

ABSTRACT

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 TEXTBOOKS IN THE CIVIL WAR SOUTH

 Laura Elizabeth Kopp, M.A., 2009

Directed By: Associate Professor Leslie Rowland, Department
 of History

During the Civil War, at least 136 textbooks appeared in the states that made up the Confederacy, more than half of them in 1863 and 1864. The production of so many textbooks under difficult wartime circumstances suggests their significance in the promotion of Confederate values and ideologies. This thesis examines the Confederate textbook campaign, including the motives of authors and publishers, and analyzes the content of the textbooks themselves, including such themes as patriotism, gender roles, war, and death. While similar to antebellum textbooks in many respects, Confederate textbooks portrayed slavery as central to Southern society and offered explicit defenses of the institution. They also sought to promote Confederate nationalism among the new nation's youngest citizens and instructed children to honor and memorialize the Confederacy. The pages of Confederate textbooks constituted vital terrain for the shaping of the hearts and minds of Southern children.

TEACHING THE CONFEDERACY
TEXTBOOKS IN THE CIVIL WAR SOUTH

By

Laura Elizabeth Kopp

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Advisory Committee:
Associate Professor Leslie Rowland, Chair
Associate Professor David Grimsted
Assistant Professor Renée Ater

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Chapter 1: “It is All Important That We Should Write Our Own Books”: The Confederate Textbook Campaign

“Let us become independent in the means of education, as in everything else. The South has made *heroes*, let us also make *books*.”¹ Edward H. Cushing prefaced *The New Texas Reader* with these words to encourage the production of textbooks to suit the needs of the new Confederate nation. By 1863, when Cushing wrote, other authors had already begun the task of providing new textbooks for Confederate children, and many more such books would follow before the end of the Civil War. The campaign for Confederate textbooks resulted from the dependence of antebellum Southern educators and school children on Northern works. Once these books became no longer available or acceptable, an alternative was required. “Perhaps no want has been more seriously felt than that of school books,” claimed an advertisement in one Confederate textbook. “[O]ther things that could not be supplied at home could be dispensed with,” the advertisement insisted, “but that our children should be deprived of the advantages of school, for the want of suitable books, was an evil which has been growing daily, and which has caused thinking people much solicitude.”²

A good many of these “thinking people” took action to remedy the “evil,” creating at least 136 textbooks during the four-year existence of the Confederate

¹ E. H. Cushing, *The New Texas Reader, Designed for the Use of Schools in Texas* (Houston: E. H. Cushing, 1864), preface. Emphasis in the original.

² E. H. Cushing, *The New Texas Primary Reader for the Use of Primary Schools* (Houston: E. H. Cushing, 1863), “Advertisement.”

States of America. The production of such a significant number of textbooks despite wartime problems in the publishing industry, the decline of the wartime Southern economy, and hardships on the homefront, indicates the importance of textbooks to those who sought to form the minds of Confederate children. The books themselves not only constituted living documents of the Confederacy, but also delineated codes of behavior, voiced Confederate ideologies, and comprised an important part of the Confederate struggle for intellectual independence.

An analysis of the content of Confederate textbooks offers valuable information about ideological conceptions of the Southern way of life, about the creation of Confederate nationalism, and about the extent and range of the Confederate war effort. Textbook authors wrote their books for the white children who would inherit the Confederacy and become leaders of the nation. Many of the textbooks were no doubt intended for young readers of the Southern elite, since the majority of children who consistently attended school were from the upper class. Thus, while most textbook lessons addressed circumstances and ideologies encountered by all children, some were clearly directed to the well-to-do, even if their class-specific character was not explicit. In the pages of textbooks, Confederate children could read about loyalty to their new nation, the centrality of slavery in Southern society, methods of dealing with death and the horrors of war, and gendered prescriptions of behavior. Such themes were crucial to the creation of an ostensibly united Confederate society that unfalteringly supported the war effort, defended the institution of slavery, and promised to remember its fallen heroes.

Long before the Civil War, white Southerners had worried about the content of the textbooks being used by Southern children. Editors, teachers, government officials, and parents in the South realized that when children read textbooks they not only learned basic information but also absorbed embedded meanings. In the antebellum period, this meant that children read about the themes chosen by authors outside of the South. For many Southerners, this presented an ideological problem. As early as 1795, Judge St. George Tucker expressed disapproval of Jedidiah Morse's *American Universal Geography* because it smacked of favoritism toward the North.³ When Morse declared that "everything in Williamsburg appears dull, forsaken, and melancholy – no trade – no amusements – but the infamous one of gaming – no industry, and very little appearance of religion," Tucker, a Virginian, took personal offense.⁴

Critics could dismiss Morse as an ignorant British national, but they could not excuse such inaccuracies when they came from the North, which dominated the antebellum textbook industry. Perhaps the harshest Southern critic of Northern textbooks was James D. B. DeBow, who founded *The Commercial Review of the South and West*, more popularly known as *DeBow's Review*, in 1846.⁵ He believed

³ St. George Tucker to Jedidiah Morse, 28 May 1795, quoted in Edgar W. Knight, "An Early Case of Opposition in the South to Northern Textbooks," *Journal of Southern History* 13 (May 1947): 247.

⁴ Jedidiah Morse, *The American Universal Geography* (Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1793), no page given, quoted in Knight, "An Early Case of Opposition in the South to Northern Textbooks," 249.

⁵ It is interesting to note that even though *DeBow's Review* was advertised as originating in New Orleans, it was published in the North. For more information about DeBow, see Paul J. FitzPatrick, "Leading American Statisticians in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 52 (September 1957): 306-9; Otis Clark

that booksellers could not distribute Southern texts because they were “literally in a state of ‘peonage’ to the ‘barons of Cliff-street’ and others of that ilk.”⁶ By the 1850s, critics of the infiltration of Northern sentiment through school books were responding in particular to Northerners’ criticism of slavery. These critics viewed abolitionists as a fearful threat to Southern youth. In 1853, a Richmond newspaper encouraged teachers and parents to examine “all school books emanating from abolition regions,” since “no more powerful and insidious mode could be devised of disseminating the poison of abolition.” Such underhanded methods resulted from the despicable character of abolitionists, who “are destitute alike of generosity and courage . . . poisoning the fountains of instruction at which [Southern] children drink.”⁷ Four years later, the Southern ideologue George Fitzhugh put the issue more simply. “It is all important that we should write our own books,” he wrote. “It matters little who makes our shoes.”⁸ While Fitzhugh surely believed that breaking economic ties with the North was important, his point was straightforward: history must be told from a Southern perspective, one rooted in the mores and values of a distinctive Southern culture.

Skipper, *J. D. B. De Bow, Magazinst of the Old South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1958); W. D. Weatherford, *James Dunwoody Brownson De Bow* (Charlottesville, Va.: The Historical Publishing Co., 1935).

⁶ *DeBow’s Review*, September 1852.

⁷ (*Richmond*) *Daily Dispatch*, 14 December 1853, quoted in Edgar W. Knight, ed., *A Documentary History of Education in the South before 1860*, vol. 2, *Toward Educational Independence*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949), 289-90.

⁸ *DeBow’s Review*, October 1857, quoted in Keith Whitescarver, “School Books, Publishers, and Southern Nationalists: Refashioning the Curriculum in North Carolina’s Schools, 1850-1861,” *North Carolina Historical Review* 79 (January 2002): 31.

The formation of a new Confederate nation increased public calls for an authentically Southern education. The state superintendent of schools in North Carolina, Calvin H. Wiley, voiced the opinion of many Southerners when he insisted that education “should be maintained with energy for the sake both of its beneficent results to us and to our posterity, and as an illustration to the world of the civilization of the people of the Confederate States, and of their right and ability to assert and maintain their freedom and independence.”⁹ Many Confederates viewed the education of young Southerners as a divine calling that would ensure the future of the new nation. Since school children would inherit the Confederacy, they needed an education free from Northern influence.

An outpouring of textbooks followed from such convictions, but were the books produced in the Confederacy in fact unique? Stylistically, Confederate textbook writers offered nothing new. Many authors feared their works would lack legitimacy if they broke with traditional practices. As a result, both format and content generally followed earlier examples, which themselves had often been originally supplied by British works such as John Murray’s *Elements of Geography: For the Use of Young Children*.¹⁰ For the most part, Confederate authors chose exercises for their textbooks from well-loved forerunners. “[A]lthough [textbooks] are by convenience identified as the ‘creation’ or ‘property’ of a particular figure (e.g.

⁹ C. H. Wiley, “Address to the People of North Carolina” (speech given at the Conference of Teachers and Friends of Education, Raleigh, N.C., 1861), *Documenting the American South*, University of North Carolina Chapel Hill (<http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/confteach/confteach.html>), accessed 7 March 2007.

¹⁰ John Murray, *Elements of Geography: For the Use of Young Children by the Author of “Stories from the History of England”* (London: John Murray, 1829).

named as ‘by’ Blair or as ‘McGuffey’s’),” argue three scholars of nineteenth-century textbooks, “the facts of their composition and ownership are usually far more complex.”¹¹ In fact, the first book protected under the 1790 Copyright Act was John Barry’s *The Philadelphia Spelling Book*, which testifies to textbook authors’ concerns about intellectual property and the borrowing of their lessons for new works. William McGuffey, perhaps the most famous American textbook author, was sued in 1838 for copyright infringement, and the courts forced him to alter many of the lessons in his books.¹² Confederate writers acknowledged their own borrowing practices, but emphasized that they took selections only from the *best* German, French, English, and American authors.¹³

Other Confederate authors believed they should abandon standard formats. John Neely’s publisher expressed pride in the fact that “the book here offered to Southern Teachers, is neither a reprint, nor a medley hurriedly got up” and claimed that “it will be found to differ widely from its predecessors both Northern and

¹¹ Jean Ferguson Carr, Stephen L. Carr, and Lucille M. Schultz, *Archives of Instruction: Nineteenth Century Rhetorics, Readers, and Composition Books in the United States* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2005), 12.

¹² *Ibid.*, 15.

¹³ William Bingham, *A Grammar of the Latin Language for the Use of Schools with Exercises and Vocabularies* (Greensboro, N.C.: Sterling, Campbell, and Albright, 1863), preface; Adelaide de Vendel Chaudron, *The First Reader, Designed for the Use of Primary Schools*, 2nd ed. (Mobile, Ala.: W. G. Clark and Co., 1864), “Publishers’ Notice;” E. H. Cushing, *The New Texas Reader* (Houston: E. H. Cushing, 1864); John H. Rice, *A System of Modern Geography, Compiled from Various Sources and Adapted to the Present Condition of the World; Expressly for the Use of Schools and Academies in the Confederate States of America. In Which the Political and Physical Condition of the States Composing the Confederate States of America Are Fully Treated of, and Their Progress in Commerce, Education, Agriculture, Internal Improvements and Mechanic Arts, Prominently Set Forth. By John Rice* (Atlanta: Wood, Hanleiter, Rice & Co., 1862); Allen M. Scott, *A New Southern Grammar of the English Language* (Memphis: Hutton & Freligh, Southern Publishing House, 1861).

Southern.”¹⁴ Some authors chided previous books that promised “learning made easy” or “reading without tears” while offering massive readers that overwhelmed children.¹⁵ Marinda Branson Moore, a prolific author of textbooks for young Confederates, found that “some Spelling Books contain little else but spelling; others are deficient in the rules of orthoepy; while others are so very profound; that the young student finds learning to spell, a dull task.”¹⁶ “To urge forward too rapidly, the tender mind” was detrimental to learning, Moore insisted. Rather, “the motto of every teacher should be short lessons in text books, and they well learned.”¹⁷ While teachers and publishers generally welcomed innovations, such “improvement” could be taken to extremes. When the new methods were “so startling and strange, that they have met with little favor, and have never come into general use,” Confederate authors felt the books should be dropped from use.¹⁸ Most writers of Confederate textbooks sought a middle ground, with “suitable articles neither being rejected because familiar to adults, nor novelty sought for its own sake.”¹⁹ Highest priority was placed on loyalty to the Confederacy. A majority of textbook prefaces derided

¹⁴ John Neely, *The Confederate States Speller & Reader, Containing the Principles and Practice of English Orthography and Orthöepy* (Augusta, Ga.: A. Bleakley, 1864), “Publisher’s Advertisement”.

¹⁵ Richard McAllister Smith, *The Confederate Spelling Book with Reading Lessons for the Young, Adapted to the Use of Schools or for Private Instruction*, 3rd ed. (Richmond: G. L. Bidgood, Smith, Bailey, and Co., 1863), 3-4.

¹⁶ Marinda Branson Moore, *The Dixie Speller. To Follow the First Dixie Reader* (Raleigh: Branson & Farrar, 1864), iii.

¹⁷ Moore, *The Dixie Speller*, iv.

¹⁸ Scott, *A New Southern Grammar*, preface.

¹⁹ Richard McAllister Smith, *The Confederate First Reader Containing Selections in Prose and Poetry* (Richmond: G.L. Bidgood, 1864), preface.

the North for misrepresenting the “true” nature of the Confederacy and praised Southern authors who tried “to avoid evil, make us feel independant [sic], and furnish the schools of the Confederate States.”²⁰

The number of textbooks produced in the Confederacy during the Civil War indicates the importance such works held for white Southerners interested in creating a new cultural and intellectual life among their youngest citizens. The fact that the South’s printers, publishers, and authors produced more than 130 unique textbooks under difficult wartime circumstances, including a severe shortage of paper and a lack of capital, hints at their significance to the promotion of Confederate values and ideologies.²¹ Confederates did not view these books as a mere afterthought in the establishment of a new nation. Rather, they saw the cultural life of the school house as an important stage for creating responsible citizens of the Confederacy. When children read their lessons in school and at home, they were participating in a broader movement for intellectual independence.

One of the loftiest goals of the new textbooks was to teach children about Confederate nationalism. Historians have debated both the existence of Southern nationalism and, if it existed, its defining features. Some, including Kenneth Stampp and Charles Sellers, have argued that Confederate nationalism was nonexistent,

²⁰ Rice, *A System of Modern Geography*, preface.

²¹ Many of the Confederate textbooks used for this thesis are available on microfilm as *Confederate Imprints, 1861-1865, Based on Marjorie Lyle Crandall, Confederate Imprints, A Check List (1955), and Richard B. Harwell, More Confederate Imprints (1957)* (New Haven, Conn.: Research Publications, 1974), 144 reels. A few Confederate textbooks have been digitized and made available through *Documenting the American South*, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, (<http://docsouth.unc.edu>).

insisting that Southerners instead identified themselves as Americans.²² Such claims are problematic. If Confederates saw themselves as Americans, Drew Gilpin Faust has wondered, why would they sacrifice their lives “to deny this inescapable identity”?²³ In fact, Southerners identified with both antebellum notions of American nationalism and, following the secession of Southern states from the Union, with the creation of a new Confederate nationalism. Much prewar Southern nationalism was rooted in the romanticism of European literature. More important than such transatlantic intellectual currents, however, was a somewhat ironic connection to the American independence movement of the eighteenth century. Pro-secession Southerners viewed the creation of the Confederacy as an extension of the struggle of 1776. As Faust concludes, “Southerners portrayed their independence as the fulfillment of American nationalism.”²⁴

Invoking images from the historical memory of a nation that Southerners had voluntarily abandoned would remain problematic throughout the Civil War. However, as Paul Quigley points out in his dissertation on the sources of Confederate nationalism, “southerners frequently stepped around this problem of continuity versus change, Americanness versus southernness, by emphasizing instead a different

²² Kenneth Stampp, “The Southern Road to Appomattox,” in *The Imperiled Union: Essays on the Background of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 246-69; Charles Grier Sellers, Jr., *The Southerner as American* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960).

²³ Drew Gilpin Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 3.

²⁴ Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism*, 14.

opposition: North versus South.”²⁵ Moreover, just as important as the development of Confederate ideology was a desire to establish personal connections to such abstract concepts. How would Confederates’ everyday lives mesh with grand notions of republicanism, patriotism, and loyalty to the South? Although ideologies can be difficult to address because of their subjectivity, Confederate nationalism should not be hastily dismissed. Lofty goals were necessary for the formation of a new nation, and Confederate textbook authors tried to impress Confederate ideology on school children.

Before assessing the content of Confederate textbooks, it is useful to understand their physical characteristics. The most important aspect of a textbook was its accessibility to children. Following antebellum precedents established by New England primers and hornbooks, most Confederate school books were small, plain books that could be easily transported and stored. If students brought their books home from the classroom, they would not get in the way of mother’s sewing or father’s business papers. Most textbooks ranged in size from fourteen to eighteen centimeters, which meant they could easily be tucked into pockets or small bags. At the same time, if families purchased any of these textbooks for home use, they would fit easily on a shelf or table in the house. Geographies were usually larger because they contained charts and maps that required more room on each printed page; they were often designed to be laid flat on a table for observation by a group of students.²⁶

²⁵ Paul D. H. Quigley, “Patchwork Nation: Sources of Confederate Nationalism” (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2006), 5.

²⁶ The smallest known Confederate geography, Stewart, *A Geography for Beginners*, is eighteen centimeters tall, while the largest, John H. Rice, *A System of Modern Geography*, is twenty-nine centimeters.

Because of the difficulty of making large sheets of paper and printing complex images, such books became rare in the Confederacy as the war continued.

The number of pages in Confederate textbooks varied in accordance with the age and skill of the intended readers. By the middle of the nineteenth century, school books were available in graded levels for children (and adults) of various educational abilities. “Primer” became the term for the most rudimentary books given to children first entering school. Primers consisted of short lessons intended to be recited aloud or copied onto slates or blackboards. They usually contained only thirty to forty pages of exercises. Once children had learned all the lessons in the primer, they could graduate to more difficult textbooks. Spellers usually consisted of around fifty pages, although their length depended upon the discretion of the author.²⁷ Then, advised textbook author Marinda Branson Moore, after “children frequently destroy a spelling book or two they are ready” for readers that were more substantial.²⁸

The length of readers varied according to the intellectual level of the intended student. Some Fourth and Fifth readers contained three to four hundred pages of exercises. Geographies could also be quite long, since they instructed students about countries and cultures around the world, as well as Southern localities. Arithmetics for older children, such as *Our Own School Arithmetic* by Samuel Lander, contained two hundred or more pages of exercises, plus tables of weights and measures,

²⁷ Some authors combined spelling and reading lessons into one book. John Neely of Georgia was fond of such compilations; at least one of his approached 200 pages. See Neely, *The Confederate States Speller & Reader*.

²⁸ Marinda Branson Moore, “Note to Teachers,” in *The First Dixie Reader; Designed to Follow the Dixie Primer. By Mrs. M. B. Moore* (Raleigh: Branson, Farrar & Co., 1863).

conversion charts, and currency tables.²⁹ Lengthy formats also suited foreign-language texts, such as Leonhard Schmitz's *Grammar of the Latin Language*, because their users were advanced students who had mastered English and could move on to other languages.³⁰ The lengthiest books were those intended for young adults or clergymen in academies and colleges. These included such titles as the *Philological Reader*, *Elements of Moral Philosophy*, and *Elements of Logic*, which averaged four hundred pages.³¹ In the Confederacy, such volumes flowed most often from presses at the Southern Methodist Publishing House in Nashville. After the city surrendered to Union troops in February 1862, however, federal forces quickly commandeered the publishing house for government-sanctioned printing.³² Thereafter, very few readers on such advanced topics reached Confederate academies or homes.

The rag paper used to print most Confederate textbooks was heavy and resistant to tearing, but it was also cheaply made due to economic conditions in the seceded states.³³ The small page sizes and rough paper quality meant low production

²⁹ Samuel Lander, *Our Own School Arithmetic. By S. Lander, A. M.* (Greensboro, N.C.: Sterling, Campbell, & Albright, 1863).

³⁰ Leonhard Schmitz, *Grammar of the Latin Language; by Dr. Leonhard Schmitz* (Wilmington, N.C. : W. & R. Chambers, 1863).

³¹ S. A. Poindexter, *Philological Reader. A Southern Series* (Nashville : Southwestern Publishing House, 1861); Richard Henderson Rivers, *Elements of Moral Philosophy. By the Rev. R. H. Rivers, D. D. President of Wesleyan University, at Florence, Alabama* (Nashville : Southern Methodist Publishing House, 1862); Richard Whately, *Elements of Logic, by Richard Whately, D. D. . . . From the Last Enlarged and Revised Edition* (Nashville: Southern Methodist Publishing House, 1861).

³² E. Michael Fleenor, "United Methodist Publishing House," in *The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2002); available from <<http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/imagegallery.php?EntryID=U006>>, accessed 15 February 2009.

costs if printers could locate the necessary materials of their trade. As a result, textbooks generally sold for reasonable prices. In Philadelphia before the Civil War, the publishing company of Uriah Hunt & Son printed a broadside to advertise its school books. The company offered thirty-two different children's books, including textbooks and pieces of juvenile literature. Prices for the textbooks ranged from \$.32 for the commonly used Emerson's *Fourth Reader* to \$2.25 for Ainsworth's eight-volume *Latin Dictionary*.³⁴ Prices probably increased during the Civil War, especially in the Confederacy, where the Union blockade created shortages of inks and paper and where inflation was rampant throughout the economy. Despite these problems, printers and publishers in the seceded states continued to produce small, cheaply made textbooks to fill the demand for new books deemed appropriate for Confederate school children.

The publication dates of Confederate textbooks suggest not only the time involved in publishing a school book, but also the impact of military events upon the intellectual climate in the South. Taken together, the three most important bibliographies of Confederate imprints identify 136 textbooks that were produced in the Confederacy between 1861 and 1865. Of these, the largest number appeared in 1863 and 1864, while significantly fewer were produced during 1861, 1862, and

³³ The paper in Confederate textbooks lacks the refinement seen in modern school books. The fibers of the paper are clearly visible, and irregularities in color and texture are evident. Modern school texts contain glossy, clay-coated pages, whereas nineteenth-century school books contained simple rag woven paper. A useful source in identifying the characteristics of books is John Carter, *ABC for Book Collectors*, 7th ed. (New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press, 1995).

³⁴ Broadside of Uriah Hunt & Son, No. 44 North Fourth Street, Philadelphia, 1856, Calvin Henderson Wiley Papers, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (hereafter cited as SHC).

1865. Only eighteen textbooks were published in 1861 and in 1865, while nineteen appeared in 1862. The high points of the Confederate textbook industry were in 1863 and 1864, with 59 percent of the total published during those years (see Appendix 1, Graph 1).³⁵

The timing of textbook publication in the Confederacy indicates not only the difficulty of publishing books in the South, especially during wartime, but also the ideological reasons behind textbook production. Before the outbreak of the Civil War, few major publishing houses existed in the South. According to bibliographers Parrish and Willingham, only four major Southern houses “produced regular lists of publications” at the beginning of the war: S. H. Goetzel in Mobile, the Methodist Publishing House in Nashville, and J. W. Randolph and West & Johnson, both of Richmond.³⁶ When writers wanted to publish their works, they visited owners of

³⁵ I gathered this data by combining the textbooks identified in the three bibliographies of Confederate imprints: Marjorie Lyle Crandall, *Confederate Imprints: A Check List Based Principally on the Collection of the Boston Athenaeum*, 2 vols. (Portland, Maine: The Anthoensen Press, 1955); Richard Harwell, *More Confederate Imprints: Supplement to Confederate Imprints; A Check List Based Principally on the Collection of the Boston Athenaeum*, by Marjorie Lyle Crandall (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1957); and Michael T. Parrish and Robert M. Willingham, Jr., *Confederate Imprints: A Bibliography of Southern Publications from Secession to Surrender (Expanding and Revising the Earlier Works of Marjorie Crandall & Richard Harwell)* (Austin, Tex.: Jenkins Publishing Co, 1987).

In some cases, numerous publishing houses printed the same book during the same year. For example, Robert Fleming’s *The Elementary Spelling Book, Revised and Adapted to the Youth of the Southern Confederacy, Interspersed with Bible Readings on Domestic Slavery* was published nine times in 1863. Each time a textbook was published, I counted it as a new work. In addition, if two books had the same bibliographical information except for their size, I counted each as a unique item since I could not ascertain if both contained the same content. For example, in 1865 Franklin Printing House in Atlanta, Georgia, published George Y. Browne’s sixty-four-page *Browne’s Arithmetical Tables, Combined with Easy Lessons in Mental Arithmetic, for Beginners*. However, one remaining copy of this book is 14.5 cm and the other 16 cm. Without having access to both copies it is impossible to know if they contain the same lessons; I therefore counted them as two separate items.

³⁶ Parrish and Willingham, *Confederate Imprints*, 12.

private presses who could print small runs of the desired book or pamphlet.

Sometimes this would take months or even years if the printer had a significant backlog of materials waiting for the press.

The war brought even greater hardships to the book trade. Many Confederate textbook authors apologized for the lack of high-quality paper and long-lasting ink, but insisted that their products were nevertheless valuable. As Southern textbook author William Bingham lamented in the preface of a Latin grammar textbook, “the almost insuperable difficulties in the way of publication render it impossible to present the work in the most desirable style of binding and typography; but the author is assured that such defects as result from the terrible struggle through which our nation is passing, will be readily overlooked.”³⁷ Many textbook writers assured the public that once the war ended, their books would be reprinted with clear pictures and higher-grade paper. But to do so in a land under the restrictions of a naval blockade was impossible, “first, because the expense would so greatly enhance the cost of the books as to place them beyond the reach of the general public, and secondly [sic], because it would be exceedingly difficult now to procure illustrations worthy of the name.” Once the South could resume its European trade, the proper stereotype plates would reappear for children’s enjoyment.³⁸

Paper shortages also plagued book publishers. When the South seceded, only fifteen paper mills were in operation in the region, and they could meet barely half of

³⁷ Bingham, *A Grammar of the Latin Language*, preface.

