confederate soldiers loyal American patriots but that their daughters were also faithful and active citizens. These women claimed that they had not "organized to perpetuate bitter feeling, nor recall the wrong and injustice of a sorrowful epoch in the nation's history," as some critics of the organization accused, but had instead, as Mrs. M. R. Walton expressed to the women gathered in Austin 1899 for the annual convention, joined forces for a "nobler mission," that of "rescuing from oblivion the veritable records of the brave struggle and thus be enabled to compel admiration for the loyal devotion of the southern soldier." One of the "noble missions" the United Daughters of the Confederacy attempted to achieve when it organized in 1896 was a form of vindication for the South through the fostering of an ideal of patriotic equality between the regions. Over time, as national events demonstrated the South's willingness to unite with the North against outside aggression and as the Daughters' understanding of themselves as female citizens evolved, the UDC sought less to justify than to reconcile. Though many southern men bragged about the

<sup>2</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Convention of the Texas*

irreconcilability of southern women, the story was actually more complex. The editor of *The Sponsor Souvenir Album and History of the UCV Reunion, 1895*, for example, claimed that southern white women “were the last to be reconstructed. Some of them have never been reconstructed. Some of them never will be reconstructed.” In fact, the Daughters realized that ideological separatism was bad for the region—for political reasons and because of the changing nature of patriotism.<sup>3</sup>

The UDC’s understanding of the nature of patriotism and citizenship changed, especially as the organization’s members attempted to resolve the seemingly incompatible idea of themselves as American patriots while maintaining a loyalty to the Confederacy. The Daughters’ definition of patriotism, which hinged on their belief in the South’s unwavering support of the Constitution, made them, in their own minds, steadfast citizens. The region’s participation in the Spanish-American War, World War I, and World War II only emphasized the South’s continued devotion to the Constitution. Despite what Yankees might claim, the South had, in the UDC’s opinion, always been loyal. In addition to the willingness of southern men and women to fight in the United States’s armed forces, other events, like the opening of the Panama Canal and the national trend toward increased racial and ethnic hostility, seemed to confirm in the Daughters’ minds the rightness of the Old South’s cause. This made justification less important to the organization and reconciliation more feasible.

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*Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Ennis: Hal Marchbanks, Printer, 1901), 37.

<sup>3</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Tyler: Sword and Shield Publishing Comp., 1900), 4; William Bledsoe Philpott, ed., *The Sponsor Souvenir Album and History of the UCV Reunion, 1895* (Houston: Sponsor Souvenir Comp., 1985), 41.

In addition to the move toward reconciliation, UDC members experienced a change in their understanding of themselves as citizens. Initially, the women of the UDC considered their role as patriots to be maternal, nurturing and supporting future male leaders, but as their confidence grew and as they began participating actively in clubs, movements, and the world wars, the Daughters realized that there was room within the space of patriotism to expand their own roles. The nation's increased preoccupation with patriotism and citizenship opened up opportunities for southern white women to stress their own accomplishments and bravery and potentially to improve the status of the majority of white southern women.

Historian Wallace Evan Davies characterizes the 1890s in America as a “renaissance of patriotism.” His book, *Patriotism on Parade: The Story of Veterans and Hereditary Organizations in America*, traces only a few of the more than seventy national patriotic hereditary organizations that existed at the time. The United Daughters of the Confederacy was one of many similar groups founded as a social body with objectives that stressed the defining and furthering of patriotism and citizenship. When the Texas Daughters organized in 1896, they believed, as J. B. Beck stressed in his letter to James Truitt, that the actions of the southern people in the Civil War required justification. They, along with the United Confederate Veterans (UCV), continued an effort begun immediately after the war to transform the meaning and causes of the conflict to displace culpability. Such a transformation of the war's meaning, believed the Daughters, would illustrate to the North the rightness of the southern cause. Southerners had not fought the war because of grievances or particular regional differences but because of their belief in “sacred principles,” principles the Daughters most often

associated with the American Revolution of 1776. The South was always, in the words of Adelia Dunovant, the “true union party; because the men of the South always conformed to the Constitution of the United States.” But, she warned, there could never be “fraternity” between the sections until there was “equality.”<sup>4</sup>

The Texas UDC worked toward an understanding and an awareness of an “equality” between the regions, denouncing the projected “insults and superior thinking of the Yankees.” The organization maintained that it did not exist to “rebel at fate and stir up a feeling of bitterness and enmity, but rather to keep alive that feeling of love for and loyalty to those who sacrificed everything for principle, and suffered untold hardships for a cause which they believed to be right; a cause which meant to them liberty, justice, honor, all!” Such attempts to spread this idea of southern rightness sometimes aroused suspicion. For example, a Union veteran warned the public in 1912 that the UDC was “busy everywhere spreading their propaganda. Even in Washington they are busy,” he claimed. In Iowa a judge and past commander of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) cautioned a female audience as late as 1943 that they “must stand ready to combat the baleful influence of that other group of women, the Daughters of the Southern Confederacy,” because “there are still those who believe the stars and bars stood for something pure and noble.” These types of protests were possible in the mid-

<sup>4</sup> Wallace Evan Davies, *Patriotism on Parade: The Story of Veterans' and Hereditary Organizations in America, 1783-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955); Mary A. Sutherland, *The Story of Corpus Christi* (Houston: Rein and Sons, Comp., 1916), 140; Adelia A. Dunovant, “My Country’s Altar,” in Olivia B. Davis Collection, Texas Woman’s University, Denton, Texas.

1940s only because the Daughters had been so successful in their effort to portray the southern cause as a noble one.<sup>5</sup>

It was through this sense of nobility of motivation that the UDC hoped to achieve vindication for the region. The Daughters believed that even “those not in sympathy” with the South would still be able to “admire the generalship, heroism, and ennobling sacrifice” of the southern people. Time and again UDC members spoke of the Civil War as a “heroic epoch” when “both sides illustrated the patriotism, the courage and heroic devotion of the American people.” Some may have viewed the organization’s fixation with the war as a sign that southerners showed no contrition for the part the region had played. UDC members disagreed and believed that by recalling the past—a past they conveniently, although perhaps unconsciously, altered to reflect only the more appealing aspects of the conflict—they could illustrate what true citizens southerners were.<sup>6</sup>

The UDC did more than just talk about the rightness of the southern cause when they paralleled the actions of the two sides to stress the truly “Americanness” of the South. While celebrating Decoration Day, the UDC often placed flowers on Union graves as well as Confederate graves, as they did in Waco in 1896. Mary West, president of the newly formed Waco chapter, explained in a newspaper account of the day that equality was shown in placing “wreaths and crosses” on graves because the Union soldiers buried there had migrated to the city after the war and “prospered and died honored citizens.”

<sup>5</sup> Dunovant, “My Country’s Altar,” Davis Collection, Texas Woman’s University; *Confederate Veteran* 10 (January 1902): 9; “GAR Speaker Hit Confederacy Group,” newspaper clipping in UDC vertical file, Caroline Meriwether Goodlett Library, Richmond, Virginia; “GAR declares War on Confederate Daughters,” newspaper clipping in Daughters of the Republic of Texas Scrapbook (9), Center for American History, Austin, Texas.

<sup>6</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 10 (January 1902): 9; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Convention*, 19; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the First Annual*

Similar acts of magnanimity between the former enemies extended to UDC monument ceremonies and even to the recruitment of members to the organization.<sup>7</sup>

The Texas UDC consistently invited local Union veterans' organizations to participate in ceremonial parades, and the veterans accepted the ladies' invitations on a regular basis. Although the Union veterans participated in UDC-sponsored events, that did not mean they accepted the Confederacy's actions in the war. Nevertheless, the Daughters believed the participation represented a form of vindication for the South, vindication based on the ideological parity between the sections that the UDC fostered. The guest speaker at the erection of Dallas's monument explained this sense of equality when he addressed the audience and claimed that Dallas's citizens were "neither federal nor Confederate, native nor foreign born, but Americans all." He argued that the crowd attended the monument's unveiling because they approved of the erection of such a memorial, not because they wanted to recall past feelings or relive the bitter conflict. Dallas simply wanted to celebrate "the glory of the blue and the gray." Attendance at the ceremony represented an act of American citizenship and patriotism, said Crawford, best illustrated by the participation in the parade of the George H. Thomas Post of the Grand Army of the Republic.<sup>8</sup>

Former Postmaster General of the Confederacy John Reagan addressed the crowd gathered at the monument unveiling in San Antonio in 1899, claiming that the city's monument represented the "contribution from those who wore the blue as well as those who wore the grey." Similarly, the town of Sherman's monument ceremony encouraged

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*Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy*, 168, box 3, folder 20, Julia Jackson Chapter Papers, Fort Worth Public Library, Fort Worth, Texas.

<sup>7</sup> *Dallas Morning News*, 6 May 1896.

the editor of the local newspaper to ask that Texans not forget that “grand type of Americanism, the southern soldier.” The editor went on to write that the “northern spectators” who attended the city’s monument unveiling “saw the South in its true light,” and “felt themselves among a patriotic people, manly and brave and true enough to honor those who left to them the heritage of a glorious history.”<sup>9</sup>

Although it is impossible now to gauge the response of those “northern spectators,” it appears that most native southerners and transplanted Yankees were able to co-exist peacefully in Texas after Reconstruction. A general sense of equality was fostered between veteran organizations in the state. Many UCV camps allowed GAR camps to use their meeting facilities. Blue and gray veterans met on the same night in Fort Worth—both used rooms in the courthouse basement down the hall from each other. The national UDC at its general convention in 1899 changed its eligibility requirements to include northern women who had married Confederate veterans after 1865. The wife could become a UDC member if a local chapter was willing to adopt her. While such adoptions were infrequent, at least one northern-born woman sought membership in and was adopted by Fort Worth’s Julia Jackson chapter.<sup>10</sup>

During these early years the Texas UDC sought vindication for the southern soldier by fostering an atmosphere of equality between the regions. While the Daughters claimed to “know that it is difficult for those not allied to us by ties of blood to understand how we Southern women, American women, teaching our children the loftiest

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<sup>8</sup> *Dallas Morning News*, 26 June 1896.

<sup>9</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Convention*, 70; *Dallas Morning News*, 22 April 1897.

<sup>10</sup> Dora Davenport Jones, *The History of the Julia Jackson Chapter #141, United Daughters of the Confederacy, Fort Worth, Texas, 1897-1976* (Fort Worth: Kwik-Kopy Printing Center, 1976), 83.



patriotism—to glory in, to honor and support the Stars and Stripes—yet fold close to their hearts and swear eternal allegiance to a blood-stained banner forever furled,” they did so based on the assumption that the South had remained loyal to a “principle of government claimed by our forefathers.” That principle, believed the Daughters, “began with [George] Washington and ended with [Robert E.] Lee.” The UDC argued that the region’s “devotion to a glorious past was not only the surest guarantee of future progress and the holiest bond of unity, but also the strongest claim that [the South] could present to the confidence and respect of all sections of the Union.”<sup>11</sup>

More than a state phenomenon, the national UDC engaged in similar attempts to foster unity between the regions and make what had formally been Confederate symbols compatible with American patriotism. The organization held its annual convention in 1912 in Washington, DC, a surprising location for a group that represented the states that had seceded from the federal union. President William Howard Taft addressed the ladies and broached the strange turn of events when he said, “I know that the nice sense of propriety of a fine old social school would have prevented you from inviting me, as the President of the United States, to be present,” but “you are not here to mourn or support a cause. You are here to celebrate, and justly to celebrate, the heroism, the courage and the sacrifice to the uttermost of your fathers and your brothers and your mothers and your

<sup>11</sup>United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Nineteenth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Jackson, Pennsylvania: McCowat Mercer, 1913), 10; United Confederate Veterans, *Minutes of the Twenty-first Annual Meeting and Reunion of the United Confederate Veterans, Division of Texas* (no place.: no publisher, 1912), available at the Dallas Public Library, Dallas, Texas; United Daughters of the Confederacy Papers, box I, folder 14, Archives/Special Collections, Victoria College/University of Houston-Victoria, Victoria, Texas.

sisters, and of all your kin, in a cause which they believed in their hearts to be right, and for which they were willing to lay down their lives.”<sup>12</sup>

Although the UDC believed it had been somewhat successful in its attempts to honor the Confederate veteran and justify the region’s actions in the war, the message that Taft delivered had been shaped by more than just the efforts of the UDC. True respect for the region had remained beyond the reach of the Daughters, and while their efforts at constructing an ideology of equality might have worked, given enough time, national and international events intervened that sped up the process of vindication and ultimately led to a reconciliation between the North and South, a process illustrated by Taft’s speech at the Daughter’s annual convention. Taft claimed that “no son of the South and no son of the North, with any spark in him of pride of race, can fail to rejoice in that common heritage of courage and glorious sacrifice that we have in the story of the Civil War. . . .” This was possible, said Taft, now that “all the bitterness of the struggle on our part of the North has passed away,” and “we are able to share with you of the South your just pride in your men and women who carried on the unexampled contest to an exhaustion that few countries ever suffered.” More than just bitterness had passed in the years after the Civil War to mellow the North’s attitude toward the South. Such a sharing of pride became possible only after a series of events, beginning with in the late 1890s and culminating in the 1940s, illustrated that the regions had more similarities than differences.<sup>13</sup>

When the United States declared war on Spain in April 1898 to support Cuban independence, southerners responded with their usual enthusiasm for martial activity.

