

UCLA

UCLA Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

Libraries, Literature, and Archives: How the United Daughters of the Confederacy preserved the Lost Cause ideology in California from 1944-1969

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7dd9b939>

ISBN

9798252404127

Author

Wright, Katelyn Sara

Publication Date

2026-06-02

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Libraries, Literature, and Archives: How the United Daughters of the Confederacy preserved the
Lost Cause ideology in California from 1944-1969

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree
Master of Library & Information Science

by

Katelyn Wright

2026

© Copyright by

Katelyn Wright

2026

ABSTRACT OF THESIS

Libraries, Literature, and Archives: How the United Daughters of the Confederacy preserved the
Lost Cause ideology in California from 1944-1969

by

Katelyn Wright

Master of Library & Information Science

University of California, Los Angeles, 2026

Professor Miriam Posner, Chair

This thesis addresses the work undertaken by the United Daughters of the Confederacy in California by analyzing the use of libraries, archives, and literature to preserve and disseminate narratives of the Lost Cause. The actions of the Daughters are framed through an information science lens by drawing on the archival concepts of appraisal and document strategy, as well as a further exploration of the intersection of race and gender in information institutions. I conducted research utilizing chapter meeting minutes, treasurer books, California and General Division Yearbooks, and other related materials from archival collections documenting the Emma Sansom chapter of Santa Ana and the Sterling Price chapter of Stockton. Using the United Daughters of the Confederacy as a case-study, this paper highlights the ways in which information institutions and the people that encompass them are subject to biases, which directly contradicts the inherent neutrality that has long governed perceptions of libraries and archives. This thesis is interested in

gaining a deeper insight into the complex relationships between the United Daughters of the Confederacy and information institutions; thereby, providing insight into the ways in which narratives of the Lost Cause have been integrated into the collective memory of the United States.

The thesis of Katelyn Sara Wright is approved.

Tonia Sutherland

Joan Waugh

Miriam Posner, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2026

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
Structure of Thesis	2
Methods and Sources	4
Archival Framing	6
 Part I: Literature Review	
The United Daughters of the Confederacy, Southern Identity, and the Lost Cause Myth.....	9
Philanthropy, Race, and Gender.....	12
Curating Collective Memory: Intertwining Ideology into State Apparatuses.....	15
 Part II: General Division Initiatives	
General Division Initiatives 1944-1961: UDC Memorial Building, Funding, Collecting, and Archival Microfilming	20
Funding	23
Collection Policy	24
Donations to Outside Institutions	28
Microfilming	30
 Part III: California Contributions	
Post-Civil War Southern Migration	35
Southern Collective Memory in California.....	36
California Division Filing & Lending Library	37
California Division and Chapter Traveling Libraries.....	41
 Part IV: Emma Sansom Chapter of Santa Ana	
Charlie Louise Montgomery: Founding of the Emma Sansom Chapter	43
Libraries and Literature	48
Monetary Donations	49
Donation of Books, Magazines, and Other Literature	50
Creation of Literature by Chapter Members	52
Microfilm Project & Collection of Confederate Record Contributions	56
Chapter-based Education.....	57

Conclusion	60
Bibliography.....	62

Introduction

For scholars across a variety of disciplines, the Civil War has continued to be an area of extreme interest due to its enduring legacy and significant social, political, and cultural impact on the United States of America. Women have played an integral role in the memorialization of the Civil War with various philanthropic organizations working to support the interests of both the Union and Confederacy by providing care for veterans of the Civil War and cementing their individual experiences into the nation's collective memory through educational, cultural, and political spheres. Since their conception, the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) is one such organization that has had a long-lasting impact on the diffusion of narratives of the Lost Cause and memorialization of the Confederacy. This paper is interested in analyzing how information institutions are not inherently neutral or emancipatory institutions, rather they are active participants in the shaping of the greater social landscape. By gaining a better understanding of the ways in which the United Daughters of the Confederacy have used various information institutions to influence American historical narratives, we can gain deeper insight into the work of the UDC and how it relates to contemporary comparisons.

Organizations that are posited as philanthropic, such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy, have influenced historical narratives using archives and libraries as a legitimating force. Their memory work has further cemented the Lost Cause and white supremacist notions of history into the fabric of American institutions, as a means of consolidating and institutionalizing political, economic, and social capital. The relationship between women's philanthropic work, race, California history, and information professions is further explored in this paper to provide insight into the organizational entity that is the UDC. Previous literature on this subject has primarily focused on Southern chapters and divisions of the UDC, while the limited literature on

Southern collective memory in California has been centered around the UDCs utilization of monuments, scholarships, and essay contests. This paper aims to build upon and further the discussion of southern collective memory in the West using an information science-based perspective to analyze the work of the UDC's California Division from 1944-1969. To do this, two archival collections at California State University, Fullerton and University of the Pacific were utilized. Using chapter, California Division, and General Division records, I am able to gain a better understanding of the role of information institutions in the UDC. The findings present that the California Division of the UDC, specifically the Emma Sansom Chapter, preserved narratives of the Lost Cause through book curation and donation, the collection and disposition of records, contributions to the UDC's national collecting initiatives, and self-education and dissemination of records through a variety of committees and programs.

Structure of Thesis

To facilitate clarity, this thesis has been divided into four distinct parts. The very nature of this research is interdisciplinary, and the first part serves as a literature review with the goal of providing historical background that works to contextualize the conditions and events that led to the emergence of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, as well as their presence in California. The sub-divisions within the literature review serve to analyze the complex relationships between philanthropy, race, and gender. A specific point of interest is the archetypes that have greatly influenced middle-and upper-class white women's identities and views of self within larger societal spheres. This concept is further developed by looking at how whiteness has become embedded in the very fabric of information and memory institutions. This is due to a variety of reasons, one of which can be attributed to the actions of white women

looking to institutionalize white supremacy; therefore, reaffirming their societally dictated identities and strong familial ties to the Confederacy.

Part II of this thesis is dedicated to exploring the initiatives of the General Division with an emphasis on the UDC Memorial Building. This section specifically highlights the importance of the mid-1940s to the late 1960s, as the creation of the UDC Memorial Building in Richmond and increased initiatives in information and memory institutions directly aligned with a shift in the UDC's organizational priorities as Confederate veterans died. This section continues by highlighting how the UDC funded their endeavors, collected material for the Memorial Building, donated material to sources outside the organization, and lobbied Congress for the microfilming of Confederate records.

Part III of this paper emphasizes the contributions of the California Division. The first two sub-sections provide brief historical contextualization regarding California's history to better understand the sociopolitical turmoil that underlies the state. These two sections focus on the migration of Southerners to California (and other Western states) post-Civil War and the impact this internal migration had on the preservation of Southern collective memory in California. The final two sub-sections are concerned with the formation and utilization of both the traveling and filing & lending libraries by the California Division. These sections help to provide a clearer understanding of how the California Division was implementing records management and the facilitation of literature among members.

Part IV looks at the work of the Emma Sanson Chapter of Santa Ana to provide insight into how the General and California Division initiatives were undertaken at the local level. The first sub-section follows the contributions of the founder of the Emma Sansom Chapter, Charlie Louise Montgomery, and highlights the familial power and influence of Charlie Louise and her

husband, Victor Montgomery. The remaining sections all directly correlate to concepts previously discussed in Part II. These sections present a detailed analysis and discussion of the Emma Sansom Chapter of Santa Ana, providing insight on the chapter level utilization of book donations, educational programs, the collection and disposition of records relating to the Confederacy, as well as their monetary donations. The Emma Sansom chapter is particularly interesting because of the prominence of their members within their local community and the California Division. These women held significant roles within the state division, managed the filing & lending library, brought traveling library initiatives to the state division, authored literature reaffirming the Lost Cause, and some members even had direct ties to information institutions as librarians.

Methods and Sources

The methods used to conduct this study consist primarily of archival research. I spent multiple days viewing archival collections related to the United Daughters of the Confederacy at California State University, Fullerton and the University of the Pacific. These collections focused respectively on the Emma Sansom Chapter of Santa Ana and the Sterling Price Chapter of Stockton. The main papers of interest were meeting minutes, local newspaper clippings, chapter yearbooks, finance books, and State and General Division yearbooks. I took notes regarding anything that mentioned libraries, museums, archives, and literature. From here, I was able to identify a specific period of interest (1940-1970), allowing myself to utilize a tailored approach to notetaking and viewing collections with a focus on specific projects rather than merely key words. After viewing both collections, I decided to focus this thesis on the years of 1944-1969 due to three factors: this time frame coincides with the centennial anniversary of the Civil War, it overlaps with the Civil Rights movement, and this was a distinct time for the UDC because the

passing of many veterans of the Civil War led to a shift in priorities for the UDC. The Emma Sansom Chapter was utilized as an example of how work using libraries, archives, and literature that complimented the General Division's initiatives was undertaken at a local level. I chose the Emma Sansom Chapter due to the detailed records kept, the prominence of some chapter members in the California Division, and the significance of the chapter to Southern California. The papers and records held at both institutions were very valuable to this research, especially regarding the California and General Division Convention minutes. These collections, as well as the knowledge of local historians, provided valuable insight into the inner workings of the UDC, and how national initiatives were undertaken at the state and chapter level.

While conducting research for this project, I consulted a variety of online databases. This included: the Internet Archive, Ancestry Library, the California Digital Newspaper Collection, and ProQuest newspapers. Having access to these online databases was very useful while conducting research, especially due to geographical constraints. The Internet Archive has a robust collection of the United Daughters of the Confederacy material, specifically UDC General Division Convention minutes, most of which are held in repositories located in Southern states. The Ancestry Library allowed for the familial tracing of members of the Emma Sansom Chapter, which provided a holistic view of their lives and insight into their social connections. Finally, the online newspaper databases complimented the various newspaper clippings that I found in the archival collections mentioned previously. It also allowed for a continued search on information regarding the activities of Charlie Louise and Victor Montgomery.

Secondary sources were also of importance for this work, as they provided a deep historical contextualization of the UDC and the sociopolitical factors that led to its emergence and continued existence in California. The sources I drew on were previously conducted peer

reviewed research on the UDC and California history, as well as books written by members of the UDC. Much of the literature surrounding the UDC, as will be highlighted in future sections, is only able to be fully understood through the historical lens in which it is placed. These materials were integral in better understanding the California Division of the UDC, as well as the organization as an entire entity within the context of California history.

Archival Framing

If we archivists are defined by what we keep, the obverse is true as well: we keep what we are. We create tools for appraisal and acquisition, but in turn, they make us, define us, become part of our identity.¹

Information studies is an interdisciplinary field and has a wide reach across various academic spheres. In regards to the discipline of history and information studies, much literature has emerged on collective memory and the integration of critical race theory and gender studies to inform our understanding of description, memory work, and institutions of power.² There has also been considerable literature that details the work of the UDC and other organizations to preserve the Lost Cause in the South and vindicate the reputation of Confederate soldiers, with much of an emphasis on monuments, scholarships, and memorial days. Despite this, there remains a lack of research on the collection of archival and bibliographic materials by organizations like the UDC for disposition into libraries and archives.

Framing this research through an archival lens is relevant as it contextualizes the work of the UDC within larger conversations of archival practices and provides insight into how the role

¹ Cook, Terry. 2011. "'We Are What We Keep; We Keep What We Are': Archival Appraisal Past, Present and Future." *Journal of the Society of Archivists* (Abingdon) 32 (2): 173–89. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00379816.2011.619688>. 173.

² For more information on these subjects, please see the work of Kellee E. Warren, Sofia Y. Leung, and Gina Schlesselman-Tarango.

of information professionals and collection initiatives manifests in real-world scenarios. On a very basic level, we must consider the function of the archive within the larger context of society. As Terry Cook states, “Does structure or function have the greatest impact on societal dynamics? How are they inter-related?...How is function or structure altered by time, space, memory and change?”³ When reading this thesis, it is of importance to consider how the UDC actively created collection initiatives that influenced information institutions, like the UDC Memorial Building. These institutions were used to reaffirm the historical narratives and identities that most resonated with the organization, its members, and the legacy of the Confederacy. The material collected by the UDC relating to the Confederacy has proved to be extremely valuable to researchers and others interested in further understanding the Civil War, the Lost Cause, and other related topics. Nonetheless, it is beneficial to analyze the pretenses and intentions behind the UDC’s desire to collect archival records and donate literature.⁴ This also provides an examination of the influence of archivists, librarians, and others that work in information institutions, reframing their actions as active stakeholders in the formation of memory rather than passive collectors.

These processes heavily draw on the work of Helen Willa Samuels and Terry Cook, specifically surrounding conversations of the archivist as a neutral actor and documentation

³ Cook, Terry. 1992. “Documentation Strategy.” *Archivaria* (Ottawa) 34 (34): 181–91. 186.

⁴ The reasons behind the UDC’s desire to collect and preserve materials related to the Confederacy is complex, and there is not one sole reason that can be attributed to explain their actions as an organization. While I acknowledge the discourse surrounding the interpretation of monuments, materials, and relics relating to the Lost Cause in the twenty-first century, the focus of this project is to facilitate a deeper understanding of the intentions and conditions under which the UDC collected and preserved records and literature relating to the Confederacy. I aim to contextualize these events through the application of archival principles and contemporary comparisons to provide insight on the nuanced relationships between information institutions and the organizations that facilitate their work, rather than advocate or recommend for how these monuments, relics, and records should be addressed.

strategy. Archival appraisal and selection are complex topics for those in information science and pose a plethora of ethical questions. Samuels advocates for archivists and others becoming “...active participants in the creation, analysis and selection of the documentary record. This places archivists, librarians, and others in the role of documenters of their institutions, rather than simply the keepers of its records.”⁵ This compliments Samuel’s archival appraisal framework of “documentation strategy” in which archives engage in “cooperative collection strategies” that focuses on institutional strengths to ensure a holistic representation of records across various organizations, which would in turn help to alleviate collecting gaps and duplication.⁶ Terry Cook agrees and builds upon Samuels by comparing the illusion of the neutrality imposed on scientific fields to archivists. “There is an analogous lesson here for archivists. Like the scientist, archivists - despite the Jenkinsonian canons of strict impartiality - are (and always have been) very much a part of the historical process in which they find themselves.”⁷ These concepts have been used as a framework for analysis and will continue to be expanded upon in further sections.