³⁸ Chaudron, *The First Reader*, “Publishers’ Notice.” For information about the Union blockade that dramatically affected the Confederacy, see James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), chap. 12.

the demands placed upon them. Securing manpower to run the mills became difficult as well, because exemptions from Confederate military service were available to few occupations related to publishing, notably one editor for each newspaper, together with his indispensable employees, and the public printers of state and Confederate governments.³⁹ An agent for the Marietta Paper Mills in Georgia published an article in the *Atlanta Intelligencer* apologizing for their poor products and output. “You know Paper Makers are not to be had in the South,” the agent reminded the public, “and are not like Shoe-Makers, and many other callings which give exemptions to so many thousands.”⁴⁰ The Marietta Paper Mills agent nevertheless viewed these hardships and inconveniences as necessary during wartime. “The Government needs our hands to dig ditches more than the paper,” he acknowledged.⁴¹ Even newspapers struggled to survive in such a difficult publishing climate, especially if their press came under Union occupation. Union officials quickly converted the presses that had turned out textbooks, pamphlets, and newspapers for the Confederacy into powerful tools of information dissemination to Union troops and to the civilians under occupation.⁴²

Yet Confederate textbook production reached its climax just as the Union military machine achieved more victories in the South. Northern forces occupied the

³⁹ John A. Campbell, *Reminiscences and Documents Relating to the Civil War during the Year 1865* (Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1887), 58.

⁴⁰ (*Atlanta Intelligencer*, 13 September 1863, quoted in Parrish and Willingham, *Confederate Imprints*, 13.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Parrish and Willingham, *Confederate Imprints*, 12.

largest Southern port city, New Orleans, in April 1862. Port cities were crucial to the textbook industry (and to many other businesses), since they acted as gateways to the rest of the Confederacy. Because the Confederacy could not muster enough resources to supply the demand for printing materials, printers, publishers, and book binders depended on imported goods. Some Southern port cities, such as Mobile, Alabama, one of the strongholds of Confederate textbook production, would not fall into Union hands until 1864. But many Southern cities lost access to imported materials much earlier. Conditions deteriorated over the course of the war as the Union blockade of Southern ports became increasingly effective. By 1863, the Confederate economy felt severely the pinch of the Confederate war effort, the blockade, and the heavy hand of Northern military power. Internal resources for textbook printing were extremely scarce. Printer W. J. W. Crowder expressed happiness at the “near prospect of the publication” of a book by Calvin Wiley, the state superintendent of schools in North Carolina, “which under God’s blessings will be productive of good, especially in these times.” However, he told Wiley, “I wish I could supply you the paper for this object, but as my engagements at the Fayetteville Mills have failed, I am unable to do so.”⁴³ With the operation of Southern paper mills constrained by the presence of Northern troops and the absence of able-bodied male workers who were serving in the Confederate armies, printers could not depend upon Southern supplies to fulfill the demands of Confederates who wanted new textbooks for their children.

By the middle of the war, the crucial supplies of paper and ink for the print business could reach Confederate cities only aboard blockade runners. Despite the

⁴³ W. J. W. Crowder to Calvin Henderson Wiley, 24 August 1863, Wiley Papers, SHC.

dangers of running the blockade, many Southerners willingly did so in order to obtain materials for their faltering businesses and to satisfy personal needs. Book publishing was one of the trades that benefited from such risky feats. One blockade runner sought approval (and presumably financial support) from the governor of North Carolina by proving that he was delivering goods to the superintendent of schools, Calvin Wiley. The blockade runner, William M. Coleman, asked Wiley to “recommend me as a person suitable to look at & purchase suitable books, maps, stereotype plates, etc & say in the letter that my trip would be advantageous to the cause of Education in No Car.”⁴⁴ In this and many other instances, Southern printers managed to obtain the goods they needed to publish textbooks and other reading materials for the youth of the Confederacy only through extraordinary efforts. Given the Confederacy’s dire economic circumstances, it is even more remarkable that the number of textbooks increased during the middle of the war.

The chronological pattern of Confederate textbook publishing thus reveals an intense interest in building support for the Confederacy during the middle of the war, even as the Confederate army began to lose military engagements and the morale of Southern troops and civilians plummeted. The textbook industry flourished in 1863 and 1864 because of the importance of textbooks in garnering support for the Confederacy. Textbooks encouraged children to remain Southern patriots even as they witnessed their parents’ mounting frustration and hardship. Confederate authors, often supported by government interest if not funds, were deeply cognizant of the effect their work could have in sustaining Confederate nationalism. Drew Gilpin

⁴⁴ William M. Coleman to Calvin Henderson Wiley, 17 March 1863, Wiley Papers, SHC.

Faust argues that the lack of printing resources in the Confederacy, which increased with each passing year, meant that “anything published and disseminated in the initial months of the war had a far greater potential impact than information made public after the severe restraints of war had been imposed on the southern media.”⁴⁵ The fact that the number of Confederate textbooks increased during the middle of the war presents an interesting counterpoint to Faust’s observation. It seems that Confederate ideology overcame the technical difficulties of producing textbooks during the war, at least until its final year. Whipping up support for the Cause and its heroes while also trying to defend and maintain the Southern way of life during a devastating war was no easy feat. Yet Confederate authors and publishers continued to provide children with textbooks while military leaders lost battles and the economy entered a downward spiral. Amid such despair and hardship, Confederate nationalism needed bolstering if the Confederacy were to survive. Because of Confederate textbooks, children – perhaps the civilians most insulated from the battlefield – continued to learn about the foundations of the Confederate political, social, and military system, even as every aspect of that system was tumbling down around them.

Geographical patterns in the publication of Confederate textbooks provide additional insight into the publishing industry during war time and suggest that certain cities were better equipped than others to handle the demand for new books for Southern children. As in both North and South before the war, publishing houses were not distributed evenly throughout the Confederacy (see Appendix 1, Graph 2). The textbook industry in Alabama, Virginia, and Tennessee benefited from the establishment of publishing houses in these states during the antebellum years. Yet

⁴⁵ Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism*, 17-18.

only one of these states played a dominant role in publishing textbooks during the war. Fifty-eight textbooks bore the names of Virginia publishers on their pages, while only fourteen issued from Tennessee firms and eight from Alabama. In fact, North Carolina became the rival of Virginia in the number of textbooks produced within its borders. Publishing houses in Virginia and North Carolina issued 76 percent of the textbooks printed in the Confederacy. Although these two states published the majority of Confederate textbooks, significant numbers were also produced in Georgia, Tennessee, South Carolina, Texas, Alabama, and Louisiana. Only in Florida, Arkansas, and Mississippi did none appear at all during the war.⁴⁶

Textbook publishing in Virginia, North Carolina, and other states flourished under the supervision of political and educational leaders. Virginia publishing benefited from being located in Richmond, the political headquarters of the Confederacy, which also served as the center of the book trade for most of the upper South. Because Richmond was the seat of the government, publishing houses were more numerous than in other cities. The publishing and book-selling firm of J. W. Randolph dominated Richmond's book trade. The firm's 1850 catalog listed more than 3,000 titles for sale, and the company presumably made a painless transition into the Civil War publishing industry. While Randolph published mostly legal works during the antebellum years, his firm "also sought to meet the broader needs of Richmond and regional readers by publishing works in the fields of agriculture and

⁴⁶ Using the same method of gathering geographical data as I did for the chronological analysis, I consulted the three bibliographies of Confederate imprints published since the Civil War for my information: Crandall, *Confederate Imprints*; Harwell, *More Confederate Imprints*; and Parrish and Willingham, *Confederate Imprints*.

history.”⁴⁷ When Virginia seceded from the Union, Randolph shifted from “a Virginian to a Confederate orientation” by publishing works on such topics as the logistics of war, from skirmishing to cooking for troops, as well as general reading materials such as song books, literary works, and histories.⁴⁸ J. W. Randolph benefited from the new trade generated by secession and the Civil War because of the firm’s antebellum roots in book publishing and the nature of business in Richmond as a center of urban life in the Confederacy.

Calvin Wiley’s championing of North Carolina textbook publishing resulted in a wealth of books from his state’s printing presses, including a large number of textbooks. In 1853, when he became state superintendent of schools, he seemed an obvious choice for the office, having been instrumental in its creation the previous year.⁴⁹ Wiley’s *The North-Carolina Reader*, published in 1851, already sat on the bookshelves of many Southern homes and was a favorite among North Carolina teachers. Wiley intended the reader “to sow in the young minds of North-Carolina the seeds of a true, healthy, and vigorous North-Carolina spirit” and “to go, with the Bible and the Almanac, into every home.”⁵⁰ His first annual report as superintendent

⁴⁷ Scott E. Casper, Jeffrey D. Groves, Stephen W. Nissenbaum, and Michael Winship, eds. *A History of the Book in America: Volume 3, The Industrial Book 1840-1880* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 380.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 381.

⁴⁹ Barbara M. Parramore, “Calvin Henderson Wiley, 3 Feb. 1819 – 11 Jan. 1887,” in *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, vol. 6, ed. William S. Powell (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), *Documenting the American South* University of North Carolina Chapel Hill (http://docsouth.unc.edu/browse/bios/pn0001783_bio.html), accessed 3 March 2009.

⁵⁰ Calvin Henderson Wiley, *The North-Carolina Reader: Containing a History and Description of North-Carolina, Selections in Prose and Verse, Many of Them by Eminent*

told of a compilation of books recommended for adoption by North Carolina schools and teachers as “a matter of Southern pride.” The list derived from his “desire to promote self-reliance, and to teach our children and our people that mind and industry are not confined to one end of the Union.”⁵¹ Seven years before the creation of the Confederacy, Wiley was already encouraging authors and publishers in his state to create new textbooks.

After North Carolina seceded from the Union, Wiley insisted that the education of the state’s children “should be maintained with energy for the sake both of its beneficent results to us and to our posterity, and as an illustration to the world of the civilization of the people of the Confederate States, and of their right and ability to assert and maintain their freedom and independence.”⁵² This statement called upon white Southerners to defend their reputation as free-thinking, independent persons of reason and intellect. He believed that only Confederate authors could understand the slave system in the South. Only they would show the institution in an accurate light. “There is a large class of text-books which every independent nation, if it would maintain its independence, must have written and published by its own citizens,” Wiley explained, and the Confederacy was no different. Indeed, “the Southern States of America, distinguished by a peculiar social system, and one obnoxious to the

Citizens of the State, Historical and Chronological Tables, and a Variety of Miscellaneous Information and Statistics (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1851), 4.

⁵¹ Calvin Henderson Wiley, “First Annual Report of the General Superintendent of Common Schools, North Carolina,” (Raleigh, North Carolina: W. W. Holden, 1854), 11, *Documenting the American South*, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (<http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/schools1854/schools1854.html>), accessed 21 March 2009.

⁵² Calvin Henderson Wiley, “Address to the People of North Carolina” (speech given at the Conference of Teachers and Friends of Education, Raleigh, N.C., 1861), 1, *Documenting the American South*, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (<http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/confteach/confteach.html>), accessed 7 March 2007.

phariseism of the world, are especially called on to think in such things for themselves, and to see that their children are instructed out of their own writings.” “The just defence of our society,” he continued, “implies a condemnation of that of many other nations; and it is time that we cease to occupy the attitude of criminals arraigned before the bar of civilization, and assume our true position of teachers of the unalterable truths of Revelation.”⁵³

Wiley viewed the war as an opportunity for Confederates, and North Carolinians in particular, to assert their “peculiar social system” as an honorable feature of Southern life. This social system was not the dominant concern for the masses of non-slaveholding whites in the Confederacy, but slaveholders were accustomed to framing arguments that would win the favor of the majority. With the secession crisis and independent nationhood, they redoubled their efforts. If the nation were to survive, all of its people would have to invest in Confederate nationalism. Wiley delivered his speech to “the people of North Carolina” with those goals in mind. He was able to mesh what Drew Faust calls “two, often countervailing, forces: first, the purposes of the ruling class; and second, the rhetorical role of nationalist thought.”⁵⁴ By linking the institution of slavery with Southern honor and morality, Wiley appealed to white Southerners of all economic circumstances. He reminded prominent slaveholders who had the financial means to fund expensive book publications that “the first literature that pays, in any country, is that for educational purposes, as this is a prime necessity wherever there are schools.”

⁵³ Ibid., 11.

⁵⁴ Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism*, 15.

A large market was assured for those who could afford to invest in Confederate textbooks. “Our own beloved State enjoys a great and inestimable advantage,” Wiley noted; “one hundred and fifty thousand pupils attend her common schools alone.”⁵⁵ But Wiley did not forget less wealthy white Southerners, the majority of whom had loved ones about to enlist or be drafted into military service. The publication and use of Confederate textbooks, he promised, would “inevitably lead to the most brilliant future for a State, whose name in the past, has excited unjust taunts that have often and keenly stung the souls of all her true and generous sons.”⁵⁶ With these stirring words Wiley summoned all white North Carolinians to think of the well-being of their children and the fledgling Confederacy. The large number of textbooks produced in North Carolina is evidence that his words did not fall on deaf ears. North Carolina authors, teachers, and parents would continue to educate children in Wiley’s suggested ways until the collapse of the Confederacy.

Wiley’s was not a lone voice crying out in the wilderness of North Carolina for new textbooks. Educational leaders in other Confederate states encouraged the creation of Confederate nationalism through textbooks. Edward H. Cushing, Vermont-born but transplanted to Texas in the early 1850s to develop a career in teaching, contributed significantly to the textbook publishing industry. In 1856, after abandoning his career as an educator, Cushing became editor of the *Houston Telegraph*, which allowed him unrestricted access to a publishing house.⁵⁷ Of the

⁵⁵ Wiley, “Address to the People of North Carolina,” 13.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Donald E. Reynolds, “Cushing, Edward Hopkins,” *The Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association

nine textbooks known to have been published in Texas, Cushing had a hand in the production of five. Some, such as *The New Texas Spelling Book*, took Noah Webster's older lessons and expanded them to include material applicable to Texas children.⁵⁸ Others were entirely new, especially those that were part of the New Texas Series developed by J. R. Hutchinson of the Houston Academy.⁵⁹ In a preface to *The New Texas Reader*, Cushing proclaimed that the book was "written with the view of inspiring our youth with a love of Texas, and an admiration of Texan heroes." Yet he did not publish the work "merely from feelings of State pride" but because the "present inadequate supply of school books is becoming a subject of universal complaint."⁶⁰ While the New Texas Series and other books published by Cushing were intended to exemplify the history of a particular Confederate state, Cushing declared them universally applicable and enjoyable for all children of the Confederacy.

Sigmund Heinrich Goetzel, a prominent bookseller and publisher in Mobile, Alabama, assumed a role in the promotion of textbook sales similar to that of Wiley in North Carolina. In the antebellum period, Mobile had been one of the major hubs of publishing in the lower South, which accounts for its thriving industry during the war. Cathleen Baker's 2004 dissertation asserts that Mobile's standing as the third-largest port city in the Confederacy, its extensive railroad lines, and its wealthy and

(<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/CC/fcu34.html>), accessed 17 February 2009.

⁵⁸ Noah Webster, *The New Texas Spelling Book* (Houston: E. H. Cushing, 1863).

⁵⁹ Included in the New Texas Series were *The New Texas Primer*, *Hymns for Youth in Texas*, *The New Texas Grammar*, and *The New Texas School Reader*.

⁶⁰ Cushing, *The New Texas Reader*, preface.

diverse population contributed to the success of the printing industry in that city. The 1860 federal census identified sixty-five printers in Mobile, an increase of thirty-two people employed in the trade since the previous census.⁶¹ S. H. Goetzel entered the city's book trade when he opened a bookstore in October 1854. Three years later, S. H. Goetzel & Co. published its first books. Unlike Wiley or Cushing, Goetzel was not a member of the educational community, but a bookseller-publisher for whom making a profit was a motivation for publishing Confederate textbooks. While Goetzel published a variety of books, pamphlets, and newspapers in antebellum Mobile and during the early years of the war, his first textbook did not appear until 1864. An advertisement for *Chaudron's Spelling Book, Carefully Prepared for Family and School Use* appeared on January 12, 1864, describing it as "really the first genuine Southern Speller."⁶² Goetzel apparently grasped the potential of using nationalistic rhetoric to sell books, since Chaudron's speller was not in fact the first speller published in the Confederacy.⁶³

⁶¹ Cathleen Ann Baker, "The Press That Cotton Built: Printing in Mobile, Alabama, 1850-1865" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alabama, 2004), 14.

⁶² *Mobile Advertiser and Register*, 12 January 1864, quoted in Baker, "The Press That Cotton Built," 159.

⁶³ Cathleen Baker's statement that Chaudron's was the first speller from a Deep South publishing company is incorrect as well, since spellers had appeared in South Carolina, Georgia, and Texas prior to 1864. For South Carolina, see Thomas Carpenter, *The Scholar's Spelling Assistant; Wherein the Words are Arranged on an Improved Plan, According Their Respective Principles of Accentuation, in a Manner Calculated to Familiarize Art of Spelling and Pronunciation, and to Facilitate General Improvement; Intended for the Use of Schools and Private Tuition; by Thomas Carpenter, Master of the Academy, Ilford, Essex. Thirtieth Edition, Corrected and the Appendix Enlarged and Improved* (Charleston: McCarter & Dawson, 1861). For Georgia, see *The Dixie Speller and Reader, Designed for the Use of Schools; by a Lady of Georgia* (Macon: J. W. Burke, 1863); Robert Fleming, *The Revised Elementary Spelling Book. The Elementary Spelling Book, Revised and Adapted to the Youth of the Southern Confederacy, Interspersed with Bible Readings on Domestic Slavery. By Rev. Robert Fleming* (Atlanta: J. J. Toon & Co., 1863); Epes Sargent, *The Standard Speller:*

Goetzel expressed an interest in education even as he took steps to ensure a successful business. In 1861 he called for a convention of Southern teachers to meet in Mobile to consider the importance of new textbooks. But Goetzel's desire to sell books overshadowed his patriotism. He encouraged authors to submit manuscripts to the convention that might be accepted as "the text-book to the whole Confederate States for at least the ensuing five years." To ensure uniformity, "the members of the convention would have to pledge themselves for themselves and for their clients who send them as delegates, not to use any other school-books but those which had been adopted by the convention."⁶⁴ Almost immediately, voices from outside Mobile charged Goetzel with trying to profit from wartime circumstances.⁶⁵ Goetzel insisted that such charges were misplaced. "From the moment that I placed myself as a target before the press," he claimed, "I renounced all my individual prospects, but I have done it for the benefit of my fellow citizens of this new empire."⁶⁶ It is impossible to determine whether these were merely pretty words meant to defend his reputation or

Containing Exercises for Oral Spelling; Also, Sentences for Silent Spelling by Writing from Diction. In which the Representative Words and Anomalous Words of the English Language Are So Classified as to Indicate Their Pronunciation, and to Be Fixed in the Memory by Association: By Epes Sargent, Author of "The Standard Speller," Etc. (Macon: J. W. Burke, 1861); Noah Webster, *The Elementary Spelling Book, Being an Improvement on "The American Spelling Book,"* by Noah Webster, LLD (Columbus: M. G. McKinne & Co., 1863). For Texas, see Noah Webster, *The New Texas Spelling Book* (Houston: E. H. Cushing, 1863).

⁶⁴ "Editorial," *DeBow's Review* 31, nos. 4-5 (October-November 1861): 469, quoted in Baker, "The Press That Cotton Built," 161.

⁶⁵ The first to publish a complaint against Goetzel was "Geo. B. MacLellan" of Crawfordville, Mississippi. It is difficult to guess what his pseudonym might have meant in the context of his grievances. *Mobile Advertiser and Register*, 20 September 1861, quoted in Baker, "The Press That Cotton Built," 161.

⁶⁶ *Mobile Advertiser and Register*, 21 September 1861, quoted in Baker, "The Press That Cotton Built," 161.

an honest attempt at expressing loyalty to the Confederate cause. Either because of Goetzel's public relations mishap or an inability to locate appropriate works, Goetzel's firm did not publish its first textbook until late in the war. Although Goetzel attempted to stir Confederate citizens to create an independent educational literature, his efforts failed in comparison to the successful campaigns of Calvin Wiley and Edward Cushing. The small number of Confederate textbooks published in Alabama testifies to the lack of leadership in the educational and publishing spheres of that state.

The production of at least 136 Confederate textbooks under difficult wartime circumstances indicates their importance to citizens across the South and throughout the Civil War. Leaders in education, book publishers, authors, and teachers all called for new books for their new nation. Despite the emphasis placed on textbooks during the war, historians typically mention them only in passing and thereby miss a valuable opportunity to analyze Confederate nationalism at a practical, everyday level. A few scholarly articles discuss individual Confederate textbooks, but studies of textbooks more commonly offer broad surveys, none of which focus on the South.⁶⁷ As the leading authorities on nineteenth-century school books point out, textbooks, "like cookbooks, children's books, and popular fiction, often slide beneath

⁶⁷ O. L. Davis, Jr., and Serena Rankin Parks, "Confederate School Geographies, I: Marinda Branson Moore's *Dixie Geography*," *Peabody Journal of Education* 40 (March 1963) 265-74; Howard Braverman, "Calvin H. Wiley's *North Carolina Reader*," *North Carolina Historical Review* 29 (October 1952), 500-522. For studies of particularly popular Northern textbook series, see Elliot J. Gorn, ed., *The McGuffey Readers: Selections from the 1879 Edition* (Boston: Bedford St. Martin's, 1998); Harvey C. Minnich, ed., *Old Favorites from McGuffey Readers* (New York: American Books, 1936); E. Jennifer Monaghan, *A Common Heritage: Noah Webster's Blue-Back Speller* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1983).

bibliographers' and historians' radar, mentioned as a totality rather than in their particularity or difference."⁶⁸ Their statement is borne out not only by their own work, but by numerous other studies that trace the history of school books in America.⁶⁹ While many scholars connect school books with the creation of American national character, none have asked whether Confederate textbooks mirrored those of the early United States or deviated from them. The most detailed study of Confederate textbooks appears within Michael T. Bernath's 2005 dissertation, which grapples with the broader Southern struggle for intellectual independence during the Civil War. Although Bernath does not examine the content of individual textbooks, the intellectual concepts he proposes form a strong foundation for such an analysis.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Carr et al., *Archives of Instruction*, 11.

⁶⁹ In *Forming the American Minds*, Michael Belok addresses the question of whether American school book compilers from 1783 to 1837 tried to forge a distinctive American character. Charles Carpenter, *History of American Schoolbooks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963), presents a general history of American school books and the early school system. He devotes a chapter to each type of book and describes the evolution of each genre (primers, readers, grammars, foreign language books, arithmetics, spellers, literature texts, elocution manuals, copybooks, histories, science texts, physiologies, geographies). Carr et al., *Archives of Instruction*, presents new approaches to interpreting textbooks and demonstrates their influence on the transformation of nineteenth-century school education; the only recent book on nineteenth-century textbooks, it offers fresh perspectives on practices of instruction. Ruth Miller Elson, *Guardians of Tradition: American Schoolbooks of the Nineteenth Century* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964), examines more than a thousand nineteenth-century school books and contends that children learned lessons from these books that strongly influenced their adult lives. John A. Nietz, *Old Textbooks: Spelling, Grammar, Reading, Arithmetic, Geography, American History, Civil Government, Physiology, Penmanship, Art, Music – As Taught in the Common School from Colonial Days to 1900* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1961), analyzes "old American school textbooks" as a reflection of the evolution of the American school curriculum and of teaching methods in common schools. He focuses on the characteristics, methods, and authors of many individual books.

⁷⁰ Michael T. Bernath, "Confederate Minds: The Struggle for Intellectual Independence in the Civil War South" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2005). James Marten devotes a small section of his book about children in the Civil War to Southern and Northern textbooks. He contends that "if the war had been decided in the schoolbooks rather than on the battlefield, Cushing and his colleagues would have routed their Yankee counterparts."

This thesis aims to build on that foundation by analyzing the content of Confederate textbooks as part of a conscious effort to create educational independence based on principles of Confederate nationalism.

One of the challenges of such an analysis is to specify the precise number of textbooks produced in the Confederacy. Many textbooks appeared in multiple editions over the course of the war, and most bibliographers count each edition as a separate work, even when no material was added or deleted from the original content. It is therefore difficult to determine whether or not a new edition of a previously published work should be considered a unique item. A second problem is that many more textbooks may have been produced in the Confederacy than survive today in libraries and archives. In her 1953 dissertation on juvenile imprints in the Confederacy, Sarah Law Kennerly noted that “children, if they love books at all, love them literally to pieces.”⁷¹ She speculated that entire editions of some children’s books may have vanished completely from the literary and archival record because of their impermanence. This problem seems especially relevant given the poor quality of the materials used by many Southern printers during the Civil War. Such imperfect book materials are related to a second circumstance cited by Kennerly that affected the compilation of bibliographies of Confederate imprints. “[T]he publications of the Confederate States were all printed in the midst of a violent war where both printer and printing press were likely to be battle casualties,” she points

James Marten, ed., *Children and War: A Historical Anthology* (New York: New York University Press, 2002), 59.

⁷¹ Sarah Law Kennerly, “Confederate Juvenile Imprints: Children’s Books and Periodicals Published in the Confederate States of America 1861-1865” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1956), 1-2.

out. Moreover, once the war ended, “a defeated people in a topsy-turvy world gave very little thought to preserving Confederate books.”⁷² For all of these reasons, it is certainly conceivable that many of the books printed in the Confederacy are no longer extant.