<sup>12</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Nineteenth Annual Convention*, 8.

The editor of the *Confederate Veteran* expressed dismay because northerners seemed surprised that southern men were enlisting to serve in the United States Army. Some northerners seemed to think that white southerners had “suddenly become loyal,” when in fact, said the editor, “the South had been loyal all the time” and had “sacrificed themselves for the principles of government established by the country’s founders.” Texans reacted to the news of war with excitement and began enlisting immediately. Dallas mustered a company of 175 volunteers, and more than 25,000 citizens gathered at the train station to see them off and witness the local chapter of the Daughters of the Confederacy present them with a Texas flag.<sup>14</sup>

Katie Cabell Currie Muse, founder of the Texas Daughters of the Confederacy, had been elected President-general of the national UDC in 1897 and served as a “war President” during the first year of her administration. She encouraged the women of the national organization, and especially her fellow female Texans, to participate as actively as possible in aiding the country in the war effort. The Texas Division reported record amounts of service. For example, the William P. Rogers Chapter of Victoria and the Barnard E. Bee Chapter of San Antonio “prepared lint, bandages and suitable garments for the ill and wounded Texans in the United States service.”<sup>15</sup>

Though the war with Spain lasted only four months, Currie Muse encouraged “every patriotic endeavor to serve the United States during this crisis.” In her presidential address at the National Convention in Hot Springs, Arkansas, she “pointed

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<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>14</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 6 (November 1898): 512; C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), 369; John William Rogers, *The Lusty Texans of Dallas* (Dallas: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1951), 192.

with pride to the fact that so many of the comforts sent to the soldiers in the Spanish-American War were the loving gifts of true Southern women.” Those same women welcomed their men back home after the war and embraced them as American patriots. The editor of the *Confederate Veteran* declared that the region could “rejoice in a reunited republic,” and Texans did rejoice. Many returning companies received warm welcomes, parades, and feasts from their local communities. Longview’s volunteers marched in a parade to the lawn of the city’s courthouse where the ladies of the county had organized a “welcoming social.”<sup>16</sup>

Their local communities embraced the Texas men who volunteered and fought in the Spanish-American War. Their fellow citizens understood them to be carrying on an unbroken support for the principles and values inherent in the American tradition. The women of the Texas UDC proudly supported their men, and though they may have believed that the wounds from the Civil War were far from completely healed, they understood that the region’s participation and support in the Spanish-American War had done much to bring about a greater sense of justice and understanding for the South.<sup>17</sup>

Though the Spanish-American War marked a milestone in normalizing relations between the regions, it hardly ended the debate over sectional reconciliation. In the wake of the “united” war effort, Adelia Dunovant, the outspoken Historian General of the Texas Division and one of the few Daughters still keeping alive sectional grievances and

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<sup>15</sup> Mary B. Poppenheim, *The History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, Inc., 1925), 41.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*; *Confederate Veteran* 6 (July 1898): 324-325; *Longview Morning Journal*, 3 May 1970.

<sup>17</sup> Some historians claim that the Spanish-American War marked the climax of the reconciliation process. For examples, see Paul H. Buck, *The Road to Reunion, 1865-1900* (1937; reprint, Boston: Little, Brown, 1947), 306-307; and Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993). My own research reveals that the Spanish-

openly referring to the North as the “enemy,” wrote several articles for Confederate magazines and spoke to many UDC chapters and veterans’ camps about the need for the South to continue to support the principle of states’ rights. She demanded that the Daughters, and by extension all lovers of the Confederacy, avoid the term “nation” when referring to the United States. Dunovant argued that America had “never been a nation” but was instead a “federative system of free, sovereign, and independent states.” If the Daughters failed in their vigilance, they risked “throwing down the South’s great bulwark of defense” and might “destroy the very basis” upon which the region had justified its position in the Civil War.<sup>18</sup>

Dunovant may have been outspoken, but her opinions remained in the minority. Most Texas UDC members encouraged the progress they felt had been made by their region’s participation in the Spanish-American War. The Daughters viewed the recognition of Panama in 1904 and the building of the new Panamanian canal as another point of vindication for the region that would greatly improve relations. Many southerners, not only members of the various Confederate hereditary organizations, believed that President Theodore Roosevelt’s actions in Panama proved the rightness of the southern cause. Texas UDC president Katie Daffan wrote the president and included the UDC’s convention resolutions regarding his recognition of the Republic of Panama. Daffan argued that Roosevelt’s actions showed the “world his endorsement of the principle of the right of secession—the northern states have accepted and approved his course, have shown that they have been led by him out of the fog of ignorance to the

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American War represented a major step toward reconciliation, but the North and South would not truly reconcile until World War I.

bright realms of truth attained by the southern states so many years ago.” Daffan sent Roosevelt the Daughters’ approval “for his endorsement of the principles and his vindication of the cause for which the southern people fought so gloriously but so disastrously in the War Between the States.” Though the Daughters hoped Roosevelt would reply (it had been the state secretary’s first duty to send a copy of the resolutions to the president marked with “RSVP”), Roosevelt never responded. Texas’s state UDC secretary, Mrs. W. P. Lane, told the women gathered for the 1904 convention that “either the President ignored the request or his clerk was not posted on the French initials, as no answer was received.” Despite the Daughters’ graciousness, it is impossible to imagine how Roosevelt could have responded without offending someone.<sup>19</sup>

While the Daughters may have been disappointed that President Roosevelt did not issue a statement that confirmed their viewpoint, their letter and the convention’s resolutions mark a turning point in the organization’s mission. No longer working only within the confines of the region, the UDC began to look for ways to function on the national level. A letter to the *Confederate Veteran* reflected the change taking place when it stated that “the women of the South, no less patriotic than the men, formed themselves into societies for the purpose of contributing to the wants of the [Confederate] soldiers.” The writer claimed that “what we did, had to be done speedily,” but “we were novices in war affairs then.” The author implied that the women were no longer

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<sup>18</sup> “The Term ‘Nation,’” *Confederate Veteran* 9 (March 1901): 111; “Principles in Relation to Human Action,” *Confederate Veteran* 10 (February 1902): 76.

<sup>19</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 12 (March 1904): 84; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Fort Worth: Speer, 1905), 7.

“novices,” and their later actions proved they believed their role in national affairs had greatly expanded.<sup>20</sup>

During the years between World War I and World War II, the UDC actively worked with other women’s organizations in the national effort to rid the world of war. The Daughters maintained that “we of all people in the world knew of the necessity of doing all we can to promote universal peace.” After all, maintained the members, they and their mothers and fathers lived daily with the aftermath of war’s horror and devastation. Texas’s UDC president Ella Dancy Dibrell declared that “the women of today must, by their spiritual influence, throw their weight in the balance for arbitration and peace rather than war.” Despite the organization’s tremendous effort to guarantee peace, the Daughters responded to President Woodrow Wilson’s severing of diplomatic relations with Germany in 1917 by pledging their full and unconditional support.<sup>21</sup>

The UDC’s President-General Cordelia Odenheimer offered the Daughters’ assistance to President Woodrow Wilson, who made her a member of the advisory committee for the popularization of the government’s Liberty Loan drive. In addition to this commitment, Odenheimer met with the Red Cross in Washington, DC, “for the purpose of mobilizing the womanhood of the United States.” “In the present international crisis the South is the nation’s greatest asset,” claimed a Daughter in a 1918 article in the *Confederate Veteran*, and “the United Daughters of the Confederacy is one of the greatest assets of the South.” The national UDC worked tirelessly on behalf of the

<sup>20</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 7 (October 1899): 444.

<sup>21</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Weatherford: Herald Publishing Co., 1908), 32; United Daughters of the Confederacy, “President-General’s Report,” *Minutes of the Fourteenth Annual Convention, United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Austin: Von Boeckman Jones, 1910), 73.

war effort. The women raised more than \$9,000,000 to purchase Liberty Bonds and funded five wards (with ten or more beds per ward) in the American Military Hospital in Neuilly, France, just outside Paris, at a cost of \$30,000 annually. In addition to working with the Red Cross and the National Defense Committee, the UDC contributed money and time to supply field ambulances and kitchen trailers (mobile kitchens) and raised money to support French children left destitute and hungry because of the war.<sup>22</sup>

The Texas Daughters took to the war work with an even greater determination than did women in other states. Edith Lessing, editor of the Daughters' weekly column in the Waco newspaper, said that Texas women "will respond" when called to Red Cross work because "no southern women in time of war ever failed to stand behind the man at the guns." Annie Barthold, UDC state president, sent a letter to every chapter in the state in January 1918 asking that Texas's women commit themselves to work for the war effort. She claimed that the "Confederate States of America were founded upon the same broad democratic principles upon which Woodrow Wilson and the Entente powers are now seeking to establish the League of Nations to secure a permanent peace for the war-weary world." The Daughter stood at "an open door of patriotism," said Barthold, and she had pledged the state organization "to this great work, and such is my faith, that I doubt not that success will crown our united efforts during the coming year." Barthold was not disappointed. Texas proved the "banner division" of the national organization,

<sup>22</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 25 (March 1917): 122-123; *Confederate Veteran* 26 (November 1918): 499; Margaret Nell Price, "The Development of Leadership by Southern Women Through Clubs and Organizations" (master's thesis: University of North Carolina, 1945), 81.



raising more money, buying and selling more bonds, and endowing more hospital beds than any other state.<sup>23</sup>

Katie Cabell Currie Muse, almost sixty years old when the United States entered the war, accepted the position of State Director of War Relief Work, saying she undertook “this service because I want to help and I know our UDC women will help because of love for our country and for humanity’s sake.” Currie Muse labored as she had in the late 1890s when she founded the Texas Daughters. As President-General of the national UDC during the Spanish-American War, she worked hard to ensure that the UDC did its part in the war effort. Now she tried to rally her state to a similar sense of duty. Under her direction, the Texas UDC enrolled every member in the Red Cross. Ten chapters organized auxiliaries to the Red Cross, and five chapters were the first to call meetings in their towns to begin Red Cross work. Every chapter in the state gave one day each week to this work; many gave three to four days a week. Hundred of members offered either a portion of each day or the entire day to some branch of Red Cross service, working in chapter rooms, homes, churches, schools, or Red Cross Headquarters, and hundreds of members took Red Cross courses in surgical dressing, first aid, and nutrition. As a result of this work, the Texas Daughters sewed 10,237 hospital garments and 461,922 surgical dressings and knitted 9,988 garments. They collected \$17,509 in cash donations, raised funds to support seven French orphans, made weekly visits to military hospitals, entertained soldiers in their homes and joined in recreational work

<sup>23</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 25 (August 1917): 380; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Twenty-Second Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Longview: no publisher, 1917), 89-90, available at the Dallas Public Library, Dallas, Texas; *United Daughters of the Confederacy, Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Convention Reports of 1918-1919* (Marlin: no publisher, 1919), 59, available at the Dallas Public Library, Dallas, Texas.

done by war camp community services, and sent boxes of fruit jelly, magazines, books, and clothing overseas to Belgium.<sup>24</sup>

The state division took an active role in the Liberty Loan drives. Four members served the state as county chairmen for the drive, including the UDC president, Annie Barthold. Almost every chapter in the state purchased one or more Liberty Bonds, and every member either bought a bond or thrift stamps. Several chapters had thrift stamp clubs, buying stamps or selling them for the government in stores and booths erected on the streets, and some towns left the sale of thrift stamps entirely up to the Daughters of the Confederacy. An incomplete summary in 1919 reported that the Texas Daughters purchased \$94,125 in Liberty Bonds and sold \$1,949,400 during bond drives. In addition to the bonds, the state division purchased 16,226 thrift stamps and sold them for \$96,266.<sup>25</sup>

The Texas Daughters also complied with government-sponsored food conservation pledges. The organization tried to ensure that each member placed a Hoover pledge card (a promise to do without or reduce the use of particular foods) in a window of her home. State officers encouraged meatless and wheatless days, and many women attempted to can and preserve their own food. In an effort to save more farm produce for the soldiers, the organization asked that every member create a vegetable “war” garden. Katie Currie Muse planted one in her Dallas backyard but found the effort disappointing. While it appears that she did little of the work herself, she kept meticulous

<sup>24</sup>United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Twenty-Second Annual Convention*, 92; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Convention*, 59.