I feel this paper traverses the gap between already established research on California history, information institutions, and the UDC to provide insight into how libraries and archives can be used as political vessels to preserve constructed narratives. Viewing the actions of the UDC through the lens of an information professional is both important and relevant to understanding the depth in which libraries and archives can be and have been influenced by rhetoric and actions of organizations, in this case the UDC. As a result, I think continued

⁵ Samuels, Helen W. 1991. “Improving Our Disposition: Documentation Strategy.” *Archivaria* (Ottawa) 33 (December): 125-140. 137.

⁶ Ibid, 126.

⁷ Cook, Terry. “Documentation Strategy.” 188.

research on this topic can help us, as information professionals, to further decenter institutions of oppression from our work and help recognize the inherent biases that are intertwined within ourselves, the founding and management of information institutions, and our profession at large.

PART I: Literature Review

The United Daughters of the Confederacy, Southern Identity, and the Lost Cause Myth

As the Civil War came to a formal end in 1865, a multitude of organizations dedicated to the care of Confederate veterans and Southern memory emerged. White southerners not only felt defeated after the Civil War, but threatened due to a variety of factors such as: northern aggression, the destruction of Southern land and economic modes of production, and the federal government's 1865 decree to collect and preserve "Rebel Archives."⁸ As southern cultural influence dissipated, many Confederates were dissatisfied with the ways in which both the South and the Confederacy were being portrayed. The Lost Cause emerged as a direct challenge to northern narratives of the Civil War, and claimed that, "...the war was caused not by slavery, but by states' rights; Southern armies were never defeated but instead were overwhelmed by numbers; the Southern soldier was brave and true..."⁹ This ideology has continued to pervade the collective memory of the Civil War, due in part to the work of white southern women. Women played an integral role in southern states during the Civil War by taking care of family properties and businesses, taking on factory jobs, as well as providing medical attention, clothes,

⁸ McPherson, James M. 1988. *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era*. 1st ed. Vol. 6. New York: Oxford University Press. 818.; United States. Adjutant-General's Office and Townsend, E. D., "General Orders, no. 127 (U.S. Army. 21 July 1865)" (1865). Military Records. 92. https://egrove.olemiss.edu/ciwar_milrec/92

⁹ Fahs, Alice, and Joan Waugh, eds. 2004. *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture / Edited by Alice Fahs & Joan Waugh*. University of North Carolina Press. <http://www.hnet.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=10891>. 16.; Janney, Caroline E. 2008. *Burying the Dead but Not the Past: Ladies' Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause / Caroline E. Janney*. University of North Carolina Press. 16-20.

and food to Confederate soldiers.¹⁰ This type of club work did not cease, but rather was transformed to align with new priorities post-Civil War. This included providing care for veterans, memorializing the Confederacy, and vindicating the reputations of Confederate soldiers.¹¹ Naturally, Southern white women's experiences during the war had a lasting impact on them and created strong loyalties and emotional connections to the Confederacy. As Caroline Janney states,

“...Confederate women from widespread parts of the South shared a common bond because northern soldiers were killing their men on the battlefield, occupying their communities, and destroying homes. Women might not experience the fraternal attachment that soldiers developed in camp and on the battlefield, but they were waging their own valiant war effort in their cities and homes.”¹²

Southern white women's identities and livelihoods were deeply rooted in the South's culture and history, and as a result they truly believed in the Lost Cause and embedded these historical narratives into the very fabric of their memorial and historical work.¹³

These clubs and organizations were not solitary but rather worked in conjunction with other organizations such as the United Confederate Veterans, the Confederate Memorial Literary Society, the United Daughters of the Confederacy, the Southern Memorial Association, the Daughters of the American Revolution, Ladies Memorial Associations, and others.

¹⁰ Gallagher, Gary W., and Joan Waugh. 2019. *The American War: A History of the Civil War Era*. First Flip Learning hardcover edition. State College, PA: Flip Learning. 155-177.

¹¹ Cox, Karen L. 2003. *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* / Karen L. Cox; Foreword by John David Smith. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. <http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=9294>.; Johnson, Joan Marie. 2004. *Southern Ladies, New Women: Race, Region, and Clubwomen in South Carolina, 1890-1930* / Joan Marie Johnson. University Press of Florida.

¹² Janney, 28.

¹³ Johnson, 27.

As noted above, numerous organizations worked in tandem to preserve the memory of the Confederacy and the Lost Cause. Many of these preceded and ultimately led to the formal creation of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. For the sake of brevity, the first formal organization of Confederate women was the Monument Association in Nashville, Tennessee, which then led to the creation of the Auxiliary Association of Confederate Soldiers Home in 1890. From this association, the Ladies Auxiliary Association of the Confederate Soldiers Home was born, and on May 9th, 1892, the organization's name was officially changed to the Daughters of the Confederacy.¹⁴ Even though the Daughters of the Confederacy was its own distinct entity, the name was often used to encompass any organization that was composed of Confederate women. In an effort to bring unity to these various entities, Anna Davenport Raines started some correspondence with Caroline Meriwether Goodlett, President of the Daughters of the Confederacy of Nashville, Tennessee. In this correspondence, she firmly stated, "...we should have one name and one badge all over the South".¹⁵ A meeting was organized in Nashville, and the Daughters of the Confederacy was officially formed on the 10th of September 1894.¹⁶ The organization was later renamed the United Daughters of the Confederacy in 1895.¹⁷

As of the present moment, the UDC currently meets the requirements to be classified as a non-profit organization, and the goals of the organization are mainly concerned with collecting,

¹⁴ Poppenheim, Mary B, Maude Blake Merchant, Ruth Jennings Lawton, May M. Faris McKinney, Rassie Hoskins White, Eloise Welch Wright, Anne Bachman Hyde, Susie Stuart Campbell, and Charlotte Osborne Woodbury. 1938. *The History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy*, / by Mary B. Poppenheim--Maude Blake Merchant [and Others] Ruth Jennings Lawton, Chairman; under Authority Granted in Convention Assembled at Hot Springs, Arkansas, 1925. Richmond, Virginia: Garrett and Massie, Incorporated. 2-6.

¹⁵ Poppenheim, 8.

¹⁶ *History of the UDC | United Daughters of the Confederacy*. n.d. Accessed December 1, 2025. <https://hqudc.org/history-of-the-united-daughters-of-the-confederacy/>.

¹⁷ Poppenheim, 26.

preserving, protecting, and honoring Confederate veterans and principles. Outlined below are the seven objectives of the UDC:

1. To honor the memory of those who served and those who fell in the service of the Confederate States.
2. To protect, preserve, and mark the places made historic by Confederate valor.
3. To collect and preserve the material for a truthful history of the War Between the States.
4. To record the part taken by Southern women in patient endurance of hardship and patriotic devotion during the struggle and in untiring efforts after the War during the reconstruction of the South.
5. To fulfill the sacred duty of benevolence toward the survivors and toward those dependent upon them.
6. To assist descendants of worthy Confederates in securing proper education.
7. To cherish the ties of friendship among the members of the Organization.¹⁸

The UDC has used these objectives to guide their work across a variety of educational, political, and social domains, of which will be explored further in later sections.

Philanthropy, Race, and Gender

White women have long capitalized on their privileged racial status to perpetuate racist and colonial systems. Middle and upper-class white women have identified with and capitalized on their whiteness to aid and abet systems of oppression. As bell hooks states, “Sexist discrimination has prevented white women from assuming the dominant role in the perpetuation of white racial imperialism, but it has not prevented white women from absorbing, supporting, and advocating racist ideology or acting individually as racist oppressors in various spheres of American life.”¹⁹ Various archetypes have influenced the perception of white women, and a brief exploration of the ways in which white women have used these stereotypes to shape both their public and personal identities is beneficial to better understand women’s work at the

¹⁸ *History of the UDC | United Daughters of the Confederacy*. n.d. Accessed December 1, 2025. <https://hqudc.org/history-of-the-united-daughters-of-the-confederacy/>.

¹⁹ hooks, bell. 2015. *Ain’t I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism* / bell hooks. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group. 169.

organizational level. Philanthropy provides a unique space for white women to capitalize on their whiteness, perceived inherent morality, and educational work to uphold institutions of oppression.

To better understand the subliminal ways these spheres, have perpetuated systems of oppression under the guise of goodwill, we must first look at the prominent archetypes that have driven them, specifically how they intersect with race, class, and religion. This section will focus on the archetype of Lady Bountiful. The Lady Bountiful archetype is rooted in “True Womanhood”²⁰ and is prominent in various disciplines. Lady Bountiful is an idealized white woman who is benevolent, maternal, civilized, and moral, which painted middle and upper-class white women as the ideal subjects to conduct missionary, educational, and other outreach work.²¹ This archetype compounds upon long-held beliefs that women are “God’s appointed agent of *morality*” and have a duty to “disseminate Christian values.”²² White women identified with the Lady Bountiful archetype because it allowed them to uphold moral values through philanthropy while still affirming dominant hegemonies that most benefitted them. As they were barred from the formal political sphere, the alignment of oneself with Lady Bountiful provided the opportunity for work that opened pathways toward upward mobility for themselves and their families, even if inadvertently. As a result, missionary and educational outreach work provided a space for women to exert social control as an extension of the state, by reaffirming societal roles

²⁰ Welter, Barbara. 1966. “The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860.” *American Quarterly* 18 (2): 151-. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2711179>.

²¹ Schlesselman-Tarango, Gina. 2016. “The Legacy of Lady Bountiful: White Women in the Library.” *Library Trends* 64 (4): 667–86. <https://doi.org/10.1353/lib.2016.0015>.

²² Ginzberg, Lori D. 1990. *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 14.

rather than threatening them. This allowed white women to traverse the line between oppressed and oppressor. While their work further expanded the opportunities for white women in society, the very nature of these activities ensured the continued oppression of other marginalized groups. As Harper Helen states, White women were the “mediating agent between the subaltern and the colonial state...the civilizing force, to be the white mother-teacher in service of the empire.”²³ White women’s activities in educational and philanthropic roles did not pose a threat to society, but rather were seen as natural and complimentary to men’s work in business and politics. Despite limitations in society as women, the work of white women in these spheres served as an extension of racist and patriarchal institutions of oppression. Libraries, archives, museums, and benevolent organizations were deemed an acceptable domain for white women to enter into society. As a result, archives, libraries, and museums are deeply rooted in this notion of whiteness, which has had lasting impacts on the politics of preservation and collective memory.

The UDC have used these archetypes as a framework to justify the actions and existence of their organization. The work of the UDC was not considered a threat to southern ways of life, as it was perceived to be an extension of women’s domestic roles.²⁴ These women became influential through their racial and economic positionality, the perceived feminization of their work, and their alignment with principles of Lady Bountiful. This allowed them to foster a domain that was, in a sense, all their own; therefore, expanding their social control and autonomy. Take, for example, the UDC’s ability to fundraise. They were able to raise funds in

²³ Harper, Helen. 2000. “Chapter Seven: White Women Teaching in the North: Problematic Identity on the Shores of Hudson Bay.” *Counterpoints* (New York, N.Y.) 73:127–43. 132.

²⁴ Cox, “*Dixie’s Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture*,” 10.

economically depressed times²⁵ and raise more money than men were able to.²⁶ The raising of substantial funds helped to provide the UDC with independent financial backing that they could then use to advance their efforts in education, preservation, and the construction of memorial sites to further their influence and the Lost Cause. The women of the UDC worked within already prescribed gender roles to maintain and reaffirm white supremacy, patriarchy, and capitalism. As James M. Lindgren states, “Throughout the South tradition-minded women rebuilt patriarchy, soothed the wounded psyche of their men, and willingly restored the old order.”²⁷ The true nature of their work, to legitimize a revisionist history and uphold racist institutions, was hidden behind a facade of benevolence and do-gooding. Members of the UDC were able to use their positionality as upper-and middle-class white women to further entrench the Lost Cause ideology into multiple avenues of society (i.e. schools, libraries, archives, museums), effectively reimagining the historical memory of the Civil War. This ultimately impacted the educational landscape of the United States in various ways, which in turn consolidated power for the white southern elite by asserting the importance and authority of oppressive institutions. The use of libraries, archives, and cultural institutions to propagate Confederate revisionist histories highlights both the ways in which the UDC reaffirmed itself as an organizational power and reaffirmed dominant systems (white supremacy, hierarchies, patriarchy, etc.) by aligning itself with public institutions as a source of cultural authority. The specific avenues that the UDC

²⁵ Cox, 11.

²⁶ Poppenheim, “*The History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy*,” 3.

²⁷ Lindgren, James Michael. 1993. *Preserving the Old Dominion: Historic Preservation and Virginia Traditionalism* / James M. Lindgren. University Press of Virginia. 10.

utilized to consolidate power and further entrench racist ideologies into the fabric of various institutions will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

Curating Collective Memory: Intertwining Ideology into State Apparatuses

In the late 1890s, the formation of historical societies was prominent across various social groups in the United States. As Elisabeth Kaplan states, "...state and patriotic historical societies played an integral role in the shaping of an "American Identity." The historical society had become, by this time, almost obligatory for groups seeking to establish and present to the larger culture a cohesive identity."²⁸ The UDC is one such organization that harnesses the ideology and rhetoric of the Confederacy to influence American institutions, thereby embedding these narratives in the collective memory of the nation. First Coined by Maurice Halbwachs, the term "collective memory" refers to the memories of individuals that constitute a larger shared narrative that directly correlates to the formation of a group's identity.²⁹ The relationship between an ideological base that works in conjunction with state apparatuses is further explored by Louis Althusser. In "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Towards an Investigation)," Althusser makes clear the distinction between the Ideological State Apparatus (ISA) and the Repressive State Apparatus (RSA). The Ideological State Apparatus encompasses the immaterial, such as religion, education, family, politics, and more. While the Repressive State Apparatus is comprised of the police, courts, government, and the institutions that function

²⁸ Kaplan, Elisabeth. 2000. "We Are What We Collect, We Collect What We Are: Archives and the Construction of Identity." *The American Archivist* (Chicago, IL) 63 (1): 126–51. <https://doi.org/10.17723/aarc.63.1.h554377531233105>. 135.