Several librarians have compiled bibliographies of Confederate imprints, including textbooks that have been collected by repositories throughout the country.⁷³ From the beginning of the war, some Confederates recognized the importance of publishing as a record of cultural and educational practices. In August 1861, J. W. Burke, a book agent and publisher in Macon, Georgia, announced that he would “publish a complete catalogue of all Southern books, with a descriptive title, the name and residence of the author, with such other information as will be desirable.” Burke considered this an important task because “we must rely on ourselves for school books” and it was now a “matter of interest to know who are our Southern authors, and what books we have printed and in manuscript.”⁷⁴ But authors and publishers either were not interested in contributing to such a list or considered the \$1.00 fee too expensive, for no modern bibliophile has found a list of books published in the South during the war. Instead, twentieth-century bibliographers undertook the task.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Parrish and Willingham define a Confederate imprint as “any book, pamphlet, broadside, map, piece of sheet music, pictorial print, newspaper, magazine or other serial publication, published in Confederate-held territory. Chronologically, they date from the time of a state’s secession to the surrender of troops by a military commander or government official in any given locale.” Parrish and Willingham, *Confederate Imprints*, 23.

⁷⁴ *Southern Confederacy* (Atlanta), 9 August 1861, quoted in Parrish and Willingham, Jr., *Confederate Imprints*, 20.

The first bibliography of Confederate textbooks appeared in 1955 within a larger bibliography of Confederate imprints that was compiled by Marjorie Lyle Crandall from the holdings of the Boston Athenaeum and a few other institutions. Soon after the end of the Civil War, Francis Parkman, a member of the Library Committee of the Boston Athenaeum, realized the importance of collecting material printed during the four-year existence of the Confederate States of America. Parkman's field agent, William F. Poole, energetically purchased "any book, pamphlet, tract or newspaper printed [in the Confederacy] during the war," including "little story books, song books, school books (no matter how small or trivial they may appear)."⁷⁵ The steady purchase of Confederate imprints for the Athenaeum had ended by 1920. When Crandall compiled her bibliography, she mostly worked with material owned by the Boston Athenaeum, but also included materials housed at the Library of Congress, Emory University, Duke University, the Huntington Library, the University of North Carolina, the University of Virginia, the Virginia State Library, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Western Reserve Historical Society in Cleveland, and the Museum of the Confederacy in Richmond.⁷⁶ Crandall catalogued a total of 5,131 items, exclusive of newspapers and periodicals. Of this total number

⁷⁵ William F. Poole to Brigadier General A. S. Hartwell, 11 August 1865, quoted in Crandall, *Confederate Imprints*, 1: xvi.

⁷⁶ In the introduction to *Confederate Imprints*, the director of the Boston Athenaeum, Walter Muir Whitehill, comments on the number of catalogued items from other institutions. The list of items at the Library of Congress came from a 1947 union catalog, which means that additional items may have been acquired between that date and 1953, when *Confederate Imprints* was compiled. In addition, the Western Reserve Historical Society in Cleveland and the Museum of the Confederacy "were not sent galleys for checking," he explains; as a result "there is no assurance that these figures represent their complete holdings." Introduction to Crandall, *Confederate Imprints*, 1: xxviii, 9-10 n.

of Confederate imprints, she identified 93 as textbooks.⁷⁷ Valuable as it is, Crandall's bibliography had several flaws. Although she included multiple editions of some titles, she omitted others. For example, *Chaudron's Spelling Book, Carefully Prepared for Family and School Use*, by A. de V. Chaudron is listed three times, but with obvious signs that it went through more than three editions.⁷⁸ Moreover, since her 1955 compilation, other librarians and bibliographers have discovered additional works. Just two years after Crandall's publication, Richard Harwell published *More Confederate Imprints*, which included twenty-four additional textbooks.⁷⁹

Thirty years after Harwell's publication, T. William Parrish and Robert Willingham, Jr., decided to publish an updated bibliography of Confederate imprints to add to the previous two compilations. They identified forty-two textbooks that had not appeared in Crandall's original survey.⁸⁰ "Considering the horrendous task involved" in compiling a complete list of known Confederate imprints, Parrish and

⁷⁷ Each entry in the checklist includes author, title, publisher, date and place of publication, number of pages, size, institutions that hold copies of the work, and any miscellaneous notes Crandall thought important to include. The textbooks are entry numbers 4028 to 4121 of the broader work. Crandall, *Confederate Imprints*, 2: 679-95.

⁷⁸ The second and third entries (numbers 4039 and 4040) mention the cover inscriptions "Fourth edition – thirtieth thousand" and "Fifth edition – fortieth thousand." However, there are only three entries for this title, which makes me wonder where the other two editions might be.

⁷⁹ Harwell, *More Confederate Imprints*. These twenty-four additional books included both later editions of items originally documented by Crandall and books that did not appear in her checklist.

⁸⁰ Parrish and Willingham, *Confederate Imprints*. These forty-two additional books include some later editions of items documented by Crandall, as well as books absent from her checklist. Parrish and Willingham omitted two books that had appeared in Crandall's bibliography: an edition of Richard Sterling, *Our Own First Reader; for the Use of Schools and Families*, 2nd ed. (Greensboro, N.C.: Sterling, Campbell & Albright, 1862 and Richmond: W. H. White, 1862; and Richard Sterling, *Sterling's Southern Elementary Spelling Book* (Greensboro, N.C.: Sterling & Albright, 1865).

Willingham claimed that “a computer proved to be the only means potent enough to create such a monstrous index for the new bibliography.”⁸¹ They made a number of changes in the format of Crandall’s work, such as reorganization of the unofficial imprints and the creation of a new numbering system, that were meant to improve access to the information. Acknowledging the difficulty of assembling a comprehensive list, Parrish and Willingham assured their readers that “errors will be noted (sometimes gleefully), omissions will be found (usually gleefully), and pertinent unrecorded rarities will be hailed (always gleefully).”⁸² Their *Confederate Imprints*, published in 1987, remains the most complete listing to date of books published in the Confederacy.

Textbooks were crucial to the task of creating Confederate citizens, many white Southerners believed. Americans had long viewed school book lessons as means of conveying ideals, moral standards, and values to children and young people. During the antebellum period, a growing number of Southerners spoke out against the domination of Northern authors and publishers over the textbook trade, as well as other literary fields. Once the Civil War began, textbooks became part of a larger campaign against Northern influence. Author and teacher D. S. Richardson expressed the feelings of many when he wrote that “as for buying Northern books, I cannot consent. I will quit my profession first.”⁸³ Many Confederates believed that if the citizens of the Confederacy wished their new nation

⁸¹ Parrish and Willingham, *Confederate Imprints*, 24.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 26.

⁸³ D. S. Richardson to Calvin Henderson Wiley, 1864, Wiley Papers, SHC.

to survive, they must blaze a new path, free from the influence of their Northern enemy. North Carolina common school teacher C. A. Apple argued that “our primary works, at least, need the hand of a Southerner to fit them for the use of Southern children.” He “shuddered to think how deep a hold [Northerners’] insidious doctrines had taken even upon the Southern mind.”⁸⁴

The creation of a Confederate nation required independence in every aspect of life. The pleas of educators, authors, and publishers for new textbooks succeeded because so many white Southerners recognized the importance of consciously creating Confederate nationalism. The lessons in Confederate textbooks reveal these efforts in astounding detail. They reflect the motivations and ideological purposes of Confederates in the forming of a new independence, both politically and intellectually. Textbooks were living documents of the nationalism that Confederates hoped to imbue in future generations. The textbooks’ lessons contributed to the formation of a national culture that had been increasingly called for in the antebellum years and that was ushered to the forefront of Confederate consciousness during the Civil War.

⁸⁴ C. A. Apple to Calvin Henderson Wiley, May 1863, Wiley Papers, SHC.

Chapter 2: “Come and Go with Me Out to the Cotton Field, and See the Negroes”: The Southern Way of Life in Confederate Textbooks

Both Southern and Northern textbooks taught basic rules to children.

Children in both the Union and the Confederacy learned similar codes of conduct: behave properly, obey your parents, avoid slothfulness, study hard, and you will grow up to be a successful, responsible citizen. In his study of children and war, James Marten reports that even in picture books, both Northern and Southern children also received messages about war, weapons, the lives of soldiers, and the deaths of traitors.⁸⁵ Despite such commonalities, however, Confederates found it necessary to rewrite their textbooks during the Civil War. They needed to defend their new nation and its way of life. While some Northern writers also hoped to stimulate children’s sense of duty and patriotism through revised school lessons, such changes were less crucial for them. The Union was not a new nation; Northern children could read the same books as their grandparents without receiving inconsistent ideologies. This was not the case in the Confederacy.

This chapter examines how textbooks fit into a broader struggle to create a coherent image of the Confederacy. An important part of this effort was showing children the special qualities that made Southern society superior to that of the North. Lessons promoting the Southern way of life ranged from children’s everyday

⁸⁵ James Marten, ed., *Children and War: A Historical Anthology* (New York: New York University Press, 2002), 1.

activities to moral ideologies to defenses of slavery. Children could bring honor to themselves, their parents, and the Confederate nation through good behavior and selfless deeds, the new textbooks taught.

The most distinguishing features of Confederate textbooks were the lessons designed explicitly for the children of the new nation. Confederate nationalism could never be established if Southerners thought of themselves simply as displaced Americans. Rather, the superior qualities of the South's way of life summoned pride in the Confederate cause and commitment to the fight for national independence. Throughout Confederate textbooks, for example, authors invoked the notion that Southerners' unique piety kept them in God's favor. The Confederate army's increasing losses as the war continued and the hardships endured by those at home increasingly problematized the image of white Southerners as God's favored people, but even events on battlefield and homefront could serve as valuable tests of a child's faith. Textbook lessons encouraged children to take up their crosses with enthusiasm, in the knowledge that such challenges increased their closeness to God and would help the Confederacy triumph over the Yankee foe. Just as textbook authors clung to religious faith as an essential element of Southern society, so too did they justify slavery as a system of kindness and benevolence that thrived in the Confederacy. In the textbooks of the Confederacy, children were told that without kind deeds, a strong faith, and the slave system their new nation would crumble to pieces. Instead of watching in terror as this happened, they were to play their own small roles in sustaining the new nation.

Not surprisingly, Confederate textbooks displayed many characteristics of American textbooks in the nineteenth century. Just as their layout mirrored that of textbooks published in the North and in Britain, so too did much of their content. Usually the first lesson in Confederate textbooks related to the pleasure of reading and the importance of education. Children should take pride in their books and in their ability to master progressively harder material. The first story in *The Verbal Primer* told of a little girl's joy upon receiving her first book at the tender age of six. "Oh! I am so glad," she exclaimed. "I will try my best, and learn as fast as I can. And, when I learn to read all this book, papa will get me a new one."⁸⁶ Such lessons assured not only attentive children in the classroom, but also the sale of more books as children clamored for new reading material as a symbol of progress and maturity. Marinda Branson Moore instructed her readers that "you must learn this book well, and try to be good," and promising them that "we will send you another one with pretty stories, one of these days."⁸⁷ The completion of lessons in one book would thus lead to new, more exciting stories in the next. Textbook author John Neely reminded children that "next to their parents," they should be "most grate-ful to their teach-ers, who la-bour faith-ful-ly to in-struct them" so that they would grow to "be good men and wo-men, and use-ful to them-selves and oth-ers."⁸⁸ Children could

⁸⁶ Samuel Lander, *The Verbal Primer. By Rev. S. Lander.* (Greensboro, N.C.: Sterling, Campbell, & Albright, 1865), 1.

⁸⁷ Marinda Branson Moore, *Dixie Primer for the Little Folks*, 2nd ed. (Raleigh, N.C.: Branson, Farrar & Co., 1863), 26.

⁸⁸ John Neely, *The Confederate States Speller & Reader: Containing the Principles and Practice of English Orthography and Orthoepy Systematically Developed. Designed to Accord with the "Present Usage of Literacy and Well-Bred Society."* (August, Ga.: A. Bleakley, 1864), 71.

best express their gratitude by being “obedient to our teacher, attentive to our lessons, and orderly in all things.”⁸⁹ In a similar manner, the narrator’s voice in Lander’s *The Verbal Primer* reminded young Willie that if “you learn all you can” the result would be that “your papa and your teacher will both love you.”⁹⁰ Not only would an educated child achieve proficiency in spelling and reading, but he would also earn the love of important adults in his life.

Textbook lessons instructed children in the behavior that would secure love and acceptance. Being kind to people and animals was especially important, since “no one loves a cruel boy or girl.”⁹¹ Little children could gain their parents’ affection by acting kindly toward one other and avoiding conflict with their siblings. When “Charlie Jones and his sister Annie always agree,” their kindness “makes everybody love them” and “Mr. and Mrs. Jones are very proud of their children.” An accompanying illustration showed the brother and sister playing peacefully together (see Appendix 2 Figure 1).⁹² Some lessons elevated obedience to parents over life itself. The story of Casabianca, in which a young boy promised to remain at his post aboard a ship, is a chilling tale of heroic obedience. While on the Nile, a great battle broke out and Casabianca’s ship caught on fire, yet he remained at his post calling out for permission from his father to flee the burning vessel. “But no voice of permission

⁸⁹ E. H. Cushing, *The New Texas Primary Reader* (Houston: E. H. Cushing, 1863), 60.

⁹⁰ Lander, *The Verbal Primer*, 19.

⁹¹ Marinda Branson Moore, *The Dixie Speller. To Follow the First Dixie Reader* (Raleigh, N.C.: Branson & Farrar, 1864), 37.

⁹² Lander, *The Verbal Primer*, 25.

could come from the mangled body of his lifeless father,” so “there that boy stood at his post, till every man had deserted the ship; he stood and perished in the flames.” Rather than chastise such foolish behavior, the author of this textbook insisted that Casabianca “was one of the noblest boys that ever lived.” He followed the lesson with an epic poem about the child’s obedience to his parents even in death.⁹³ Such a lesson may seem extreme, but in fact many children living in the wartorn Confederacy faced the possibility of death every day. Obeying their parents’ instructions not to play in the streets or to take cover in the cellar might actually prevent premature death. The author of the lesson of Casabianca probably did not intend for children to risk their lives haphazardly. Instead, the lesson offered comfort to children who may have witnessed death first hand and taught them to obey their parents in extreme emergencies.

Confederate textbooks told children to follow some rules simply for their own protection. At times, bad actions led to physical pain or hardship. For example, when a boy stole a four bit piece and his father found out about it, “he whipped him well for stealing.” This experience taught the child that “every body despises a thief,” even the thief’s own parents.⁹⁴ Confederate authors sometimes used short fables to make a more memorable impression upon young minds. E. H. Cushing told the tale of a dog named Tray who met his death by running with a pack of wild dogs. Children must be careful not to associate with bad company as Tray did, since “even

⁹³ Cushing, *The New Texas Primary Reader*, 61-62.

⁹⁴ Cushing, *The New Texas Primary Reader*, 7.

if you do no wrong yourself, every-one will think ill of you,” and keeping “bad company is itself a sin.”⁹⁵

More importantly, children who followed the rules of proper behavior could be confident of God’s love. Confederate textbooks told children that “the eye of God is up-on us all the day long,” so that “if you do a bad thing” or “think a bad thought he knows it.”⁹⁶ Such omniscience placed the fear of God into the hearts of children and encouraged them to live faithful, good lives. Confederate textbooks presented selfishness as one of the most serious sins because it violated the Golden Rule. Boys and girls who are selfish in childhood “grow up to be selfish, and a pest to society,” one textbook warned. Authors reminded their readers that God reviles selfish people and “pronounces curses upon” them. “Children avoid this sin [selfishness], that you may be happy in time and eternity,” one author advised. Textbook writers taught that God will love good children and care for them all their lives.⁹⁷ Proper behavior earned children not only the acclaim of their parents, but also the love of God because they were following biblical principles. Confederate textbook authors offered Christ as the ultimate example of how children should act, even in the most simple of ways. In regard to swearing, for example, since “Christ did not say a word that was bad or ugly, in all his life,” neither should boys and girls.⁹⁸ If children exemplified the

⁹⁵ Ibid., 11.

⁹⁶ Marinda Branson Moore, *The First Dixie Reader; To Follow the Dixie Primer* (Raleigh, N.C.: Branson, Farrar & Co., 1864), 36.

⁹⁷ Moore, *The Dixie Speller*, 43.

⁹⁸ Moore, *The First Dixie Reader*, 19.

characteristics of God's son, then they would find favor with God the father and be assured eternal salvation.

The universal truths presented in Confederate textbooks were often expressed in gendered language that delineated proper spheres for boys and girls. John Darby, a "good little boy" in Lander's primer, adhered to the standards of behavior for boys when he "always does what his father and mother tell him" and "never goes to bed at night, nor gets up in the morning, without saying his prayers." He also takes care of his siblings and "never tells a lie, or takes any thing that does not belong to him." John Darby's virtuous behavior insured that "if he keeps on so, he will be a great and good man some day." If every little boy followed his example, they too would grow to be honest, useful members of Confederate society.

Even the rituals of play received commentary from the authors of Confederate textbooks. For boys, "ball and other outdoor games" were deemed appropriate forms of recreation, but only if they were "careful not to play too long at any of them." Author Samuel Lander felt confident that schoolboys were not in too much danger, however, "for, if they get their lessons as well as they should, they will not have time to hurt themselves by too much play." This lesson included an illustration of two upper-class boys playing catch on the lawn outside of a home (see Appendix 2, Figure 2).⁹⁹ By such methods, Confederate textbook authors embedded signifiers of class into their texts. After all, only elite children experienced the luxury of leisure time, while poorer children filled their days with work that would benefit their families.

⁹⁹ Lander, *The Verbal Primer*, 44.

Recreation and playtime out of doors received much attention during the nineteenth century, in both the North and the South. Proponents of outdoor recreation believed it aided the development of young bodies and provided an outlet for pent-up energy. Critics viewed play as producing unruly, immature children who would be inattentive to their teachers and parents. In the face of the latter fears, Confederate textbook authors and school teachers asserted that the amount of time spent outdoors would be regulated naturally by the structure of the school day. Education prevented a boy “with high men-tal ca-pac-i-ties, [from] wasting in i-dle-ness and dis-si-pation the sea-son of his life du-ring which the seeds should be planted of fu-ture use-ful-ness and dis-tinc-tion,” one textbook claimed.¹⁰⁰ Schooling would teach a child the necessary skills of life, as well as protect him from idleness and excess exposure to the weather.

Just as boys in Confederate textbooks were prone to over-exposure to outdoor recreation, they appeared as ravenous gluttons as well. When a little boy ate so much cake it made him sick, the author of the *Dixie Primer* chided that “may be he will not be so much like a pig, next time.” Instead, “boys should not eat all they can get,” because it could be disastrous for their physical bodies as well as their family’s food supply.¹⁰¹ Such restraint might be especially important during the difficult war years, when food was in short supply and many poor families faced starvation. But gluttonous appetites might lead to worse fates for a young boy. A constant theme in Confederate textbooks is the danger of drunkenness. *The Dixie Speller* declared that

¹⁰⁰ Neely, *The Confederate States Speller & Reader*, 107.

¹⁰¹ Moore, *Dixie Primer for the Little Folks*, 2nd ed., 21.

“a boy must not drink a dram,” since it “will make a boy’s face red” and “is apt to make a sot.” And what is a sot? “A sot is a bad man, who drinks all the dram he can get” and “gets drunk and beats his wife and babes.” Sots were also prone to loneliness, since “girls must not fall in love with boys who drink drams” because of the danger sots posed to their wives. Girls could become sots as well, the author of this lesson realistically acknowledged. “Some girls drink drams too. For shame!” Sometimes “if a sot, gets a wife who loves drams, they will both get drunk, and a sad pair they will be.”¹⁰² Children should avoid becoming such characters, who brought hardship upon themselves and disgrace to their families and communities. Thus, children discovered the temptations of life in their textbooks and learned how to avoid them in accordance with the rules of proper Southern society.

For girls, Confederate textbooks provided instruction in behavior that would preserve their beauty, attract a husband, and make them good wives and mothers. Many lessons referred to the importance of physical appearance for girls. “Cross” girls like Matty, who “would com-plain at her mam-ma, and pa-pa, and her nurse,” ruined their complexions by scowling and making faces. Matty’s bad temper caused many problems, for “when she grew up her face was wry, and her eyes red,” while “the young men did not admire her, for they said she would make a cross wife.”¹⁰³ Proper posture would both ensure a girl’s appeal to men and keep her healthy. In a lesson called “The Lungs,” Marina Branson Moore declared that “ev-e-ry child should learn to sit up straight, to walk e-rect, and to never let the shoulders stoop.”

¹⁰² Moore, *The Dixie Speller*, 19.

¹⁰³ Moore, *The First Dixie Reader*, 28.

While insisting that “thou-sands have died from it,” girls evidently had the most to fear. “O be-ware girls,” she warned, for “when the lungs can not take in e-nough, the blood be-comes bad, the face grows pale, and beauty is gone.”¹⁰⁴ Suddenly the health of all children’s lungs was secondary to the external effects of not getting enough oxygen: loss of feminine beauty. Another lesson advised that “girls must wear their bonnets when they go out, or the sun will make their faces dark.”¹⁰⁵ In the South, dark skin signaled lower status. If a girl’s skin was darkened by the sun, people would judge her as belonging to the class of poor whites who toiled in the fields all day. Textbook authors considered such physical evidence of labor a catastrophe for a young woman, a judgment that offers telling evidence about the intended audience of these books. Even more shocking, dark skin might resemble that of slaves, and casual observers might believe the white girl to be a mulatto. Such racial ambiguity could prove disastrous for a family’s reputation and the girl’s likelihood of making a good marriage.

According to the textbooks, many other social behaviors could also ruin a girl’s chances of finding a husband. Although Marinda Branson Moore warned all children not to become spoiled because “no one can love such children much,” her direst warning went out to little girls. Being spoiled as a girl could have negative consequences in the future, when “other children will think of these bad traits when they are all grown.” Young men in particular would “remember how you behaved

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 41-42.

¹⁰⁵ Moore, *The Dixie Speller*, 28.

when a child” and then “not select you for a wife.”¹⁰⁶ Little girls were taught that men would disregard women who required inordinate amounts of attention and coddling. They should therefore act with humility and restraint in order to secure husbands who would oversee all aspects of their lives.

Some textbook authors encouraged girls to learn useful skills such as weaving and sewing. Jane “is a good girl to make us [straw] hats,” because such work will help her to “grow up to be good and all will love her,” observed one textbook.¹⁰⁷ In another textbook’s lesson entitled “Learning to Spin,” the narrator exclaimed, “I love to see girls useful,” plus “spinning, and weaving are so healthy.” This lesson went so far as to say that “you seldom hear of a girl dying of consumption, who has been used to such work.” Spinning and weaving were thus presented as preventive medicine. On the whole, however, depictions of work were few and far between in Confederate textbooks, especially for girls.

In Confederate textbooks a girl’s behavior in the presence of potential suitors received more attention than their education or other responsibilities. Because of the hardships of war, however, girls could not rely on fancy gowns or other markers of social status to attract men. Marinda Branson Moore told her readers that “it is very common now to see ladies dressed in homespun,” a trademark of poorer women in the antebellum years. During the war, however, such garb “is a very useful and becoming dress” because it conserves resources that could be used in the Confederate

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 59.

¹⁰⁷ Moore, *The First Dixie Reader*, 11.

military effort.¹⁰⁸ Perhaps Confederate textbook authors emphasized tips for attracting future husbands because of the toll the war was taking on Southern white men. Little girls would need all the help they could get in winning one of the few soldiers who would return from battle.

One notable absence in the textbooks is any discussion of how girls could aid the Confederate war effort. In *Mothers of Invention* Drew Gilpin Faust argues that economic necessity and support of the war effort drove some elite Southern women to work outside of their homes for the first time. Southern women became teachers, employees of the Confederate government, and nurses in military hospitals. Some women earned wages in return for their work, while others volunteered their time. Confederate textbooks offer no insight into these new roles for women, perhaps because many elite members of society viewed such changes as threats to the paternalistic social order of the South. Faust's research fills in the gaps left by textbooks and shows that elite women experienced such work as a "dramatic and frightening departure from traditional female roles."¹⁰⁹ Nursing was especially controversial because it was regarded as appropriate employment only for the lower classes, preferably men. Hospital work involved the intimacy of tending to male bodies, the observation of gruesome medical procedures, and women's exertion of power over their male wards. Although Faust argues that "[w]ithin the Confederacy, nursing became the focus of public debate as well as the site of overt class and gender

¹⁰⁸ Moore, *The Dixie Speller*, 65.

¹⁰⁹ Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 92.

conflict,” Confederate textbook authors made no comment about such work, nor about any other feminine employment.¹¹⁰

This absence may be attributed to the intended audience of Confederate textbooks: young, elite children. No one would image little girls scampering around hospital corridors or working in the Treasury Department. However, they probably sewed or knitted socks for Confederate troops, activities that were popular among elite women from the onset of the war.¹¹¹ Yet textbooks never mention sewing for Confederate soldiers, only working on items for household use. Such lack of discussion about women’s wartime work exhibits the class persuasion of textbook authors and their attempts to keep elite girls within the realm of the home. It also points to the largely upper-class status of the textbooks’ intended audience and assumes that these girls would never find themselves forced into such labor out of economic necessity.