<sup>25</sup>United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Convention*, 59. The national organization of the UDC never published individual state figures for war work for comparative purposes. Each state kept individual records. Some published those results; others did not.

records of her expenses, including those laid out for labor. She maintained the garden for only one season, finding the expense outweighed the benefits.<sup>26</sup>

Though she found her attempts at gardening unrewarding, Currie Muse remained enthusiastic about the work the Daughters were accomplishing, especially regarding the number of beds the Texas UDC was funding at the American Military Hospital in Neuilly, France. The Daughters first learned at the General Convention in 1917 that they could offer the country much-needed assistance by maintaining a bed in the hospital at a cost of \$600 per year. The hospital had been maintained since 1914 under the auspices of the Red Cross and was financed and maintained by the American public. The Daughters became interested in the project for two main reasons. First, as Currie Muse explained to the Daughters at the Texas division's twenty-second annual convention, because "our American boys are at the front . . . we must do everything possible for their comfort at a time of injury or sickness." Furthermore, she continued, "It is both the obligation and the privilege of the UDC to aid in providing for the care of our wounded, sick and battle torn soldiers. If it be not our sons it will be some other mother's sons who will be in need and in doing our part UDC American womanhood will not have been remiss in patriotic duty."<sup>27</sup>

In addition to the Daughters' desire to bring comfort and aid to their sons, husbands, and brothers suffering overseas, the UDC learned that they would get to name each bed they endowed for a Confederate leader or Texas hero and attach a brass plate with a dedication to each bed. The national organization had endowed its first bed by

<sup>26</sup> Ibid; "Account Book," March, April, and May 1918, Katie Cabell Currie Muse Papers, Dallas Historical Society, Dallas, Texas.

February 1918 and dedicated it as a “tribute of honor and devotion to Jefferson Davis.” The new national president, Mary Poppenheim, who succeeded Cordelia Odenheimer in 1917, encouraged each state division to endow beds until “peace comes back to earth.” She claimed that “it is part of our inheritance that we shall stand faithful to it [war relief] unto the end.”<sup>28</sup>

Texas UDC women began eagerly to raise money to fund beds. Looking not only to their own membership, Currie Muse encouraged the Daughters to join with other women’s organizations in the effort to raise more money. She organized a Dallas chapter of the National League of Woman’s Service and served as its chairman for the duration of the war. Representing both groups, Currie Muse canvassed Dallas and the counties surrounding it to “drum up interest” for the war effort among African American and white women in rural areas. Currie Muse received donations from widely diverse sources, including literary clubs (Pierian Club and Dallas Shakespeare Club), church groups (Catholic Aid Society and City Temple), music clubs (Choral Club), other hereditary organizations (Daughters of the American Revolution and Daughters of 1812), the Equal Suffrage Association, the Council of Mothers, and the Dallas Free Kindergarten Club.<sup>29</sup>

Following her example, Daughters across the state solicited donations from local community organizations and from individuals. By the end of 1918, the Texas Division had funded eleven beds in the American Military Hospital, more than any other state. As

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<sup>27</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Annual Convention*, 92-93.

<sup>28</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 26 (February 1918), 86; *Confederate Veteran* 26 (April 1918), 174.

a state division, the women sponsored two beds, and two cities, Dallas and El Paso, raised enough money to sponsor two beds each. Other communities pooled resources to sponsor a bed, and two beds were funded entirely by individual contributions, both dedicated to beloved sons.<sup>30</sup>

Decca Lamar West, who held numerous officer positions in the Texas UDC, wrote about the Daughters' war work and claimed that the United States War Department considered the organization one of the most active agencies for service at home and abroad. The UDC certainly believed it had made a significant contribution to the nation's war effort. President-General Mary Poppenheim claimed the Daughters had proven themselves a "National Patriotic Society" that would continue to do great things. The organization's members, ever mindful of the past, believed they had walked "in the earnest footsteps of the women who first saw the vision of our Association" and had rallied to the support of their men and country much as had the women of the 1860s.<sup>31</sup>

The Daughters' participation in World War I solidified their patriotism—in their own minds and in the minds of others. Asked if loving the Confederacy made them less loyal citizens to the United States, Katie Currie Muse replied saying that "two past wars have proved the patriotism of the South." In reality, the Great War had a larger impact

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<sup>29</sup>*Confederate Veteran* 26 (February 1918), 86; *Confederate Veteran* 26 (April 1918), 174; Record Book of the Dallas Chapter of the Nation League of Woman's Service, p. 1-10, Cabell Papers, Dallas Historical Society.

<sup>30</sup> Record Book of the Dallas Chapter of the Nation League of Woman's Service, p. 1-10, Cabell Papers, Dallas Historical Society; *Dallas Morning News*, 18 October 1918. Only Alabama, which funded nine beds, came close to competing with Texas. Virginia, North Carolina, and Louisiana ranked third with four beds per state. For a discussion of the national UDC's war efforts see, *United Daughters of the Confederacy, Minutes of the Executive Board Meeting, United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Richmond, Va: Richmond Press, Inc. Printers, 1919), 26.

<sup>31</sup> "Report of the President General," *Minutes of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (no place: no publisher, 1922), 70-71, available at the Dallas Public Library, Dallas, Texas; *Houston Chronicle*, 2 November 1929.

than did the Spanish-American War on the region's ability to reconcile with the North.

Mayor Tom Bartlett welcomed the Texas UDC to Marlin in 1919 for their annual convention by saying,

No one is happier than I, that the day has at last come when we can say, without qualification, that sectionalism in its bitter sense has been completely wiped out. The Spanish-American War had much to do about bringing the union of the North and South, but the final fire that made the welding came in the last few years when both sides of the Mason and Dixon line answered the call to arms and in the name of Democracy struck the death blow to Prussianism.<sup>32</sup>

World War I marked the end of the outspoken bitterness between the regions, but, more important for Texas UDC members, it also marked the final steps in their growth as independent and active citizens in their own right.<sup>33</sup>

The Texas United Daughters of the Confederacy was founded as an organization for the benefit and betterment of others—namely, Confederate veterans and their families. Yet while working as Daughters, Texas members learned and redefined what it meant to be citizens. Historian Anastasia Sims claims that “as long as women worked for others rather than themselves, they remained within the boundaries of proper feminine behavior.” Essentially, UDC members never ceased working for others and thereby maintained a “proper feminine behavior,” but more and more they began to assert themselves as powerful agents able to enter the national arena and effect change for whomever they chose, even for themselves.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Convention Reports*, 43.

<sup>33</sup> Mrs. J. C. Muse [Katie Currie Muse], “Twice Told Tales (1923),” 18, bound paper in Cabell Papers, Dallas Historical Society.

<sup>34</sup> Anastasia Sims, *The Power of Femininity in the New South: Women's Organizations and Politics in North Carolina, 1880-1930* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1997), 15.

A Texas Daughter addressed the crowd gathered for the first Decoration Day after the end of World War I and asked the women present whether they were going to “leave our children to fight even more destructive wars?” She responded with an emphatic no and called “upon our women to take full share with the men in all public questions, in the way our moral forces are declaring, ‘the world is my parish!’” Such a view reflected the general change that had occurred within the Texas UDC. When the UDC was formed in 1896, most members viewed the world through an ideology that placed them at the center of a domestic sphere. Over time these women began to enlarge that sphere to include an ever-widening universe. Cornelia Branch Stone, a president of the Texas UDC, remarked in a newspaper article on the change that club membership had on women when she said that clubwomen had found themselves in a new “relation to home, husband, and children” that made her “man’s companion and co-worker.”<sup>35</sup>

The partnership that Stone referred to dealt with woman’s place in the political world. She claimed that “The two—home and country—are indissoluble, for from the home is molded the citizen, the unit of free government, which makes up the sum of the republic.” Stone’s statement represents perfectly historian Linda K. Kerber’s assessment of the ideology of “republican motherhood.” Kerber asserts that American women after

<sup>35</sup> “Decoration Day 1919,” newspaper clipping in Woodburn Chapter scrapbook, United Daughters of the Confederacy Papers, Division Records, 1863-1965, Southwest Collection, Texas Technical University, Lubbock, Texas; “Cornelia Branch Stone, Committee Chairman of the Texas Federation of Women’s Clubs,” newspaper clipping in Cornelia Branch Stone Scrapbook, Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Texas. For sources regarding women and citizenship, see Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: “Woman’s Sphere” in New England, 1780-1834* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970); Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Public Man, Private Woman: Women in Social and Political Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981); Linda K. Kerber, “A Constitutional Right to be Treated Like American Ladies: Women and the Obligations of Citizenship,” in *U.S. History as Women’s History: New Feminist Essays*, eds. Kerber, Alice Kessler-Harris, and Kathryn Kish Sklar (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 17-35; Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County*,

the wake of the Revolutionary War invented their own political characters that merged the new ideas of individual responsibility with civic virtue. Women, while prohibited from active citizenship in the form of voting or holding office, claims Kerber, could still exhibit their patriotism by nurturing and fostering a virtuous domestic environment. Thus, creation of good citizens became an extension of women's responsibilities as mothers.<sup>36</sup>

Like Cornelia Branch Stone, many UDC members believed in the ideology of the "republican mother." Adelia A. Dunovant, a president of the state organization, insisted on calling the Daughters the "mothers of the Southland." She declared at the annual convention in 1901 that the "preservation of constitutional liberty depends upon you; depends upon your instilling principles into the minds and souls of your children; depends upon your teaching them the application of those principle issues." Other members agreed but expanded their definition of home to include a much larger environment, a worldwide environment, at least for the UDC member who claimed, "the world is my Parish!" Cornelia Branch Stone was in perfect agreement with this sympathy and wrote, "it is from this sense of responsibility that the women of today are ever on the alert for [sic] the watch-tower of the temple of freedom, calling the attention of man . . . to the dangers that threaten us."<sup>37</sup>

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*New York, 1790-1865* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

<sup>36</sup> "Cornelia Branch Stone," newspaper clipping in Stone Scrapbook, Rosenberg Library; Linda K. Kerber, "The Republican Mother," eds. Linda K. Kerber and Jane Sherron de Hart, *Women's America: Refocusing the Past* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 92, 94.

<sup>37</sup> "Decoration Day 1919," newspaper clipping in Woodburn scrapbook, Southwest Collection; "Cornelia Branch Stone," newspaper clipping, Rosenberg Library.



Stone felt acutely a sense of responsibility as a citizen and wrote the newspaper article in an attempt to promote the enforcement of the poll-tax law. That statute is now considered inherently racist, but Stone believed that the law would abolish corrupt voting practices and ensure that citizens were individually responsible for the support and maintenance of their government. She was only one example of the many Texas Daughters who embraced an expanded concept of themselves as citizens, a concept that would by 1918 include women's direct participation in the electoral process.<sup>38</sup>

The national UDC officially avoided the issue of suffrage by not speaking out particularly for it or against it. Historian Anne Firor Scott claims that the organization in Mississippi openly worked for the movement after 1916, but Texas Daughters never took a similar stand. Though there were a few Daughters who openly opposed suffrage, many more supported it. For example, Eliza Sophia Robertson Johnson, president of the Texas organization in 1902, supported women's suffrage and pursued a political life. She eventually served as the vice-president of the Woman's National Wilson and Marshall Organization, as director of the Woman's War Saving Committee, as a campaigner for the Liberty Loan Committee, as co-director of State Women for Neff under the League of Women Voters, as the first Democratic national committeewoman from Texas, and as the head of the women's division of the Democratic Party.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Texas women achieved primary suffrage in the state in 1918. For an overview of suffrage in the South, see Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, *New Women of the New South: The Leaders of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the Southern States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

<sup>39</sup> Anne Firor Scott, *Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970); "Mrs. Cone Johnson," *The Confederate Daughter* 1 (February 1900): 12-13; *The Confederate Daughter* 1 (January 1900): 16; For a synopsis of Johnson's political rise, see Alice J. Cooksey, "A Woman of her Time: Birdie Robertson Johnson," *East Texas Historical Association Journal* 24 (Fall 1986): 33-45.

Nona Boren Mahoney, another UDC member, also worked for the suffrage movement in Texas. She was a member of the board of directors of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and was elected president of the Dallas Equal Suffrage Association in 1919. From 1920 until her death in 1926, Mahoney worked diligently for the Democratic party while still maintaining her membership in the Texas Daughters of the Confederacy. She was elected the first president of the Dallas League of Women Voters in 1920, was the only woman in the state to preside at a precinct convention in 1920, and was appointed to the Democratic Administration Executive Committee for the national party convention in San Francisco that year. In 1923 Mahoney served as the Democratic national committeewoman for Texas at the state's executive committee meeting.<sup>40</sup>

A lesser-known UDC member, Emma Daugherty Banister, was probably the first woman sheriff in the United States. Though she studied to become a teacher, she was serving as her husband's office deputy when he died in 1918, which left the office of sheriff of Coleman County vacant. The county's commissioners appointed Banister to complete her husband's term in office, an act that attracted national attention. The *New York World* ran a story on her under the heading "Woman a Sheriff!" and referred to her as one of a "stock of westerners that does not know fear." Banister performed her duties well, so well that the county's commissioners offered to place her name on the ballot for the next election, but she declined to run for another term in office.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup> *Dallas Morning News*, 23 March 1926; Ron Tyler et al., eds., *The New Handbook of Texas*, 6 vols. (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1996), 4:467.

<sup>41</sup> Tyler, *Handbook of Texas*, 1:368.

For these Texas Daughters, and the many more like them, the definition of citizenship had taken on a whole new meaning by the late 1910s. Not only had suffrage become a reality, women throughout the United States, not just UDC members, had proven how much their active participation in public life could mean to their united country. The Texas UDC, eager to prove its loyalty, had worked without ceasing during World War I and refused to stop after the war ended. Women like Eliza Johnson, Nona Mahoney, and Emma Banister did not see any inconsistency with their belonging to an organization like the United Daughters of the Confederacy while actively engaging in politics and public office. Both activities reflected the deep commitment these women held for their belief in a patriotic past and a progressive future. For example, Daughters like Katie Currie Muse, who had not worked in the suffrage movement and had no desire to run for public office, registered to vote because they believed it was their duty as citizens of the United States. Once enfranchised, Texas Daughters believed their vote would help them achieve goals that were increasingly nationalistic, interests that included by the 1920s racial codification and the “Americanization” of foreign immigrants.