²⁹ For a more in-depth explanation into the origins of collective memory, see Halbwach's 1925 work *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*.

primarily through repression and violence.³⁰ These apparatuses work in conjunction to maintain and repackage dominant systems to ensure their continued survival, “...no class can hold State power over a long period of time without at the same time exercising its hegemony over and in the State Ideological Apparatuses.”³¹

Within the context of library and information science studies, this approach has been used to analyze the archiving of carceral records. Not only are there are ethical difficulties when it comes to the stewardship and description of these kinds of records, but the very act of university or state repositories holding these records – due to the nuanced relationship between universities, the state, and incarceration institutions – creates the opportunity for conservative rhetoric and messaging around incarceration to be further cemented into the historical narrative.³² As Anna Robinson-Sweet states, “...the archive provides the necessary fodder for a system that uses information, framed as evidence, to justify punishment.”³³ The archive, library, or other information institution of choice therefore is not a neutral force, but rather is actively shaped by the very complex relationships between individuals and organizations. As Elisabeth Kaplan notes,

...the pervading view of archives as sites of historical truth is at best outdated, and at worst inherently dangerous. The archival record doesn't just happen; it is created by individuals and organizations, and used, in turn, to support their values and missions...Archival work is critical in shaping history. Whether we choose to

³⁰ Althusser, Louis. 1971. “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation).” In *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*. Monthly Review Press. 80.

³¹ Althusser, 81.

³² Robinson-Sweet, Anna. 2024. “Caring for Archives of Incarceration: The Ethics of Carceral Collecting at University Archives.” *Archivaria* (Ottawa) 97 (97): 46–80. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1112073ar.>; Sutherland, Tonia. 2019. “The Carceral Archive: Documentary Records, Narrative Construction, and Predictive Risk Assessment.” *Journal of Cultural Analytics* 4 (1). <https://doi.org/10.22148/16.039>.

³³ Robinson-Sweet, 55.

acknowledge it or not, we are major players in the business of identity construction and identity politics.³⁴

Whether intentional or not, the actions of those working in information institutions can greatly impact and shape the historical record and future interpretations of history. This literature is crucial for continued analysis of the impacts of archives and related institutions on collective memory, and their ability to be utilized for specific purposes.

Drawing on this framework of ISAs and RSAs, the UDC works within the frameworks of their organization and the state to entrench Confederate ideologies and revisionist histories into institutions using libraries, archives, and other information institutions. This further legitimizes these narratives within the American government and other institutions, which creates tangible consequences for marginalized communities. It is important to clarify the use of the term “legitimize” in regard to the UDC, as it is being employed on multiple levels. First, by creating an organization that goes beyond ritual, the UDC legitimized itself through the continued application of resources toward specific causes.³⁵ Through the creation and contributions to libraries, cultural institutions, and creation of monuments the UDC cemented itself as an organized political entity. Second, the UDC’s work to promote the Lost Cause narrative also helped to legitimize the United States as a country by justifying its interests.³⁶ The understanding of the intertwinement of ideology with the tangible structural institutions that make up a society is extremely fundamental because it further highlights how the rhetoric behind

³⁴ Kaplan, 147.

³⁵ Wuthnow, Robert. 1989. *Meaning and Moral Order: Explorations in Cultural Analysis*. 1st ed. Berkeley: University of California Press. <https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520909250>. 172-173.

³⁶ Wuthnow, 173.

actions creates real consequences for marginalized groups within society, especially in the context of the UDC.

As established previously, white women have been active participants in the memorialization of the Lost Cause. Naturally, much of this research has been centered on the actions of clubwomen of the South, particularly in states like South Carolina and Virginia. White southern women were aware of the need to preserve collective memory and understood the manner in which they could influence the memory of the Confederacy. As Joan Marie Johnson states,

“White women understood well that monuments, rituals, and texts legitimized collective memories and that the history encompassed in these was a powerful tool for ordering the present...the past could simply not be remembered; rather, a collective memory had to be reinvented, reshaped, reconstructed.”³⁷

The UDC called upon their members to utilize libraries, the preservation of Confederate historical documents, textbooks, and most notably monuments to rehabilitate the image of the Confederacy and educate the coming generations. The state divisions of the UDC collected archival materials for state archives, preserved and displayed relics of Confederate history, pledged assistance to develop state departments for archives and history, and held essay contests for students. They wrote novels, articles, and textbooks that memorialized and depicted a “true” history of the War between the States.³⁸ The building of and donation to libraries was an avenue heavily utilized by the UDC and identified as an area of importance for both the UDC and other organizations of a similar nature. Mildred Lewis Rutherford and the Poppenheim sisters (Mary and Louisa) were vocal, active, and influential members of the UDC. To provide guidance on

³⁷ Johnson, “Southern Ladies, New Women,” 27.

³⁸ Cox, “*Dixie’s Daughter’s*,” 94-99.

appropriate books for inclusion into libraries, the Poppenheim sisters printed a list of books approved by the UDC for donation in their magazine the *Keystone*. While Rutherford published “A Measuring Rod to Test Text Books, and Reference Books in Schools, Colleges and Libraries” in 1919.³⁹ This ensured a unified systematic approach to the creation, curation, and dissemination of literature that sympathized with the Confederacy, controlling the past to ensure that the contemporary view of the South was in alignment with narratives of the Lost Cause.

PART II: General Division Initiatives

General Division Initiatives 1944-1961: UDC Memorial Building, Funding, Collecting, and Archival Microfilming

The years 1944-1961 were of great importance to the UDC. This was a time when the organization was preparing for the centennial anniversary of the Civil War, which prompted increased action and highlighted a shift in organizational priorities. Most notably, this resulted in the establishment of formal relationships with the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) in Washington D.C., the UDC Memorial Building, as well as the lobbying of Congress to provide funding for the microfilming of state indexes of Confederate records.

As the UDC continued into the 20th century, they became increasingly concerned with caring for historical records and memory as former Confederate veterans died. Gertrude Montgomery, then president of the California Division in what appears to be a transcription of a program for radio station KVOE stated,

Formerly our main efforts were expended in caring for aged Confederate Veterans, their wives, widows, and children, but there are so few left who wore the gray, that we are now, more and more turning our attention toward providing education for ambitious

³⁹ Johnson, “Southern Ladies, New Women,” 42.; Rutherford, Mildred D. 1919. *A Measuring Rod to Test Text Books, and Reference Books in Schools*. United Confederate Veterans.
; and ig cite the internet arc

youth, in the form of scholarships, placing unbiased histories in the schools of the Nation, also purchasing and restoring historic homes of southern patriots. California Division is collecting historical data, the life histories of southerners who helped develop this glorious golden West. I intend to stress the urgency of obtaining such records, because our pioneers are past passing into the Beyond.⁴⁰

In this quotation, Gertrude Montgomery encapsulates the UDC's desire to enhance their collection and preservation of records belonging to Confederate soldiers. Up until this point, there was not a physical location for a complete consolidated collection of Confederate papers, records, and literature to be housed by the UDC on a national scale. It appears that much of this burden fell on historians at the chapter, state, and national level. The role of the historian evolved over time, but essential duties included: collecting all records and incidents connected with the Confederacy and retaining custody of these papers, records, relics, and manuscripts until they were deposited at a later date.⁴¹ Filing and lending libraries played a significant role in the housing and disbursement of these papers for research and reference purposes both at the state and national level. By the early 1950s, the California Division Filing and Lending Library was beginning to run out of room.⁴² Serving as the custodian and compiler of these records, Edna Howard Fowler stated in her 1953 report, "The Files, as I reported last year have about reached their capacity and will soon have to be added to if the

⁴⁰ Gertrude Montgomery, "Thank you, Mrs. Dean, and Radio Station K.V.O.E...", CSUF UDC collection, Box 10, Folder 2, 4. This document was undated, but most likely would have been written circa 1944-1946, as this is when Gertrude Montgomery was President of the California Division.

⁴¹ "1905-1906 California Division Yearbook," CSUF UDC collection, Box 10, Folder 5, 33.; "Handbook of the United Daughters of the Confederacy - First Edition," CSUF UDC collection, Box 10, Folder 5, 23.

⁴² It is beneficial to note that the Filing and Lending Library was also often referred to as a "department." The name was later changed in the California Division to the Historical Reference Files.

material is to be preserved.”⁴³ It was only a few years earlier that discussion surrounding the creation of a general headquarters began. At the 56th Annual UDC Convention held in New Orleans, Louisiana, the committee dedicated to investigating a site for a general headquarters was tasked with obtaining proposals from various cities. The UDC general headquarters building would be used to house records, a library, and was originally imagined to be large enough to hold conventions.⁴⁴ The site of Richmond, Virginia was chosen, and in 1950 “the Commonwealth of Virginia deeded to the United Daughters of the Confederacy the lot 200 by 265 feet.”⁴⁵ For the UDC, the creation of a general headquarters was quite literally monumental. The building serves in a literal sense as memorial to the Confederacy, as well as a fully functional archive, library, and historical site.⁴⁶ The building is made of marble and marked with two large bronze doors. It is located between the Virginia Museum of History & Culture, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, and Virginia Museum of Fine Arts Sculpture Garden. Nicole Murantonio notes that some have perceived the building as tomb-like due to the large bronze doors and marble that constitute the building. The bronze and marble provide a sense of permanence to the

⁴³ “1954-1955 California Division Yearbook,” UoP UDC collection, Series 6, Box 6.2a, 29.

⁴⁴ “Minutes of the Fifty-Sixth Annual Convention,” Report of the Investigating Site for General Headquarters, 1949, CSUF UDC collection, Box 10, Folder 2, 177-184. Please note that full reports from the locations of Charleston, South Carolina; Jackson, Mississippi; Richmond, Virginia; Montgomery, Alabama & Savannah, Georgia are located in the minutes

⁴⁵ “Handbook of the United Daughters of the Confederacy - First Edition,” CSUF UDC collection, Box 10, Folder 5, 67-68.

⁴⁶ *United Daughters of the Confederacy Memorial Building* – DHR. n.d. Accessed April 1, 2026. <https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/127-0398-0054/>. The UDC Memorial Building officially became a historical site in 2007.

building and highlight the ways in which it serves as a memorial within itself.⁴⁷ The UDC Memorial Building's design and location within Richmond represents a physical manifestation of the power, influence, and privilege that the UDC has come to wield. It highlights how the UDC has left a significant impact in both the material and immaterial realms, both of which memorialize and strengthen emotional ties to the Confederacy. While the organization itself could one day cease to exist, the UDC Memorial Building would not be nearly as easy to remove, and it stands as an enduring testament to the legacy of the Confederacy and the UDC.

Funding

The UDC undertook a massive fundraising initiative to ensure that financial obligations were met. The exact cost of the UDC Memorial Building is unclear, but according to reports the contract price was \$346,000.⁴⁸ This was a substantial amount of money that required both individual chapters and state divisions to meet the quotas set for them to ensure that the building could be paid for in full. Page K. Gamon stated in her 1953-1954 report of the Memorial Building Fund that the "...California Division is obligated to pay \$2 per member for four years to the Memorial Building Fund...Every Chapter has contributed something to the fund but not all have met their quotas."⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Maurantonio, Nicole. 2021. "Burning Karen's Headquarters: Gender, Race, & the United Daughters of the Confederacy Headquarters." *Memory Studies* (London, England) 14 (6): 1159–72. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17506980211054273>. 1168.

⁴⁸ "Minutes of the 63rd Annual Convention," Report of Memorial Building Fund by Jeanne F. Weinman, 1956, CSUF UDC collection, Box 11, 120-123. This figure doesn't account for inflation. This was the contract price, but the report later goes on to state that the cost of the building continued to increase, and they were unable to stay within these figures.

⁴⁹ "1953-1954 California Division Yearbook," Report of Memorial Building Fund by Page K. Gayman, UoP UDC collection, Series 6, Box 6.2a, 30.

Chapter's fundraised in a variety of ways with the General Division even going so far as encouraging chapters to sell UDC sponsored histories.⁵⁰ The California Division made substantial contributions to fundraising efforts. It was reported in the 1956-1957 California Division Convention minutes that the grand total paid by Chapters of the California Division, exclusive of individual contributions, was \$8,327.00.⁵¹ By 1957, the UDC Memorial Building was complete, and was paid in full by 1958, at which point it was alleged to be valued at \$500,000 in the auditor's report. The building held a business office, records room, library and museum, a great hall, reception hall, lounge, committee room, dining room, powder rooms, a kitchen, storage rooms, a basement, memorials to heroes and women of the Confederacy, and was filled with relics and furniture donated by members of the organization.⁵² As the fundraising for the construction of the Memorial Building was complete, the UDC now focused their motivations towards the papers, books, and records that would come to fill the Memorial Building.

Collection Policy

While the logistics of funding and building the UDC Memorial Building took nearly seven years, the vision of the material that would be housed in the library and archives was clear from the start. Particularly as the centennial anniversary of the Civil War approached, there were increased efforts towards the collection and disposition of

⁵⁰ "Minutes of the 71st Annual Convention" Preservation of Confederate Records Microfilm Purchase Fund by Mary Nuckles Longfield, 1964, CSUF UDC collection, Box 11, 167. ADD MORE

⁵¹ "1956-1957 California Division Yearbook," Report of Memorial Building Fund by Page K. Gayman, UoP UDC collection, Series 6, Box 6.2a, 32.

⁵² "Handbook of the United Daughters of the Confederacy - First Edition," CSUF UDC collection, Box 10, Folder 6, 67-68.