The authors of Confederate textbooks designed many lessons that were specific to the needs of children living in the newly independent nation. Above all, they endeavored to foster appreciation for the Southern way of life and adherence to Confederate principles. First, the new nation required a language that was free from corrupt pronunciations. It seemed obvious to many authors that Confederate children needed books that avoided “the errors and inaccuracies with which preparatory books by Yankee authors abound.”¹¹² Inconsistencies in spelling, grammar, and

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 24-5.

pronunciation were common in antebellum textbooks, and white Southerners blamed Northern presses for these problems. Confederate authors wanted textbooks to return, however, to the purest form of the English language, not the dialects that had emerged across the South.¹¹³ Instead of viewing these pronunciations with a sense of regional pride, Confederates worried about the implications of strong accents. For example, writers implored children to beware of the letter “R,” which they described as “that unhappy letter which is never where it ought to be, and too often where it ought not to be. Thus, you have heard people say: ‘As yeller as gold.’”¹¹⁴ Author Adelaide de Vendel Chaudron suggested that “if in our public schools ONE teacher were appointed to give instructions to ALL classes in this particular branch” then great improvements in pronunciation would be made. This particular teacher would “be one whose voice is well-modulated, and whose language is not only select in expression,” Chaudron intoned, “but accurate in pronunciation and accent.” Such a teacher would “aspire to train the vocal organs of his pupils to their highest degree of lingual perfection” free from crude expressions and accents.¹¹⁵ Mispronunciations were a blatant sign of ignorance, textbook authors warned.¹¹⁶

¹¹² Adelaide de Vendel Chaudron, *The First Reader, Designed for the Use of Primary Schools. Second Edition. Adopted for Use in the Public Schools of Mobile* (Mobile: W. G. Clark & Co., 1864), “Opinions of the Press.”

¹¹³ Drew Gilpin Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 10-11.

¹¹⁴ Adelaide de Vendel Chaudron, *The Second Reader Designed for the Use of Primary Schools* (Mobile: Office of the Daily Advertiser and Register), 44.

¹¹⁵ Chaudron, *The First Reader*, Author’s Introduction.

¹¹⁶ Adelaide de Vendel Chaudron, *The Third Reader Designed for the Use of Primary Schools* (Mobile: W. G. Clark & Co., 1864), 27.

This attempt to construct a linguistically united society reflected the concerns of upper-class Confederates. Textbook authors were generally members of the upper class who could afford to spend hours writing books, taking on the laborious task of finding a publisher, and then spending money to market their books. Their strictures about proper pronunciation expressed the stereotypes of wealthy Southerners about the lower classes. Planters feared that outsiders would view the Confederacy not as a nation of respectable, well-off citizens, but as a collection of the rabble. Such impressions could hinder the Confederate war effort, especially when seeking support from the British and French elites. Rather than a disjointed, cacophonous society whose members spoke with a range of accents and vocabularies, textbooks wanted white children to speak with one voice. And that voice bore the tones and inflections of the planter class, not those of the Confederacy's white majority. Essentially textbook authors told children that provincial language would call into question their loyalty to a united Confederacy and threaten their family's honor and social standing.

Equally prominent was a desire to avoid "Africanisms" that, according to one textbook, "bear so little resemblance to those for which they are substitutes, that we will treat them as grammatical 'barbarisms,' and translate them into English." Such deviations were not limited to one class of white Southerners, since elite children developed speaking habits during their "infantine worship" of "Mammy," while children of poor nonslaveholders mimicked their illiterate parents or grandparents.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ The examples of "Africanisms" and their corrections that Adelaide de Vendel Chaudron gives in Lesson 10 are "Dey come dis mawnin' fum t'udder side ud dī river. They came this morning from the other side of the river" and "I seed um dat time, dough dey didden see me. I saw them that time, though they did not see me." Chaudron, *Third Reader*, 26.

In the chivalric order of the Confederate South, masters treated their slaves kindly, but firmly. There was no doubt as to who was the master and who was the slave. The language spoken by white children needed to maintain a similar delineation. In a sense, the pronunciations free of “Africanisms” that Confederate textbooks promoted became a marker of racial superiority. Such purity of language also worked to unite all classes of white people living in the South, much as the effacement of regional dialects did in other textbook lessons.

Patriotic imagery became an important tool for textbook authors who wanted to present children with the picture of a South united in support of the new Confederate nation. When publishers could locate the necessary printing materials, symbols, such as a Confederate flag with an appropriate caption, represented “the Cause.” *The Southern Pictorial Primer* accompanied an image of a flag (see Appendix 2, Figure 3) with a spirit-raising poem:

How gallantly it floats to the breeze
Amidst the storm of war now raging,
And nerves the patriot’s heart for duty
In this ever-glorious struggle for LIBERTY!
Oh! long may it triumphantly wave
O’er the land of the free
And the home of the brave.¹¹⁸

Confederate textbooks did not rely solely on such abstract sentiments. Instead, they specifically defended the origins of the new nation. The Confederate States of

¹¹⁸ *The Southern Pictorial Primer Designed for the Use of Schools and Families, Embellished with Fine Engravings* (Richmond: West & Johnston, 1863), 19. A similar illustration and poem can be found in *The Southern Pictorial Primer Designed for the Use of Schools and Families, Embellished with Numerous Engravings*, new ed., rev. and enl. (Richmond: West & Johnston, 1864), 17 (see Appendix 2, Figure 4). Another textbook offers a plainer version of the Confederate flag unaccompanied by a poem or exercise (see Appendix 2, Figure 5). *The Old Dominion Speller. “Youth Set Aright at First, with Ease Go On, and Each New Task is with New Pleasure Done.”* (Richmond: A. Morris, 1863), 27.

America was a country freed from oppressive Northern practices, yet also deeply embedded in the history of the United States. Children learned about the virtues of the Confederacy as it fit into a larger view of the world. When asked “what is the best example of a republican government in the world?” youngsters were fed the answer “THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA.”¹¹⁹ While the United States had initiated this type of government, children were taught that something had gone wrong and their new nation existed to provide the perfect solution.

Numerous exercises in Confederate textbooks justified the right of the Southern states to secede from the Union. Indeed, secession was presented as a point of pride and a major way to recognize the legitimacy of the Confederacy. Worrell’s text told children that the Constitution, which sanctioned slavery, formed the only foundation of the Union. Almost all of the Northern states had violated the Constitution when they tried to abolish slavery by electing Abraham Lincoln. Worrell then launched into a lecture that surely impressed – and probably intimidated – his young audience. “Was it *wrong* for us to separate from a people who would not regard their obligations to us?” he asked. “Who were using their utmost energies to destroy our *equality*, our *property*, our *respectability*, and take upon *themselves* the management of *our own* property, and thus make us their *slaves*?” “No sane man, unbiased by prejudice, can say that it was,” he responded. “Our obligations, *legal* and

¹¹⁹ John H. Rice *A System of Modern Geography, Compiled from Various Sources and Adapted to the Present Condition of the World; Expressly for the Use of Schools and Academies in the Confederate States of America. In Which the Political and Physical Condition of the States Composing the Confederate States of America Are Fully Treated of, and Their Progress in Commerce, Education, Agriculture, Internal Improvements and Mechanic Arts, Prominently Set Forth.* By John Rice (Atlanta: Wood, Hanleiter, Rice & Co., 1862), 12.

moral, to live with them, ceased when they departed from the Constitution.

Secession, or *ignominious submission*, was our only remedy. The States that seceded, therefore, did *right*.¹²⁰ The Northern states had failed their Southern sisters and left the South no choice but secession. Worrell and others hoped that children would understand that the Confederacy, not the United States, represented the continuation of American republican principles.

Textbook authors insisted that alternatives to secession had been available until the North forced the issue. After offering a list of the presidents of the United States for memorization, Stewart's *Geography for Beginners* asserted that "in the year 1861, the Federal Government of these states, elected by a sectional minority of 1,700,000 (out of a total vote of 5,000,000), attempted to subjugate the Southern States by military occupation."¹²¹ Stewart's statement was intended to convince children that the North had acted undemocratically. Northern attacks on slavery also appeared in Confederate textbooks as grounds for secession. When the "northern people began to preach, to lecture, and to write about the sin of slavery" and "persuade the Southern States to send their slaves back to Africa," white Southerners could not hesitate to act. The debate over admitting territories to the Union as slave states also entered Stewart's textbook. The North would not allow new states to legalize slavery, and this refusal "would soon have made the North much stronger than the South; and many of the [Northern] men said they would vote for a law to free

¹²⁰ A. S. Worrell, *The Principles of English Grammar* (Nashville: Graves, Marks, & Co., 1861), 159. Emphasis in the original.

¹²¹ Stewart omitted Abraham Lincoln from his list of presidents, perhaps as a way to signal the illegitimacy of his election. Kensey Johns Stewart, *A Geography for Beginners* (Richmond: J. W. Randolph, 1864), 200.

all the negroes in the country.” Although “Southern men tried to show them how unfair this would be,” Northerners would not listen, and in 1861 abolitionists took over the presidency. “The South only asked to be let alone, and to divide the public property equally. It would have been wise in the North to have said to her Southern sisters, ‘If you are not content to dwell with us longer, depart in peace.’” The national wealth and the territories could have been equally divided and war avoided.¹²² But the greed of the North was too great, and the Southern states therefore seceded.

Confederate textbooks fostered pride not only in the great Confederacy that had emerged from Northern oppression, but also in the states that had given it birth. Much of this rhetoric was related to agriculture and the economy based on it. As *The Confederate States Speller and Reader* reminded children, “the land which we till is rich: it brings corn for us, and for the ne-groes, and for a herd of mules.”¹²³ Confederate authors instructed children to rejoice over the bounty of the South and the prosperity of its people. According to one geography text, “this is a great country!” that has “learned to make many things” and “to do without many others” in the face of Northern military attacks.¹²⁴ Sterling and Campbell’s textbook contended that “no country in the world excels the Confederate States in the richness of its soil, and the variety and value of its productions.” Such natural success came because

¹²² Marinda Branson Moore, *Primary Geography Arranged as a Reading Book for Common Schools, with Questions and Answers Attached*, 2nd ed. (Raleigh, N.C.: Branson & Farrar, 1864), 13-14.

¹²³ Neely, *The Confederate States Speller & Reader*, 41.

¹²⁴ Moore, *The Geographical Reader*, 14.

“here are combined all the elements of national wealth and greatness,” it claimed, “so far as climate and productions are concerned.”¹²⁵ Although many Northerners doubted the ability of the South to survive without shipping and industry, textbook authors assured students that the Confederate people were resourceful and adaptable.

Regional lessons, which were especially prominent in geographies, taught children about the prosperity of each state in the Confederacy and the reasons children should feel blessed to live there. Marinda Branson Moore’s *Geographical Reader* posed catechism-styled questions about each state’s economy, natural features, and people. Kentucky, for example, was “most remarkable” for “its fine horses and hogs,” while the “chief productions” in Tennessee were “Indian corn and cotton.”¹²⁶ Questions pertained to the activity of each state in the war as well. When asked “how are the people in regard to the war” in Missouri, the response was “they are divided in sentiment.” Kentucky’s “gallant sons” “are fighting for ‘Southern Independence,” while Tennessee “is oppressed and trameled [sic] by the enemy.”¹²⁷ Texan authors especially labored to instill pride into the hearts and minds of the state’s young citizens. The books in the New Texas Series, which included *The New Texas Primer*, *The New Texas Primary Reader*, *The New Texas Reader Designed for the Use of Schools in Texas*, and *The New Texas Grammar*, “were written with the view of inspiring our youth with a love of Texas, and an admiration of Texan heroes.”

¹²⁵ Richard Sterling and J. D. Campbell, *Our Own Third Reader: for the Use of Schools and Families*. By Richard Sterling, A. M., Principal of Edgeworth Female Seminary, and J. D. Campbell, A. M., Professor of Mathematics and Rhetoric (Greensboro, N. C.: Sterling, Campbell, and Albright; Richmond: W. Hargrave White, 1863), 111-12.

¹²⁶ Moore, *Primary Geography*, 2nd ed., 45- 46.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ “It should be the aim of every parent and teacher, to cultivate a State pride in the children,” the author of the series insisted, because “such a pride is an incentive to good actions and the sure foundation of power and influence.”¹²⁹ The series originated “not merely from feelings of state pride,” however, but also from “the wants of the country” for new textbooks.¹³⁰ Although children were introduced to the unique features of each state, the textbooks also emphasized the tie that united them: the war against Yankee aggression. Meanwhile, individual Northern states were omitted from many geographies, which instead referred to them simply as part of the United States, which “is tumbling into ruins” as a result of losing the South.¹³¹

Confederate textbooks frequently attributed the Southern way of life and the prosperity of its citizens to slavery. Textbook authors did not shy away from proclaiming the protection of slavery as the main impetus for secession and the formation of the Confederate States of America. In the textbooks, slavery was the crucial thread in the Confederacy’s “governmental fabric, and an indomitable spirit of self-reliance in the hearts of the people . . . to be rapidly augmented by the development of her vast agricultural and mineral resources, of which the world may be envious. . . .”¹³²

¹²⁸ E. H. Cushing, *The New Texas Reader. Designed for the Use of Schools in Texas* (Houston: E. H. Cushing, 1864), iii.

¹²⁹ Cushing, *The New Texas Primary Reader*, 4.

¹³⁰ Cushing, *The New Texas Reader*, iii.

¹³¹ Moore, *Primary Geography*, 2nd ed., 40.

¹³² Rice, *A System of Modern Geography*, 21.

Textbooks abounded with justifications of the institution of slavery.¹³³ Apologists argued that slavery was a desirable social arrangement because of its benefits for whites and its benevolence toward inferior blacks.¹³⁴ Proslavery advocates defended slavery with racial, religious, historical, economic, legal, political, and scientific justifications.¹³⁵ Radical proslavery thinkers, notably George Fitzhugh, went further. “Domestic slavery must be vindicated in the abstract, and in the general,” he argued, “as a normal, natural, and, *in general* necessitous element of civilized society, without regard to race or color.”¹³⁶ Such thinking never reached the mainstream because it implied that slaves could be white as well as black. Rather, textbooks reflected the more conventional justifications of slavery, including the racial differences between whites and blacks, the benevolent conditions of Southern bondage, economic opportunities for white Southerners, and biblical sanction.

The everyday operations of the slave system permeated passages in Confederate textbooks depicting the Southern way of life. A lesson on cotton in *The New Texas Primary Reader* invited the reader to “come and go with me out to the cotton field, and see the negroes pick cotton.” The scene was one of picturesque

¹³³ For discussions of nineteenth-century proslavery thought, see Drew Gilpin Faust, ed., *The Ideology of Slavery: Proslavery Thought in the Antebellum South, 1830-1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981); Paul Finkelman, *Defending Slavery: Proslavery Thought in the Old South, A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2003).

¹³⁴ Faust, *The Ideology of Slavery*, 273.

¹³⁵ Paul Finkelman considers each of these areas of justification in great detail. Much of my discussion of proslavery arguments in Confederate textbooks is based on his analysis. Finkelman, *Defending Slavery*, 25-40.

¹³⁶ George Fitzhugh quoted in Faust, *The Ideology of Slavery*, 274. Emphasis is Fitzhugh's.

efficiency as “the negroes pick the cotton into baskets, and then it is taken to the gin” for the benefit of their owner. The student was told that “this same cotton” then becomes “cloth, and calico, and lace” for the enjoyment of the white folks who controlled the slaves’ labor.¹³⁷ Slave labor formed the lynchpin in the Southern plantation economy, and such lessons provided white school children, who were often members of the planter class, with images that were both common and essential to Southern life. Children also learned that they could command slaves to fulfill their own personal needs. One lesson declared simply, “it is hot. Ju-ba, run for fans to fan us.”¹³⁸ Just as slaves were essential to the economy of the Confederacy, they also provided comfort and leisure to slaveholders and their children.

Children’s school geographies provided fundamental information for the racial defense of slavery. First they introduced the three primary races: “the white and bearded [Caucasian]; the tawny and beardless [Mongolian]; the black and woolly-haired [Ethiopian].”¹³⁹ Many geography textbooks included illustrations of the physical differences between the races of man (see Appendix 2, Figures 6 and 7). One variety of the proslavery defense depended on scientific studies like those of Samuel Cartwright and Josiah Nott to prove that blacks’ anatomical differences suited

¹³⁷ Cushing, *The New Texas Primary Reader*, 25.

¹³⁸ Neely, *The Confederate States Speller & Reader*, 17.

¹³⁹ Charles Galusha Colby, *The World in Miniature, or, Diamond Atlas of Every Nation and Country Both Ancient and Modern* (New Orleans: W. F. Stuart, 1861), 28. John H. Rice identified five races: Caucasian, Mongolian, African, Malay, American. See Rice, *A System of Modern Geography*, 7. Stewart’s *Geography for Beginners* listed the population of each race in the world: Caucasian – 425,000,000; Mongolian – 46,000,000; American & Eastern Indians – 50,000,000; Negro races – 70,000,000. It is interesting to note that although the Negro race numbered second to the Caucasian race, it occupied the last place in the hierarchical list of races, thus demonstrating racism even in a simple textbook exercise. Stewart, *A Geography for Beginners*, 32.

them for slavery.¹⁴⁰ In Confederate textbooks, children were told of the barbaric practices of “African men [who] eat human flesh” when found in their natural environment.¹⁴¹ Geographies disclosed that Africans are “slothful and vicious,” “possess little cunning,” and “sell their prisoners to the white people for slaves.”¹⁴² The barbaric behavior of Africans had thus created the slave trade, and white people simply expanded on the opportunity. Such creatures needed the civilizing influence that could be achieved through slavery. One child’s geography stated that “the African, or Black race, is found in all parts of Africa, except on the Northern coast; and in America, where they have been brought and humanly [sic] reduced to their proper normal condition of slavery.”¹⁴³ According to the textbooks, people of African descent existed in a much more civilized and healthy state in the South than in their native societies.¹⁴⁴

Since many whites considered the black race unfit for freedom, primers and readers provided exercises to reinforce this belief. Exercises often depicted slaves as

¹⁴⁰ See Samuel A. Cartwright, *Report on the Diseases of and Physical Peculiarities of the Negro Race (1851)*, in *Defending Slavery*, ed. Finkelman, 157-73. Thomas Jefferson devoted a good deal of his *Notes on the State of Virginia* to the physical inferiority of blacks. If “the circumstance of superior beauty, is thought worthy of attention in the propagation of our horses, dogs, and other domestic animals; why not in that of man?” See Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia (1787)*, in Paul Finkelman, *Defending Slavery*, 47-54.

¹⁴¹ William Bingham, *A Grammar of the Latin Language for the Use of Schools with Exercises and Vocabularies* (Greensboro, N.C.: Sterling, Campbell, and Albright, 1863), 204.

¹⁴² Marinda Branson Moore, *Geographical Reader for the Dixie Children* (Raleigh, N.C.: Branson, Farrar & Co., 1863), 10.

¹⁴³ Rice, *A System of Modern Geography*, 8.

¹⁴⁴ Moore, *Primary Geography*, 10.

irresponsible and incapable of surviving without the care of a master. One writing sample read, “that stupid negro girl fell in the dirt with the child.”¹⁴⁵ How could such irresponsible slaves survive as free people? Textbook authors insisted, however, that slaves did not desire freedom, because their temperaments suited enslavement. When one child asked why Uncle Tom was working still, he replied, “that’s all poor Tom is fit for” and denied that he would want freedom since “master give me every thing I want, and takes care of me when I am sick[.] What do I want to be free for?”¹⁴⁶ Such statements reinforced not only the racial inferiority of blacks, but also the idea that slaveholders were the merciful benefactors of their slaves.

Many textbook authors relied on a cultural defense of slavery that represented slaves as happy, well-cared-for workers. In some respects, these romanticized depictions of slavery defended slaveholders against the accusations of abolitionist authors and the accounts of fugitive slaves, both of which characterized slavery as exploitative and cruel.¹⁴⁷ In textbooks, slaves were seldom whipped by their owners; they sang while they picked cotton and thanked their mistresses for charitable offerings. When a mistress confronted her slave about running away, he responded by asking her not to remind him of the event because “it makes me *blush* yet to think of it.”¹⁴⁸ While she displayed remarkable calmness in recounting the disloyalty of her

¹⁴⁵ Neely, *The Confederate States Speller & Reader*, 42.

¹⁴⁶ Lander, *The Verbal Primer*, 27. An illustration of Uncle Tom cutting wood accompanied this lesson to emphasize his dedication to his work as a slave (see Appendix 2, Figure 8).

¹⁴⁷ Finkelman, ed., *Defending Slavery*, 28.

¹⁴⁸ Mrs. S. A. Poindexter, *Philological Reader, A Southern Series*, 4th book (Nashville: Southwestern Publishing House, 1861), 451.

slave, the slave humbly assured her he would never run away again because he enjoyed the companionship of his white owners. One spelling book described a jovial scene of cotton picking:

Hark! how mer-ri-ly they sing as they pick the white cot-ton from the pods, and throw it in-to the bas-ket. These ne-groes are well fed, and well clad, and well cared for when they are sick. When their task is done, these is noth-ing to trou-ble them. Which of us that lives to an-y pur-
pose, has not his task to do, as well as the
ne-gro? ¹⁴⁹

In this lesson, slaves fit into the Southern labor system alongside white planters who managed their estates, white laborers who rented or cropped small parcels of land from the planters, and children who would one day assume the roles of their parents.

Textbooks depicted Southern slave owners as kind, benevolent masters who provided blacks both security and sustenance. A lesson about cruelty in *The Dixie Speller* reinforced the importance of masters' treatment of their slaves. Certainly, "if we were servants and did wrong," one lesson reasoned, "we should expect to be punished according to the crime." Thus, whipping was acceptable, but slaveholders should not "delight in beating servants and stock." While "it is not a sin to own slaves" if they are well cared for and ruled justly, "it is a very great sin to treat them cruelly."¹⁵⁰

The story of "Uncle Ned" presented an interesting comparison of the relationship between a Southern master and slave and that between Union army and slave. The lesson described Uncle Ned "as a good old dar-key" who lived with his owner near the enemy's lines. When he heard from Northern troops "that he should

¹⁴⁹ Neely, *The Confederate States Speller & Reader*, 100.

¹⁵⁰ Moore, *The Dixie Speller*, 37.

be free, and live like white folks,” he took his wife and children into the Union lines. Soon he discovered that the Northerners “had not told him the truth” and realized “he did not fare so well as he did at home with his master.” Ned therefore returned to his old home, leaving his wife and children behind. When his master asked about the fate of Ned’s family, all the slave said was “Ah, massa, them Yan-kee no be good to poor nig-ger, can’t stay wid um.” Instead, “Ned lib wid you all his life,” never again giving a thought to his family.¹⁵¹ Ned’s final words were instructions to other slaves “to stay at home and mind [their] work, and let dem Yan-kees do der own work.”¹⁵² Southern children must have wondered why slaves would run away to the Union lines to dig trenches for the enemy forces if they received better treatment in the South. Such doubts were presumably put to rest by stereotypes of slaves as impulsive, ignorant, and easily influenced. Such beliefs came across even in Bingham’s *A Grammar of the Latin Language*, one of whose lessons for translation read “lazy slaves love short days and light work.”¹⁵³ They might flock to the Union lines out of curiosity or to avoid labor, but they would come scampering home once they realized what they had left behind.

According to Confederate textbooks, masters not only gave slaves everything they needed during their working lives, but also contributed to the joys of house slaves and provided for blacks in their old age. Textbook authors commonly described slaves’ close relationships with white children. One slave named Uncle

¹⁵¹ Moore, *The First Dixie Reader*, 39.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 40.

¹⁵³ Bingham, *A Grammar of the Latin Language*, 68.

Nat brought his young mistress a pattern of muslin as a gift in return for her Bible reading in the slave quarters. The same little girl wrote “pretty letters for us [the slaves] to our folks in old Virginia” and “tells them all we want to say.” After Uncle Nat’s wife gave birth to a son, young Miss Sarah was often to be found “sitting by the cradle, rocking him and hemming his little aprons, or running up his slips, or sewing on his cradle-quilt.”¹⁵⁴ In Confederate textbooks slaves flourished under the influence of innocent white children who showed them kindness and compassion.

So beneficent was the treatment slaves received at the hands of their owners that poor whites sometimes envied them. One lesson described the work done in the cane mill by slaves who produced “syrup [which] is good food for girls and boys.” “[W]ell done for the darkies,” the author crowed. In contrast, “many poor white people would be glad of what they leave for the hogs.”¹⁵⁵ What is more, slaves enjoyed a comfortable provision in old age that poor whites did not. When “Old Aunt Ann” was young, she worked hard for her mistress, who “will take care of her as long as she lives,” one textbook declared. According to the author, “ma-ny poor white folks would be glad to live in [Old Aunt Ann’s] house and eat what Miss Kate sends out for her dinner.”¹⁵⁶ In this example, slavery provides a better alternative for poor people than wage labor because it ensures their meals, clothes, and shelter, even when they are no longer capable of work.

¹⁵⁴ Poindexter, *Philological Reader*, 453-54.

¹⁵⁵ Moore, *The First Dixie Reader*, 49-50. The byproduct of the cane syrup process was described as “the scum [that] is fed to the hogs, and makes them grow fast.”

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 22.

Biblical passages provided the most prominent defense of slavery in Confederate textbooks, mirroring the sermons that children heard in church each week. Many slave owners interpreted the Bible, both the Old and New Testaments, as a manifesto on slavery. Clergymen taught their flocks that while God allowed slave owners to prosper, they must treat their slaves in a Christian manner.¹⁵⁷ Confederate textbook authors routinely prefaced spellers and readers with discussions of the biblical proslavery arguments in their works, especially as compared to the restrictive guidelines in Northern books. “[T]he people of these Confederate States of America will not henceforth withhold from their school books, the teachings of the Scriptures on [slavery],” Robert Fleming wrote. “They have no higher law than Holy Writ.”¹⁵⁸

Examples of slavery in the Old and New Testaments fill several textbooks that aimed to establish a biblical defense of the institution.¹⁵⁹ The most popular passages told the stories of the circumcision of Abraham to differentiate him from the slaves, the enslavement of the Hebrews, the reference in the Ten Commandments to coveting slaves, and the letters of Paul that discussed the subordination of servants to masters. Author Robert Fleming relied heavily on verses from the Bible to justify the existence of slavery in the Confederacy. Children read passages such as “[s]ervants, be

¹⁵⁷ Finkelman, ed., *Defending Slavery*, 31-32.