Southerners had always claimed that “our negroes were part of the southern family,” but by 1900 they were differentiating between the “negroes of the past” and those of the present. Such a duality had occurred, at least claimed one Texas UDC member, because African Americans had been “led astray by fanatical and debased politicians.”<sup>42</sup>

The UDC never took an official stand regarding race relations. One recent study of the Texas Daughters claims that “race has not been a motivating factor” in the

organization, and the group does not “strive to address racial issues.” While it is true that the women never overtly used their membership to engage in racial acts, part of the Daughters’ expanded definition of citizenship was based on their understanding of racial hierarchy. Many Daughters believed it was their responsibility to help restore a balance between whites and blacks, a balance “severely shaken by the storm that beat upon us in Reconstruction Days and the days that followed.” While never articulated in blatant terms, the Daughters reinforced through words and actions a desire to maintain white political hegemony. Florence Anderson Clark wrote an article in *The Confederate Daughter* entitled “Some of my Colored Friends” and claimed that “the negro, as we have known him, is a creature of the past dispensation to whom no likeness will be found in his descendants of future generations.” Clark blamed freedom, arguing that the carefree slave had been replaced with a “new breed.” She wrote, “Like every true Southerner, we have almost kindly feeling for the old time unperturbed negro household servant. The more modern negro, filled with ideas of his own importance, and elevated to a position for which he was wholly unprepared and in which ignorance and incompetency are lamentably conspicuous is pitiable in many aspects, and laughable in others.”<sup>43</sup>

Many Daughters like Clark created an image of faithful slaves in contrast with the “impertinent and shiftless negro of freedom.” This image became increasingly popular in the North by 1900 and helped to further ease the reconciliation process. As northerners

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<sup>42</sup> *The Confederate Daughter* 1 (June 1900): 3.

<sup>43</sup> Catherine Leigh Wells, “The Past in the Present: A Brief History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy,” (honors thesis, University of Texas, 1997); Mildred Lewis Rutherford, “The Civilization of the Old South: What Made It: What Destroyed: What Has Replaced It” (Address delivered at Municipal

increasingly accepted southern views on race, harmony between the regions was much more quickly achieved. Racial ideology became a point of mutual understanding between the sections, and the UDC contributed to the growing dialogue by their insistence that the values inherent in the Old South, like white superiority, were truly American characteristics. Patriotism, as understood and promoted by the Daughters, included a sense of racial hierarchy that white southern women like themselves perfectly personified.<sup>44</sup>

By the 1920s the UDC joined with many other national women's clubs in the attempt to "Americanize" foreign-born residents. While it may seem strange that an organization created to honor the seceding Confederate States could without any ideological inconsistency engage in teaching "citizens to be true Americans," such activities reflected the ultimate achievement of the Daughters' initial goals to justify and express the true Americanism of the Confederate veteran and his cause. Katie Currie Muse addressed the state UDC convention in 1919 and told her fellow members that they should "awaken to our realization of our duty and the part as a nation we must play in this great scheme of Americanization." "We must cease being the great Melting Pot of many nations," she claimed, "but be the land of only true Americans. . . ." If the Daughters had any doubt about their ability as southerners to represent the nation, Currie Muse continued, "there is no fear in our talk of Americanization. America will live—our

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Hall, Dallas, Texas, November 1916, 37, available at the Center for American History, Austin, Texas; *The Confederate Daughter* 1 (May 1900): 7.

<sup>44</sup> Rutherford, "The Civilization of the Old South," 36.

Constitution, founded upon the principle of justice to all and favor to none, will steer us safely through wars, days of reconstruction, and smiling peace.’<sup>45</sup>

Currie Muse’s speech illustrates how successful the Daughters were in their objective to justify the South’s role in the Civil War and prove the region equal to the North in loyalty to the Constitution of the United States. Within twenty-five years of organizing, the UDC was functioning alongside other national women’s groups in the effort to combat the perceived threat many Americans felt from the massive movement of immigrants from central and eastern Europe into the states. The Daughters’ attempt to join with women from other groups and other regions served as just one more example of their Americanism and was another means of cementing the reconciliation process.<sup>46</sup>

By the time the United States entered World War II, most of the old animosity between the regions had faded away. The Texas UDC president in October 1941, Mae Wynne McFarland, told the Daughters at the Forty-Fifth Annual Convention that “in this time of war and rumors of war members of the United Daughters of the Confederacy are happy to do all within their power to show allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America and to demonstrate the American Creed at every opportunity.”<sup>47</sup>

McFarland advocated that Texas Daughters take as many training courses as possible so they could learn the “tasks performed by men.” “In case of war,” she declared, “much extra work will fall on the women. There may be a shortage of

<sup>45</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Convention Reports*, 46.

<sup>46</sup> For an example of another women’s group who worked to “Americanize” immigrants, see Francesca Constance Morgan, “‘Home and Country’: Women, Nation, and the Daughters of the American Revolution, 1890-1939,” (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, New York, 1998), 366-374.

<sup>47</sup> “President’s Message (1941),” Report read at Forty-Fifth Annual Convention of the Texas United Daughters of the Confederacy, 22, in Mae Wynne McFarland Papers, Sam Houston State University, Huntsville, Texas.

physicians and knowledge acquired through courses in First Aid and Home Nursing . . . will prove invaluable.” She claimed that “certainly a dearth of mechanics will call into action the ability developed in Motor Mechanics courses. And who can tell when there will be need for Fire prevention technique or other useful knowledge which is ours for the asking?” Along with training courses, McFarland proposed that the Daughters work with the Civilian Defense, Red Cross, British War Relief, and the United Service Organization. She encouraged members to buy Defense Bonds and Savings Stamps and to grow vegetable gardens in their backyards.<sup>48</sup>

The Texas UDC met their president’s challenge the following year and got busy with war work. McFarland reported on the state’s efforts at the national convention in the Autumn of 1942 and claimed that the “2,413 members of the Texas Division join hands with Daughters of the southland in a united effort to uphold and sustain the United States at all costs and to promote the common cause of the United Nations.” “Our country is united,” she said, “and united we will stand against the powers of aggression and oppression.” Texas’s UDC members believed they had special insight into the effects of war. McFarland explained this attitude when she said that “the South has gone through trials for the principles now at stake and the South can undergo trials and deprivations for the sake of our country again.”<sup>49</sup>

Texas Daughters worked with great enthusiasm in the war effort, but their numbers had significantly decreased since the first war. Still, the division reported

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> “Report of Texas Division (1942)” read at General Convention, St. Louis, 97, McFarland Papers, Sam Houston State University; “President’s Message (1942),” report read at Forty-Sixth Annual Convention of the Texas United Daughters of the Confederacy, 23, McFarland Papers, Sam Houston State University.

impressive contributions. The 2,500 members (down from an estimated 7,000 in the 1910s) purchased \$478,972 bonds, sewed 14,500 garments, and knitted 4,865 articles. They worked more than 800,000 hours in Red Cross or other relief agencies and over 200,000 hours in hospital service or entertainment of soldiers. The organization sent 3,600 books and 15,000 magazines to camps or military bases.<sup>50</sup>

The Daughters had by the 1940s worked diligently in the effort to transform the region's image from one of traitor to one of dedicated patriot. Willie Word Kelly, Texas's UDC president in 1943 and 1944, told her fellow members that it was "childish to complain, when we think of how many gallant descendants of the gray-clad warriors of the South are placing their bodies between us and a ruthless foe." And while they might not complain, much had changed for these female descendents of Confederate veterans. For example, one of the individuals "placing their bodies" on the line belonged to Willie Kelly's daughter, Charlee Kelly, a lieutenant in the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps and a long-standing member of the Texas United Daughters of the Confederacy.<sup>51</sup>

The UDC began an effort in 1896 to demonstrate and justify the South's loyalty to the principles of the Constitution. Fifty years later their efforts had come to fruition. Though national events like the Spanish-American War and World Wars I and II proved instrumental in bringing about reconciliation, Texas UDC members took advantage of every opportunity to prove their patriotism as the daughters of Confederate veterans and as female citizens.<sup>52</sup>

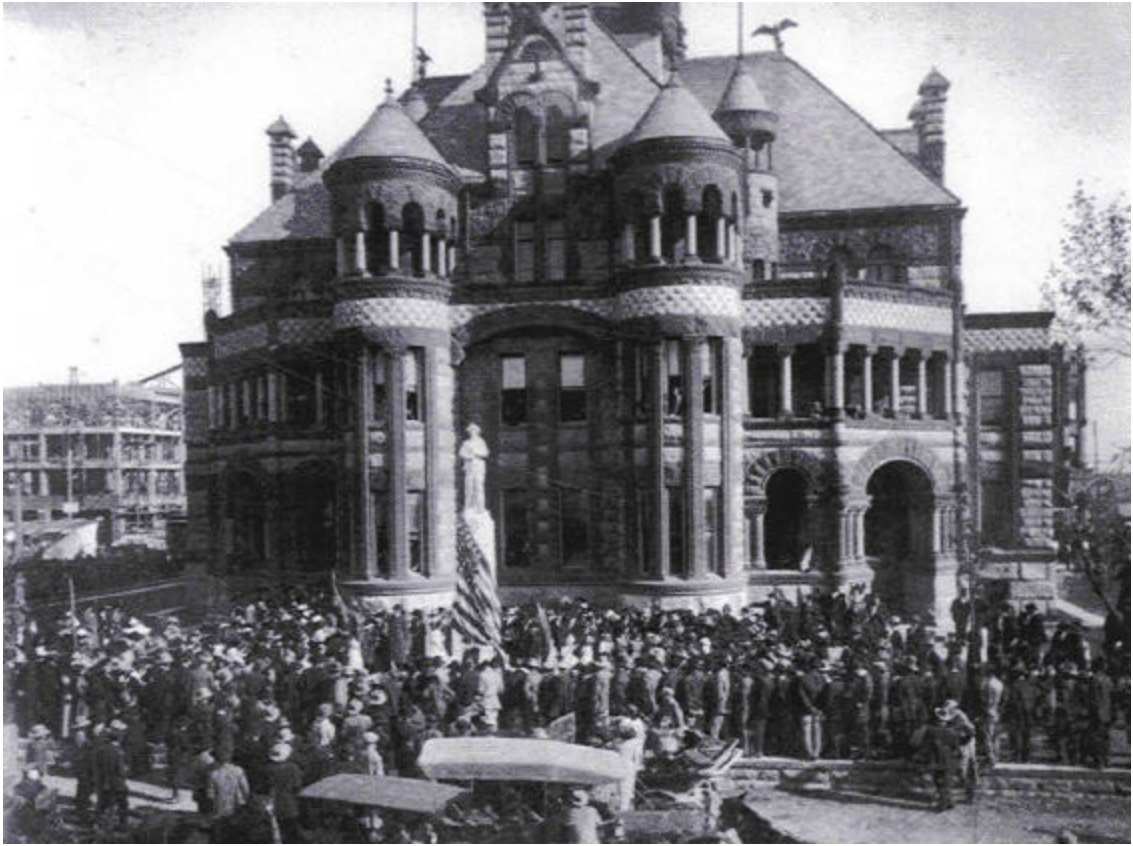
<sup>50</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Forty-Ninth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (no place: no publisher, 1946), 68.

<sup>51</sup> "President's Message (1943)," McFarland Papers, Sam Houston State University; "Profile of Texas's UDC Officers," compiled by and in the author's possession.

<sup>52</sup> "President's Message (1942)," 23, McFarland Papers, Sam Houston State University.



Though they believed they had vindicated the southern position in the Civil War to the rest of the nation, the Texas Daughters realized that the children of Texas were growing up with an indifferent attitude toward the old war. Along with encouraging war work in 1942, Willie Kelly told UDC members that “our children have a right to know that they are the descendants of heroic men and women and must learn to live up to the high ideals that have been handed down to them.” Teaching Texas’s youngest citizens about the Old South and the Civil War proved to be the Daughters’ hardest challenge.



**Figure 6. Texans gathered for the unveiling celebration of Waxahachie's monument in 1912.**

CHAPTER SEVEN  
PRESERVATION OF THE TRUTH  
EDUCATING THE CHILDREN

Decca Lamar West, a life-long Texas UDC member, claimed that “education is the foremost work of [the] Daughters of the Confederacy” in a *Houston Chronicle* newspaper article in 1928. She argued that “American history and literature, as a whole, are extremely unfair to the South” and continued by outlining the many ways Texas UDC members had attempted to redress the imbalance they perceived. Though the Daughters pursued various projects, most of their educational efforts by the late 1920s were aimed at the youth of the state. As West stated in the article, members of the UDC had “turned their attention to building living monuments in educating the sons and daughters of those men who had given their best years of life to the service of the [Confederate] nation.”<sup>1</sup>

The Daughters’ emphasis on education reflected a continued expansion of their understanding of maternalism. UDC members believed that as biologically ordained childbearers and socially designated child rearers, they had a special responsibility to project their motherhood on their communities, not only by promoting patriotism and teaching citizenship but also by ensuring the proper education of Texas children. Society had given them the task of rearing their children; by the late 1920s most members understood that mission to include all white children, not just their own. Viola Bivins, who held several officer positions in the Texas UDC, wrote in her memoirs that “A baby

is God's most beautiful gift to woman, and woman's most valuable gift to the world."