Confederate related records and books. In a 1959 UDC Magazine article titled "Our Centennial" Mrs. John L. Woodbury states,

...A hundred years has not tarnished the luster of the Confederate record. Centennial observances have many forms and programs, many full of detail and all of them requiring time to be developed. It is none too soon to begin...Set a goal for anything in which you are interested and work to complete it by 1961. How about a Confederate Collection of 100 books in every public library? Or 100 pictures in appropriate places?...⁵³

While this work was encouraged to take place across a variety of institutions, the General Division focused much of its resources on filling the UDC Memorial Building. After completion of the Memorial Building, a multitude of committees were utilized for this purpose. This encompassed standing committees like the History and Southern Literature for Home and Foreign Libraries coupled with others created for more distinct purposes. This included, but was not limited to, the Preservation of Confederate Records, Preservation & Registration of Diaries and Documents, Preservation of Records of Historic Sites, Southern Poets, Library Committee, and others. These committees very much overlapped in regard to their duties, and while the intentionality of that decision is unknown, it ensured a holistic approach to their committee work. The Preservation of Confederate Records was created to "...explore every possibility for securing Confederate records of war service and to collect them for the Business Office and Memorial Building Library."⁵⁴ While the main objective of the Preservation & Registration of Diaries and Documents committee was "...to locate original diaries, letters and such. Arrange for their

⁵³ Mrs. John L. Woodbury, "Our Centennial," *The United Daughters of the Confederacy Magazine*, May 1959, CSUF UDC Collection, Box 7, Folder 2.

⁵⁴ "Handbook of the United Daughters of the Confederacy - First Edition," CSUF UDC collection, Box 10, Folder 6, 37.

placement in the Memorial Library or other authorized depository, if the owners are agreeable. If not, then to register them with location, type, contents, and availability. These are the original source documents and most valuable for researchers...”⁵⁵ The Southern Literature committee similarly was established to “collect and send books and materials on Confederate and Southern History to foreign libraries, to U.S. college, university, state, and local libraries, and to the Memorial Building Library.”⁵⁶ These committees and initiatives engaged UDC members in an organizationally introspective way. In the hope that by consolidating and preserving records in the UDC Memorial Building, they could hold space for the Southern revisionist narratives that their legacies were intertwined with and be an all-encompassing research resource for future interpretations of history.

The UDC was quite selective regarding the type of materials that were integrated into the Memorial Building, particularly into the library. As noted in previous sections, there was much discussion by UDC members around book curation and the appropriateness of certain material for the inclusion into libraries and textbooks.⁵⁷

Collecting policies for the Memorial Building followed suit with the overarching goal of collecting a “truthful” history. In the 1961 General Division Convention Memorial Building Library report Buford J. Bremner wrote, “We must, however, exercise the

⁵⁵ Amma Nell Earle Hall, “Memo to Members of the Executive Committee and ALL Chapter Presidents” January 17th, 1967, CSUF UDC collection, Box 3, Folder 5.

⁵⁶ “Handbook of the United Daughters of the Confederacy - First Edition,” CSUF UDC collection, Box 10, Folder 6, 38.

⁵⁷ See the work of Mildred Lewis Rutherford and Mary Poppenheim; “Minutes of the 51st Annual Convention,” Report of the Chairman on the Committee on History by Mary Callaway Jones, 1944, CSUF UDC collection, Box 11, 150-153.

greatest care in our selection of books, for only in this manner will we be able to ‘protect, collect, and preserve’ a fair and impartial record of the War Between the States.” Despite having nearly 1,612 books in the Memorial Library by 1961, Bremner found many of these books to be unsuitable, mostly pulling fiction books to be placed in another section of the library.⁵⁸ From this, it appears that the UDC wanted to further cement their status as an authoritative source on the Confederacy using the UDC Memorial Library as a vessel to transmit a very refined historical viewpoint into future generations. As mentioned in the *Archival Framing* and *Philanthropy, Race, and Gender* sections, libraries and archives are often viewed as places of cultural power with positive or neutral intentions towards local communities and patrons. While the language used by the UDC may at first seem quite topical, these statements are cloaked in biased Confederate rhetoric. Library and archival collection policies are not abnormal and are constructed to outline the goals of the institution and provide guidance on the acquisition of collections.⁵⁹ While these collection policies can be beneficial, they have also been used as an exclusionary and political tool.⁶⁰ As Helen Willa Samuels states,

This process, though, encompasses more than constructing a wish list. Hard questions must be asked about what will and what will not be documented. How many institutions or events must be documented and what will be left undocumented? How much information is enough?⁶¹

⁵⁸ “Minutes of the 68th Annual Convention,” Memorial Building Library Report by Buford J. Bremner, 1961, CSUF UDC collection, Box 11, 176.

⁵⁹ Samuels, “Improving Our Disposition: Documentation Strategy,” 129.

⁶⁰ Jahnke, Lori, Kyle Tanaka, and Christopher Palazzolo. 2022. “Ideology, Policy, and Practice: Structural Barriers to Collections Diversity in Research and College Libraries.” *College & Research Libraries* (Chicago) 83 (2): 166. <https://doi.org/10.5860/crl.83.2.166>; Brown, Richard Harvey, and Beth Davis-Brown. 1998. “The Making of Memory: The Politics of Archives, Libraries and Museums in the Construction of National Consciousness.” *History of the Human Sciences* (Thousand Oaks, CA) 11 (4): 17–32. <https://doi.org/10.1177/095269519801100402>.

⁶¹ Samuels, “Who Controls the Past,” 120.

A collection policy solely focused on the “true” history of the Civil War, is purposefully vague and reflects the narrow view of history that best aligns with the organization, rather than providing an expansive depiction of the Civil War. It is here that the problem lies, as the UDC appears to use their archive to dictate the “facts” of the war, as opposed to the study of the concepts surrounding it. By intentionally collecting only material of this nature, the UDC reinforces the patriarchal and racist systems and structures of the Old South that have been romanticized by the Lost Cause. Thereby, the UDC actively cultivated a specific view of themselves, their identities on both an individual and organizational level, as well as the identity of the Confederacy in the public domain. White women often dominated educational and philanthropic spheres, as it was deemed appropriate and well-suited to their “inherently” benevolent and charitable disposition.⁶² As a result, public institutions, such as libraries, became another space where colonization and assimilation took place.⁶³ The UDC’s interest in the creation and maintenance of an archive and library must therefore be contextualized through their historical alignment with the abetment of oppressive institutions. The UDC Memorial Building library and archives have been utilized as a physical manifestation of the UDC’s cultural power and authority, which in turn further validates both the organization and narratives of the Lost Cause by enmeshing them within the legacy of cultural information institutions. The collection policy, evasive vocabulary, and insistence on future legacies

⁶² See literature review section titled “Race, Gender, and Philanthropy.”

⁶³ Brown, Richard Harvey, and Beth Davis-Brown. 1998. “The Making of Memory: The Politics of Archives, Libraries and Museums in the Construction of National Consciousness.” *History of the Human Sciences* (Thousand Oaks, CA) 11 (4): 17–32. <https://doi.org/10.1177/095269519801100402>.

is indicative of the mindset that has pervaded the entire organization, and the ways in which they have approached their work with libraries and archives.

Donations to Outside Institutions

The UDC solicited and encouraged the donation of books, records, relics, as well as monetary donations from chapters and state divisions to memorialize Southern history. The General Division and prominent members provided guidance on the nature of the materials that should be donated.⁶⁴ As Maurine Sims Hardin, the California Division director of the Committee of Southern Literature for Home & Foreign Libraries, stated at the 1957-1958 State Convention in Carmel, California that “...it is of utmost importance that books be selected that do not show a distorted picture of the South and the War Between the States, especially if these books are being presented to a library.”⁶⁵ The California Division contributed both monetary and in-kind gifts to various educational and public institutions. At the 52nd Annual Convention held in Houston, Texas, it was reported that the California Division donated \$54.50 to the General Division’s Southern Literature Committee. In the report by Chairman Nellie H. Moler, it was estimated that throughout the year the entire organization donated a total of 120,493 books with a value of \$37,878.45 throughout the year.⁶⁶ The California Division self-reported the distribution of 4,306 books, 245 scrapbooks, 40,836 magazines, and \$58.50 given to the

⁶⁴ See the work of Mary Poppenheimer and UDC Annual Convention Minutes.

⁶⁵ “1957-1958 California Division Yearbook,” Southern Literature for Home and Foreign Libraries by Maurine Sims Hardin, UoP UDC collection, Series 6, Box 6.2a, 34-35.

⁶⁶ “Minutes of the 52nd Annual Convention,” Report of Chairman of Southern Literature by Nellie H. Moler, 1945, CSUF UDC collection, Box 11, 192-195.; California Division Report by Gertrude Montgomery, 225.

Bible Fund.⁶⁷ While continued years provided difficulties in terms of sourcing self-reported quantitative data, chapter and committee reports from the California Division Annual Convention furnished substantial insight into the varied contributions by California chapters. Utilizing these resources, I estimate that about \$700 was sent to the General Division for the Southern Literature for Home & Foreign Libraries Committee between 1949-1961.⁶⁸ California chapters also contributed books, pamphlets, and magazines locally. The Robert E. Lee chapter, for example, donated heavily to local libraries and universities in the Los Angeles area. In California Division Annual Convention Yearbook Chapter Reports from 1956-1961, the Robert E. Lee chapter reported the following donations: 12 volumes of historical records to Oregon University, Texas University, and the University of California, Los Angeles; 40 volumes given to UCLA; 12 books loaned to a library; roughly 308 books to the University of California, Los Angeles; \$120.00 in micro-film records of Missionary Sermons from 1701-1820 to the University of California, Los Angeles; twenty copies of Early South Carolina History to various libraries; the placement of books from the chapter's traveling library in Castle Heights School Library; and two years of U.D.C. Magazines to the University of California, Los Angeles.⁶⁹ While individual chapter contributions may seem relatively small, it is these seemingly inconsequential donations that build upon each other to create a web of material dedicated to Southern revisionist histories in public information

⁶⁷Ibid

⁶⁸ "1955-1956 California Division Yearbook," UoP UDC collection, Series 6, Box 6.2a.

⁶⁹ Robert E. Lee Chapter Reports 1956-1961 "California Division Year Books," UoP UDC collection, Series 6, Box 6.2a, 32.

institutions. Similar work can be seen across many other chapters in the California Division, and the Emma Sansom chapter of Santa Ana's relationship to the creation of literature and donations to libraries will be explored in further sections.

Microfilming

After the creation of the UDC Memorial Building, there was continued interest by the General Division to procure and become the custodian Confederate veterans' records. As established in the literature review, Southerners felt an animosity towards the North after the Civil War, especially after the 1865 federal government initiative to capture "Rebel Archives."⁷⁰ The record keeping practices of the UDC continued to evolve over time stemming from the role of historian and later branching into filing and lending libraries. With the completion of the UDC Memorial Building, the organization became capable of taking a more formalized approach to the stewardship of records, as they now had a well-equipped consolidated space to hold records long-term.

The desire of the UDC to house these records is evidenced through their committee work. As General Chairman of the Preservation of the Confederate Records in The National Archives Committee, Elizabeth Cody Ellis Bachman spearheaded efforts to petition Congress to designate funds for the microfilming of Confederate records held by the United States National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). This project was first proposed at the 62nd Annual Convention in 1955. According to Bachman's report at the 1956 Annual Convention,

The full records would cost approximately \$600,000 to reproduce, but the carded index for the same, initial cost, would be \$8,400.00. The original

⁷⁰ United States. Adjutant-General's Office and Townsend, E. D., "General Orders, no. 127 (U.S. Army. 21 July 1865)" (1865). Military Records. 92. https://egrove.olemiss.edu/ciwar_milrec/92

records are not within our reach, the material is voluminous, hence the wisdom of securing the micro-film copies of the carded indexes for research purposes is easily understood.⁷¹

Bachman began correspondence with Senator John C. Stennis, a democratic senator representing Mississippi, whom she referred to as the “Honorable John Stennis.”⁷² Stennis was a staunch supporter of racial segregation, the Southern Dixiecrats, and was the prosecutor in the landmark case of *Brown v. Mississippi* that was later reversed by the Supreme Court.⁷³ Nonetheless, Stennis’ support was gained and he proved to be a valuable ally to the UDC. Stennis offered to introduce a bill in Congress, discuss the matter designating money for this project with the Senate Appropriations staff, and secured other supporters in the Senate.⁷⁴ While Bachman felt confident that the microfilming of these indexes would come to fruition, she did not hesitate to restate the UDC’s desire to be the custodians of Confederate records should that opportunity ever present itself. Bachman stated,

As Chairman of this Committee, I have asked that the original records be given back into the keeping of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, if they are ever to be removed from the National Archives. If space is ever needed, and microfilm copies of all material is made, to replace the original, then there is such a possibility, and our request is on file in the Archives.⁷⁵

⁷¹ “Minutes of the 63rd Annual Convention,” Report of the Preservation of the Confederate Records in The National Archives Committee by Elizabeth Cody Ellis Bachman, 1956, CSUF UDC collection, Box 11, 173-175.

⁷² Ibid

⁷³ For more information John C. Stennis see: “Awakening the Nation: Mississippi Senator John C. Stennis, the White Countermovement, and the Rise of Colorblind Conservatism, 1947-1964” by Jesse Curtis and The Atlantic article: *The White Supremacist Caucus* By Matthew Yglesias

⁷⁴ “Minutes of the 63rd Annual Convention,” Report of the Preservation of the Confederate Records in The National Archives Committee by Elizabeth Cody Ellis Bachman, 1956, CSUF UDC collection, Box 11, 173-175.