¹⁵⁸ Robert Fleming, *The Elementary Spelling Book, Revised and Adapted to the Youth of the Southern Confederacy, Interspersed with Bible Readings on Domestic Slavery*, 1863 rev. ed. (Atlanta: J. J. Toon, 1863), 5.

¹⁵⁹ The two main textbooks of this type are Fleming, *The Elementary Spelling Book*, and Sterling and Campbell, *Our Own Third Reader*. Each reprinted extensive passages from the Bible that justified the existence of slavery as God-given. For examples, see Fleming, 45-46, 57-58, 71-74, 94-95, 127-28; Sterling and Campbell, 211-22.

obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling.”¹⁶⁰ The textbooks that contained religious proslavery arguments insisted that God would reward slaves who served their masters well. This interpretation reasoned that slave owners could help their slaves gain salvation by allowing them to serve their masters and God simultaneously. Fleming reprinted a biblical passage that told children to “exhort servants to be obedient to their own masters, and to please them well in all things,” so that the slaves “may adorn the doctrine of God our Savior in all things.”¹⁶¹ Historian Paul Finkelman acutely summarizes white Southerners’ belief that slaves served God by waiting on their earthly masters. “If Southern slavery was humane and generous and rooted in Christianity,” he explains, “then it could be easily justified to the entire world as an institution beneficial, not only to the master class, but also to the slaves themselves.” Such biblical justifications proved to be the most effective weapon used by white Southerners to defend the institution of slavery. Children were told not to question biblical interpretations of slavery. One passage warned that “any man who makes a Concordance, and omits the distinction between *hireling* and *slave*, makes the Bible contradictory to itself and absurd.”¹⁶² These lessons taught children to view the Bible as the infallible Word of God, which implied that slave holding was consistent with God’s will.

Confederate textbooks barraged Southern children with guidelines for being good children in the new nation. Textbook authors hoped that such lessons would train faithful, obedient Confederate citizens who would sustain the country’s future.

¹⁶⁰ Fleming, *The Elementary Spelling Book*, 58.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 128.

¹⁶² Sterling and Campbell, *Our Own Third Reader*, 214.

While many of the values and instructions resembled those found in books for children outside the Confederacy, Confederate authors wrote with specific goals in mind. They attempted to stir up support for the war effort and the new nation by educating children about the unique attributes of the Confederacy. National and regional pride were cornerstones of Confederate nationalism, which textbook authors hoped to use to boost civilian morale during the most demanding years of war. Support for slavery formed a vital part of Confederate nationalism as well. Children were taught to see the slave system as a civilizing, beneficent institution for members of a lesser race. Their lessons presented slavery in the Confederate States of America as a harmonious relationship that benefited both white and black people and promised to sustain the power of the new nation well into the future.

Chapter 3: “Thinking of Home! Liberty! And Victory!”: Heroism, Death, and Remembrance in Confederate Textbooks

Confederate textbooks contributed to the war effort by offering images of heroism and survival that were intended to rally homefront support. As children and their families experienced the deaths of fathers, brothers, and neighbors on the battlefield and in military hospitals, civilian morale plummeted. The Union blockade of Southern ports made everyday life difficult for many Southerners who could not obtain or produce basic food and clothing supplies. In parts of the South, Union troops occupied towns and cities and ruled local citizens by military law. Wealthy planters lost their slaves, homes, and properties to invading troops. Yeoman farmers suffered confiscation of their crops by both Union and Confederate forces. Thousands of Southerners became refugees forced to live with family members or wander the countryside as vagabonds.¹⁶³ By the middle of the war, life in the Confederacy had become difficult at best and horrendous at worst.

Yet Confederate textbooks insisted that such travails promoted a glorious cause in which the Confederate forces would triumph over the Yankee enemy. Their authors made no attempt to hide the horrors of war or the reality of death from their readers. In fact, death – both battlefield fatalities and death from such common causes as disease, childbirth, and infant mortality – was a recurrent theme in

¹⁶³ For an overview of conditions on the Confederate homefront, see Joe A. Mobley, *Weary of War: Life on the Confederate Home Front* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2008). On Confederate refugees, see Jacqueline Glass Campbell, *When Sherman Marched North from the Sea: Resistance on the Confederate Home Front* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), and Mary Elizabeth Massey, *Refugee Life in the Confederacy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964).

Confederate children's lessons. The sufferings of the Confederate people on the homefront and battlefield would not be in vain, the textbooks assured their readers. Instead of wallowing in misery, children learned how to become better patriots in such trying times. They discovered the myriad of ways they could support Confederate soldiers and the Southern Cause. They read stories of bloody, yet victorious combat and memorized the names of Confederate heroes. They came to see the enemy as heartless demons who yearned to destroy the Confederacy, its people, and its way of life. In their textbooks, children also learned the proper rituals of mourning, as well as how to perpetuate the memory of Confederate heroes and their own loved ones, all of whom would inevitably pass into heaven.

While the youngest students could read only simple sentences, authors nevertheless found ways to include nationalistic messages and wartime heroism in the most basic of books. A favorite topic for beginning readers was soldiers, always shown in uniform with a weapon (see Appendix 2, Figures 9 and 10).¹⁶⁴ Illustrations showed the weapons of war, such as cannons, being fired at an unseen enemy (see Appendix 2, Figures 11, 12, and 13). Such images were accompanied by simple statements such as "cannon used by our brave Confederate Soldiers."¹⁶⁵ Textbooks

¹⁶⁴ See Appendix for illustrations of soldiers in Marinda Branson Moore, *The Dixie Primer*, 3rd ed. (Raleigh, N.C.: Branson & Farrar, 1864), 16 and *Burke's Picture Primer, or, Spelling and Reading Taught in an Easy and Familiar Manner, with Numerous Cuts* (Macon, Ga.: Burke, Boykin & Co., 1864), 47. It is interesting to note that the soldiers are wearing British full-dress uniforms, not the miscellaneous uniforms worn by Confederate infantrymen. Confederate authors probably reused stereograph plates from other books printed at the same press office. Stereograph plates were difficult to obtain because they were constructed in England and then imported into the South. The Union blockade would have made them even more rare in the wartime South.

¹⁶⁵ *The Southern Pictorial Primer Designed for the Use of Schools and Families, Embellished with*

admonished children to support the soldiers, since “it is the duty of every man to love his country, and to defend it bravely against its enemies.”¹⁶⁶ They encouraged small boys to consider their own service in the army once they reached maturity.

Discussions of duty and patriotism probably encouraged boys to envy soldiers fighting in the war and to idolize the men who fought for the Confederacy (often their fathers or older brothers), without fully acknowledging the death and maiming that accompanied warfare. In one textbook, a mother told her son that “you are too young to know all about [the war]” but promised that “when you get older, I will let you read all about the war.”¹⁶⁷ While discussions of war and the specific military efforts of the Confederacy were limited in books for the very young, the existence of any such references speaks to the importance textbook authors placed on educating even the youngest citizens about their patriotic duty to the Confederate States of America.

More common were textbooks for older children that emphasized the glory of “the Cause” and the reasons many of their family members were fighting. “Nerved by the justice of our cause, and cheered by bright thoughts of loved ones at home, for whom they were to battle, that mighty band of brothers marched on,” one Texas

Numerous Engravings, new ed., rev. and enl. (Richmond: West & Johnston, 1864), 4. For other images of war weapons, see Moore, *The Dixie Primer*, 17; Samuel S. Lander, *The Verbal Primer. By Rev. S. Lander* (Greensboro, N.C.: Sterling, Campbell and Albright, 1865), 9.

¹⁶⁶ Richard McAllister Smith, *The Confederate Spelling Book, with Reading Lessons for the Young, Adapted to the Use of Schools or Private Instruction*, 4th ed. (Richmond: G. L. Bidgood, 1864), 58.

¹⁶⁷ Samuel Lander, *The Verbal Primer. By Rev. S. Lander*. (Greensboro, N.C.: Sterling, Campbell, & Albright, 1865), 9.

reader proclaimed.¹⁶⁸ If these men were fighting for their sons, daughters, and wives at home, children would not question the shedding of so much blood. Textbook authors also employed ideological rhetoric to describe the reasons for soldiers' participation. In a vivid account of the Battle of Elkhorn in Arkansas, one textbook reported that "our soldiers struggled on, and bravely breasted the furious storm of battle, thinking of home! liberty! and victory!"¹⁶⁹

Textbook authors assumed that their readers' parents were proud supporters of the Confederacy who wished their children to fulfill their duty to the nation. One textbook lesson told of a mother's desire for her son to take his place as a drummer boy on the front lines. The young boy explained that "it was not the pay sir; it was more than that" which invoked his mother's unselfish wish. "[Y]ou can do your part, my boy, for the land," she said, "[f]or you will beat the drum, you will take the place of a man." The mother encouraged the boy's conclusion that "I am here for our land, sir – to help save my home."¹⁷⁰ Children read about the pride of parents when their sons went off to war, even if they perished in the conflict. A lengthy poem in Peter Bullion's *An Analytical and Practical Grammar of the English Language* described a father's brief anguish and sustaining joy over the death of his sons in the war. The poem begins with the father mourning that "now, all alone, I must descend the hill of life, without a son to guide my weary way," since "the last

¹⁶⁸ E. H. Cushing, *The New Texas Reader. Designed for the Use of Schools in Texas* (Houston: E. H. Cushing, 1864), 99.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 138.

¹⁷⁰ William A. Campbell and William R. J. Dunn, *The Child's First Book. By Campbell and Dunn. Approved by the Educational Association of Virginia Through Their Committee* (Richmond: Ayres & Wade, 1864), 31-2.

red, precious drop, that coursed through my descendants, now hath flowed in
menaced freedom's sacred cause."¹⁷¹ But his melancholy is overcome by
remembering "the Cause" and the manner in which his sons had died:

I thank my God, that in the morn
Of their young life and hope, they both
Obeyed the Heavenly Spirit's call,
And heard their country's first appeal.
They died as heroes, not as spies
Or traitors to their native land.
They chivalrously lead [sic] the van
Where fiercest ranged the battle-storm
And death held highest carnival,
And won a nation's greatest praise.

. . . .
For parent's heart, nor virtue's self
Could wish no more, so pure in heart
And life were my brave patriot boys.

¹⁷²
. . . .

This lesson taught children that while their martyrdom would take a brief toll on their
parents, the sacrifice of life in the war deserved the highest of praise. They should
not be selfish and shirk from duty when the time came to go to war, but approach the
battlefield with pride and patriotism.

Children were encouraged not only to support the Confederacy because doing
so would please their parents, but also because their country needed them. One
reader offered the following poem as a way to help children see a connection between
soldiers' obedience to their parents and love of their country:

My comrades, take these mottoes too
And let us all aspire

¹⁷¹ Peter Bullion, *An Analytical and Practical Grammar of the English Language*
(Raleigh, N.C.: The N. C. Christian Advocate Publishing Company, 1864), 191-92.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 192.

To rise, by noble arms and deeds,
In virtue's scale, *up – higher*.

That worthy of his mother each
(And of his honored sire)
May be – and of his native land,
That which no land is higher.¹⁷³

Confederate textbooks abounded with discussions of death, both on and off the battlefield, that were intended to raise children's awareness of mortality and the frequency of loss. Some lessons simply stated that "in a *great* battle many poor men lose their lives."¹⁷⁴ Such basic sentences taught children about the fact of death during wartime, while at the same time broadening their vocabularies. Short pronunciation exercises described the proper methods of mourning the dead and how to "feel sad as we stand by the *grave* of our departed friends."¹⁷⁵ Students learned that "a vault is a house to keep dead bodies in" and that "men wear black *crape* on their hats to show respect for their friends who are dead."¹⁷⁶ Elite Southerners customarily followed a strict code of mourning, especially regarding clothing and physical appearance. Despite difficulties in obtaining the proper materials during the

¹⁷³ Mrs. S. A. Poindexter, *Philological Reader, A Southern Series*, 4th book (Nashville: Southwestern Publishing House, 1861), 9-10.

¹⁷⁴ Marinda Branson Moore, *The Dixie Speller, to Follow the First Dixie Reader* (Raleigh, N. C.: Branson & Farrar, 1864), 28.

¹⁷⁵ For an illustration of mourning at a grave in Confederate textbooks, see Moore, *The Dixie Speller*, 39 (see Appendix 2, Figure 14). For more about the importance of graveside mourning, particularly funeral rites, see Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008), 153-58 and 161-66.

¹⁷⁶ Moore, *The Dixie Speller*, 45; John Neely, *The Confederate States Speller & Reader: Containing the Principles and Practice of English Orthography and Orthoepy Systematically Developed. Designed to Accord with the "Present Usage of Literary and Well-Bred Society"* (Augusta, Ga.: A. Bleakley, 1864), 38.

war, they continued to attach importance to particular modes of mourning.¹⁷⁷ Thus informed by their textbooks, children would presumably be prepared to enact such rituals without fuss or questioning.

Some textbooks described the proper way to mourn the death of a famous general. In remembering the death of General Ben McCulloch, a Texan who died during the Battle of Elkhorn, *The New Texas Reader* proclaimed, “let Texas robe herself in her deepest mourning, for she has lost her most faithful and gallant son.” The author of this lesson believed that McCulloch’s death also deserved national remembrance. “Let the Nation roll her mightiest bells, and sound their mournful knells,” he advised, “for one of her mightiest has fallen.” “Let Liberty bow her head and weep for very grief, for her most devoted worshipper and faithful servant – the Hero, Ben McCulloch – sleeps in death!”¹⁷⁸ In such passages, children were shown how to remember the deaths of gallant Confederates who had died for “the Cause.” Faust argues that such elaborate remembrances of generals, particularly Stonewall Jackson, “provided the occasion for an outpouring of grief across the Confederacy,” since common soldiers’ “deaths soon became too numerous to warrant such public demonstrations.”¹⁷⁹

Some lessons in Confederate textbooks went into much greater detail, emphasizing mortality and reminding children that “it is the lot of all men to die” and

¹⁷⁷ Drew Gilpin Faust discusses the importance of women’s clothing, in particular, as symbols of mourning. She tells of the great lengths Southern women went to in order to find the proper cloth to outwardly display their internal feelings of grief. Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, 146-52.

¹⁷⁸ Cushing, *The New Texas Reader*, 140.

¹⁷⁹ Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, 154.

“ev-er-y hu-man be-ing is mor-tal.”¹⁸⁰ “All nature, animate and inanimate, seems to shrink from the grave,” admitted *The New Texas Reader*, because “death and the future are to most men shrouded in uncertainty and gloom.”¹⁸¹ This lesson, intended for older children, did not shy away from the unknowns of the afterlife, but encouraged children to ponder their own mortality. Children of all ages were told that they themselves were not invincible to the power of death, since “more than one half the people die before they are thirty-five years old.” “When we visit a grave yard we see many little graves,” wrote the author of *The Dixie Speller*, “which remind us that little children die as well as men and women.”¹⁸² *The First Dixie Reader* devoted a page and a half to a lesson entitled “the dead baby.” The story focused on a “sad mother” whose “little babe is dead.” “It died of croup,” even though “it was well two days ago, and could play as you do; but now see its pale white face.” Marinda Branson Moore encouraged her readers to “take its little white hand in yours and feel how cold it is.” The aim of this lesson was to teach children why even innocent infants died. Moore offered several possible explanations for the child’s death. Perhaps “God saw it would be best to take [the babe] to heaven now,” or “he looked away in the future, and saw that the child would not be good if it grew to be a man.” The child’s parents might be to blame if “the father and mother forgot to love God, and he took their baby to make them want to go to heaven too.”¹⁸³ That children might sometimes die as a part of God’s will or as a result of their parents’ sinfulness

¹⁸⁰ Moore, *The Dixie Speller*, 100.

¹⁸¹ Cushing, *The New Texas Reader*, 140.

¹⁸² Moore, *The Dixie Speller*, 100.

¹⁸³ Moore, *The First Dixie Reader*, 56.

was a dark, even morbid, lesson, but such stark acknowledgment of the unpredictability of death might prepare children for the loss of their parents or siblings while reminding them to be aware of their own mortality.

Much of the imagery of death was closely connected to the importance of religious faith and belief in the soul's eternal life with God. Textbooks insisted that if children obeyed their parents, took care of their bodies, and kept their faith they would usually ward off the hand of death. Death was a part of the human story that resulted from the fall of "our first parents, Adam and Eve," because "they and all their children died" by being tempted by the Devil to eat of the tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. Because of that first sin, "we too must die."¹⁸⁴ But children were also told that death was not the final chapter, but only the end of their mortal existence. Although "their bodies return to dust," if the dead "are good their souls go to heaven, but if they are wicked their souls go to ruin."¹⁸⁵ Such language reinforced the dualistic lessons conveyed by preachers, Sunday School teachers, and favorite passages of the Bible. Drew Gilpin Faust argues that during the war death became redefined as eternal life, and as a result, "death was celebrated in mid-nineteenth-century America." Just as textbooks frequently presented death as a fact of the war, Faust finds that "[i]n the Civil War death was hardly hidden, but it was nevertheless, seemingly paradoxically, denied – not through silence and invisibility but through an active and concerted work of reconceptualization that rendered it a cultural preoccupation."¹⁸⁶ This redefinition of death was evident in Confederate textbook

¹⁸⁴ Lander, *The Verbal Primer*, 20.

¹⁸⁵ Moore, *The Dixie Speller*, 100.

lessons that openly discussed mortality while reassuring children that faith in God would bring everlasting life.

Confederate authors urged children to obey God, who would bless the Confederacy and bring a successful conclusion to the war. God had made a covenant with his chosen people – the moral, upright Southerners – similar to the biblical one created with the Israelite secessionists.¹⁸⁷ Stewart’s *Geography for Beginners* blended religion and politics in a method reminiscent of Sunday sermons. Northern attempts at persecution had failed, Stewart declared, because of the “constant, evident and acknowledged aid of the God of Battles and the King of Nations,” while “the people of the Southern States have fought their own way to political independence and the respect and amity of the great nations of the world.” If children kept their “most holy faith and fear,” then “the blessings of peace and prosperity” would spread across the Confederacy.¹⁸⁸ Each child had an important role to play in earning God’s love and blessings for the Confederacy. God made “good laws for man,” one textbook affirmed, but the Northern people “sent bad men to Congress, and they were not willing to make just laws, but were selfish, and made laws to suit themselves.” “If the rulers in the United States had been good Christian men, the present war would not have come upon us.” Because of the unfaithfulness and evil of Northerners, God had sent his wrath in the form of war.¹⁸⁹ In such a scenario, it

¹⁸⁶ Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, 177.

¹⁸⁷ Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism*, 28.

¹⁸⁸ Stewart, *Geography for Beginners*, 43.

¹⁸⁹ Moore, *The Dixie Speller*, 33.

seemed that Southern politicians had no choice but to secede since Northerners had disobeyed both the Constitution and holy law.

Exercises written from a child's perspective, which were popular in textbooks, often showed that only faith in God could counter the horrors of the war. "My papa went, and died in the army," one such lesson began. "My big brother went too, and got shot. A bomb shell took off his head. My aunt had three sons, and all have died in the army. Now she and the girls have to work for bread." But despite such horrifying events, this child's faith was undiminished. "I will pray God to help me to do well, that I may grow up to be a good and wise man," he declared.¹⁹⁰ Despite great personal losses, the child looked to God for inspiration and guidance in the rest of his life. Children had nothing to fear from the enemy if they believed in God, many textbooks suggested. One poem, "The Dangers of Life," warned children that their souls faced threats more serious than bullets:

Awake, my soul! lift up thine eyes;
See where thy foes against thee rise,
In long array, a num'rous host!
Awake my soul! or thou art lost.

. . . .

Come then, my soul, now learn to wield
The weight of thine immortal shield;
Put on the armor from above
Of heavenly truth and heavenly love.

The terror and the charm repel,
The powers of earth and powers of hell:
The man of Calv'ry triumphed here;
Why should his faithful followers fear?¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 23.

¹⁹¹ Richard McAllister Smith, *The Confederate First Reader: Containing Selections in Prose and Poetry, as Reading Exercises for the Younger Children in the Schools and Families of the Confederate States* (Richmond: G. L. Bidgood, 1864), 53-54.

In another textbook, a mother assured her children that their father's faith in God made death impossible even though "he had to stand up and be shot at many times." "God took care of him, and did not let him get killed," she insisted.¹⁹² Whether the deaths of loved ones despite such assurances caused children to lose faith in God remains an open question.¹⁹³ Confederate textbooks themselves offered no explanations for why the war killed good men and innocent bystanders, but religious nationalism flourished within their pages. Perhaps children understood that "we must not expect to be en-tire-ly ex-empt from suf-fer-ing" since "af-flic-tion at some time and in some shape is the lot of hu-man-i-ty."¹⁹⁴ Just as children must believe in Confederate success, they must have faith in God's will.

Portrayals of the Northern enemy reinforced motivation to sustain a long, bloody war. Many children undoubtedly witnessed maimed or dead soldiers returning from the front. They also heard reports of the horrors of war and read about them in their books. Because the armies fought most Civil War battles on Southern soil, Confederate children frequently found themselves on the front lines. This proximity sometimes blurred the boundaries between friend and foe as children accepted treats or listened to stories from invading Union troops and from

¹⁹² Lander, *The Verbal Primer*, 9.

¹⁹³ An analysis of children's faith during the Civil War could provide a very interesting measure of the religious ideology found in many forms of print between 1861 and 1865. On religion during the Civil War, see Richard E. Beringer, *The Elements of Confederate Defeat: Nationalism, War Aims, and Religion* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988); Drew Gilpin Faust, "Christian Soldiers: The Meaning of Revivalism in the Confederate Army," *Journal of Southern History* 53 (February 1987): 63-90; Randall M. Miller, Harry S. Stout, and Charles Reagan Wilson, eds., *Religion and the American Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

¹⁹⁴ Neely, *The Confederate States Speller & Reader*, 80.

prisoners.¹⁹⁵ Some textbook lessons spoke plainly. “An *enemy* is one who hates us,” one speller declared. “The Yankees are enemies to the Southern people.”¹⁹⁶ Any child who did not want to be associated with the enemy should avoid Union soldiers at all costs. Textbook authors wanted to make sure children saw the enemy as vicious, so as to avoid any treasonous thoughts. They made it clear that “troops who enter a State with hostile purpose, are invaders,” not friends. Thus, “let all who are able, take up arms to drive them back.”¹⁹⁷

A strange irony surrounded the portrayal of Northern soldiers in Confederate textbooks. They were both dangerous because they brought war to the South and unthreatening because they were frequently routed. They were dimwitted and slow, yet powerful enough to pose a challenge to Confederates (even if it was easily overcome). The “miserable and hellish Yankee Nation” was the epitome of “an unmerciful and ruthless foe” who would spare nothing to win a battle. Northern troops acted dishonorably by showing a “usual disregard for the obligations imposed by the white flag.”¹⁹⁸ They violated the rules of modern warfare by denying requests for surrender and a ceasefire. Yet textbooks also described scenes of “the Yankee tars dodg[ing] into their holes like rats” and “ignominiously sneak[ing] off with the white flag flying.” *The New Texas Reader* promised that the battle of Galveston

¹⁹⁵ For vivid examples of children’s experiences on the front lines at places such as Winchester, Virginia, and Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, see Marten, *The Children’s Civil War*, 102-7. Also see pp. 142-45 for the relationships, both friendly and dangerous, that developed between Union soldiers and Southern children.

¹⁹⁶ Moore, *The Dixie Speller*, 39.

¹⁹⁷ Neely, *The Confederate States Speller & Reader*, 62.

¹⁹⁸ Moore, *Primary Geography*, 47; Cushing, *The New Texas Reader*, 146.

would “be remembered as that on which the last Yankee’s foot pressed the soil of the Lone Star State, except as prisoners of war.” One author described with relish the retreat of a shocked Union sailor when “he took to his heels and put out to sea” and exulted when “the enemy was astonished at our intrepidity after they saw our gun-boats.”¹⁹⁹ But if the Union army posed little threat to the Confederate forces, why did the war drag on? Although Southern fighting power usually conquered the enemy in Confederate textbooks, most commentators acknowledged that the Northerners posed a challenge. When

E. H. Cushing wrote that “the Yankees fought well, but were forced to retreat towards and behind the negro houses,” he suggested that the fight was fair.²⁰⁰ Confederate soldiers fought courageously against a formidable enemy. In doing so, they displayed the strength of character and loyalty to “the Cause” that all children were encouraged to develop.

The soldiers of the Confederacy drew the attention of all proponents of the war, and textbook authors seemed especially concerned with showing the gallantry and honor of these self-sacrificing men. Admittedly, they sometimes lumped all soldiers together as an aspect of the evils of war. As a picture primer asked, “Would you like to go in-to battle and have your head cut off? No; but God will pun-ish them

¹⁹⁹ These passages were taken from a description of the battle of Galveston entitled “The Capture of the Morning Light.” The author characterized the battle as “one of the most daring adventures of the war,” adding that “[n]one but the most fearless and determined officers and men would have undertaken it.” The fact that many modern studies of the Civil War fail to mention this endeavor in comparison to the larger Eastern battles at places such as Antietam and Gettysburg shows that Texans not only had pride in the Confederacy, but felt exceptionally proud of “their” battles. Cushing, *The New Texas Reader*, 98, 93-95.