While motherhood might be divinely ordained, turning that child into a responsible citizen required more than just prayer. Bivins argued that "the function of a mother is to develop the social feeling in the child," an argument that she enlarged to justify the UDC's intervention in the education of all the white youth of Texas.<sup>2</sup>

When vice-president of the Texas UDC Mary Hunt Affleck referred to her fellow members as "Southern mothers," she was simply reaffirming a role the Daughters had already embraced, and they willingly met her challenge of "taking up the sacred duty of teaching . . . children the truths of history." Historian Karen Lynne Cox refers to this form of extended maternalism as "Lost Cause Motherhood," and while she likens it to Linda Kerber's ideology of Republican Motherhood," Cox argues that the special designation refers to the UDC's particular goal of transmitting Confederate values. "The UDC's success in educating children in the Confederate tradition," claims Cox, "proved to be its most enduring contribution."<sup>3</sup>

Although Cox has aptly labeled the social form of maternalism in which the Texas UDC engaged, she has exaggerated the ultimate impact that the Daughters had on the children of at least one southern state, Texas. Though members attempted to extend their "Lost Cause Motherhood" to all the white youth of the state—and, when appropriate and possible, to young African Americans—they had only limited success indoctrinating

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<sup>1</sup> *Houston Chronicle*, 4 November 1928.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. J. K. Bivins, *Memoirs* (no place: no publisher, 1950), available at the Longview Public Library, Longview, Texas.

<sup>3</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Fort Worth: Speer Printing Co., 1906), 51; Karen Lynne Cox, "Women, the Lost Cause, and the New South: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Transmission of Confederate Culture, 1894-1919" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern

Confederate ideology in Texas's children. The UDC created and expanded public libraries, worked in schools, attempted to influence teachers, and censored textbooks. They sponsored essay contests and book prizes and extended thousands of dollars to students in the form of scholarships. Despite their efforts, most of Texas's children absorbed their parents' understanding of the Civil War, which was sometimes but not always the same as that of the Daughters. For example, most white Texas children accepted the interpretation that slavery was not a factor in the origin of the Civil War—the UDC reinforced this idea but did not originate it—but far fewer agreed with the Daughters' attempts to turn away from the negative influences the organization associated with the New South. The shining examples of southern chivalry that UDC members liked to promote most often were the children of adult members active in the state's Confederate organizations, and it was only through the Daughters auxiliary, the Children of the Confederacy, that the UDC had any separate impact, and that impact was largely limited to their own children.

The Texas United Daughters of the Confederacy began its educational efforts in 1897 when a Historical Committee was created at its second annual convention. The committee mimicked one that the United Confederate Veterans had formed in 1892. Both worked to end what was perceived as a northern bias in American history books. The Daughters, most of whom had already been helping the veterans, swore in their organization's Constitution to "unite with the Confederate Veterans in the determination that American history shall be properly taught." Very quickly, though, the ladies regretted tying their committee to the UCV's because as the veterans aged they began to

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Mississippi, 1997), 14. See chapter six for a discussion of Texas's UDC members and the ideology of

turn over more of their official activities to their sons. The Texas Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) had gained control of the veterans' Historical Committee by 1899 and asked the Daughters not to maintain a separate committee but to dissolve their own and work with the SCV. The Sons argued that they should have complete control of the attempt to "attain a truthful telling of American history and secure its instruction in the schools."<sup>4</sup>

The request marked the Texas Daughters' first real challenge as an organization. Should they do as their fathers, brothers, and husbands asked and transfer all historical activities to the Sons of Confederate Veterans? Or should they continue to maintain a separate committee? Many of these women knew from past experience that if they relinquished control, their efforts would be greatly diminished, and they might lose any opportunity to influence Texas's children in an "official" capacity. This was a difficult decision for the Daughters to make, but they believed passionately that they as southern mothers should be the leaders in the educational cause. Adelia A. Dunovant, the newly elected UDC state historian, argued that the Daughters should decline the request of the Sons. Would children not learn more from the model of the "Southern woman of old!" she asked her fellow members. And who better to tell the state's youth of these heroines ("exclusive in social life, but in charity broad as the universe; aristocratic in private life"

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Republican Motherhood.

<sup>4</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Second Annual Meeting* (Galveston: Clarke and Courts, 1898), 16; *Confederate Veteran* 8 (September 1900): 406; William H. White, *The Confederate Veteran* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: Confederate Publishing Comp., Inc., 1962), 42; Herman Hattaway, "United Confederate Veterans in Louisiana," *Louisiana History* 16 (Winter 1975): 28.

but in public true to “equality before the law—and only before the law, equality”) than the Daughters?<sup>5</sup>

The Texas UDC resolved at their 1899 annual convention to maintain and enlarge their own historical committee and its activities. They declared that their organization would be greatly weakened if they transferred any department to the Sons of Confederate Veterans. Dunovant prepared a preamble and a set of resolutions that were delivered to the Sons wherein she stated that the Sons were wrong in some of their historical assumptions. The men have “an erroneous conception of what constitutes truthful history, revealing germs of thought fatal to truthful history.” The UDC did not doubt their sincerity, Dunovant wrote in the resolutions, but since this was the case, the Daughters must refuse to “cooperate with the Sons in the proposed measures.”<sup>6</sup>

Though Dunovant ended the resolutions with kind words (“We beg that they [the Sons] will regard our words as the words of those who will be ever grieved to dissent, and rejoiced to commend”), she and other Texas UDC members believed enough in their actions to have the resolutions printed in the *Confederate Veteran*. As Mrs. A. L. Lincecum of El Campo later wrote, “. . . It is right for us mothers to teach our children the truth and to be honored for it.” The Sons never officially honored the Daughters for their work, but they did not make any further attempts to curb their activities. In fact, without the women’s assistance, the Sons’ historical committee quickly withered while

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<sup>5</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Tyler: Sword and Shield Publishing Comp., 1900), 34. For examples of Texas women’s relinquishing control of projects, see Elizabeth Hayes Turner, *Women, Culture, and Community: Religion and Reform in Galveston, 1880-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 57.

<sup>6</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Ennis: Hal Marchbanks, Printer, 1901), 53; *Confederate Veteran* 8 (September 1900): 406-407.

the Daughters' work grew over the years. Their educational activities branched out from their historical committee and inspired countless members to venture into public life.<sup>7</sup>

The Daughters' first efforts included the creation of a library department that directed individual chapters in their attempts to build city and traveling libraries. Cornelia Branch Stone, a Texas UDC president, chaired the department in 1903 and published two hundred circulars at her own expense to mail to "influential women, in towns where libraries were being established" asking them to purchase "only such literature as would truthfully represent the action of the people of the South during the war between the States, and during the subsequent period of 'Reconstruction.'" The UDC encouraged each chapter to create a "Local Library Committee" to "assist in selecting good true books for private and public libraries, and to faithfully point out those misrepresentations in books that poison the heart and mind of our people." To aid these local committees, Stone compiled a list of 115 books "commended for Southern libraries."<sup>8</sup>

Local chapters responded with enthusiasm and worked with other women's clubs in their areas to establish libraries and rural traveling collections. A women's club in Brenham, the Fortnightly Club, reportedly composed of "true Southern ladies, all of whom are eligible to the Daughters of the Confederacy," reported to the UDC in 1905 that they had founded a "Free Public Library" in their city and made it a policy to "place upon the library shelves the very best of Southern literature," with special attention given

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<sup>7</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 8 (September 1900): 406-407; *Confederate Veteran* 22 (August 1914): 349.

<sup>8</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Convention of the Texas United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Forth Worth: Speer Printing Co., 1903), 33; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Convention of the Texas United Daughters of the*



to juvenile books that presented the “true history of our beloved Southland.” The Benedette B. Tobin Chapter in Palestine reported the same year that they had “not only found that [their local library’s] books were satisfactory, but the [city’s] teachers were all true, loyal southerners.”<sup>9</sup>

The Texas Daughters also believed that they should not “surrender” their children’s education to the state’s school system, but as the “proper custodians” of what the state’s youth should know about southern history, it was their responsibility to go into the schools and provide direction and influence. Katie Curie Muse, president-general in 1899, told the general convention about her visits to local schools and proudly proclaimed “the earnestness with which the young teachers were telling the story aright.” Marshall’s UDC chapter inspected its local schools, including the city’s private Catholic institution, and found that not one displayed pictures of the South’s Civil War heroes. Marshall’s teachers reportedly “appreciated the UDC’s effort to resolve” this shortcoming, a flaw that the UDC believed was intolerable. Without pictures and teachers who could interpret them, the state’s youth could not study or relate to men like Robert E. Lee and were thus incapable of emulating their “nobility of character and patriotic citizenship.” In another effort to provide direction, Navarro County’s UDC chapter persuaded Corsicana’s school board to move a school holiday up from the 24th to the 21st of April so that all the teachers and students might have an opportunity to attend the 1902 UCV reunion in Dallas and enjoy the company of the old veterans.<sup>10</sup>

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*Confederacy* (Fort Worth: Speer Printing Co., 1905), 48, 79, 80-82; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Convention*, 51.

<sup>9</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Conventio*, 51.

<sup>10</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Convention*, 34; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Sixth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of*

Though there is no way of knowing how many Corsicana students took advantage of their day off to attend the reunion, the Daughters believed they were making a positive impact on the state's school system. When Governor James E. Ferguson delivered an address at the unveiling of the Llano Confederate Monument on behalf of the local UDC chapter, he included a "word to school teachers" that summarized the Daughters' thoughts on education. He cautioned teachers not to let their pupils use the words "rebel" or "lost cause." Instead they were to teach biographies of the great men of the war and to encourage the students to know the likenesses of Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, Albert Sidney Johnston, and John Bell Hood. More than anything else, Ferguson concluded that the Daughters did not want their children's teachers to encourage hate or teach from a biased or prejudiced position but to "cling to the truth and love of the South." Ferguson's last point encapsulated the UDC's strongest desire: to pass on to the children of Texas the truth about southern history. To do this, the Daughters had to find a way to become involved in the educational process in a more official capacity, one that allowed them to make decisions on a statewide basis.<sup>11</sup>

The Texas UDC began to explore such a possibility as early as 1900. The historical committee sent two pamphlets, "Life of Robert E. Lee" and "Life of Stonewall Jackson," and an invitation to help in any way possible to J. S. Kendall, the Texas Superintendent of Instruction, who responded to the organization with great enthusiasm. From this small beginning the Texas UDC went on to achieve widespread influence in

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*the Confederacy* (no place: no publisher, 1901), 22; Marshall UDC Chapter #412 Ledger, 42, Harrison County Historical Museum, Marshall, Texas; "Report of the President General, 1908," pp. 4-6, quoted in Karen Lynne Cox, "Women, the Lost Cause, and the New South: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Transmission of Confederate Culture" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Southern Mississippi, 1997), 203; *Dallas Morning News*, 19 April 1902.

the acceptance and use of Texas's school books, elementary through university level. The chairman of Texas's UDC Textbook Committee, Mrs. M. M. Birg, explained the Daughters' stand in 1915: "Strict censorship is the thing that will bring the honest truth. That is what we are working for and that is what we are going to have."<sup>12</sup>

The Daughters' efforts at textbook censorship were relatively successful. Schools regularly met their requirements and removed "untrue" historical accounts. The *Confederate Handbook* congratulated the UDC in 1900 for having been

instrumental in ridding our schools of text-books that falsified history, that poisoned the minds of our youths by instilling a doubt of the virtue, sincerity and honor of those who upheld the Confederate cause. They have succeeded in replacing these vicious books by others that bear the impress of truth in telling the story of their mothers' matchless constancy and devotion, and their fathers' superb courage and unswerving loyalty to the Confederate cause.<sup>13</sup>

Later historians have not been as congratulatory. Although the Daughters claimed that they had a "right to object to and [would] not tolerate" books that were "biased publications . . . in which we [were] denounced as unprincipled, uncultured, unpatriotic people," historians such as Fred A. Bailey claim that the Daughters' movement to censor textbooks was not based on pure motives but was part of a "massive effort at social control." He argues that the Daughters were elitists who felt threatened by "lesser whites and long oppressed African Americans" and used their influence with the state's textbook committee to "man the parapets to defend their status." Bailey claims that UDC

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<sup>11</sup> *Austin American*, 23 February 1916.