⁷⁵ Ibid

By September 14th 1959, the Independent Offices Appropriation 1960 Bill, HR 7040 was passed.⁷⁶ This meant that an appropriation of \$60,000 was allotted in NARA's budget for "...restoration of our Confederate Records..."⁷⁷ A Böhmer Rudd, Chairman of the Preservation of Confederate Records, National Archives noted in the 1959 Annual Convention report that the microfilmed Consolidated Index of Compiled Military Service records is now housed in the UDC Memorial Building. The report also provides insight into the UDC's continued relationship with NARA. The UDC met with the General Reference Branch, Microfilming & Photographic Laboratory, Exhibits & Publications Branch, as well as the Chief Archivist. These conversations were described as, "...illuminating and interesting, resulting in many worthwhile suggestions and a fine exhibit at this Convention."⁷⁸ This represented a turning point in the collection of Confederate records, and highlights the impact of information professionals on the UDCs application of collection and custodial principles.

The relationship between the UDC and NARA continued into 1960. Rudd's report of the Preservation of Confederate Records, National Archives committee at the 67th Annual Convention, indicated that the annual appropriation of \$60,000 was once again included in NARA's budget for 1961. Rudd also spoke to the interest in the microfilming of Confederate records shown by the states of Georgia, Florida, North Carolina, and

⁷⁶ Congress.gov. "Actions - H.R.7040 - 86th Congress (1959-1960): Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1960." September 14, 1959. <https://www.congress.gov/bill/86th-congress/house-bill/7040/actions>.

⁷⁷ "Minutes of the 66th Annual Convention," Preservation of Confederate Records, National Archives by A Böhmer Rudd, 1959, CSUF UDC collection, Box 11, 120.

⁷⁸ Ibid 121.

Texas in the mid-1950s. Both Georgia and Florida ordered indexes of Confederate soldiers for the records held on their respective states in 1954 with Florida placing an order for a microfilm copy of Florida Confederate Service Records that same year. A few years later, Texas placed an order for the State Index of Texas Confederate Soldiers in 1957. Rudd stated, "As of October 19, 1960, the records of the Virginia State Confederate Troops were currently being microfilmed. The two remaining states, Maryland and Kentucky, should be microfilmed by the end of December 1960..."⁷⁹ The report also notes that Dr. Dallas Irvine, Chief Archivist of the War Records Division encouraged the UDC to interest representatives in their respective State Legislatures in purchasing Confederate records, as these requests were important to securing future appropriations of funding.

The work to collect microfilmed Confederate records came to a head in 1964, as the General Division was able to purchase these microfilmed records. Chairman of the Preservation of Confederate Records Microfilm Purchase Fund, Mary Nuckles Longfield stated in her 1964 report at the 71st Annual Convention,

It is with gratitude and pride that I now can say you have made it possible to purchase our microfilm records. The amount of the fund shown in our Treasurer General's report of September 30, 1964 is \$15,836.29; since that date \$366.55 has been contributed, making a total of \$16,202.84. The cost of the microfilm records, after taking into account the 10 percent reduction we will be allowed, is \$16,009.20.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ "Minutes of the 67th Annual Convention," Preservation of Confederate Records, National Archives by A Böhmer Rudd, 1960, CSUF UDC collection, Box 11, 154.

⁸⁰ "Minutes of the 71st Annual Convention," Preservation of Confederate Records Microfilm Purchase Fund by Mary Nuckles Longfield, 1964, CSUF UDC collection, Box 11, 167-168.

The microfilming of Confederate records was an important proposal undertaken by the UDC. The desire to microfilm these records also highlights the ways in which the UDC utilized their power, privilege, and status to foster political connections, lobby Congress, and influence policy in their favor. This work also created formal relationships with archivists and information professionals at NARA. While out of the scope of this paper, continued research on the evolution of the application of archival principles and implementation of information professionals into the organization would provide more insight into the organization's maintenance of archival materials at the UDC Memorial Building. A detailed review of the Emma Sansom chapter's contributions to these General Division initiatives will be undertaken in further sections.

Part III: California Contributions

Post-Civil War Southern Migration

Southern migration to California post-Civil War is integral to better understanding the strong grasp of Confederate culture and Southern nostalgia on the political and social topography of the state. Despite the West having a reputation as a place rooted in freedom, the racial and economic tensions were very much exacerbated by Southern migration.

After the Civil War, the Lost Cause continued to spread further West as southerners moved to California. Often called the “Confederate diaspora”, this term is used to describe white southerners that left the South, both prior to and post-Civil War. It has been estimated that between 1870 and 1900, over 900,000 white southerners left the South.⁸¹ Many of these whites

⁸¹ Bazzi, Samuel, National Bureau of Economic Research., Andreas Ferrara, Martin Fiszbein, Thomas P Pearson, and Patrick A Testa. 2023. *The Confederate Diaspora / Samuel Bazzi, Andreas Ferrara, Martin Fiszbein, Thomas P. Pearson, Patrick A. Testa*. National Bureau of Economic Research.

fled to Western states. Compared to other parts of the country, the West was still relatively underdeveloped in the late 1800s, which provided ample opportunity for Southerners that left their home state. As Heather Cox Richardson states,

To white southerners, the West beckoned. Their own land had been ruined by the war: the roads churned to ruts, homes burned, cities smashed, fields gone to weeds, and survivors scarred in body and mind...The West, seemingly beyond reach of the war's aftermath, offered a new start. White southerners began to move into the Great Plains.⁸²

The West provided the ability for Southerners to rebuild their lives in a literal sense (i.e. ample farmland and undeveloped land), but more notably it also allowed white Southerners to reconstruct and replicate Confederate systems and institutions of power in the West.⁸³ The white Southerners who emigrated during the post-war period were distinct because they often had direct ties to the Confederacy, making them more emotionally connected to legacy of the Confederacy as it directly related to themselves and their family members. This connection encouraged them to preserve and instill an idealized memory of the South in the next generation and allowed Southern nostalgia to be reimagined out West without the constraints of Southern society. This work flourished in the West for a variety of reasons, one of which being that many Southerners had already migrated West during the Gold Rush. This created a network of professionals in everything from the Church to politics, and they continued to wield significant influence over California.⁸⁴

⁸² Richardson, Heather Cox. 2020. *How the South Won the Civil War: Oligarchy, Democracy, and the Continuing Fight for the Soul of America* / Heather Cox Richardson. Oxford University Press. 87.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ United Daughters of the Confederacy-Emma Samson Chapter #449. California State University, Fullerton, University Archives and Special Collections. Box 4, Folder 5, "Forty Two Years of the U.D.C. 1.

Southern Collective Memory in California

As white Southerners spread out West, so did their ideologies and organizations. In California, the work of spreading the revisionist history of the Lost Cause was undertaken by a variety of associations, primarily the UDC and Sons of Confederate Veterans. The United Daughters of the Confederacy's legacy in California is most visible through their creation and funding of public monuments and memorials, which as Kevin Wates states "...stood as totems to the slave South in the American West."⁸⁵ These monuments span across the state with infamous memorials constructed in Hollywood Forever Cemetery, highway markers dedicated to Jefferson Davis, and the naming of California's natural landscape of mountains, trees, and rock formations after prominent members of the Confederacy.⁸⁶ Although monuments across the state honoring veterans and heroes of the Confederacy are most easily recognizable, the UDC utilized a variety of different mediums to disseminate an idealized version of the Civil War. Exercising their influence through essay contests, scholarships, commemorative ceremonies to honor Confederate soldiers, and book donations to local libraries.⁸⁷ This work not only legitimized the UDC but provided chapter members with the opportunity to integrate themselves into community institutions, and as a result embed the revisionist narratives of the Lost Cause within the memory institutions of California.

California Division Filing & Lending Library

⁸⁵ Waite, Kevin. 2020. "The 'Lost Cause' Goes West: Confederate Culture and Civil War Memory in California." *California History (San Francisco)* 97 (1): 33–49. <https://doi.org/10.1525/ch.2020.97.1.33>. 34.

⁸⁶ Ibid, 40-42.

⁸⁷ Bianco, Emma. 2022. "Memorializing a 'Golden Era' in the Golden State: The United Daughters of the Confederacy in Orange County, California." *Southern California Quarterly* 104 (1): 5–34.

The proliferation and preservation of literature dedicated to the Lost Cause was of great importance to the UDC, and this goal was accomplished in a variety of ways. Of most relevance to the scope of this paper, is the creation and utilization of the California Division Filing and Lending Library, as well as multiple chapter level traveling libraries. The record keeping practices of the California Division evolved over time, especially regarding the housing and arrangement of papers. Mrs. R.F. Blankenburg, serving as California Division President from 1926-1928, was responsible for the completion of a card index for filing chapter records.⁸⁸ About five years later, during the presidency of Edwa Dorsey Boggs, a filing cabinet was purchased for historical papers, as well as a safe deposit box for the Recorder of Crosses.⁸⁹ A more direct plea regarding the Filing and Lending Library was brought to the attention of the California Division at the 39th Annual California Division Convention by Mary H. Farnham, who at the time was serving as the California Division President. Farnham stated that college students had appealed to her regarding Southern history and literature, which led her to encourage all chapters to begin collecting and assembling information relating to these topics with the hope of establishing a Lending Bureau.⁹⁰ It wasn't until the mid-1940s that a formal recommendation for the establishment of a Filing and Lending Bureau was made by Edna Howard Fowler. Fowler was serving as the California Division Historian from 1944-1945 and recognized the importance of the historical materials that she dealt with during her

⁸⁸ "FORTY TWO YEARS WITH THE CALIFORNIA DIVISION," CSUF UDC collection, Box 4, Folder 5, 26.

⁸⁹ Ibid, 30.

⁹⁰ "39th Annual California Convention Program," Report of Memorial Building Fund by Margaret H. Farnham, 1939 UoP UDC collection, Series 6, Box 6.1b, Folder 3. 30.

time as historian. In the 1945-1946 California Division Yearbook, Fowler's formal recommendation stated,

As Division Historian, I realize the importance of the material in the Historian's Files. I also realize that this material is often needed by Chapter Historian's, members and others seeking the facts. I am recommending that these files be the foundation for a Filing Bureau for California Division in order that this information may be copied and sent to those requiring it. A Chairman either permanent or not might be appointed by the Division President to do this work. Notices could be placed in Libraries and other places that such information could be found there and thus not only assist our own members but serve to place the truth of our history before those otherwise unacquainted with it. This work has the sanction of the Historian General, with whom I discussed it last November.⁹¹

Edna Howard Fowler continued to serve as the compiler and custodian of these records for many years. Throughout this time, Fowler continued to emphasize the importance of the files beyond the present moment and implored members to continue to donate material to the files for the continued benefit of future generations.

With Fowler at the helm, the Filing and Lending Library continued to grow both in size and scope. The Filing and Lending Library contained papers like meeting minutes and other documents related to the creation of the California Division, minutes for the 1902-1904 conventions, articles, congressional records, newspaper clippings, indexes, scrapbooks, and more.⁹² The files were used by members of the UDC, as well as those outside the organization alike. The California Division president, Dorothy Watson Tappan, stated in the 1946 General Division Convention minutes that the California Division files were being utilized by studios in

⁹¹ "1945-1946 California Division Yearbook," Report of Historian by Edna H. Fowler, UoP UDC collection, Series 6, Box 6.2a, 43.

⁹² California Division Year Books 1949-1950; 1950-1951; 1956-1957; 1959-1960; Filing and Lending Library by Edna Howard Fowler, UoP UDC collection, Series 6, Box 6.2a.

Hollywood.⁹³ Similarly, at the 52nd California Division Annual Convention in Santa Cruz, Fowler reported that the Filing and Lending Library received 58 requests from chapter members and 63 requests from people outside the organization interested in Confederate history.⁹⁴ While the nature of these requests is mostly unknown, aside from genealogical requests⁹⁵, it is indicated that overall the files were used by members of the organization to correct what Fowler deemed as “historical errors” in publications and radio.⁹⁶ As mentioned in previous sections, Fowler began reporting that the files began to reach their capacity in 1953.⁹⁷ By 1961, Fowler reported that members, studios, newspapers, and libraries had all requested material from the files. She also noted the acquisition of new items from both members and “outsiders.” During this time, Fowler also submitted a formal recommendation to change the name of the Filing and Lending Library to the Historical Reference Files, as she felt the new name would better align with the original intention behind the collection, preservation, and accessibility of historical material by the Division.⁹⁸ The Historical Reference Files have continued to persist well into the 21st century with mentions of the Historical Reference Files as a special committee in the 2015 State Division

⁹³ “Minutes of the 53rd Annual Convention,” California Division Report by Dorothy Watson Tappan, 1946, CSUF UDC collection, Box 11, 219.

⁹⁴ “1952-1953 California Division Yearbook,” Filing and Lending Library by Edna Howard Fowler, UoP UDC collection, Series 6, Box 6.2a, 28.

⁹⁵ “1959-1960 California Division Yearbook,” Filing and Lending Library by Edna Howard Fowler, UoP UDC collection, Series 6, Box 6.2a, 34.; Fowler noted that genealogical requests were unable to be filled because those kinds of records were not in her possession

⁹⁶ “1949-1950 California Division Yearbook,” Filing and Lending Library by Edna Howard Fowler, UoP UDC collection, Series 6, Box 6.2a, 32-33.

⁹⁷ “1954-1955 California Division Yearbook,” Filing and Lending Library by Edna Howard Fowler, UoP UDC collection, Series 6, Box 6.2a, 29.

⁹⁸ “1960-1961 California Division Yearbook,” Historical Reference Files by Edna Howard Fowler, UoP UDC collection, Series 6, Box 6.2a, 40.

Annual Convention Program.⁹⁹ Self-reported figures and accounts must be approached with caution; nonetheless, these reports provide a better understanding of the ways in which the Filing and Lending Library was being queried and accessed.

California Division and Chapter Traveling Libraries

“Send for them; read them; talk about them; pass them on”¹⁰⁰

Traveling libraries were important tools utilized by the UDC to aid in the dissemination of literature that championed narratives of the Lost Cause. This is of interest because traveling libraries were a unique way that members shared literature with one another. The California Division Traveling Library was first brought to the attention of the California Division by Charlie Louise Montgomery in 1906¹⁰¹ with her serving as the custodian of the collection in 1922.¹⁰² The Traveling Library appears to typically be listed in early California Division Yearbooks with the contact of the current custodian of the collection, as well as a complete list of books available in the Library. In 1915, the Traveling Library was placed into the custodial care of the Division Historian.¹⁰³ The Traveling Library was subject to rules that were outlined in the

⁹⁹ “2015 California Division Convention Program,” UoP UDC collection, Series 6, Box 6.1b, 5.; By 2015, the historical reference files had been merged with the museum library committee and was listed as a special committee.