²⁰⁰ Cushing, *The New Texas Reader*, 103.

for their crimes, and all wick-ed people like them.”²⁰¹ Either all soldiers were wicked, the author implied, or perhaps his readers would understand that only the Northerners had committed the sin of instigating the war. The latter seems more plausible. Certainly, many in the Confederacy agreed that “the author of an unjust, a causeless war, is a monster.”²⁰²

The typical textbook portrayed Confederate soldiers in a positive light. Reading and grammar lessons told of men who answered the call to defend their country against the Yankee hordes who had invaded their lands and sought to destroy the Southern way of life. Textbooks often spoke in the unified voice of Confederate citizens who hoped for salvation from the enemy through the martial deeds of their nation’s sons. In one such lesson, “The Men for the Times,” Southerners asked God to

Give us the nerve of steel,
And the arms of fearless might,
And the strength of will that is ready still
To battle for the right.

. . . .

For the foeman is now abroad,
And the earth is fill’d with crimes:
Let it be our prayer to God,
Oh! Give us the men for the times.²⁰³

Textbooks encouraged children to support the men who answered the call to defend the Confederacy. An elementary primer attempted to arouse sympathy for

²⁰¹ *Burke’s Picture Primer*, 47.

²⁰² Poindexter, *Philological Reader*, 27.

²⁰³ Richard Sterling and J. D. Campbell, *Our Own Third Reader: For the Use of Schools and Families*. By Richard Sterling, A. M., Principal of Edgeworth Female Seminary, and J. D. Campbell, A. M., Professor of Mathematics and Rhetoric (Greensboro, N. C.: Sterling, Campbell, and Albright; Richmond: W. Hargrave White, 1863), 176-77.

Confederate soldiers who “lead a hard life.” “We ought to do all we can for them, for they do a great deal for us,” the passage continued. “Our soldiers are very brave. They have fought many hard battles to save us and our country.”²⁰⁴ Moreover, soldiers suffered as a result of their wartime duties. “You must not *taunt* the poor soldier because he is in rags,” one textbook instructed children, but acknowledge that “he fights for liberty and for peace, which are priceless blessings to mankind.”²⁰⁵

Confederate soldiers in textbooks fought battles honorably, courageously, and relentlessly, even when they faced defeat. *The New Texas Reader* waxed poetic about the scene of battle as the Confederates “pressed forward into the very ‘jaws of death.’ Over the brow, down the bare sides of the hill they poured with cheers that rent the very heavens.”²⁰⁶ Many Texan soldiers displayed alarming cheerfulness before a battle “instead of the sober faces and silent mien that one might have expected to be worn on so solemn an occasion.”²⁰⁷ Although most soldiers probably feared death in one way or another, textbooks insisted that the pious Confederate could do his duty without fear for his life or family.

But does a stalwart warrior pray?
Is fighting not his trade?
Ay, when to war his country calls,
He flies to lend her aid.

Upon the altar of her weal
He offers up his life;

²⁰⁴ Lander, *Verbal Primer*, 7.

²⁰⁵ Moore, *The Dixie Speller*, 45.

²⁰⁶ Cushing, *The New Texas Reader*, 100.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 98.

Athwart his dying vision comes,
His children and his wife.

Then like a balsam comes the thought,
She will their guardian be;
And with his dying breath he says:
“My country! brave and free.”²⁰⁸

In the pages of Confederate textbooks, children also learned to act charitably toward soldiers’ widows and orphans who had sacrificed loved ones to the Confederate cause and faced starvation and sickness. In one lesson a mother told her daughter about the plight of a poor woman who “has two little girls, not older than you, and a baby” and whose husband “was killed in battle last year.” The girl sympathized with the “poor little things” and went with her mother to give them food, since “Papa says we must see that the soldiers’ wives and children do not suffer this winter.”²⁰⁹ A child’s sympathy thus helped not only poor families, but the Confederacy as well.

In direct contrast to the loyal patriots of the Confederacy, textbook authors introduced children to people who undermined the war effort and slandered the heroes of Confederacy. Usually such lessons were designed to appeal to children’s consciences by making them feel guilty. *The New Texas Reader* interpreted the death of General McCullough at the battle of Elkhorn as the loss of a great patriot, notwithstanding rumors that some soldiers had spread about his incompetence. General McCullough was a hero, while the gossipers were shirkers, deserters, and disloyal citizens of the Confederacy. “How low, how mean, how conscious-stricken,

²⁰⁸ Poindexter, *Philological Reader*, 221.

²⁰⁹ Chaudron, *Third Reader*, 14.

must the intermeddling, stay-at-home, false accusers, and base calumniators of this pure patriot, the noble self-sacrificing General, feel, when time, the unerring witness, comes forward and vindicates his entire course.”²¹⁰ Those who questioned the general’s heroism and leadership should be ashamed of themselves, especially since his death represented the ultimate sacrifice. In a different lesson, a child’s uncle chastises her for saying that Confederate soldiers “had slaughtered thousands of their fellow-mortals, and pauperized other thousands!” The little girl’s uncle insists that this was no way to repay “the most faultless of men [who] fought the battles of their country.”²¹¹ Instead of questioning their behavior and morality, the little girl should be praising their bravery and loyalty to the nation.

Children could help the Confederacy by encouraging their fathers and brothers to remain in the ranks. “It is the greatest disgrace to a soldier to leave his place in battle,” one lesson declared.²¹² Textbooks that emphasized the opprobrium of desertion also cited the importance of obeying the law. In order to “obey the laws of the land,” one child stated, “I would sooner die at my post than de-sert.” But the child would feel even worse if his father “had run a-way, and been shot for it, [for] how sad I must have felt all my life!”²¹³ Textbook lessons warned children that desertion brought not only death to their loved ones, but dishonor to their family.

²¹⁰ Cushing, *The New Texas Reader*, 139.

²¹¹ Poindexter, *Philological Reader*, 27.

²¹² Bingham, *Grammar of the Latin Language*, 176.

²¹³ Moore, *The Dixie Speller*, 23.

Instead of dwelling on the disloyalty of Confederate deserters, textbook authors more often presented children with exemplars of loyalty and honor. Many textbooks glorified George Washington as a role model for children because of his honesty, his devotion to republican virtues, and his skills as a soldier. Several textbook covers or frontispieces featured images of the first American president. For an example, see Appendix 2, Figure 15. Others discussed his good deeds as examples for children. The story of young George and the cherry tree appeared in several Confederate textbooks. When George's father questioned him about a chopped down cherry tree, the little boy told him, "Father, I did it with the hatchet" because he "did not know how to tell a lie." Washington's father granted his forgiveness, and thereafter "George was never known to tell a lie as long as he lived." His honesty made him "a great and good man" and "the father of his country."²¹⁴ Folklore about Washington's honesty provided an example for young children who often struggled with telling lies and acting selfishly.

Such praise for George Washington in Confederate textbooks may seem incongruous, since the Confederates had seceded from the nation Washington had guided to independence and over which he had presided as president. However paradoxical, Southern nationalism built upon the memory of American independence from Great Britain.²¹⁵ Washington was both an American and Southern gentleman.

²¹⁴ Moore, *The Dixie Speller*, 35.

²¹⁵ Drew Gilpin Faust discusses the ways in which Confederates connected the American independence movement with Southern secession. "The South, Confederates insisted, was the legitimate heir of American revolutionary tradition," she explains. "Betrayed by the Yankees who had perverted the true meaning of the Constitution, the revolutionary heritage could be preserved only by secession," Southerners believed. Faust concludes that "Southerners portrayed their independence as the fulfillment of American

Some Confederate textbook lessons emphasized his standing as a Southerner and as a slave owner. Fleming's *The Revised Elementary Spelling Book* put the matter simply. "Washington was not a selfish man. He was the first President of the United States." "First in war, first in council, and first in the affections of the people,' and he owned slaves."²¹⁶ Fleming thereby connected Washington's highly acclaimed reputation with his ownership of slaves. In textbooks, Washington represented a form of republicanism that wealthy Confederates believed to be inherent in their social and economic system. He deserved respect because "he was a great and good man; the leader of the rebels in the war that secured the freedom of A-mer-i-ca."²¹⁷ Just as Confederate textbooks sometimes used the label "Tory" instead of "Yankee," so too did they identify with the rebels who had broken their ties with England during the American Revolution.²¹⁸ As one little girl said in a textbook, "our Washington was a hero," to which her uncle replied, "all good men join in lauding the deeds of those who fight for their country, when a haughty nation would seek to deprive her of her rights by force or fraud."²¹⁹ The Confederate rebellion looked to Washington as its symbolic leader, while children were taught to respect him as an honest, good man who happened to be a military hero and president.

nationalism." Drew Gilpin Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 14.

²¹⁶ Robert Fleming, *The Revised Elementary Spelling Book. The Elementary Spelling Book Revised and Adapted to the Youth of the Southern Confederacy, Interspersed with Bible Readings on Domestic Slavery* (Atlanta: J. J. Toon, 1863), 45.

²¹⁷ Cushing, *The New Texas Primary Reader*, 27.

²¹⁸ For an example of a lesson that interchanges the word "Yankee" for "Tory" see Moore, *The First Dixie Reader*, 57.

²¹⁹ Poindexter, *Philological Reader: A Southern Series*, 27.

Confederate textbooks presented the deplorable Abraham Lincoln in distinct contrast to George Washington. One was a tyrant; the other, a lauded revolutionary. “Abraham Lincoln was a weak man, and the South believed he would allow laws to be made, which would deprive them of their rights,” a geography textbook asserted.²²⁰ Children should regard Lincoln as a tyrant and a poor example of a national leader. Several textbook authors described the despair many white Southerners felt on the occasion of Lincoln’s inauguration. As E. H. Cushing told the story, “it was a painful and humiliating thing to see such a creature as Lincoln ascending the chair of State that had been dignified and adorned by a Washington, a Jefferson, a Madison, and a Monroe.” In addition to humiliation, fear of “black Republicanism” and threats of secession invigorated the inaugural crowd, many of whom were Southerners, as rumors flew of a possible assassination attempt.

Cushing’s *New Texas Reader* pronounced perhaps the most memorable textbook judgment upon the hated Union president:

The blood upon a hundred gory fields, the ashes of ten thousand desolated homes, the groans and tears of innumerable wives, mothers and sisters, and the faded glory of his nation’s flag and honor, will ever cry aloud to Heaven for vengeance on the traitor’s head. When ages shall have rolled away, sweeping into forgetfulness generation after generation, and burying the crimes and misdeeds of ordinary villains in oblivion, the memory of this wretch will still survive the lapse of time, and stand out in all its original blackness, as the greatest tyrant, and the meanest creature, that ever cursed a nation, or disgraced the name of man.²²¹

Textbook authors favored the image of Lincoln as a bloodthirsty fiend because it both legitimized Southern secession and warned children about the Northerners who had

²²⁰ Moore, *Primary Geography*, 13.

²²¹ Cushing, *The New Texas Reader*, 126-27.

elected such a man as their leader. Lincoln would stop at nothing “in a vain attempt to whip the South back into the Union,” a geography text declared. “Thousands of lives have been lost, and the earth has been drenched with blood; but still Abraham is unable to conquer the ‘Rebels’ as he calls the South.”²²² The United States, “once the most prosperous country in the world . . . is tumbling into ruins” because of the “injustice and avarice of the Yankee nation” and its president.²²³ Confederates, by contrast, possessed the conviction, strength of purpose, and military might that would bring Lincoln’s megalomaniacal desires to a halt. Although Northerners had once thought of Southerners as “an indolent, weak people,” Confederate authors insisted that “the enemies have found us strong, because we have justice on our side.”²²⁴

Clearly the Confederacy needed a strong leader to guide it through trying times, a leader who would avoid the perversions of office Lincoln had introduced. Secession had “so enraged President Lincoln that he declared war” despite the fact that he lacked authority to do so.²²⁵ The Confederate people wanted a president who would follow the law and use reason in his decisions, instead of being dominated by an impetuous temper. Jefferson Davis accepted the presidency of the Confederate States of America amid an atmosphere of optimism and pride in the new nation’s struggle for independence. The *New Texas Reader* portrayed Davis’s inauguration as a distinct contrast to Lincoln’s. The inaugurations in Washington and Richmond demonstrated the corruption of one republic and the rise of another. “The one was

²²² Moore, *Primary Geography*, 13.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 40.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, 14.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 13.

performed with all the ‘pomp and circumstance of state’ that might have attended the ascension of a monarch to his throne; the other with the dignity and simplicity befitting a truly republican form of government.” Since “farmers, mechanics and merchants, compose the strength of our nation,” E. H. Cushing suggested, a simple, noble ceremony accessible to all the people made sense. Lincoln’s and Davis’s powers had come from very different places, Cushing claimed. “Mr. Lincoln took his seat amid the glitter of muskets and the exultant shouts of fanatics, Mr. Davis amid the prayers and strong resolutions of a people determined to be free.”²²⁶ For many authors, the Confederate inaugural ceremony was a potent symbol of the simple, pure government ordained by God and presided over by Jefferson Davis.

Davis’s personal character, like that of George Washington, became grounds upon which textbook authors argued for the Confederacy’s inevitable success. “The most desirable country in North America,” where “the people are the freest, most enlightened and prosperous in the world,” required a leader who believed in “the Cause,” the Almighty, and the virtues of a republic.²²⁷ When Davis selected Washington’s birthday for his inaugural day, he presented himself as standing in the footsteps of that famous rebel president and earned the name “our second Washington.”²²⁸ He was honest, steadfast, and perfectly Southern. Confederate textbooks especially glorified Davis as “a good and wise man” who was always pious and fulfilled the prophesy that “when the right men are in authority, the nation

²²⁶ Cushing, *The New Texas Reader*, 129-30.

²²⁷ Rice, *System of Modern Geography*, 15.

²²⁸ Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism*, 14.

rejoiceth.”²²⁹ The final exercise in Worrell’s grammar proclaimed Davis to be “at once the model *statesman* and distinguished *warrior*” who “has so acted to endear himself to every true patriot of the South.” The first president of the Confederacy was “the pride of his friends, the terror of his foes.”²³⁰ The same textbook that blasted Lincoln’s tyrannical ways and charged that he would go down in history as an evil figure, believed the Southern people would remember Davis as a hero. History “will tell how through sunshine and clouds, successes and adversity, his steady hand has guided the destinies of our country. . . . it will tell how in every emergency his iron will and unflagging spirit sustained the hearts of our people and the determination of our armies.”²³¹

Davis was not without faults, the textbooks acknowledged, and the revolution had proven daunting. The organization of a new nation placed tremendous responsibility on Davis’s shoulders, as did military operations. But this man who “has excited the wonder and admiration of the world” deserved to have his people throw the “mantle of charity over his faults, and look only upon the many bright qualities that adorn his character.”²³² Children were taught to compare Washington and Davis as heroes in equally difficult fights for the freedom of their people.

²²⁹ Moore, *Primary Geography*, 14.

²³⁰ Adolphus Spalding Worrell, *The Principles of English Grammar* (Nashville: Graves, Marks & Co., 1861), 159.

²³¹ Cushing, *The New Texas Reader*, 131.

²³² *Ibid.*

Textbooks published during the war acted as the forerunners of a campaign to memorialize the Confederate dead that would develop following the conflict.²³³ Simple textbook lessons reminded children that “we erect tomb-stones to the *memory* of our departed friends,” including national heroes.²³⁴ Older generations who fought in the war understood that school children would be the ones to remember “the Cause.” Since many of these children never saw the heroes of the war in person, they learned about them in their school books. *The New Texas Reader* presented vivid accounts of battles that occurred in Texas during the Civil War. The purpose of these stories was to memorialize the heroism of Confederate soldiers. “Let their memory be cherished and their names recorded,” asserted the author, “so that those who shall come after, when they read them, may pause with gratitude and reverence, as they remember that for them and their rights those brave hearts were sacrificed.”²³⁵ Not all Confederate heroes were formed on battlefields; some were civilians. *The New Texas Reader* told children about “Jackson of Alexandria” who refused to let Union troops remove the Confederate flag that flew over his home. In so doing, he sacrificed his life, and, “not satisfied with killing him, like savages, [the Yankees] continued to beat and abuse his dead body.” The author promised that “though

²³³ On postwar campaigns to honor fallen soldiers, see Alice Fahs and Joan Waugh, eds., *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); 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); Susan Mary Grant and Peter J. Parish, eds., *Legacy of Disunion: The Enduring Significance of the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003); John R. Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead: Commemoration and the Problem of Reconciliation* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005).

²³⁴ Moore, *The Dixie Speller*, 39.

²³⁵ Cushing, *The New Texas Reader*, 92.

different in kind, his memory will be as imperishable as that of the immortal
Stonewall Jackson.”²³⁶

Martyred early in the war, Thomas J. (“Stonewall”) Jackson became an iconic hero for many Confederates – soldiers and civilians alike.²³⁷ Published in 1863, the year of Jackson’s death, one grammar exercise proclaimed dramatically that “the name of Jackson, the Christian soldier, the heroic and skillful general will live forever in the memory of his country. The great heart of the nation throbs heavily at the portals of his grave.”²³⁸ “As a patriot he must ever be loved and honored by every Southern heart,” another textbook declared, comparing his brilliant military maneuvers to those “won by the celebrated French conqueror [Napoleon].”²³⁹ But most importantly, Jackson exemplified Christian piety. He and General Robert E. Lee reportedly met before battles to pray, and “it is difficult to say which was most affecting and sublime – the penitent worshippers . . . or the mighty chieftains planning campaigns.”²⁴⁰

²³⁶ Ibid., 143. Although this story occupied a large segment of the book, I did not find any other accounts of Jackson, “The Hero of Alexandria.”

²³⁷ For biographies of Stonewall Jackson, see Bevin Alexander, *Lost Victories: The Military Genius of Stonewall Jackson* (New York: Holt, 1992); John Bowers, *Stonewall Jackson: Portrait of a Soldier* (New York: Morrow, 1989); Byron Farwell, *Stonewall: A Biography of General Thomas J. Jackson* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1992); James I. Robertson, Jr., *Stonewall Jackson: The Man, the Soldier, the Legend* (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1997).

²³⁸ Charles Smythe, *Our Own Elementary Grammar, Intermediate between the Primary and High School Grammars* (Greensboro, N.C.: Sterling, Campbell & Albright, 1863), 123.

²³⁹ Fleming, *The Revised Elementary Spelling Book*, 168.

²⁴⁰ Cushing, *The New Texas Reader*, 170.

For many textbook authors, pious soldiers were the heroes who most deserved remembrance by the young. *The Verbal Primer* contained an illustration of a soldier sitting outside his tent reading. The lesson alongside the image declared, “He is reading a book. I hope it is his Bible” (see Appendix 2, Figure 16).²⁴¹ Many pages later, the same primer declared that “[o]ur Jacksons, our Lees, our Cobbs and our Hills, our Polks and other Christian warriors, content with their all in God, and seeing God in all, have ever satisfied themselves in prayer and preparation,” not in feasting, drinking, and perpetrating unnecessary violence.²⁴² Using both an illustration and a poem, *The Philological Reader* presented a gripping contrast between a Confederate soldier’s piety and his violent business in war (see Appendix 2, Figure 17). It is as if the reader happens upon a soldier just before battle and wonders,

O who is this with swarthy face,
With stalwart frame and air,
In warlike dress, his arms laid by?
A warrior bent in prayer!

Ay, he has halted in his march,
Where warblers pour their songs,
With faltering tongue, but trustful heart,
To plead his country’s wrongs.

But does a stalwart warrior pray?
Is fighting not his trade?
Ay, when to war his country calls,
He flies to lend her aid.

Upon the altar of her weal
He offers up his life;
Athwart his dying vision comes,
His children and his wife.

²⁴¹ Lander, *The Verbal Primer*, 7.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, 171.

Then like a balsam comes the thought.
She will their guardian be;
And with his dying breath he says:
“My country! Brave and free.”²⁴³

In Confederate textbooks, the heroic deeds of soldiers on the battlefield, the outcome of the war, and the very existence of the Confederacy all rested in God’s hands.

Confederate textbooks encouraged children to view themselves as an important part of the Confederate war effort. Their words, their actions, and their prayers would help sustain their families, Confederate soldiers, and the nation. They learned about the importance of Christian faith and piety in their everyday activities, when dealing with the inevitability of death, and in supporting the Confederacy. Textbooks taught children about the glorious Cause for which so many of their male kin had left home, many of them never to return. In the pages of their textbooks, Confederate children could see themselves as extensions of the revolutionary legacy that began in 1776. Textbook authors tutored children in the crucial differences between the republican government of the Confederacy and the tyrannical despotism of the North. And beyond the current events of the Civil War, Confederate children received instruction in the roles they were to play in memorializing the brave soldiers who had died on behalf of their new nation.

²⁴³ Poindexter, *Philological Reader*, 221.

Epilogue

“The common schools lived and discharged their useful mission through all the gloom and trials of the conflict,” proclaimed Calvin H. Wiley, North Carolina’s former state superintendent of schools, in 1866, “and when the last gun was fired, and veteran armies once hostile were meeting and embracing in peace upon our soil, the doors were still open, and they numbered their pupils by the scores of thousands.”²⁴⁴ Wiley’s words reflected the importance many Confederates had attached to educating the young in the social principles upon which their cause was founded. This concern did not disappear with the end of armed conflict. Although the Confederacy died in 1865, the call for textbooks to present a “true history” that extolled the defeated nation lived on.²⁴⁵

In the immediate aftermath of the war, textbooks took on a new urgency because defeated Southerners feared that the Northern victors would write a version of Civil War history that vilified Confederate heroes and denigrated the cause of the Confederacy. In many respects, postwar calls for textbooks independent of Northern influence resembled the rhetoric used by Confederate authors immediately following secession. “The Yankee Attempting the Intellectual Conquest of the South,” warned

²⁴⁴ Calvin Henderson Wiley quoted in United States Bureau of Education, “Expressions on Education,” *Bulletin* 28 (1913), 26.

²⁴⁵ The phrase “true history” was routinely employed by the long-time historian of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Mildred Lewis Rutherford, at the turn of the twentieth century. See Sarah H. Case, “The Historical Ideology of Mildred Lewis Rutherford: A Confederate Historian’s New South Creed,” *Journal of Southern History* 68 (August 2002): 599.

one magazine, was as much of a threat as Union military invasion of the South during the war. Northern versions of Civil War history “will tell, not how ‘Grant was a brutal butcher,’ but how ‘Lee was a perjured traitor;’ not how ‘the Southern people were patriotick and brave, but unfortunate,’ but how ‘Sherman made a glorious march to the sea.’” Southern children would learn about the valor of Northern armies instead of the heroism of their brave Confederate soldiers. Opponents of Northern textbooks swore that “if Yankee civilization be the standard of education in the South, let us embrace ignorance for ourselves and children for all time to come.”²⁴⁶ Such early postwar warnings foreshadowed the “Lost Cause” discourse that would develop during the later decades of the nineteenth century as new leaders from the United Confederate Veterans (UCV) and the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) picked up the banner of “true history” and carried it across the ramparts of the school room.

A few white Southerners proposed new textbooks immediately after the end of the war, but they met with very little success.²⁴⁷ Reportedly, “a group of ‘patriotic Southern men’ formed the University Publishing Company” immediately after the war “to promote a schoolbook series that would counter the offences in northern-published books.” They hoped to provide substitutes for “readers that ‘stigmatized’ southern children’s fathers ‘as traitors,’ histories that presented the war from the

²⁴⁶ “The Yankee Attempting the Intellectual Conquest of the South,” *Southern Opinion*, 3 August 1867, quoted in Anne Sarah Rubin, *A Shattered Nation: The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy, 1861-1868* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 199.

²⁴⁷ There are no bibliographies of books published in the South immediately following the end of the Civil War. It is therefore difficult to find and assess the content of such books. Much of my research on post-Confederacy textbooks is indebted to secondary sources that mention such works.

victors' side, even 'arithmetics which present to the youthful mind as problems for solution the relative losses of the 'Rebel' and Union armies in the various battles of the 'wicked Rebellion.'''²⁴⁸ There is no evidence, however, that the University Publishing Company produced any such textbooks.²⁴⁹

The lack of textbook publication following the war testifies to white Southerners' priorities in coping with defeat. Postwar economic conditions were not conducive to textbook publishing. Members of the upper echelons of Southern society were focused on resurrecting their livelihoods after the demise of slavery. In addition, as Gaines Foster argues in his book on the culture of the Lost Cause, the early years of the celebration of the Confederacy belonged to diehard veterans devoted to monument building and public displays of remembrance.²⁵⁰ They focused not on textbooks and education, but on visible signs of memorialization.

Nonetheless, a few textbooks did appear in the South soon after the war. In 1866, George Frederick Holmes managed to find a publisher for his primer and readers. Richardson & Company of New York agreed to publish Holmes's textbooks despite their decidedly Southern titles.²⁵¹ At the beginning of *The Southern Fifth*

²⁴⁸ Scott E. Casper, Jeffrey D. Groves, Stephen W. Nissenbaum, and Michael Winship, eds. *A History of the Book in America: Volume 3, The Industrial Book 1840-1880* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 217.

²⁴⁹ Samuel Lander, a Confederate textbook author, also hoped to republish his works after the war. The former superintendent of schools in North Carolina, Calvin H. Wiley, received a letter from Lander about his "effort to get out a revised edition of my Arithmetics," but there is no evidence that new editions of Lander's textbooks were in fact published. Samuel Lander to Calvin Henderson Wiley, 15 March 1867, Calvin Henderson Wiley Papers, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (hereafter cited as SHC).