<sup>12</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Convention*, 20-21; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Convention of the Texas United Daughters of the Confederacy* (no place: no publisher, 1916), 43, available at the Dallas Public Library, Dallas, Texas.

organizations across the South, not only in Texas, were forcing children to ingest their version of “unbiased history” with the goal of maintaining class and race separatism through the glorification of antebellum aristocrats who practiced paternalistic slavery in an ideal culture forever lost.<sup>14</sup>

The Daughters certainly favored books that displayed the Old South in a favorable light, but they were by no means the only organization intent on influencing school textbook selection during the period. The Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), the Union veterans’ association, and its women’s auxiliary, the Ladies Aid Society, also created committees to expose the “untruths” and “evils” in their own schools’ textbooks. They regularly chose texts that “exposed the evils of the Confederate past” and expressed history from their favored, northern perspective.<sup>15</sup>

Bailey’s arguments imply that the Daughters set out on an almost sinister mission to manipulate Texas’s youth. Nothing could have been further from the Daughters’ intentions. Though UDC members were white and many considered themselves from the “better” class of citizens, they did not work within their schools to “control” students, as Bailey claims. Rather, they believed they were inspiring them. Mrs. R. S. Lovett of the Houston Robert E. Lee Chapter argued that “we work that we may know and our children’s children that the heritage of our fathers is a heritage of glory.” As another woman stated, “our hereditary work . . . is a sacred one of perpetuation . . . for we are all

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<sup>13</sup> Robert C. Wood, ed., *Confederate Handbook: A Compilation of Important Data and other Interesting and Valuable Matter Relating to the War Between the States, 1861-1865* (New Orleans: Graham Press, 1900), 108.

<sup>14</sup> Fred Arthur Bailey, “Free Speech and the ‘Lost Cause’ in Texas: A Study of Socioal Control in the New South,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 97 (Fall 1994): 454; Fred Arthur Bailey, “The Textbooks of the ‘Lost Cause’: Censorship and the Creation of Southern State Histories,” *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 75(Fall 1991): 520.

mothers of Confederate children, or, please Fortune, we hope to be.” The Texas Daughters engaged in textbook selection out of a sense of maternal responsibility, not an overwhelming need to further white supremacy and race hegemony. Though some of their other educational activities displayed their opinions on race and class, they did not engage simply, as Bailey asserts, to protect their own interests.<sup>16</sup>

The Texas UDC wanted to “make history real, intimate and human, as well as true.” They did not want merely to “relate campaigns and battles and stories of generals or other individuals” but “show the principle for which the South contended and which justified her struggles for those principles.” Regardless of how many textbooks were adopted because of the UDC’s influence, the organization engaged in the movement for reasons vastly different from those claimed by Bailey. The Daughters had a maternal responsibility to teach and guide children down the right path in life. In addition, the Daughters realized their involvement in textbook selection provided them with a venue to display the talents of women, both contemporary and historical.<sup>17</sup>

One way they showed the capabilities of women was through member representation on the state’s Textbook Review Board. Many Daughters hoped to serve on the state board that reviewed manuscripts, held open hearings, and selected academic works for the schools. Several UDC members were appointed by Texas governors and served on the board, including Katie Daffan, Emma Burleson, Ella Dancy Dibrell, and

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<sup>15</sup> Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 163.

<sup>16</sup>United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Third Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (n.p., 1899), 4; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (1905), 43.

Mary Hunt Affleck. In their official positions, the Daughters became aware of how infrequently the stories of women were included in their children's textbooks.<sup>18</sup>

The UDC encouraged schools to teach an "impartial" American history. For some Daughters that meant the first attempts to introduce a form of women's history in the classroom. UDC members provided teachers with essays and materials that explained women's participation in the development of world civilization, but they met with little success because there were few texts available that documented women's roles. Some Texas Daughters recognized this situation as an opportunity and wrote classroom textbooks that highlighted or featured women. For example Katie Daffan wrote the book, *Woman in History*, which was used in some Texas schools to illustrate woman's place in society's development.<sup>19</sup>

The Daughters, however, were more successful in getting texts written by women accepted by the state's textbook board than they were in their effort to introduce women's history in the state's classrooms. UDC members pressured the Textbook Review Board to adopt such works as Mary Williamson's "Life of Robert E. Lee" and "Life of Stonewall Jackson," Laura Rose's *Ku Klux Klan*, and Mildred Lewis Rutherford's, *The South in History and Literature*. In addition to petitioning the board for these books by women from other states, the UDC was able frequently to promote books written by

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<sup>17</sup>United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the First Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Galveston: Clark and Coats, 1989), 165, 167.

<sup>18</sup>No study of Texas's State Textbook Board exists, and member records are incomplete. For a partial listing by year, see "Texas Election Registers: Elected and Appointed State and County Officials," roll 17, #552, roll 18, #654, Texas State Library and Archives, Austin, Texas. For mention of Daffan and Affleck's association, see Sinclair Moreland, *The Texas Women's Hall of Fame* (1917), p. 30, in vertical file, Biography—Katie Daffan, Austin History Center, Ausin, Texas and Harold B. Simpson, *Hood's Texas Bridge in Reunion and Memory* (Hillsboro: Hill Jr. College Press, 1974), 107.

<sup>19</sup>Katie Daffan, *Woman in History* (New York: Neale Publishing Co., 1908).

Texas female authors because the state's uniform textbook law provided that the board "shall give preference to text-books of Texas authors or publishers . . ." if quality and price were equal. This stipulation encouraged many members to write their own books that were then promoted by the state organization. Katie Alma Orgain wrote an "excellent work on Southern Literature" that the Daughters recommended in 1912 for each member's household collection and each town's public library. In addition, the Daughters resolved "that every effort [should] be made . . . to induce the Text Book Board to adopt this book as collateral reading for Texas Public Schools."<sup>20</sup>

Even if the texts were not accepted for use in the classroom, UDC members tried to make books about the activities of Confederate women available to students by donating them to teachers or to school libraries. In 1903 Texas Daughters purchased and placed in local libraries Mrs. Thomas Taylor's *South Carolina Women in the Confederacy*, one of the rare contemporary attempts to illustrate southern women as a "potent factor" in the Civil War. South Carolina's United Daughters of the Confederacy sponsored and published *South Carolina Women* with funds provided by their state legislature. In a similar effort to promote women's history, the General UDC published *The Women of the South in War Times* in the 1920s, a book so popular that it went through six printings in seven years.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> H. P. Gammel, *General Laws of the State of Texas* (Austin: Ben C. Jones and Comp., State Printers, 1897), 239-243; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Convention of the Texas United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Weatherford: Herold Publishing Comp., 1908), 69; Mildred Lewis Rutherford, "Historical Sins of Omission and Commission" (Address delivered in San Francisco, California, 1915, available at Special Collections Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina), 12.

<sup>21</sup> Mrs. Thomas Taylor, *South Carolina Women in the Confederacy* (Columbia, SC: The State Co., 1903), 5-6;

Texas Daughters tried to persuade the state's teachers and textbook board to accept their recommendations regarding many books, and although the organization's efforts were largely successful, the UDC did not limit itself to working within the classroom. Pro-southern books may have been placed in children's hands but without further encouragement, the Daughters realized they could not guarantee that the state's students would read and study the texts. To encourage the use of their books, the UDC organized essay contests, first begun in 1900, that offered cash prizes and medals for papers written about southern diplomacy, warfare, heroism, or culture. The contests, open to elementary through college ages, were particularly popular at the university level.

Eugene C. Barker, chairman of the department of history at the University of Texas, agreed to help the UDC in any way possible because he believed their essay contests would draw attention to the shortage of books and materials available to students. When Mary Birge, Education Chairman of the Albert Sidney Johnston Chapter of Austin, wrote him in 1912 to announce a \$25 prize for the best essay on "The Diplomatic Relations of the Confederacy during the First Two Years of the War Between the States," Barker wrote back that he felt the scope was too large for the university's facilities but that the essay contest might illustrate a need to the state that would result in donations or purchases for the university's archives.<sup>22</sup>

In 1948 William M. Geer, director of the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina, wrote Texas UDC president Mae Wynne McFarland regarding the terms of the "Mrs. Simon Baruch University Prize." Geer stated that

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<sup>22</sup> Eugene C. Barker to Mary Mayfield Birge, 25 May 1912, Mary Mayfield Birge Papers, Center for American History, Austin, Texas.



for a number of years this prize has been regarded very highly in the historical profession, especially among Southern historians to whom it has a particular appeal. I was very proud of this work which was being done in such a fine way by the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Perhaps at this point it would be fitting to say that all of the ladies of my family have belonged to the “Daughters” for as long as I can remember.<sup>23</sup>

Geer was disappointed, though, because he had always believed—mistakenly, it turned out—that “your Committee made no attempt to circumscribe the findings of scholars who submitted manuscripts for this prize.” Geer now realized this was not the case and wrote, “it was with some dismay that I read the last paragraph of the leaflet which was distributed at the Savannah meeting of the Southern Historical Association. . . .” His disappointment was a result of the Daughters’ stipulation that all contestants must use the expression “War Between the States” instead of the term “Civil War,” a requirement that, according to Geer, elicited the “laughter of many able southerners in the field of history.” He argued that if McFarland had been present, “you would have concluded that your valued prize was placed in a ridiculous light . . .,” and “any insistence upon another particular preference is likely to be construed as prejudicial to free scholarship.”<sup>24</sup>

Geer’s observation was not the first time the UDC’s essay requirements were found to be “prejudicial.” Cornelia Branch Stone, former Texas division president, was serving as president-general in 1905 when a New York UDC member, Leonora Rogers Schuyler, introduced a motion to create an essay prize of one hundred dollars to be awarded to a student from Columbia Teachers’ College, New York, on a “given topic

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<sup>23</sup> William M. Geer to Mrs. I. B. McFarland, 6 March 1948, box 17, folder 3, Mae Wynne McFarland Papers, Sam Houston State University, Huntsville, Texas.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

relating to the South's part in the War Between the States." The general convention agreed to the essay contest because they believed that it would encourage the writing of unbiased history outside the South. Texas Daughters were enthusiastic. For example, Mrs. T. C. Westbrook, an officer in the state division, declared that such prizes were crucial to teaching the young because the organization would be remembered for "erecting monuments not in pillars of marble or bronze, but in buildings and endowing schools and colleges bearing the names of those we wish to honor [so] that their children may be taught the truth of studying history." With no one dissenting, the general convention created a committee to organize the prize and chose judges to moderate the contest.<sup>25</sup>

Since the UDC was commemorating the centennial of Robert E. Lee's birth in 1907, the prize committee announced that the essay topic for that year would be "General Robert E. Lee." After reviewing the entries, the judges appointed by the prize Committee declared Christine Boyson, a student from Minnesota, the winner for her essay "Robert E. Lee—A Present Estimate." Few Daughters took the time to find out what Boyson's paper had been about until it was published the following year in the *Confederate Veteran*. UDC members across the South reacted immediately. Angry and feeling betrayed, UDC chapters and individuals mailed hundreds of letters to the *Veteran* and to the general UDC organization to complain and demand that the paper be censured along with the judges and the president, Cornelia Branch Stone, for allowing the essay to win a UDC award.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Mary B. Poppenheim, et al., *The History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton Comp., 1925), 96; *Confederate Veteran* 17 (January 1909): 39.

<sup>26</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 16 (December 1908): 657; *Confederate Veteran* 17 (January 1909): 39.

Specifically, the Daughters reacted to Boyson's declaration that Lee was a "traitor" and that at the time of the Civil War, "intellectually the South was practically dead" and "most of [its] people were densely ignorant." Prize committee members Leonora Schuyler (originator of the prize), Lizzie George Henderson (former president-general), and Cornelia Branch Stone (president-general) admitted that mistakes had been made regarding the paper's acceptance, but they defended the prize itself because, as Henderson said, it was still a "fine thing" because its goal was to introduce northern student to "correct" history. President Stone promised that in the future the award would be made with "every safeguard," and the committee chose new judges in preparation for the coming year's contest.<sup>27</sup>

While this proved satisfactory to some UDC members, Texas Daughter Adelia A. Dunovant disagreed and led a movement in the organization to withdraw the Columbia University prize. Dunovant began her campaign at the 1909 state convention in Brownwood when "amid a storm of applause, the waving of hats, and the 'Rebel yell,'" she offered a set of resolutions to the Daughters to terminate the essay contest. She claimed that the prize defied the UDC's founding principles and resolved that

the Texas Division . . . doth explicitly and authoritatively declare that the acceptance of a scholarship in Teachers' College, New York City, a school of the North in which negroes are on a perfect equality, and the professors of which publicly and officially advocate intermarriage of the races, would be acquiescence in, and promotion of, the doctrine of those who brought fire and sword and desolation into our Southland; that it would be a fatal blow to the principle [racial purity] ever held most precious by those whom we represent; that it would be an evident,

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<sup>27</sup> Confederate Veteran 16 (December 1908): 657; Adelia A. Dunovant, "To the Texas Division, United Daughters of the Confederacy (1909)" unpublished pamphlet on Boyson Controversy, Adelia A. Dunovant Collection, Special Collections Library, Duke University. Durham, North Carolina.

gross, and alarming infraction of the constitution of our association, the annihilation of traditions which we are pledged 'to perpetuate,' the destruction of principles to which we have pledged 'loyalty;' . . . that it would be a step toward the extinction of the white race, a step backward into the lowest depths of depravity, where the light of civilization would be extinguished. . . .<sup>28</sup>

Her fellow members apparently agreed with her resolutions and voted unanimously to “reject for any and all time a scholarship in Teachers’ College, New York.”<sup>29</sup>

Though the actual essay written by Christina Boyson said nothing about racial relations in the South, Dunovant chose to focus her attack on the race question, a move well planned because it gave the appearance that she did not disagree with differing intellectual viewpoints but rather with the sponsorship of a prize at a college that allowed “negro equality.” When the general convention met that year in Houston, Dunovant again “sprang the negro question . . . that stirred the [meeting.] She read her resolutions before the Daughters and pleaded with the members not to continue “the humiliating spectacle . . . of sitting at the feet of a Northern school girl” but to reject the essay contest and take up the “sacred duty to be the teachers and expounders of truthful history.”<sup>30</sup>

Cornelia Branch Stone, as acting president-general, argued with her fellow Texan that UDC members knew of Columbia’s racial policy before voting in favor of the prize. Dunovant would not listen and declared, “the South had always, will always oppose Negro equality.” Stone then proposed a compromise and resolved that all scholarships offered or managed by the UDC would be under the direct supervision of the General

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<sup>28</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 18 (February 1910): 60.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*; Miss Adelia Dunovant to Mrs. Tate, 4 June 1910, United Daughters of the Confederacy Collection, Brockenbrough Library, Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, Virginia.