¹⁰⁰ “1915-1916 California Division Yearbook,” Traveling Library, UoP UDC collection, Series 6, Box 6.2a, 76.

¹⁰¹ “A TRIBUTE TO MRS. VICTOR MONTGOMERY,” CSUF UDC collection, Box 10, Folder 2, 1.; “FORTY TWO YEARS WITH THE CALIFORNIA DIVISION,” CSUF UDC collection, Box 4, Folder 5, 15.

¹⁰² “22nd Annual Convention Minutes of the California Division,” Traveling Library, 1922, CSUF UDC collection, Box 11, 7.

¹⁰³ “1915-1916 California Division Yearbook,” Traveling Library, UoP UDC collection, Series 6, Box 6.2a, 28-29..

California Division By-Laws. These rules consisted of five sections that required chapters to: complete applications for the use of the Traveling Library, pay freight and transportation charges, and provide a receipt to the Historian of the Library upon arrival with a detailed list of the volumes and the condition. The By-Laws clearly states that chapters are responsible for the books of the Traveling Library while they're in their care, the Traveling Library cannot be kept for more than three successive months, as well as a recommendation for chapters to set aside money dedicated to the maintenance of the Library.¹⁰⁴ The Traveling Library appears in the minutes of the California Division Annual Conventions up until 1922, but more research would need to be done on this specific area to provide a truly holistic and accurate depiction of the scope of the California Division Traveling Library.

Traveling library initiatives were also undertaken by individual chapters. The Robert E. Lee chapter of Los Angeles is one such example. The chapter reported the use of a traveling library for nearly ten years between 1949-1957. In the 1949-1950 California Division Yearbook, Mrs. Weyman G. Prickett stated, "We [the Robert E. Lee chapter] also have a traveling library of historical books circulating among the members."¹⁰⁵ The chapter's traveling library continued to prosper using book reviews and donation of already circulated books. In 1954, the chapter reviewed a book written by Dr. Frances Le Jau (a husband of one of the members) about early colonists in South Carolina. It appears that this title was chosen to be included in their traveling

¹⁰⁴ "1916-1917 California Division Yearbook," Bylaws, UoP UDC collection, Series 6, Box 6.2a, 100. The rules for the use of the Traveling Library can be found on the very last page of the bylaws of most annual convention minutes from 1914-1923.

¹⁰⁵ "1949-1950 California Division Yearbook, "Robert E. Lee Chapter Report, UoP UDC collection, Series 6, Box 6.2a, 41.

library.¹⁰⁶ The chapter also donated books from the traveling library that members had already read to local schools. Castle Heights Elementary School was one such recipient of these books. According to the 1957 chapter report, Castle Heights School Library had a dedicated shelf for these books indicated by “a bronze marker with the name of Robert E. Lee in gold lettering.”¹⁰⁷ It is unclear how long the traveling library remained active, but the actions reported in this section highlight the Robert E. Lee chapter’s interest in educating chapter members, reviewing books, and providing insight into some of the donations made by the chapter.

The use of traveling libraries to educate members of the UDC exemplified the organizations interest in the use of libraries and literature as both a tool of internal organizational change, as well as the organization’s interest in external expansion through educational institutions that fall beyond the direct oversight of the UDC. Traveling Libraries at both the California Division and chapter levels are of continued interest for future projects, as much of the information regarding traveling libraries falls outside the time period of focus for this paper. To provide a truly holistic and accurate depiction of UDC traveling libraries in California, more research is needed. Nonetheless, it is still a substantial venture that I felt should be referenced, however limited in scope. The use of literature and other educational programs at the chapter level will be explored in further sections, specifically through the viewpoint of the Emma Sansom chapter of Santa Ana.

Part IV: Emma Sansom Chapter

Charlie Louise Montgomery: Founding of the Emma Sansom Chapter

¹⁰⁶ “1954-1955 California Division Yearbook, “Robert E. Lee Chapter Report by Mrs. Weyman G. Prickett, UoP UDC collection, Series 6, Box 6.2a, 39-40.

¹⁰⁷ “1956-1957 California Division Yearbook, “Robert E. Lee Chapter Report by Lois Bouchelle Prickett, UoP UDC collection, Series 6, Box 6.2a, 37.; “1957-1958 California Division Yearbook, “Robert E. Lee Chapter Report by Mrs. Weyman G. Prickett, UoP UDC collection, Series 6, Box 6.2a, 41-42.

Objects of the Emma Sansom Chapter. To perpetuate the memory and spirit of the men and women who saw the rise and fall of an empire in the South; who struggled to preserve its ideals and traditions, and who died to protect its honor. To that end we pledge our lives, our hearts, and our sacred honor.¹⁰⁸

The California Division of the UDC has been influenced by many, and one of these influential people was the Southern born Charlie Louise Montgomery. Charlie Louise Tarver was born at the start of the Civil War in August of 1861 in Texas.¹⁰⁹ Charlie's father (Charles Tarver) died after contracting typhoid fever about a year after her birth.¹¹⁰ Shortly after, Charlie Louise and her mother (Maria Jane Keener Tarver) moved to a plantation near Brenham, Texas owned by Charlie Louise's grandmother. It was as "Gay Hill" the family stayed until Charlie Louise was seven years old. Eventually it was decided that the plantation "...was no place for a widow with such heavy responsibilities so the Grandmother took her large family, together with many neighbors and friends, and started for California."¹¹¹ Charlie Louise's grandmother, described as "A product of the Old South"¹¹² appears to have had a great impact on her life, ensuring that tutors and lessons were secured for the long trip to California. At the age of 17, Charlie Louise Tarver married Victor Montgomery, and they later took up a residence together in

¹⁰⁸ United Daughters of the Confederacy-Emma Samson Chapter #449, "Emma Sansom Chapter 1971-1972 Yearbook," CSUF UDC collection, Box 10, Folder 3.

¹⁰⁹ United States of America, Bureau of the Census. Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1900. T623, 18, Ancestry.com Operations Inc; "Anaheim Pioneer Called by Death," *Anaheim Gazette*, November 19, 1991, Newspapers.com

¹¹⁰ "A TRIBUTE TO MRS. VICTOR MONTGOMERY," CSUF UDC collection, Box 10, Folder 2, 1-4.

¹¹¹ Ibid

¹¹² Ibid

Anaheim.¹¹³ The work of Charlie Louise and Victor Montgomery has shaped Orange County in indisputable ways. Victor Montgomery was a Confederate veteran, lawyer, and advocate for the secession of Orange County from Los Angeles. He wrote some of the first drafts for the Montgomery bill – leading to the succession of Orange County from Los Angeles in 1889.¹¹⁴ Ten years later, Charlie Louise Montgomery cemented her legacy in the Orange County community, albeit in a slightly different way when she founded the Emma Sansom Chapter of Santa Ana on May 24th, 1899, serving as President for 15 years.¹¹⁵ The chapter wasn't officially chartered until March 25th, 1901, after the formal creation of the California Division of the UDC.¹¹⁶ The Emma Sansom chapter was the fourth chapter in California to be formed, and was preceded only by the Albert Sidney Johnston chapter (No. 79), the Los Angeles (No. 277) Chapter, and the Robert E. Lee Chapter of Los Angeles (No. 273).¹¹⁷ The chapter was named after Emma Sansom. Sansom was 15 years old when she helped guide Nathan Bedford Forrest's troops across Black Creek, after the only bridge across had been burned down. Sansom's

¹¹³ Ancestry.com, *California, U.S., County Birth, Marriage, and Death Records, 1849–1980* (Lehi, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2017), citing California Department of Public Health, courtesy of Vital Search Worldwide.; Ancestry.com, *1880 United States Federal Census* (Lehi, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010), entry for Anaheim residence, 1880; Anaheim, Los Angeles County, California; roll 67, page 281D, enumeration district 028.

¹¹⁴ Armor, Samuel. 1911. *History of Orange County, California: With Biographical Sketches of The Leading Men and Women of the County, Who Have Been Identified with the Growth and Development from the Early Days to the Present Time / by Samuel Armor, Supervising Editor, and Others*. Edited by Samuel Armor. Historic Record Co. 255-257.

¹¹⁵ "A TRIBUTE TO MRS. VICTOR MONTGOMERY," CSUF UDC collection, Box 10, Folder 2, 1-4.

¹¹⁶ "A HANDBOOK OF HISTORY, CALIFORNIA DIVISION, UNITED DAUGHTERS OF THE CONFEDERACY," compiled by Dorothy Madison Watson, 1942, CSUF UDC collection, Box 4, Folder 5, 40.

¹¹⁷ "FORTY TWO YEARS WITH THE CALIFORNIA DIVISION," CSUF UDC collection, Box 4, Folder 5, 2.; "United Daughters of the Confederacy Emma Sansom Chapter No. 449, Resolutions Committee," CSUF UDC collection, Box 10, Folder 10, 1-2.

guidance allowed the Confederate soldiers to continue pursuing and later capture Union soldiers led by Abel D. Streight.¹¹⁸ The Emma Sansom chapter continued to play an active role in both Santa Ana and Orange County, and the impact of Charlie Louise Montgomery and her husband is palpable in the history of Orange County.

Charlie Louise also played an integral role in the creation of the California Division of the UDC during the early days. She served as the Division President from 1903-1905, was President of the Emma Sansom chapter for 15 years, was the custodian of the traveling library in 1922, and served on various committees.¹¹⁹ Under the guidance of Charlie Louise Montgomery as President of the California Division, membership soared from just 593 members in 1904 to 1,276 members in 1904.¹²⁰ When reflecting on her time as President of the Division, Charlie Louise stated, "...owing to the extreme northern sentiment which dominated California, much criticism had been directed against us; but our program of publicity, our great increase in membership, and our charitable and educational work gained for us respect and State-wide recognition, where before there had been indifference, and even distrust."¹²¹ She was also responsible for the contribution of ideas such as: The Traveling Library, The Ritual and Burial Service, and The Memorial Hour. When presenting the suggestion of a traveling library at the 1906 California Division Annual Convention, Charlie Louise encouraged that the books for this

¹¹⁸ "A HANDBOOK OF HISTORY, CALIFORNIA DIVISION, UNITED DAUGHTERS OF THE CONFEDERACY," compiled by Dorothy Madison Watson, 1942, CSUF UDC collection, Box 4, Folder 5, 39-40.

¹¹⁹ "1914-1915 California Division Yearbook," CSUF UDC collection, Box 11.; "Twenty-Second Annual Convention of the California Division Minutes," CSUF UDC collection, Box 11, 7.

¹²⁰ "FORTY TWO YEARS WITH THE CALIFORNIA DIVISION," CSUF UDC collection, Box 4, Folder 5, 12.

¹²¹ Ibid, 13.

library should be historical works and poems by Southern authors, even going so far as to present three books of a historical nature as a small foundation.¹²² Charlie Louise was remembered as being “...ever interested in the promotion of Education and Historical activities” and a vehement supporter of the Lost Cause and advocate for Southern Honor. As Lillian Sutphin Pritchett states in her 1937 tribute to Charlie Louise Montgomery, “These Ideals she deemed truly good, and she upheld them.”¹²³ Charlie Louise upheld these Southern ideals and memories through the founding of the Emma Sansom chapter, and her continued work with the California Division.

The work of the Emma Sansom Chapter quickly became a family affair for Charlie Louise with her children and niece becoming dedicated members of the Emma Sansom chapter. This included her daughters Gertrude and Louise Montgomery, as well as niece Vera Nisson. At its core, the UDC is a heritage organization; therefore, members must have a traceable lineage to the Confederacy in some capacity.¹²⁴ The engagement of other women in Charlie Louise’s family highlights how her interest in preserving Southern revisionist histories went beyond personal action and expanded to include and mobilize the next generation of women. This appears to draw on the influence of Charlie Louise’s upbringing and personal familial ties to the Confederacy that pushed her to dedicate such a substantial part of her life to preserving narratives of the Lost Cause. This is important as it not only strengthened emotional connections to the South, but also ensured the continued survival of the Emma Sansom chapter by further intertwining the Montgomery family legacy into the fabric of the chapter, thereby incentivizing

¹²² “A TRIBUTE TO MRS. VICTOR MONTGOMERY,” CSUF UDC collection, Box 10, Folder 2, 1.; “FORTY TWO YEARS WITH THE CALIFORNIA DIVISION,” CSUF UDC collection, Box 4, Folder 5, 15.

¹²³ “A TRIBUTE TO MRS. VICTOR MONTGOMERY,” CSUF UDC collection, Box 10, Folder 2, 2.

¹²⁴ “How to Join UDC | Membership Requirements & Process.” *United Daughters of the Confederacy*, n.d. Accessed April 1, 2026. <https://hqudc.org/join-the-udc/>; Janney, 174.

continued club work. Vera Nisson was an active member for over 50 years and served as both President and Historian of the Emma Sansom chapter.¹²⁵ Gertrude Montgomery remained a member of the UDC for 67 years and served as chapter President and Registrar. She also served as the California Division President, and National Director of the Jefferson Davis Highway Memorial project, as well as a variety of committee positions.¹²⁶ The development of the chapter relied on the continued influx of members that had familial ties to the Confederacy, and so it seems quite natural that the Emma Sansom chapter passed through the hands of Charlie Louise Montgomery's niece and daughter. This generational transition of leadership, and the work carried out by Charlie Louise and her family members, is representative of the larger ambitions of the organization. The work of Charlie Louise Montgomery, as well as her husband and extended family, has forever impacted and shaped the political and social landscape of Orange County and much of Southern California.