²⁵⁰ Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

Reader, the publishers assured their readers that “the subjects have been selected with a view to please the fancy and excite the interest of the child” while also illustrating “the leading characteristics of Southern life and history.”²⁵² *The Southern Fifth Reader* included a poem entitled “The Plantation,” short stories about the wonders of certain Southern states, lessons of homage to Confederate generals John Pelham and Stonewall Jackson, both of whom had died during the war, and biographical sketches of eighteenth-century Southerners such as George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Patrick Henry.²⁵³ Holmes drenched many of his lessons in romantic reminiscence of the antebellum South, and many of the stories were reprints from Southern authors who wrote before the Civil War.²⁵⁴ Unlike the textbooks published in the Confederate States of America, however, depictions of slavery were noticeably absent.²⁵⁵

²⁵¹ The books in Holmes’s series were *The Southern Pictorial Primer, or First Reader*; *The Southern Elementary Spelling Book*; *The Southern Pictorial Second Reader*; *The Southern Pictorial Third Reader*; *The Southern Pictorial Fourth Reader*; *The Southern Fifth Reader*; *The Southern Academic or High School Reader*; and *The Southern School Speaker*.

²⁵² George Frederick Holmes, *The Southern Fifth Reader For Schools and Families* (New York: Richardson & Co., 1866), inside front cover.

²⁵³ Holmes, *The Southern Fifth Reader*.

²⁵⁴ C. Vann Woodward discusses this literary obsession with Southern antebellum life, or what he calls “drippings from the plantation legend,” as both a Northern and Southern phenomenon. He argues that the stories of the Old South fulfilled national desires for romanticism and fancy. C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971), 157-65.

²⁵⁵ The absence of slavery in Holmes’s textbook is in direct contrast to its overwhelming presence in the broader Lost Cause movement. The diehard ex-Confederates who dominated the early postwar Lost Cause celebration, especially in Virginia, reaffirmed their belief in the justness of slavery and its centrality to the Southern way of life. Jefferson Davis, who thought of the Confederacy as a blessing to the South but also recommended reconciliation with the North after the war, insisted that slavery was not the cause of the war. At the same time, he constantly offered strong defenses of the slave system and presented the image of the faithful, well-cared for slave and the benevolent master. As David Blight

Historians have identified the 1880s as the beginning of a new phase of Lost Cause doctrine, dominated not by the Virginian diehard veterans of the 1860s and 1870s but by organizations such as the United Confederate Veterans, the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV).²⁵⁶ In the broader celebration of the Confederate tradition, many of the leaders were “middle-class boosters with no standing as wartime leaders”; they were a new cultural elite.²⁵⁷ Those involved in the textbook campaign, by contrast, were largely descendants of the antebellum elite who, in the words of historian Fred Arthur Bailey, “were engaged in an intellectual quest designed to confirm the southern aristocracy’s continuing legitimate authority as the dominant force in the region’s political, social, and economic life.”²⁵⁸ They defended “true history,” with its emphasis on the glory of the Old South and the unwavering support of all Southerners for the Confederacy, as a means of defending their own positions in society. In the world of the master class, there were no white dissenters or military deserters and no rebellious slaves, only a harmonious, unified Southern people.

Both men and women participated in the turn-of-the-century textbook campaign, although historians agree that men of groups such as the SCV “largely deferred to their ‘sisters’ in the quest for a suitable past, believing that the

argues, such diehard Lost Cause crusaders made “the Civil War about and not about slavery.” See David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001), 260.

²⁵⁶ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 258; Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 89.

²⁵⁷ Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 114.

²⁵⁸ Fred Arthur Bailey, “The Textbooks of the ‘Lost Cause’: Censorship and the Creation of Southern State Histories,” *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 75 (Fall 1991): 508.

preservation of tradition and the teaching of children was a more appropriate calling for females.”²⁵⁹ While Gaines Foster has argued that women’s role as the “guardians of tradition” signaled the decline of the Confederate celebration, other historians insist that elite women gave new force to the Lost Cause movement through their educational campaigns.²⁶⁰ “When UDC women took up the cause of history they did so as cultural guardians of their tribe, defenders of a sacred past against Yankee-imposed ignorance and the forces of modernism,” David Blight declares. “They built moats around their white tribe’s castles to save the children from false history and impure knowledge.”²⁶¹ As a result of their affluent status, UDC members “had both the time and the commitment to review textbooks, lobby school boards, and write literature.”²⁶² They railed against the use of Northern textbooks, offered “approved”

²⁵⁹ Fred Arthur Bailey, “Mildred Lewis Rutherford and the Patrician Cult of the Old South,” *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 78 (Fall 1994): 516.

²⁶⁰ Fred Arthur Bailey argues that beginning in the 1890s, women breathed new life into the dying memorialization efforts of veterans. He focuses in particular on the influence of Mildred Lewis Rutherford, who inspired a cult-like following for the Lost Cause through her thrilling speeches and Old South ways of living. Sarah H. Case contends even more strongly for the crucial role women of the UDC and other organizations played in the Lost Cause movement. She identifies elite women’s unencumbered time as a key to their participation in the movement, but, more importantly, she places postwar women within a larger tradition of patriotism and remembrance of the war. Karen L. Cox also argues that “the UDC became one of the most socially and politically effective organizations in the region – in large part because of the size and influence of its membership.” She too emphasizes individual women, such as Rebecca Latimer Felton, who had particular influence over the supporters of the Lost Cause. In her study of clubwomen in South Carolina, Joan Marie Johnson also finds that white, Southern women had a significant role in the shaping of the segregated South and celebration of the Lost Cause. See Bailey, “Mildred Lewis Rutherford;” Case, “The Historical Ideology of Mildred Lewis Rutherford: A Confederate Historian’s New South Creed,” *Journal of Southern History* 68 (August 2002): 599-628; Karen L. Cox, *Dixie’s Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), quotation on p. 84; Joan Marie Johnson, *Southern Ladies, New Women: Race, Region, and Clubwomen in South Carolina, 1890-1930* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004).

²⁶¹ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 278.

books to school boards, and encouraged Southern authors to write appropriate histories for children.

By 1912, Mildred Lewis Rutherford and other elite Southern women had come into their own as guardians of Southern textbooks. “As long as the Book Trust controls our Board of Education and northern text-books continue to be used in southern schools to the exclusion of southern text-books,” Rutherford warned audiences, “we will realize that the history of the South will never be known to coming generations.”²⁶³ She appealed to women’s roles within their homes by suggesting books to collect for their own family libraries. She encouraged them to tell their children stories about the heroes of the Confederacy. Each Southern white woman could participate in the movement to educate the young about the truth of the Southern past. “We will never be condemned for being Confederates,” Rutherford exclaimed, “but the whole world has a right to condemn us, if we are disloyal to truth and to our native land.”²⁶⁴

The postwar textbooks advocated by elite white Southerners both followed and deviated from the lessons children read in their textbooks during the conflict. A comparison reveals consistent themes and also new ideas that emerged during the postwar period, especially in response to Reconstruction. As a crucial part of the Lost Cause celebration, the postwar textbook campaign focused on memorializing the Confederacy and its heroes, much as they had been valorized during the conflict.

²⁶² Bailey, “Mildred Lewis Rutherford,” 516.

²⁶³ Mildred Lewis Rutherford, “The South in the Building of the Nation,” in *Four Addresses* (Birmingham, Ala.: The Mildred Rutherford Historical Circle, 1916), 3.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 15.

Postwar textbooks insisted that all good Southerners had responded to the call to arms despite tremendous Northern advantages in numbers of troops. Author John Reynolds described the personal causes that had motivated Confederate soldiers to fight with “the bravest of hearts” for the “heroic wife, the sacrificing mother, the noble sister, and [the] sweetheart.”²⁶⁵ D. H. Hill extolled the loyalty of the Confederate soldier despite “hunger gnawing at his body” and “care chilling his heart.”²⁶⁶ Authors intended these lessons to instill pride in the sacrifices of the Confederate generation.

Confederate textbooks had also praised Confederate heroes, but postwar authors did so in far more flowery language. “There is a word that is used to describe all this,” explained author Mary Tucker Magill; “it is chiv-al-ry,” a term first used to describe knights who promised to “protect the weak, particularly women,” to “be noble and brave,” and “to fear God and honor their country.” She assured children that there “were a good many soldiers in the Confederate Army who had all the spirit of these knights of Old.”²⁶⁷ The language of romantic conquest and honor was not unique to textbooks; similar prose could be found in literary works of the time.²⁶⁸ Perhaps textbook authors applied overt romanticism as a method of compensating for the disastrous defeat of the Confederacy.

²⁶⁵ John H. Reynolds, *Makers of Arkansas History* (New York: 1918), 230-31, quoted in Bailey, “Textbooks of the ‘Lost Cause,’” 523.

²⁶⁶ Daniel Harvey Hill, Jr., *Young People’s History of North Carolina* (Charlotte, N.C.: 1907), 320-21, quoted in Bailey, “Textbooks of the ‘Lost Cause,’” 523.

²⁶⁷ Mary Tucker Magill, *Magill’s First Book in Virginia History* (Lynchburg, Va.: 1908), 184-85, quoted in Bailey, “Textbooks of the ‘Lost Cause,’” 523.

²⁶⁸ Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, 167.

Whereas wartime textbooks had uniformly treated desertion as a cowardly offense, at least one New South textbook offered a different interpretation. D. H. Hill depicted desertion as a necessary evil for poor Confederate soldiers whose families would perish without the soldier's return home.²⁶⁹ Perhaps by 1907, when Hill's book was published, the high Confederate desertion rates had become common knowledge. Thus, Hill's lesson might be a defense of Confederate soldiers who had skedaddled in extremely dire circumstances. The idea of desertion as an excusable offence had found no place in wartime textbooks. Rather, sentiments similar to those of postwar author Caroline Brevard had been more common. Brevard wrote of a large number of deserters who "gathered in the woods of middle and western Florida [and became] a cause of terror to the inhabitants." She then asked her readers, "What class of men became a menace to the defenseless people at home?"²⁷⁰

Another theme that continued from Confederate textbooks and became even more prevalent in the New South was a positive depiction of slavery. Postwar textbooks expounded on the benevolence of slavery and its civilizing effect on people of African descent, just as Confederate textbooks had done. Many authors told of the happy days of plantation life in the Old South. While sometimes a "master was cruel to his darkies," one New South textbook acknowledged, "for the most part, he was kind and lenient to them. They in turn loved their master."²⁷¹ New South textbooks

²⁶⁹ Hill, *Young People's History of North Carolina*, 320-21, quoted in Bailey, "Textbooks of the 'Lost Cause,'" 523.

²⁷⁰ Caroline Brevard, *A History of Florida* (New York: 1904), 164, quoted in Bailey, "Textbooks of the 'Lost Cause,'" 524.

²⁷¹ Joel C. DuBose, *Alabama History* (Richmond: 1915), 190, quoted in Bailey, "Textbooks of the 'Lost Cause,'" 521.

continued to depict caring masters and happy slaves. Slaves were “simple-minded people” who “went to their work cheerfully” and then at night “the contented slaves were soon asleep.”²⁷²

Children read about the idyllic Old South while learning that their own times were filled with chaos and disorder because of the destruction of slavery. New South children read horrifying tales of Yankee influence over former slaves that had resulted in racial disharmony and a topsy-turvy social order. Lessons described how carpetbaggers from the North had “spoiled the negro” during Reconstruction by allowing blacks to vote and to attend school with white children. One textbook insisted that Africans are “the most docile of all races, and would never originate any . . . cruelty and violence.”²⁷³ Under the carpetbaggers’ destructive influence, however, “cribs, barns, and houses were burned” by crazed freedmen, while “women and children hardly dared to leave their homes.”²⁷⁴ Textbook authors presented these images of the Reconstruction South as a foil to the peacefulness and harmony of the Old South. Lost Cause advocates spoke through the pages of these textbooks to tell children of every class and race that the dominance of the white master class had ensured the safety of all people in the antebellum South. According to historian David Blight, “accounts of good and dutiful slaves and the appearance of faithful blacks at [veterans’] reunions provided models intended to teach the ‘New Negro’

²⁷² Hill, *Young People’s History of North Carolina*, 102-3, quoted in Bailey, “Textbooks of the ‘Lost Cause,’” 522.

²⁷³ Reynolds, *Makers of Arkansas History*, 256-57, quoted in Bailey, “Textbooks of the ‘Lost Cause,’” 526.

²⁷⁴ Hill, *Young People’s History of North Carolina*, 184-85, quoted in Bailey, “Textbooks of the ‘Lost Cause,’” 527.

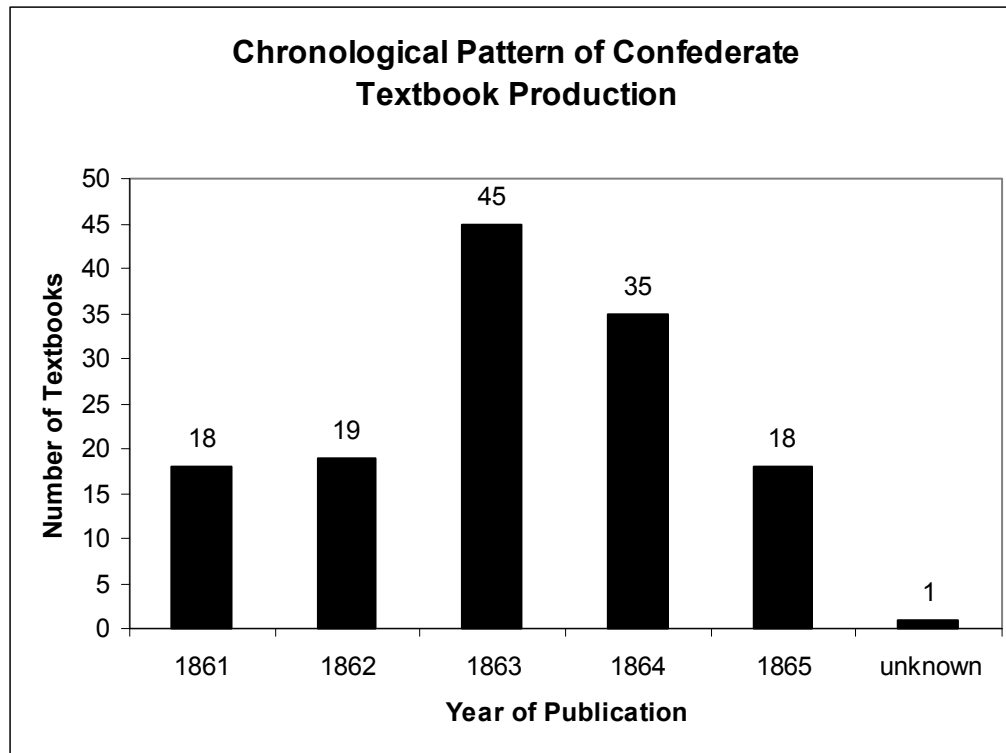
born since slavery how to behave.”²⁷⁵ Such textbook lessons reinforced justifications for the disfranchisement and segregation of blacks in the New South.

Textbooks were central to the construction and reconstruction of white solidarity both during the Civil War and in the New South, although in somewhat different manifestations during each of the two campaigns. Just as authors and publishers had answered the call for Confederate textbooks amid difficult wartime circumstances, so too did New South authors respond to calls for textbooks that would vindicate the Lost Cause. These textbooks focused on the importance of memorializing Confederate heroes, the benevolence of the slave system, and the preservation of a way of life sustained by white supremacy and black subordination. In both the Confederacy and the New South, the pages of textbooks constituted vital terrain for shaping the hearts and minds of Southern children.

²⁷⁵ Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 194.

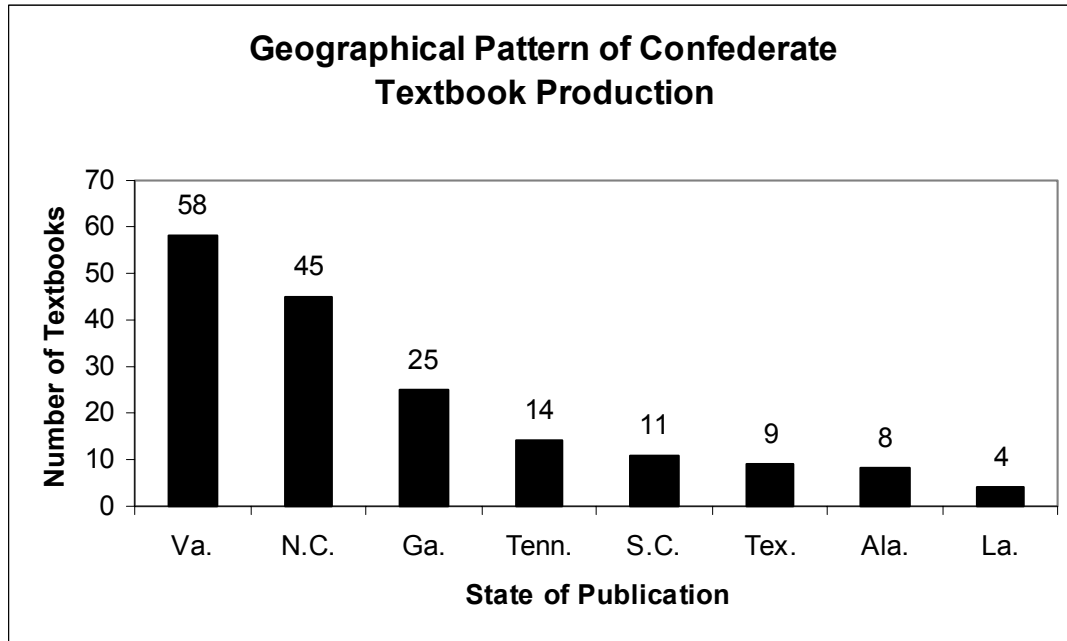
Appendix 1: Graphs of Confederate Textbook Production

GRAPH 1



Source: Calculated from Marjorie Lyle Crandall, *Confederate Imprints: A Check List Based Principally on the Collection of the Boston Athenaeum*, 2 vols. (Portland, Maine: The Anthoensen Press, 1955); Richard Harwell, *More Confederate Imprints: Supplement to Confederate Imprints; A Check List Based Principally on the Collection of the Boston Athenaeum*, by Marjorie Lyle Crandall (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1957); and Michael T. Parrish and Robert M. Willingham, Jr., *Confederate Imprints: A Bibliography of Southern Publications from Secession to Surrender (Expanding and Revising the Earlier Works of Marjorie Crandall & Richard Harwell)* (Austin, Tex.: Jenkins Publishing Co, 1987).

GRAPH 2



Source: Calculated from Crandall, *Confederate Imprints: A Check List Based Principally on the Collection of the Boston Athenaeum*; Harwell, *More Confederate Imprints: Supplement to Confederate Imprints; A Check List Based Principally on the Collection of the Boston Athenaeum*, by Marjorie Lyle Crandall; Parrish and Willingham, *Confederate Imprints*.

Note: Because some textbooks were published in more than one state, the total above is greater than that in Graph 1.

Appendix 2: Illustrations in Confederate Textbooks



Figure 1. *Source:* Samuel Lander, *The Verbal Primer* (Greensboro, N.C.: Sterling, Campbell, & Albright, 1865), 25.



Figure 2. *Source: Samuel Lander, The Verbal Primer (Greensboro, N.C.: Sterling, Campbell, & Albright, 1865), 25.*

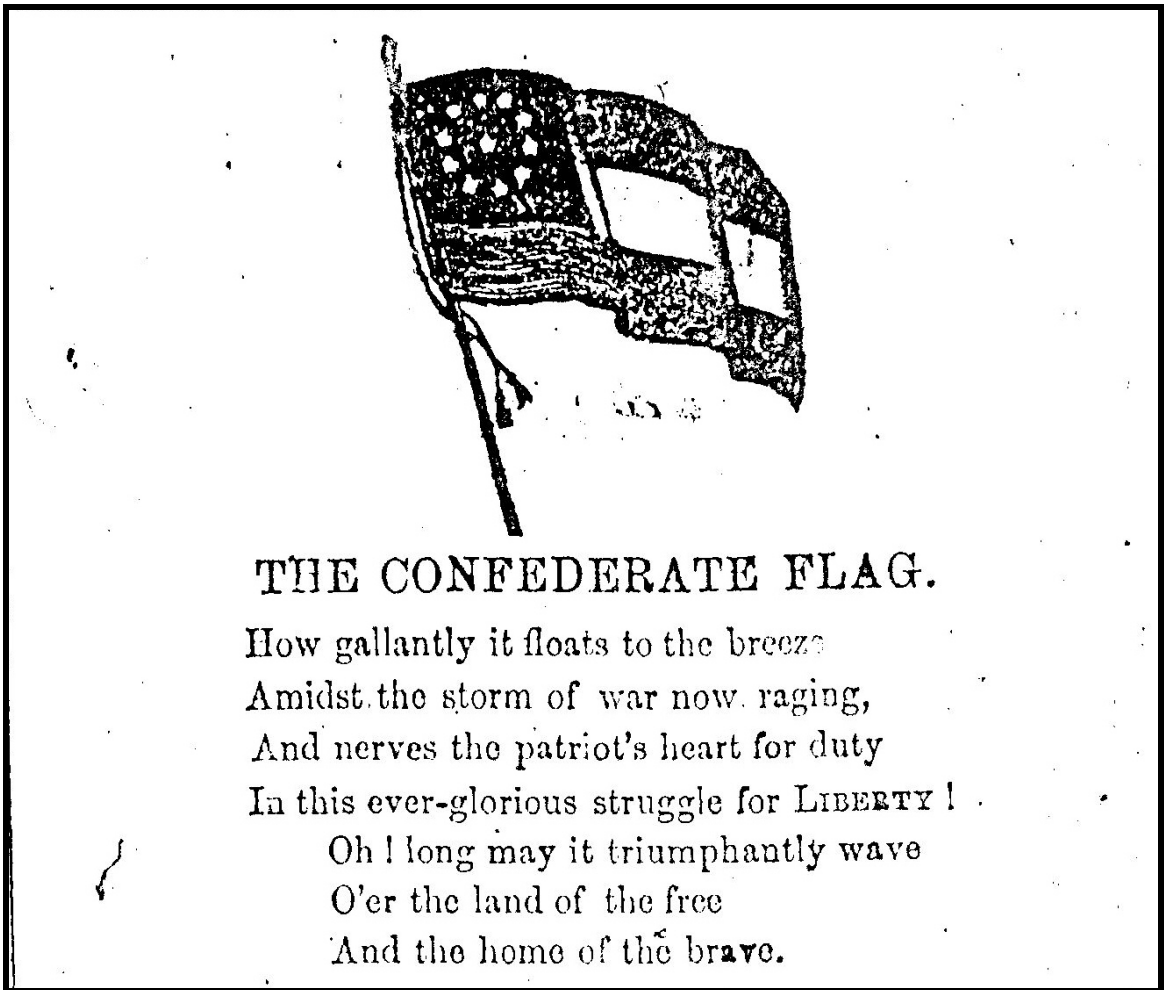


Figure 3. Source: *The Southern Pictorial Primer Designed for the Use of Schools and Families, Embellished with Fine Engravings* (Richmond: West & Johnston, 1863), 19.