Committee and Division Committee and the president-general would make all final decisions. Dunovant would not hear of a compromise and eventually persuaded the general convention attendants to vote to withdraw the essay contest and prize at Columbia.<sup>31</sup>

Dunovant had almost single-handedly persuaded the entire national organization to follow her lead, and her influence in Texas proved even stronger. Always an energetic member and known as the “Joan of Arc” of the state organization, she determined that the Texas division would never again be caught in such a controversy and led a movement in the state organization to shift its emphasis away from essay contests to scholarships. By 1910 the Texas UDC had formed an Education Committee to supervise the distribution of scholarships, which within six years amounted to an endowment of five hundred awards with a value of \$61,000 at the general, state, and local levels.

The Texas Daughters believed that their scholarships would form the basis for a new generation of southern scholars. Though restricted to whites only, the UDC attempted to provide opportunities for both male and female students regardless of financial situation. The chairman of the Education Committee published lists of the organization’s awards in newspapers with requirements and deadlines, and local chapters encouraged teachers to make all students in white schools aware of their scholarships.

As with most projects that the Texas division undertook, it became a leader in the brokering of scholarships. In 1927 the state division provided \$2,340 in awards to students at Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College in College Station, McMurry

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<sup>31</sup>Dunovant, “To the Texas Daughters” pamphlet on Boyson Controversy, Special Collections, Duke University Library; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Thirty-first annual*

College in Abilene, Baylor College in Waco, and the University of Texas in Austin. The same year the organization gave gift tuitions totaling \$990 to students at Abilene Christian College in Abilene, McMurry College, Baylor College, Texas Woman's College, Hardin-Simmons College, and the University of Texas. It also offered \$1,035 to Texas students who chose to go to college outside of the state at institutions like Vassar in New York and the University of Virginia. Such aid was, in the words of member Mrs. E. W. Bounds, important because it helped "worthy and needy young men and young women of Confederate lineage to remain in school" and allowed the UDC to "erect living monuments to the heroes of the Confederacy."<sup>32</sup>

Chairman of the Education Committee Mary Carlisle claimed in 1925 that "After the 'War Between the States,' when Robert E. Lee decided upon his course in his life he said: 'I have led the young men of the South in battle; I have seen many of them fall under the Standard; I shall devote my life now to training young men to do their duty in life.' Each one of us," declared Carlisle to the Daughters, "can help to carry on the work of our great leaders." Mary Carlisle and her fellow UDC members believed that their educational work—in the classroom, in advising textbook selection, in essay contests, and in granting scholarships—had a significant impact on the youth of Texas. They believed they were carrying on a great tradition by emulating men such as Robert E. Lee in the pursuit of "training" the young. As mothers to the state's children, they strove to

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*Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Austin: Tobin's Printing, 1928), 77-78.

<sup>32</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Twenty-First Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (no place: no publisher, 1917), 48, available at the Dallas Public Library, Dallas, Texas; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Thirty-First Annual Convention*, 6; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Texarkana: Four State Press, 1925), 23.

“inspire them to high ideals and so rear our boys and stimulate young manhood to lofty inspirations.”<sup>33</sup>

The UDC’s behavior and words relate the importance they placed on educating the youth of Texas, but how did the state’s young react to their work? Did they internalize the values and ideals that the UDC promoted? Did they mature into testaments to the Daughters’ educational efforts? Southern activist Katharine Du Pre Lumpkin wrote in her autobiography, *The Making of a Southerner*, about the experience of growing up “verily baptized in [Lost Cause] sentiments.” Lumpkin devoted an entire chapter, “A Child Inherits a Lost Cause,” to explain her childhood participation in Confederate activities, including UCV reunions, monument dedications, and UDC meetings. She wrote, “Not only the veterans, but their wives and widows, sons and daughters, children and grandchildren were organized. Thousands of families showed such a devotion.”<sup>34</sup>

Although Lumpkin mentioned many of the United Daughters of the Confederacy’s educational activities, she unconsciously described the true influence on her perception of the remembrance celebration experience when she wrote, “thousands of families showed . . . devotion.” Lumpkin clarified the basic source of her Confederate education when she did not attribute her knowledge to the Daughters’ efforts but to her own family’s insistence on making Confederate activities a priority. Though Lumpkin was writing her autobiography to explain her transition from a conservative, southern

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<sup>33</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Annual Convention*, 123; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Weatherford: Herold Publishing Comp., 1908), 32.

<sup>34</sup> Katharine Du Pre Lumpkin, *The Making of a Southerner* (1947; reprint, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1974), 111, 113-114.

“good girl” to a liberal, civil-rights activist, she still remembered fondly her family’s part in Lost Cause activities because of how they tied her to her larger community. She recalled how thrilling it was to be a part of a movement (her father was a leader in his local United Confederate Veterans’ camp) that gave her a “sense of complete belonging to this community cavalcade,” and yet when she became an adult, she stopped defending Old South principles (such as white hegemony) that she had learned as a child.<sup>35</sup>

Regardless of the joy it brought Lumpkin as a child to feel a sense of belonging to her community, as an adult she remembered her Confederate education negatively because of its racist and conservative connotations. Historian Elna C. Green argues that Texan Ida Darden’s participation and leadership in anti-feminist, anti-communist, anti-labor, and anti-immigration movements in Texas in the 1950s were a result of having been indoctrinated during her formative school years by the United Daughters of the Confederacy’s teachings. Green offers no evidence that Darden was ever in direct contact with any UDC member or attended any Lost Cause event and admits that Darden never joined the organization, but still the historian claims that Darden’s rightist, extreme activities were rooted in the Daughters’ educational efforts because “she lived and attended school in Texas towns where the UDC was strong and successful in its campaigns: Cleburne, Georgetown, and Fort Worth.”<sup>36</sup>

Green’s allegations are not substantiated, and while it might be easy for historians to assume that the Daughters’ teachings were so successful that they churned out thousands of loyal, conservative Texans who went on to propound the Daughters’

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 114.

<sup>36</sup> Elna C. Green, “From Antisuffragism to Anti-Communism: The Conservative Career of Ida M. Darden,” *Journal of Southern History* 65 (May 1999): 290.



teachings, that simply did not happen. The UDC only reinforced knowledge already considered conventional wisdom in the state regarding the war and Reconstruction, and as an organization, found it difficult to make a lasting or meaningful impression in their effort to curb the values and characteristics they associated with the New South. As state president Mae Wynne McFarland pointed out, “Too often we have been unable even to induce some members of our own families to take an interest in the Confederacy.” If the UDC had difficulty in indoctrinating their own, how much less effective were they with the children of parents who did not share their lasting love of the values they attributed to the Confederate South?<sup>37</sup>

A newspaper clipping passed among Texas veterans illustrates how children internalized their parents’ values rather than the values the Daughters promoted. Competing in a UDC-sponsored essay contest, a Georgia school girl wrote a composition called “The Confederate Veteran”:

The Confederate veteran is one that fought and bled and died for his country. He is sometimes on one leg and sometimes on two. The state gives him enough pensions to keep him in tobacco. Then the state builds him a home and sells the home before he can get in it. My Pa says he is a veteran. He was wounded by having one leg sawed off in a Confederate sawmill while making coffins to bury soldiers in. The state don’t help my Pa much and my Pa says damn the state.<sup>38</sup>

Texas veterans may have found the Georgia girl’s essay amusing, but it is doubtful that the UDC shared their view. Many Texas Daughters realized how little impact they were actually making on Texas’s youth and worried about the future. Mrs. M. M. Jouvenant of

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<sup>37</sup> Mae Wynne McFarland, “Legislation to Protect Confederate Flag from Misuse (1942),” folder 3, box 17, Mae Wynne McFarland Papers, Sam Houston State University, Huntsville, Texas.

Sherman wrote a letter to the *Confederate Veteran* in 1902 in distress because “Enthusiasm lags. . . .” She stated that “the present generation, with its altogether inadequate sentiment, will soon pass. Even if the work were satisfactorily accomplished in the present, we would have the future to provide for—you have but to ask any Camp or Chapter how easy it is to enlist any considerable amount of interest in their routine of memorial work.”<sup>39</sup>

Mrs. Jouvenant’s worries were echoed throughout the organization, and the Daughters modified their educational efforts to create a lasting future for their own organization. To perpetuate their organizational existence, the Daughters created their own auxiliaries by organizing their children. The first Children of the Confederacy (C of C) chapter was chartered in Alexandria, Virginia, in 1896, but Texas women soon copied the idea, and dozens of chapters were formed across the state by the 1910s. Many Daughters claimed that they created C of C chapters “in the interest of higher patriotism and nobler citizenship,” but it was common knowledge that the women believed their organization might die because of the difficulty of attracting new members. Cornelia Branch Stone, a Texas UDC president, stood before the general organization in 1905 and encouraged all chapters to “establish an auxiliary of children for the older chapter to always draw on.” Two years later Stone was still pleading with the Daughters: “on this training of the children will depend the perpetuity of our organization.” The UDC’s fear illustrates the limited effectiveness of the Daughters’ general educational efforts—the mass of Texas’s children were not growing up with an interest in the Confederacy, and

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<sup>38</sup> Newspaper clipping, “The Confederate Veteran,” vertical file 2-23/632 UCV Collection, 1901-1939, Texas State Archives and Library, Austin, Texas.

<sup>39</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 10 (January 1902): 14.

few were pursuing membership in the UDC or SCV—and again emphasizes how important parental influence was in determining a child’s Confederate remembrance education.<sup>40</sup>

Equally eligible, both girls and boys joined Children of the Confederacy chapters; some memberships began as early as the day the child was born. Eager parents and grandparents were sometimes quick to enroll their children, but active participation usually began when the child was between six and eight and could continue till he or she reached eighteen. Only rarely did a child join who was not the child or grandchild of an active UDC member.<sup>41</sup>

At monthly meetings, the C of C, led by their UDC “mother,” studied history, wrote essays, and sang favorite Confederate songs. They raised money for local and regional monuments, made visits to the state’s Confederate homes, and were featured guests at the city’s monument unveiling and Lost Cause celebrations. The children began their meetings with prayer and pledged to honor their forefathers and study the “truths” of history. The meetings offered the Daughters a captive audience, and they took advantage of the situation to instruct their children in their views of the Old South, particularly regarding slavery, the War Between the States, Reconstruction, and women in the South. Monthly programs, developed by the historian-general, guided the C of C chapter “mother.”<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 17 (August 1909): 377; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy*, 217; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy*, (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones Co., 1911), 6.

<sup>41</sup> Mildred Lewis Rutherford, *Monthly Programs for the Children of the Confederacy* (published by author, 1915), located at Caroline Meriwether Goodlett Library, United Daughters of the Confederacy Building, Richmond, Virginia.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

The monthly meeting of the Texas Children of the Confederacy chapters in October 1922 began with an observation of the birthday of Confederate Postmaster General John H. Reagan, a native Texan. Next the children presented essays on one of two topics, "Lee at Lexington" or "Robert E. Lee, the Boy," which was followed by a review of the UDC-published book, *The Women of the South in War Times*. Lastly, three solos were sung for the group, "Love's Old Sweet Song," "Long, Long Ago," and "A Bonnie Southern Girl."<sup>43</sup>

C of C "mothers" found the prepared monthly programs useful, but to convey a concise summary of their values, they turned to the *UDC Catechism for Children* that Cornelia Branch Stone prepared in 1904. Stone originally prepared the *Catechism*, as it became known, to raise funds to construct a monument in her hometown of Galveston. Wildly successful across the South, the booklet sold more than a thousand copies in one year and went through four reprints, including a revision in the 1930s by fellow Texan Decca Lamar West. A prepared litany, leaders asked their children questions and expected them to respond with the "correct" answers. The question, "Was slavery the cause of secession or the war?" was answered with "No. Slavery existed previous to the Constitution, and the Union was formed in spite of it." When the Daughter asked, "Did the South fight for slavery or the extension of slavery," the child responded again with, "No, for had Lincoln not sent armies to the South, that country would have done no fighting at all."<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Lee Memorial Yearbook, 1922-1923, United Daughters of the Confederacy and Children's Auxilliary Programs, Center for American History, Austin, Texas.