Libraries and Literature

One way the Emma Sansom chapter of Santa Ana contributed Southern revisionist historical narratives was through monetary and in-kind donations to libraries, the creation and publication of literature by chapter members, and the employment of chapter members in local libraries. The Emma Sansom chapter built upon the already established groundwork and initiatives supported by both the California and General Division of the UDC. By 1956, the California Division was already adept at fostering relationships with libraries and authors, "...We have given thousands of books, even libraries, in towns and cities here and abroad. We have

¹²⁵ "United Daughters of the Confederacy Emma Sansom Chapter No. 449, Resolutions Committee," CSUF UDC collection, Box 10, Folder 10, 1-2.

¹²⁶ Sue Campbell, "Confederacy Daughters Keep Heritage in View," *Daily News Tribune*, April 27, 1973, CSUF UDC collection, Box 4, Folder 5.

established a Literary Prize of \$1,000 to talented authors, to bring to light historic facts...”¹²⁷

Drawing on these frameworks, the Emma Sansom chapter had a decade-long period of increased donations to libraries, creation of literature, and activity within local libraries from 1954-1968, while also actively contributing to larger organizational initiatives like the Southern Literature for Home and Foreign Libraries Committee.

Monetary Donations

The first way the Emma Sansom chapter contributed to local libraries and State Division initiatives was through monetary donations and dues. This was in the form of direct donations to the Santa Ana Library, the Friends of the Santa Ana Library, and the California Division. Much of the fundraising initiatives of the Emma Sansom chapter centered around scholarships at Occidental and Biola College¹²⁸, but funds were still procured for other benevolences. For example, in 1960, the chapter donated \$5 to both the Santa Ana Library and the Friends of the Santa Ana Library. These donations were made in part to establish closer relations between the library and its residents.¹²⁹ At a chapter meeting in February 1968, a motion was made and carried to keep “the birthday money in a separate account and used for incidentals, to give a book to the library.”¹³⁰ The “birthday money” refers to donations that were made on behalf of chapter

¹²⁷ Edna Howard Fowler “Excerpts from the address...Southern Luncheon in Beverly Hills”, CSUF UDC collection, Box 3, Folder 2.

¹²⁸“Emma Sansom Chapter Treasurer Books,” CSUF UDC collection, Box 14.

¹²⁹ Ibid; CSUF, box 3, folder: UDC correspondence 1960-1964.

¹³⁰ “Emma Sansom Chapter Meeting Minutes,” February 8, 1968, CSUF UDC collection, Box 10, Folder 10.

members' birthdays. This donation was typically about \$1.00 per person during the month of their birthday.¹³¹ With a dedicated fund set aside, the Emma Sansom chapter was then able to draw on this to donate books as they saw fit. In May 1968, the chapter elected to use the “birthday and white elephant money” to purchase \$15.65 worth of books on the Confederacy that Mrs. Grasso had ordered with the intention of presenting these books to the library.¹³² Between 1959-1969, about \$22 was sent to the California Division in dues for the Southern literature for home and foreign libraries.¹³³ The smaller actions and contributions of the Emma Sansom chapter are still integral to the work of the larger collective of the UDC.

Donation of Books, Magazines, and Other Literature

Of more sustained interest to the Emma Sansom chapter, was the donation of books and magazines to local libraries and the UDC Memorial Library. The donation of books, magazines, and other literature to public institutions was primarily centered around the Santa Ana Public Library. At the 54th California Division Annual Convention in 1954, the report of Southern Literature for Home and Foreign Libraries noted that the Emma Sansom chapter placed three books with a value of \$10.00. The exact recipient is not noted, although it is indicated in the report that the contributions listed were placed in school, public, and college libraries.¹³⁴ In the February 1957 chapter meeting minutes, it was reported that a copy of “The History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy” was donated to the Santa Ana Public Library with a

¹³¹ “Emma Sansom Chapter Treasurer Books,” CSUF UDC collection, Box 14, 104, 107.

¹³² “Emma Sansom Chapter Meeting Minutes, “May 9, 1968, CSUF UDC collection, Box 10, Folder 10.

¹³³ “Emma Sansom Chapter Treasurer Books,” CSUF UDC collection, Box 14, 46-115.

¹³⁴ “1954-1955 California Division Yearbook,” Report of Southern Literature for Home & Foreign Libraries by Maurine Sims Hardin, UoP UDC collection, Series 6, Box 6.2a, 32-33.

second copy given to the chapter for use by the members. This donation was made by Mrs. R.E. Logue in honor of Miss Louise Montgomery.¹³⁵ In December of 1957, the receipt of the book was confirmed as the City Librarian of Santa Ana, Mrs. Ethel Walker, wrote to thank the chapter for the book that was presented to the library.¹³⁶ Donations to the Santa Ana Public Library continued well into the 1960s, with the donation “The South’s Finest Hour” in October of 1965. This book was written by the Emma Sansom chapters' very own Mrs. Lois Robbins.¹³⁷ The March, May, and June 1968 chapter meetings brought the continued donation of books to the Santa Ana Public Library. This included the purchase of \$15.65 of books on the Confederacy from Mrs. Grasso for the library, Robert E. Lee’s “The rise and fall of the Confederacy”, a new edition of a book written by Jefferson Davis, and a handbook written by Mrs. Estelle Heiss on Jefferson Davis and succession.¹³⁸ It also appears that in 1969 and 1971, the Emma Sansom chapter purchased UDC magazine subscriptions for the library. Although it is not specified to which library this magazine subscription was for, it most likely was also part of a donation to the Santa Ana Library.¹³⁹

The Emma Sansom chapter did not limit their donation of books to the local level. After the completion of the UDC Memorial Library, the Emma Sansom chapter became interested in donating to help build the General Division’s bibliographic resources. As an honorary member of

¹³⁵ “Emma Sansom Chapter Meeting minutes,” February 7, 1957, CSUF UDC collection, Box 10, Folder 10.

¹³⁶ Ibid, December 12, 1957.

¹³⁷ “Emma Sansom Chapter Meeting Minutes,” October 14, 1965, CSUF UDC collection, Box 10, Folder 7.

¹³⁸ Ibid, March 14, 1968; June 13, 1968; May 9, 1968.

¹³⁹ “Emma Sansom Chapter Treasurer Books,” CSUF UDC collection, Box 14, 119, 143.

the Emma Sansom chapter, Edna Fowler brought a suggestion to the February 13th chapter meeting in 1958. It was at this meeting that she suggested the donation of books to the Memorial Building Library from “time to time, where they would be useful in helping build up the new library.” It was motioned and seconded that the chapter historian, Mrs. Spennetta, chooses the books for donation, and that each be dedicated in memory of deceased chapter members with the first donation dedicated to Mrs. Victor (Charlie Louise) Montgomery. It was also noted by Fowler that the Director of Southern Literature for Home and Foreign Libraries be made aware of any gifts given by the Emma Sansom chapter to ensure that they are properly credited.¹⁴⁰ That same year the chapter reported their intent to donate a book to the UDC Memorial Library at the 58th California Division Annual Convention in 1958, Virginia L. Carpenter stated, “The Chapter will present a book on General Mosby to the Headquarters Library, this particular book being chosen because Mrs. Carpenter’s father rode with Mosby’s Rangers.”¹⁴¹ This donation in particular highlights the personal connections that UDC members had to the literature they were collecting and placing in institutions like the UDC Memorial Building, as their own familial legacies and histories were dependent on the work of organizations like the UDC to memorialize and spread narratives of the Lost Cause.

The Emma Sansom chapter’s donations of literature, notably books and UDC Magazine subscriptions, to the Santa Ana Public Library and the UDC Memorial Library highlights the ways in which the larger organizational ambitions headed by the General and California Division were interpreted and enacted at the chapter level. When the donation of literature is coupled with

¹⁴⁰ “Emma Sansom Chapter Meeting Minutes,” February 13, 1958, CSUF UDC collection, Box 10, Folder 7.

¹⁴¹ “1958-1959 California Division Yearbook,” Emma Sansom Chapter Report by Virginia L. Carpenter, UoP UDC collection, Series 6, Box 6.2a, 47-48.

the support of monetary donations to public information institutions, one can further understand the lasting impact that local chapters like the Emma Sansom chapter have had on the educational landscape within their immediate surroundings.

Creation of Literature by Chapter Members

Members of the Emma Sansom chapter were quite active in the writing and publishing of materials related to Southern history. They utilized a variety of mediums such as books, pamphlets, booklets, and essays. As previously established, many members of the UDC had direct familial ties to former members of the Confederacy. As a result, there was often a deep personal interest in vindicating the reputations of Confederate veterans. The family history of members; therefore, held significant historical and cultural insight that the Emma Sansom chapter felt was especially valuable. At the chapter meeting held on April 10th, 1958, Mrs. Logue and Mrs. E.B. Deu Pree were chosen to investigate the logistics of a fundraiser and report back. They were also tasked with “the proposed compilation of short sketches of family history by the members of the Emma Sanson Chapter, U.D.C. to be printed for the purpose of keeping alive the story of our Southern heritage for posterity.”¹⁴² While it is unclear if this project fully came to fruition in the way the Emma Sansom chapter had intended, the mere discussion of the desire to complete this project further showcases how the UDC valued and recognized the importance of literature. The creation of literature of this nature was viewed as important both to the history of the organization, due to the UDC’s genealogical nature, and the generational transmission of chapter work between members. It also speaks to the larger initiative of

¹⁴² “Emma Sansom Chapter Meeting Minutes,” April 10, 1958, CSUF UDC collection, Box 10, Folder 7.

memorializing the “true” history of the Confederacy, of which first-hand accounts of the Civil War have been invaluable to the UDC in the cultural memorialization of the Confederacy.

In a more formal fashion, members of the Emma Sansom chapter wrote books and essays across a variety of topics. The writing of essays and the hosting of essay contests was an area of focus for the UDC. These contests further cemented the influence of the UDC in the educational sphere and allowed them to disseminate revisionist histories under the guise of benevolence and financial support.¹⁴³ The Emma Sansom chapter was no exception when it came to the utilization of essay contests, and chapter members themselves participated in contests held at the General Division level. At a chapter meeting in September 1955, it was reported that Mrs. Lois Robbins had written and submitted four essays and was working on her fifth essay to submit to the Historian General for consideration at the General Convention. These essays were written on the topics of:

- “1. Dr. Simon Baruch, Confederate Surgeon from South Carolina
2. To Secure the Blessings of Liberty to Ourselves and Our Posterity
3. Work of the Secret Service During the War Between the States
4. General Hospitals
5. Fort Davis.”¹⁴⁴

Robbins' essays exemplify how members of the UDC were encouraged to participate not only in the dissemination of literature, but also in its creation which provided opportunities for the continued self-education of members and their local communities.

¹⁴³ Bianco, 23.

¹⁴⁴ “Emma Sansom Chapter Meeting Minutes,” September 1, 1955, CSUF UDC collection, Box 10, Folder 7.

Lois Robbins' affinity for writing and education can be observed from her essay contributions, teaching career, club affiliations, and publishing of multiple books. As a native of Texas,¹⁴⁵ she also had strong personal ties to the Confederacy which encouraged her to become an active member of the UDC. In 1965, Robbins' book titled "The South's Finest Hour: Essays on The War Between The States" was published by The America Press. At the time of this book being published, Robbins was an English and Social Studies teacher at Kaiser Junior High School, a member of the National League of American Pen Women and International Platform Association, and served as parish librarian.¹⁴⁶ The Emma Sansom chapter was proud of having an author among their ranks, and in October 1965, Mrs. Arneson donated a copy of Robbin's book to the Santa Ana Public Library with the chapter reimbursing her for the cost.¹⁴⁷

Another Emma Sansom chapter member, Virginia Carpenter, also published a book on the history of Placentia in 1969.¹⁴⁸ Upon further research, Carpenter had a long relationship with the Placentia Library where she was first hired in 1953.¹⁴⁹ Carpenter's affiliation with the Placentia Library gave her valuable insight into the literature that she

¹⁴⁵ "Lois Brown Robbins, Author of New Book On South," *Santa Ana Register*, September 4, 1965, CSUF UDC Collection, Scrapbook 13, In Loving Memory of Rem F.M. Brance Scrapbook.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid; "The South's Finest Hour: Essays on the War Between the States by Robbins, Lois Brown: Very Good Cloth (1965) First Edition | Callaghan Books South." Accessed April 1, 2026. <https://www.abebooks.co.uk/first-edition/Souths-Finest-Hour-Essays-States-Robbins/368369718/bd>. ; "Untitled Document," CSUF UDC collection, Box 10, Folder 2.

¹⁴⁷ "Emma Sansom Chapter Meeting Minutes," October 14, 1956, CSUF UDC collection, Box 10, Folder 10.

¹⁴⁸ Letter to Virginia Carpenter, July 12, 1969, CSUF UDC collection, Box 3, Folder 5.; OC Historyland. "An Orange Shelf." Accessed April 1, 2026. <https://www.ochistoryland.com/orangeshef>.

¹⁴⁹ Placentia Library District. "History of Placentia Library." Accessed April 1, 2026. <https://placentialibrarydistrict.ca.gov/history-of-placentia-library-32cedf9>.

felt was missing from the stacks and would best serve the community. In a talk at the Placentia Library in 1978 Carpenter said,

...I worked for 19 years at the Central Library, and when the children needed information about the town, I found that there was practically nothing in print. So I started out very innocently thinking I'd look up, try to find out a little about it, write a little book for the children since no one else would do it.¹⁵⁰

Carpenter continued to publish well into the 1980s on the history of Placentia and Orange County.¹⁵¹ While Carpenter's published work did not explicitly involve the history of the Confederacy like Robbins, it is another example of how members of the Emma Sansom chapter were deeply rooted in their communities with their profession in libraries and schools directly relating to the organizational work of the UDC that they dedicated much of their time to.