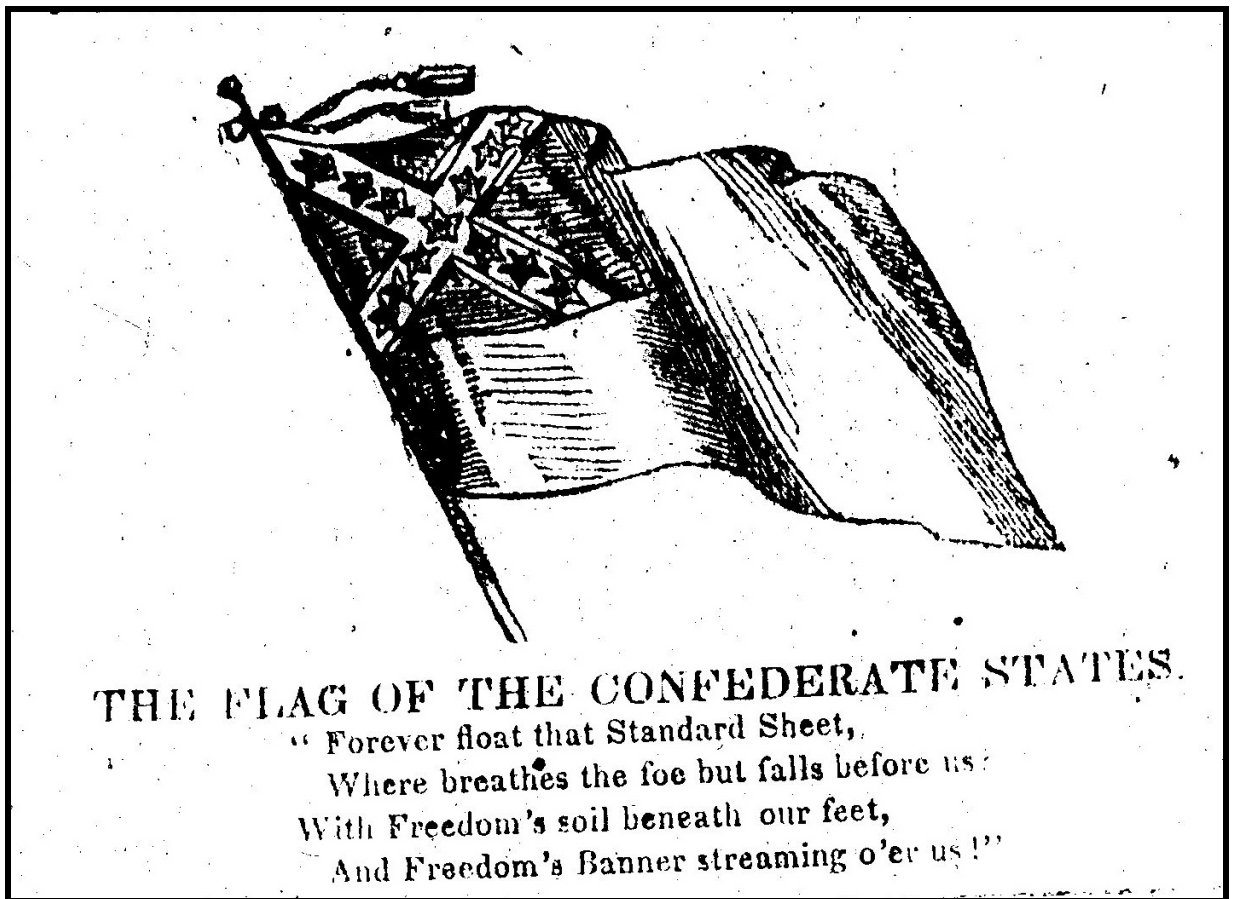


Figure 4. *Source: The Southern Pictorial Primer Designed for the Use of Schools and Families, Embellished with Numerous Engravings, new ed., rev. and enl. (Richmond: West & Johnston, 1864), 17.*

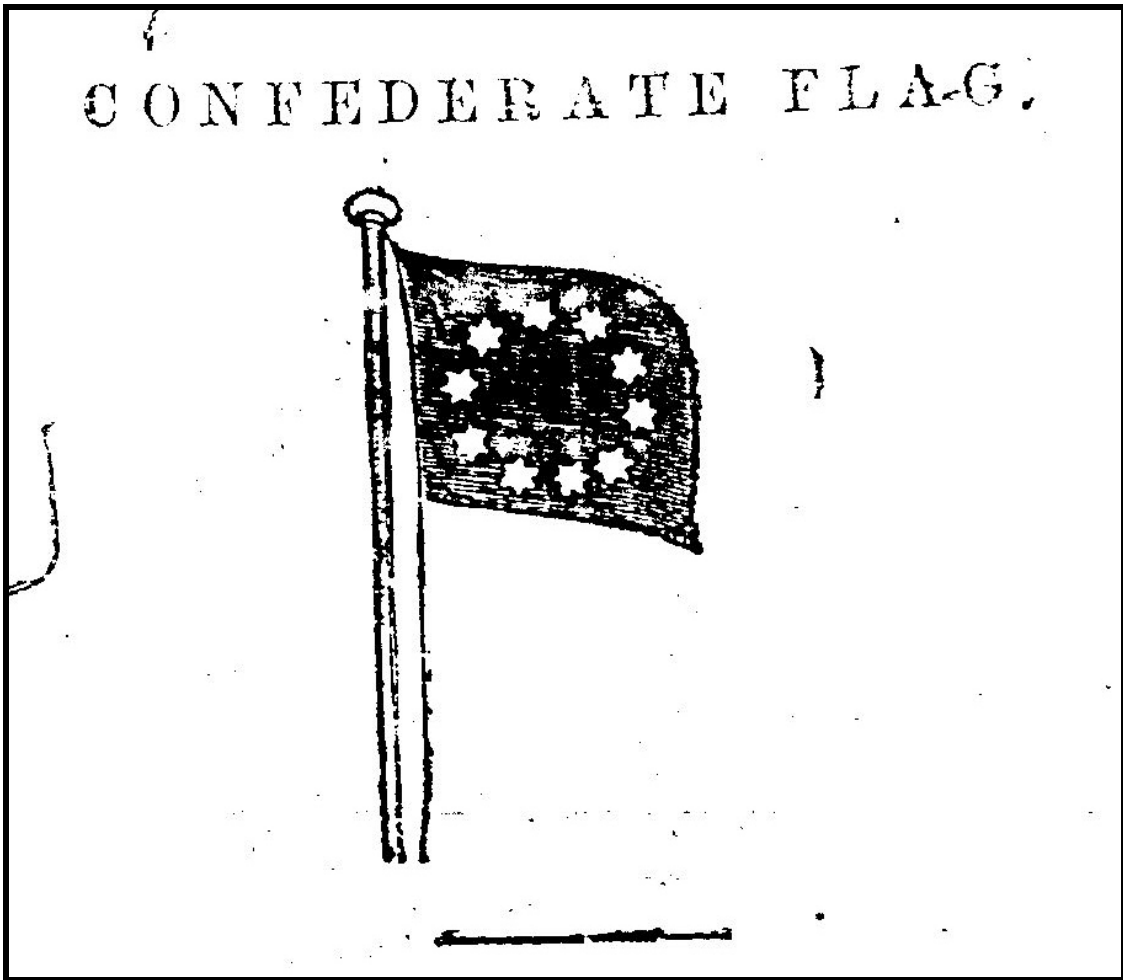


Figure 5. Source: *The Old Dominion Speller*. "Youth Set Aright at First, with Ease Go On, and Each New Task is with New Pleasure Done." (Richmond: A. Morris, 1863), 27.

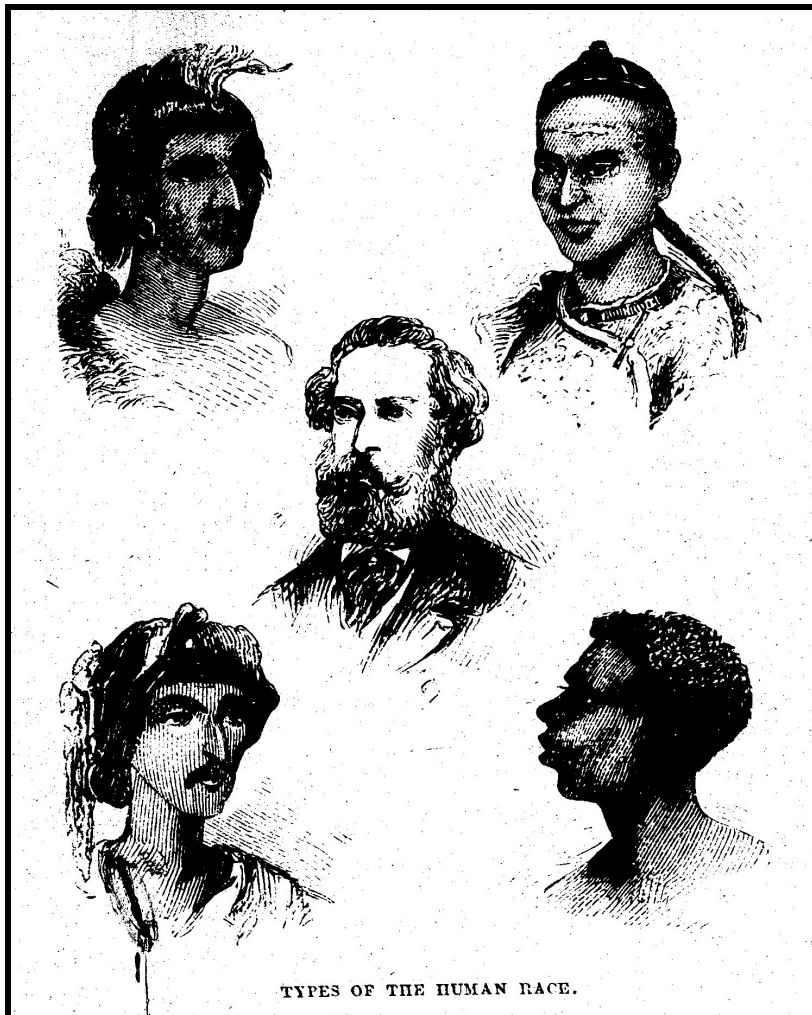


Figure 6. *Source: Kensey Johns Stewart, A Geography for Beginners. By the Rev. K. J. Stewart. Palmetto Series. Illustrated with Maps and Engravings (Richmond: J. W. Randolph, 1864), 32.*

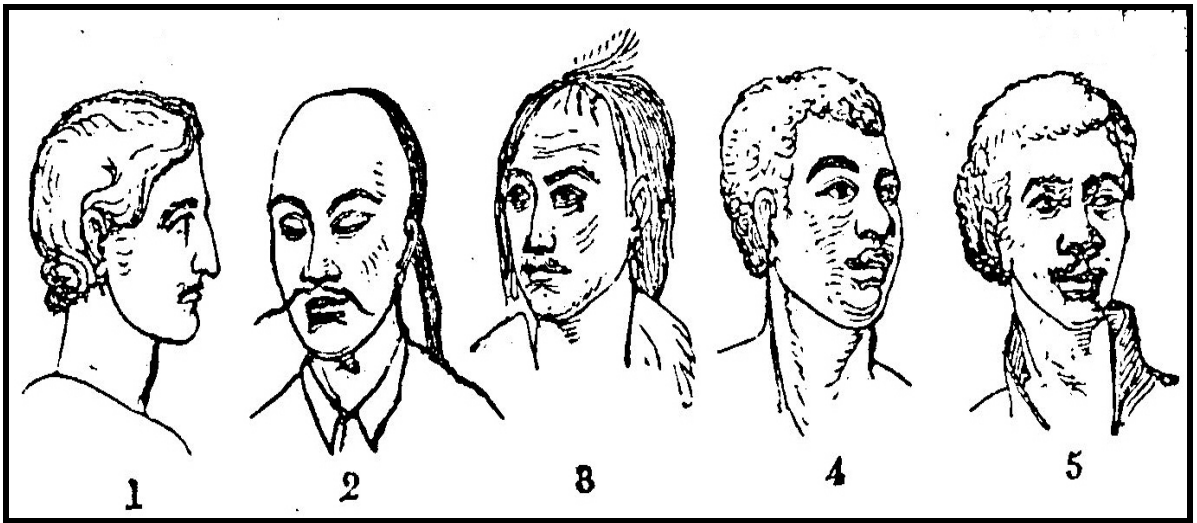


Figure 7. *Source: Charles Galusha Colby, The World in Miniature, or, Diamond Atlas of Every Nation and Country Both Ancient and Modern (New Orleans: W. F. Stuart, 1861), 28.*



Figure 8. *Source: Samuel S. Lander, The Verbal Primer. By Rev. S. Lander (Greensboro, N.C.: Sterling, Campbell and Albright, 1865), 27.*



Figure 9. *Source:* Marinda Branson Moore, *The Dixie Primer*, 3rd ed. (Raleigh, N.C.: Branson & Farrar, 1864), 16.

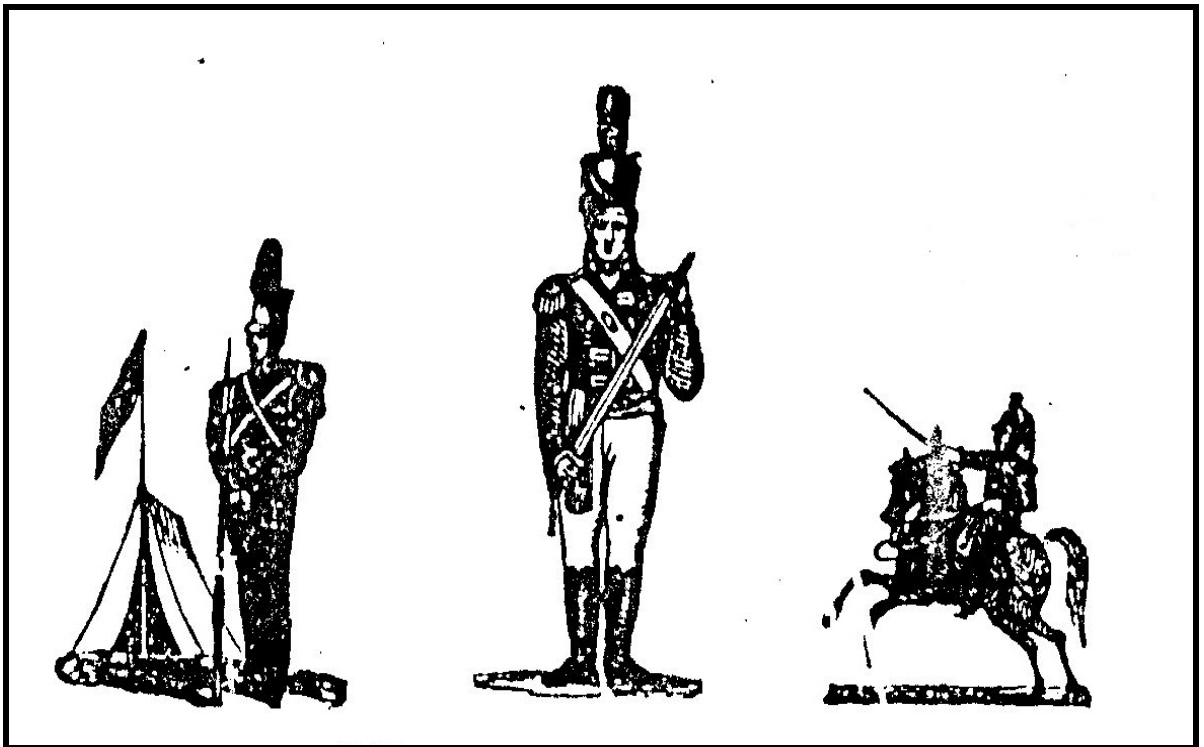


Figure 10. Source: *Burke's Picture Primer, or, Spelling and Reading Taught in an Easy and Familiar Manner, with Numerous Cuts* (Macon, Ga.: Burke, Boykin & Co., 1864), 47.

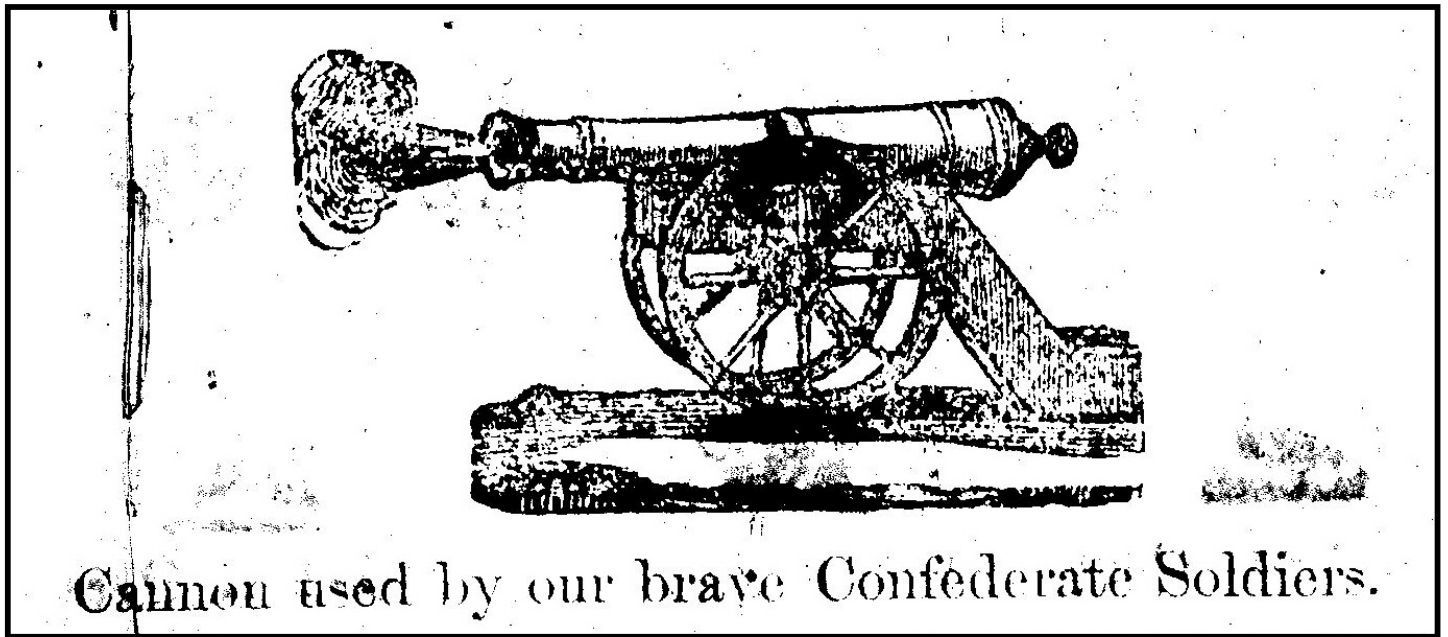


Figure 11. *Source: The Southern Pictorial Primer Designed for the Use of Schools and Families, Embellished with Numerous Engravings, new ed., rev. and enl. (Richmond: West & Johnston, 1864), 4.*

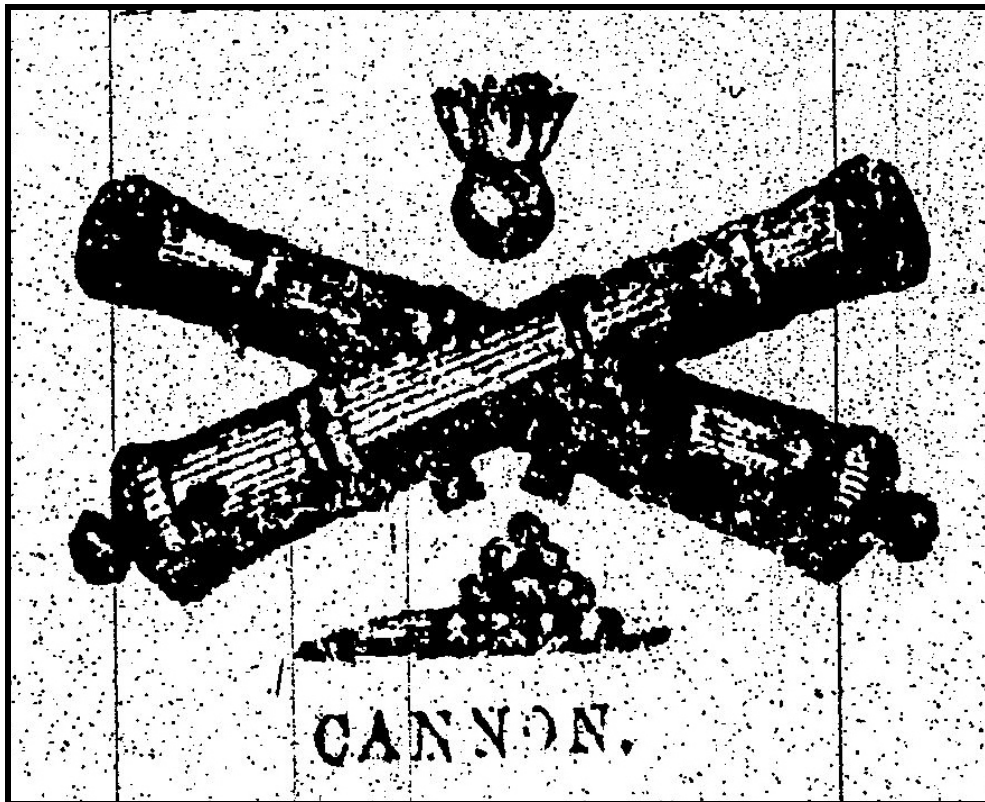


Figure 12. *Source:* Marinda Branson Moore, *The Dixie Primer*, 3rd ed. (Raleigh, N.C.: Branson & Farrar, 1864), 17.

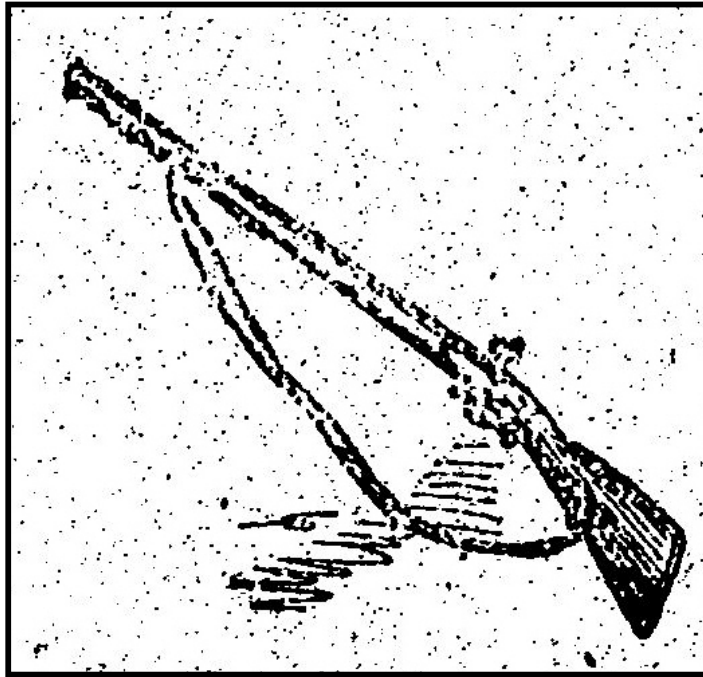


Figure 13. *Source: Samuel S. Lander, The Verbal Primer. By Rev. S. Lander (Greensboro, N.C.: Sterling, Campbell and Albright, 1865), 9.*



Figure 14. Source: Marinda Branson Moore, *The Dixie Speller, to Follow the First Dixie Reader* (Raleigh, N. C.: Branson & Farrar, 1864), 39.

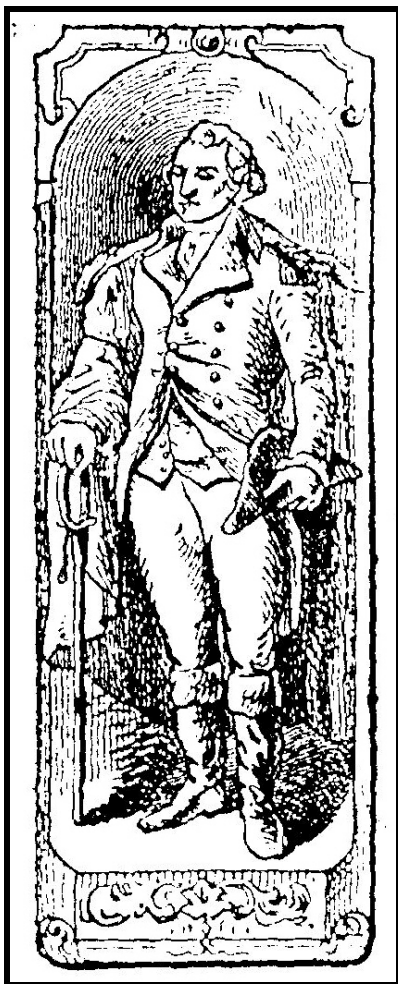


Figure 15. *Source: Burke's Picture Primer, or, Spelling and Reading Taught in an Easy and Familiar Manner, with Numerous Cuts* (Macon, Ga.: Burke, Boykin & Co., 1864), 38.



Figure 16. *Source: Samuel S. Lander, The Verbal Primer. By Rev. S. Lander (Greensboro, N.C.: Sterling, Campbell and Albright, 1865), 7.*

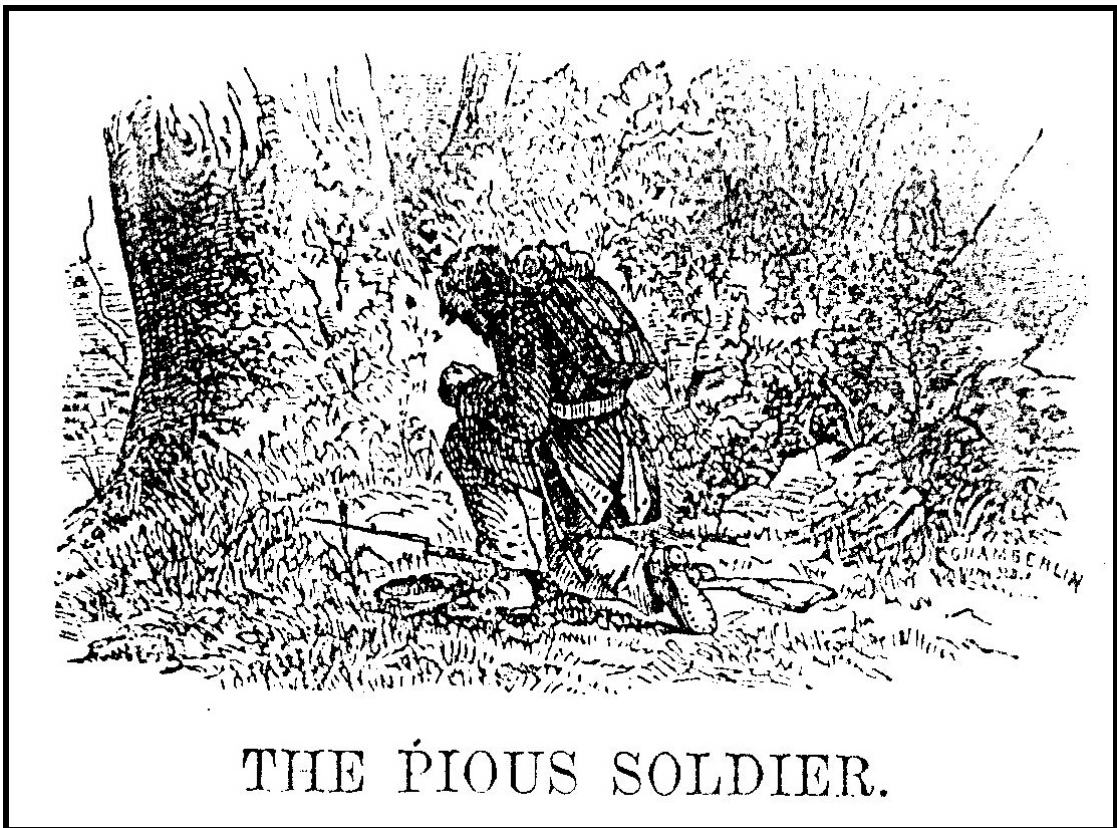


Figure 17. *Source: S. A. Poindexter, Philological Reader. A Southern Series* (Nashville: Southwestern Publishing House, 1861), 221.

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