<sup>44</sup> Decca Lamar West, *A Confederate Catechism: The War of 1861-1865* (Holdcroft, Va: Lyon Gardiner Tyler, 1930), 4; "Monument to the Living and Dead Soldiers and Sailors of the Confederacy," Cornelia Branch Stone Scrapbook, 1904-1908, Rosenberg Library Galveston, Texas.

Some Daughters viewed the *Catechism* as an educational bible. Others, while they approved of the pamphlet's use, felt uncomfortable associating their cause so closely with a religious metaphor. One member complained in a 1909 *Confederate Veteran* article that

the word "catechism" has been so long accepted in its religious signification that it seems rather out of order in the connection in which it is used here. There are few Confederates who do not feel their cause, and their sacred memories of the past are next to their religion, but there are few who would assume they are a religion in themselves, and yet the form and title of the small book indicated such assumption. "UDC primer," "UDC Instruction Book," and even "UDC Tenets" would serve the purpose of indicating the contents of the book without conveying the erroneous impression of assumption of religious forms.<sup>45</sup>

Her argument fell on deaf ears. Many members likened their commitment to educate the youth of Texas to a religious calling and argued that the "truths" of the *Catechism* would "sink so deeply into young hearts that their after lives will be firmly imbued with the belief in a cause that was just."<sup>46</sup>

The Daughters' teachings through monthly programs and the *Catechism* did have an impact on their own children. For example, Kemper Williams, who had been a member of the John H. Reagan Auxiliary Chapter of the Children of the Confederacy throughout his youth, delivered an address as an adult to his old C of C's parent chapter, the William P. Rogers UDC Chapter in Victoria, in 1968. His speech, "The Southern Negro—The Overseer—Our Beloved Southland," reads like a more elaborate retelling of the *Catechism* and reflects his continued belief in the lessons he learned as a boy. Williams claimed in his speech that slavery was not a southern idea but was "dumped on

the South by the North.” He described the idyllic environment of the Old South, with master and “servant” living in perfect harmony in a mutually satisfying lifestyle.

Radicals and hot-heads had caused the war, he argued. Certainly the slaves were content, for “every Southerner knows of innumerable incidents that proved the loyalty and devotion of the darkies to their owners.” The southern soldiers were forced to rise up against the North to maintain their culture. And though they lost, their “valor and sacrifice . . . as the American Soldier of the South” would never be forgotten because they had pledged themselves to “preserve the sacred right of local self-government and the orderly, constitutional political system instituted by the founding fathers.”<sup>47</sup>

Like Williams, other children of UDC members formed a love of the Confederacy because of their mothers’ efforts. In a 1923 *Confederate Veteran* article, member Annie Grace Drake from Rockdale recounted the story of local C of C member Gordon Greenwood, who at fourteen “refused to belong to his class club when the teacher (a Yankee miss) named the club for Abraham Lincoln.” Drake claimed that Greenwood “arose in his righteous wrath and demanded that it be named for Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, Jackson or some other Southern hero.” The boy supposedly “stood his ground,” and ultimately the teacher gave in, reached a compromise, and named the club for Woodrow Wilson. Drake claimed that the local UDC chapter was giving Greenwood a gold medal and hailing him as a “hero.”<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 17 (May 1909): 206.

<sup>46</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Convention*, 51.

<sup>47</sup> Kemper Williams, “The Southern Negro—The Overseer—Our Beloved Southland,” 1-3, 5, United Daughters of the Confederacy Papers, box I.15, Archives/Special Collection, Victoria College/University of Houston-Victoria, Victoria, Texas; UDC Yearbooks, 1940s, United Daughters of the Confederacy Papers, Box I.21, Archives/Special Collection, Victoria College/University of Houston Victoria.

<sup>48</sup> *Confederate Veteran* 31 (February 1923): 75.

Greenwood's stand speaks to his commitment to the southern principles that the UDC taught, but alone it does not verify that he came to his beliefs through the Daughters' teachings. Because his parents and possibly his grandparents were active in Lost Cause organizations, he was part of a family that stressed these same principles. Similarly, Kemper Williams grew up in a family that loved the Confederacy—his mother and aunts were active UDC members, and his grandfather had been the last commandeer of Victoria's Scurry Camp, UCV. While both boys internalized a view of the Civil War and Reconstruction that the Daughters promoted, neither addressed the UDC's efforts to encourage the state's children to turn away from the characteristics they associated with the New South. It is also impossible to determine whether Williams and Greenwood came to their understanding of the Confederacy because of the UDC's efforts or because those were the values that their families stressed. They probably learned these lessons and values at home, and the UDC's educational efforts served only to reinforce them. Otherwise, why make an example of Greenwood and award him a medal? If every Texas boy or girl were defending the Old South, Greenwood would have been the rule, not the exception.

The Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy took on the responsibility of acting like mothers to the state's youth in an effort to educate them about the Confederacy and Reconstruction and to instill in them the values they deemed important, values the organization associated with the Old South, such as benevolence, honor, and self-sacrifice. Though they engaged in a variety of activities in this attempt, such as influencing the state's textbook selections and creating essay and scholarship contests, the Daughters achieved only limited success in transmitting values such as

benevolence to the majority of Texas children. Though they may have made an impact on children who joined C of C auxiliaries, that impact is not easy to measure because of the very fact that virtually all Children of the Confederacy members were exposed to these same values in their homes.

Although the Daughters' success in passing on Old South values was limited, the expansion of their "maternalism" had another ramification—specifically, an enlarged participation in the educational process. Some UDC women felt empowered to seek membership on the boards of state agencies, such as the Textbook Review Board. A few were chosen, but many others were inspired to pursue other state appointments or offices. By emphasizing an equal opportunity for boys and girls to win essay contests and scholarships, the UDC made it possible for some Texas women to further their education, a significant contribution in itself. By not simply rewarding the male descendents of Confederate veterans, the Daughters had found a way to honor their mothers and grandmothers in a meaningful fashion. While their initial objective to educate Texas's children in the Confederate values they considered "feminine" did not materialize as they had envisioned, the UDC passed on a more lasting contribution—inspiring its members and some Texas girls to move out into the world beyond their homes to find personal fulfillment in their education and work.



## CONCLUSION

In July 1927 the Texas Daughters mourned the death of their founder and first president, Katie Currie Muse. Her death marked the end of an era for the organization, in terms of leadership and membership. At sixty-six years old, Muse had dedicated half of her life to the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and although she was active in several other clubs, none captured her heart and mind as did the Daughters. She served as president of her local chapter for thirty-four years, from the time she founded the club until the day she died. At the state level, she was twice chosen president and served in dozens of other official and unofficial capacities (for example, on various boards and committees and fundraising teams). In recognition of her effort and leadership, Muse was voted president-general of the national UDC for two consecutive years (1897-1899).<sup>1</sup>

Katie Muse's involvement with the Texas Daughters paralleled the state organization's rise and decline. Under her leadership, UDC membership rose rapidly in the state, and many Texas women sought to become Daughters. But like Muse, most of the group's early members began to experience the effects of age—failing health, decreased mobility, and ultimately death—which brought on the decline of the Texas UDC. Membership figures steadily decreased after 1920. Although the number of chapters remained roughly the same, membership as a whole declined by more than 50

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<sup>1</sup> *Dallas Morning News*, 19 July 1927.

percent: from an estimated high in the 1910s of more than seven thousand to less than three thousand by 1960.<sup>2</sup>

The decline of the Texas United Daughters of the Confederacy illustrates a complex change that occurred in society. Its early success in terms of membership and accomplishments, such as the building of dozens of monuments and a woman's home, reflects the general prominence of club activity among the state's women between 1890 and 1920. Club involvement ranked as one of the most important aspects in the lives of white middle- and upper-class women during this period, third only to family and church. The significance of membership in clubs during these years simply cannot be overstated. Virtually all Texas Daughters belonged to at least two other women's organizations, but many joined five, ten, even twenty others.<sup>3</sup>

These groups, including the Texas UDC, created a fictive family for Texas's white women. Club involvement meant a network of support, and women, no longer isolated from each other, formed a sense of solidarity among themselves. Although club membership tended to be wide and varied, most women identified with one particular organization and spent the majority of their time working for its benefit. Those who chose to make the Texas UDC their main interest did so for several reasons: an emotional tie to the Confederacy, usually because of a father's or mother's influence, the desire to

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<sup>2</sup> Margaret Nell Price, "The Development of Leadership by Southern Women Through Clubs and Organizations" (master's thesis, University of North Carolina, 1945), 83; Mattie Lloyd Wooten, "The Status of Women in Texas" (master's thesis, University of Texas, 1941), 291; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Austin: Von Boekmann-Jones, 1914), 22-25; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Sixty-Ninth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (no place: no publisher, 1962), 42-44.

<sup>3</sup> "Socio-economic profile of Texas's UDC officers," in author's possession.

aid poor or indigent veterans and their wives, and the association of the Old South with characteristics that appeared to be disappearing in the wake of modernizing forces.

In many respects, the rise of the United Daughters of the Confederacy represented the pinnacle of exalted womanhood. The women who belonged to the UDC drew strength from their femininity and believed that they were a force for the public's welfare. The organization served as a representation of these women's understanding of their roles as wives and mothers. It allowed them to engage in intellectual activities, speak before large groups, and develop leadership and organizational skills, all within the context of their femininity.

By the 1920s, however, female employment was on the rise, and club involvement began to lose its appeal for many. Most women's groups declined during these years, but none more than the UDC. With more women working and with the Great Depression of the 1930s, membership in the organization dwindled, as did its importance in the lives of Texas women. To some extent the group tried to adjust to the changes. The Varina Howell Davis chapter was founded in Houston in 1947 and claimed to be the first ever organized for the "working woman." The ladies met on Saturday mornings rather than on Tuesdays, but such efforts did not slow the group's general decline.<sup>4</sup>

The Texas United Daughters of the Confederacy first organized in 1896 to care for aging veterans and their families. In addition to this original goal, the Daughters attempted to be a force for good by creating and perpetuating ideas they associated with the Lost Cause as a means of offering citizens an alternative vision of what post-war

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<sup>4</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, "Texas Division Chapter Histories" (Austin: UDC Chapter #105, 1990), 34.

Texas society should be. But just as the veterans faded away, dying one by one through the years, so too did the UDC's dream of reshaping Texas society.

The UDC functioned as a transition vehicle in enlarging and empowering women's lives. In this capacity, the organization was a tremendous success. Never a means of filling leisure time, club work eliminated it entirely for many Daughters who engaged in real work, work they considered to be of the utmost importance. The organization fostered and sped along the emergence of Texas women as effective leaders in their communities. Perhaps, then, it is no surprise that the organization's membership and importance eventually declined. Women eventually no longer needed clubs to define their social position. Texas women had emerged into their own. They had the vote, many more worked in paying positions, and a significant number were active in local, state, and national politics.

In addition to the impact membership had on individual women, the organization proved effective in meeting its primary goal—caring for aging veterans and their wives. In life and death, the Daughters brought physical and emotional comfort to the old Confederate soldiers and their families. They provided food, clothing, and sometimes shelter to those who had given in their youths to the cause of the Confederacy. In death, the Daughters marked and decorated their graves and honored them with remembrance days.

The UDC's secondary goal—being cultural shapers who taught values they associated with the Old South, like obedience, self-sacrifice, and benevolence—ultimately proved elusive. It was not so much that the Daughters failed in their efforts to stress these characteristics as that Texans never embraced them to the exclusion of other

more prevalent values. Certainly, the UDC's efforts remain in the collective memory of many citizens, white and black and young and old.

The Daughters' many projects have had an impact on Texans' lives, but not necessarily in the way the members hoped. Citizens in several cities across the state have led movements to abolish or, at the very least, move to a less prominent location the many monuments raised by the UDC. An African American Dallas citizen complained in 1992 about the Lee monument in Oak Lawn Park, formerly Lee Park, claiming that "monuments encourage people" and that behavior "slowly works against our future and enhances the old southern aristocrats' elitist position." He argued that removing the monument would be a "demonstration of faith that we've broken with the past."<sup>5</sup>

For members of today's Texas UDC, the past is still alive. Approximately 3,800 women belong to the Texas division, and, nationally, over 28,000 Daughters meet each month. In 1987 there were eighty-six chapters in the state with 3,881 members engaged in the same kinds of activities so common when the organization began. Texas Daughters marked Civil War sites, gave books to local libraries, awarded scholarships, visited veterans' hospitals, and presented programs about the Old South to children's groups.<sup>6</sup>

Although the UDC did not reshape Texas society as it hoped, it did succeed, rather more inadvertently, in having an enormous impact on many white women's lives.

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<sup>5</sup> *Dallas Morning News*, 8 August 1992.

<sup>6</sup> United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Forty-Ninth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (no place: no publisher, 1987), 184; Catherine L. Wells, "The Past in the Present: A Brief History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy" (senior's thesis: University of Texas, Austin, Texas), 61-62.

It was important as a middle ground for women who moved from an existence that revolved around home and family to one that might include the whole world.

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