Microfilm Project & Collection of Confederate Record Contributions

While the Emma Sansom chapter did not undertake its own large-scale microfilming or record collection projects, it contributed immensely by supporting the already established committees and funds established by the California State and General Division. This can be most readily observed with the microfilming initiative undertaken by the General Division that was outlined previously. In the minutes of the 1958 California Division Convention, it was reported that,

Upon call for further New Business, Mrs. A.R. Bullock brought up the subject of the Proposed microfilming of the Confederate records now held in the National Archives in Washington D.C., and after considerable discussion it was moved by Mrs. Vincent Lee Gannon that the California

¹⁵⁰ Carpenter, Virginia. "Virginia Carpenter Talk on North Anaheim." December 14, 1978. Orange County Historical Society. California Revealed. Accessed April 2, 2026. <https://californiarevealed.org/challenge?destination=/do/05db787e-99e3-4021-96cd-1e8acbdd9406>.

¹⁵¹ OC Historyland. "Friis-Pioneer." Accessed April 1, 2026. <https://www.ochistoryland.com/f-p>.

Division go on record as approving this project and that a message be sent to Senator Carl Hayden requesting his Committee to include in the 1959 Budget the \$60,000 necessary to microfilm the Records of the Confederate Veterans now in the National Archives. Motion was duly seconded and passed¹⁵²

With the California Division supporting the proposed microfilming of Confederate records, they aligned themselves with the ambitions of the General Division and as a result California chapters were expected to contribute. In an article published by the *LA Times* on May 21st, 1962 it was written that, “The California Division subscribed to a new general fund for microfilming records of veterans of the Civil War which will be placed in the UDC Memorial Building in Richmond, Va. and made available to researchers.”¹⁵³ During this time the California Division collected funds from local chapters, which was then sent to the General Division. At the 71st General Division Annual Convention the Chairman of the Preservation of Confederate Records Microfilm Purchase Fund committee, Mary Nuckles Longfield reported that the California Division contributed \$155.00 in 1964 and \$571.50 from 1962-1964.¹⁵⁴ Drawing on treasurer’s reports from April 1962 - April 1963, the Emma Sansom chapter contributed \$28 during that period of time.¹⁵⁵ The Emma Sansom chapter contributed time, money, and resources to the initiatives that were taking place at the national level. Contextualizing the

¹⁵² “1958-1959 California Division Yearbook,” New Business, UoP UDC collection, Series 6, Box 6.2a, 21.

¹⁵³ Daughters of Confederacy Division Leaders Elected, *LA Times*, CSUF UDC Collection, Scrapbook 13, In Loving Memory of Rem F.M. Brance Scrapbook.

¹⁵⁴ “Minutes of the 71st Annual Convention,” Preservation of Confederate Records Microfilm Purchase Fund by Mary Nuckles Longfield, 1964, CSUF UDC collection, Box 11, 167.

¹⁵⁵ “Emma Sansom Chapter Treasurer Books,” CSUF UDC collection, Box 14, 37-49.

donations they were making with the actions of the California and General Division can help to provide more insight into how local chapters were interpreting and contributing to these directives.

Chapter-based Education

Chapter programs and historical lectures were one of the most consistent activities that the Emma Sansom chapter participated in. The chapter held a themed program at nearly each chapter meeting that revolved around Southern and Confederate history. Many years have a guiding theme such as: “Keeping Active Our Southern Memories”, “Memorializing the Centennial of the War Between States”, and “Pride of the Past Projecting to the Future.”¹⁵⁶ These programs had the objective of educating those present, provided a place for discussion, and encouraged members to relate Lost Cause narratives that the UDC deemed as a “true” and “impartial” history to their own lives. For example, a May 1968 chapter meeting program saw Mrs. Grasso reading an address regarding the UDC with Miss Brooks reading some clippings. This was followed by each member telling a story about her ancestors during the Civil War, or as the UDC preferred the War Between States.¹⁵⁷ Another meeting on March 12th, 1942, was dedicated to “Shrines and Homes of the South.” This program encouraged members to discuss Confederate history in a very structured way, as each member was required to come prepared to discuss four quotations:

1. “Let us cross over the river and rest in the shade of the trees.”
2. Who said and on what occasion: “There stands Jackson like a Stone Wall?”

¹⁵⁶ “Emma Sansom Chapter Year Books,” 1926-1991, 1950-1951, 1960-1961, 1962-1963, CSUF UDC collection, Box 10.

¹⁵⁷ “Emma Sansom Chapter Meeting minutes,” May 9, 1968, CSUF UDC collection, Box 10, Folder 10.

3. Why was the Confederate capitol moved from Montgomery to Richmond?
4. Who was spoken of as “that coarse Western woman?”¹⁵⁸

Programs varied in both the content and activity presented for those in attendance. Book reviews and narrations of relevant Southern histories appeared relatively frequently in chapter programs. In a February 1954 chapter meeting, a book review on “Lady of Arlington” was presented. While in April 1955, Mrs. Spennetta recounted the story of Emma Sansom leading General Forrest across the creek during the Civil War.¹⁵⁹ The historical programs and talks often encouraged members to look to their own familial tree to find meaning in and contextualize the information being presented.

As noted throughout this paper, the language used by the UDC was heavily steeped in white supremacist and Southern sympathist rhetoric, and the historical programs, talks, and books reviews given by the Emma Sansom chapter highlight that. These programs place the Old South on a pedestal, as a result fueling narratives of Southern nostalgia. By propagating this history to chapter members and visitors alike, the Emma Sansom chapter reaffirmed revisionist histories and upheld the racist and sexist institutions of oppression that narratives of the Lost Cause are built on. In “Memorializing a “Golden Era” in the Golden State”, Emma Bianco writes,

The UDC’s revival of “Lost Cause” history paralleled contemporaneous strains of American society in the 1950s and 1960s. Facing the momentum of the modern Civil Rights movement and the elevation of Black voices, white citizens and organizations responded by insisting upon histories that praised a white supremacist narrative, harkening back to an epoch when Anglo-Saxon domination went unchallenged.

¹⁵⁸ “1941-1942 Emma Sansom Chapter Yearbook,” CSUF UDC collection, Box 10.

¹⁵⁹ “Emma Sansom Chapter Meeting Minutes,” February 14, 1954; April 7, 1955, CSUF UDC collection, Box 10, Folder 7.

The UDC is heavily rooted in the past, and the reframing of the objectives and actions of the Confederacy ensures that future interpretations of the South align with the revisionist narratives that the UDC and other memorial organizations are proponents of. As noted in the literature review, white women have utilized their privilege and power to maintain and defend institutions rooted in white supremacy.¹⁶⁰ Historical chapter programs were one of many ways that the UDC, and in this case the Emma Sansom chapter, disseminated revisionist histories to educate those within the organization and other community members.

Conclusion

Research on this topic can be furthered in a variety of ways, both regarding topic and temporality. Some potential areas of interest are the international work done by the UDC. This ranges across a variety of domains, but their relationships with the Bodleian Library at Oxford and the Sorbonne Library in Paris¹⁶¹ could provide more insight into the disbursement of the Lost Cause narrative overseas. Another area of interest would be to explore the measures implemented and adopted by information professionals that were members of the UDC through the creation of the Memorial Building in Richmond. This would provide continued insight into the use of archival principles of description to reframe records, papers, and books of the Confederacy. While briefly noted in this paper, there is also room for further research and expansion of the impact of the early 1900s California Division traveling library.

¹⁶⁰ See the literature review section titled, *Race, Gender, and Philanthropy* for related literature.

¹⁶¹ "FORTY TWO YEARS WITH THE CALIFORNIA DIVISION," CSUF UDC collection, Box 4, Folder 5, 20.; Poppenheim, "*The History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy*," 190-195.; References to committees on *Home and Foreign Libraries* can also be found in State Division and General Division Annual Convention minutes.

The United Daughters of the Confederacy utilized a variety of tactics to preserve narratives of the Lost Cause. By viewing the work of the organization from an information science perspective, we can recognize the nuanced relationship between information institutions and the work of Confederate women's organizations like the UDC. Much of the previous literature has focused on monuments and scholarships, but this paper has a specific focus on the collection and dissemination of material in libraries and archives. By contextualizing the actions of the Emma Sansom chapter of Santa Ana through the initiatives from the General and California Division, we can begin to understand how important information institutions have been to the UDC. It is important to note that while the contributions of the Emma Sansom chapter may seem minor, they are a small portion of a much larger web of chapter networks that work in tandem to ensure that narratives of the Lost Cause persist. In the 21st century, similar work endures through contemporary organizations that continue to see the value in information institutions. The Moms for Liberty is one such non-profit organization that advocates for book bans in public and school libraries. The decision to purposefully exclude literature written by and about marginalized communities creates institutions that do not reflect the "broad spectrum of human experience."¹⁶² The Moms for Liberty represent one of the ways in which comparisons between women's club work can be made and highlights how these organizations continue to evolve and manifest overtime. An examination of the actions of the UDC coupled with present-day comparisons can serve as examples of the biases that pervade information institutions; consequently, helping us to become better aware of how this can pervade our profession, institutions, and the organizations that we are part of as information professionals. As a

¹⁶² Ham, F. Gerald. "The Archival Edge." *The American Archivist* 38, no. 1 (1975): 5–13. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40291712>. 8.

collective, the actions of local chapters and individuals have greatly impacted the preservation of revisionist narratives of history in both California and the United States of America at large.

Bibliography

- Ancestry.com. *California, U.S., County Birth, Marriage, and Death Records, 1849–1980*. Lehi, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2017. Original data: California Department of Public Health; courtesy of Vital Search Worldwide.
- Ancestry.com. *1880 United States Federal Census*. Lehi, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010. Entry for Anaheim residence, 1880; Anaheim, Los Angeles County, California; roll 67, page 281D, enumeration district 028. Original data: U.S. Census Bureau.
- Althusser, Louis. 1971. "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation)." In *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*. Monthly Review Press.
- Armor, Samuel. 1911. *History of Orange County, California: With Biographical Sketches of The Leading Men and Women of the County, Who Have Been Identified with the Growth and Development from the Early Days to the Present Time / by Samuel Armor, Supervising Editor, and Others*. Edited by Samuel Armor. Historic Record Co. 255-257.
- Bazzi, Samuel, National Bureau of Economic Research, Andreas Ferrara, Martin Fiszbein, Thomas P Pearson, and Patrick A Testa. 2023. *The Confederate Diaspora / Samuel Bazzi, Andreas Ferrara, Martin Fiszbein, Thomas P. Pearson, Patrick A. Testa*. National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Bianco, Emma. 2022. "Memorializing a 'Golden Era' in the Golden State: The United Daughters of the Confederacy in Orange County, California." *Southern California Quarterly* 104 (1): 5–34.
- Brown, Richard Harvey, and Beth Davis-Brown. 1998. "The Making of Memory: The Politics of Archives, Libraries and Museums in the Construction of National Consciousness." *History of the Human Sciences* (Thousand Oaks, CA) 11 (4): 17–32.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/095269519801100402>.
- Carpenter, Virginia. "Virginia Carpenter Talk on North Anaheim." December 14, 1978. Orange County Historical Society. California Revealed. Accessed April 2, 2026.
<https://californiarevealed.org/challenge?destination=/do/05db787e-99e3-4021-96cd-1e8acbddd9406>.
- Congress.gov. "Actions - H.R.7040 - 86th Congress (1959-1960): Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1960." September 14, 1959. <https://www.congress.gov/bill/86th-congress/house-bill/7040/actions>.
- Cook, Terry. 1992. "Documentation Strategy." *Archivaria* (Ottawa) 34 (34): 181–91.
- Cook, Terry. 2011. "'We Are What We Keep; We Keep What We Are': Archival Appraisal Past, Present and Future." *Journal of the Society of Archivists* (Abingdon) 32 (2): 173–89.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00379816.2011.619688>.

- Cox, Karen L. 2003. *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* / Karen L. Cox; Foreword by John David Smith. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. <http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=9294>.
- Fahs, Alice, and Joan Waugh, eds. 2004. *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture* / Edited by Alice Fahs & Joan Waugh. University of North Carolina Press. <http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=10891>.
- Gallagher, Gary W., and Joan Waugh. 2019. *The American War: A History of the Civil War Era*. First Flip Learning hardcover edition. State College, PA: Flip Learning.
- Ginzberg, Lori D. 1990. *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Ham, F. Gerald. "The Archival Edge." *The American Archivist* 38, no. 1 (1975): 5–13. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40291712>.
- Harper, Helen. 2000. "Chapter Seven: White Women Teaching in the North: Problematic Identity on the Shores of Hudson Bay." *Counterpoints* (New York, N.Y.) 73:127–43.
- History of the UDC | United Daughters of the Confederacy*. n.d. Accessed December 1, 2025. <https://hqudc.org/history-of-the-united-daughters-of-the-confederacy/>.
- hooks, bell. 2015. *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism* / Bell Hooks. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- "How to Join UDC | Membership Requirements & Process." *United Daughters of the Confederacy*, n.d. Accessed April 1, 2026. <https://hqudc.org/join-the-udc/>.
- Jahnke, Lori, Kyle Tanaka, and Christopher Palazzolo. 2022. "Ideology, Policy, and Practice: Structural Barriers to Collections Diversity in Research and College Libraries." *College & Research Libraries* (Chicago) 83 (2): 166. <https://doi.org/10.5860/crl.83.2.166>.
- Janney, Caroline E. 2008. *Burying the Dead but Not the Past: Ladies' Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause* / Caroline E. Janney. University of North Carolina Press.
- Kaplan, Elisabeth. 2000. "We Are What We Collect, We Collect What We Are: Archives and the Construction of Identity." *The American Archivist* (Chicago, IL) 63 (1): 126–51. <https://doi.org/10.17723/aarc.63.1.h554377531233105>.
- Lindgren, James Michael. 1993. *Preserving the Old Dominion: Historic Preservation and Virginia Traditionalism* / James M. Lindgren. University Press of Virginia.

- Maurantonio, Nicole. 2021. "Burning Karen's Headquarters: Gender, Race, & the United Daughters of the Confederacy Headquarters." *Memory Studies* (London, England) 14 (6): 1159–72. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17506980211054273>.
- McPherson, James M. 1988. *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era*. 1st ed. Vol. 6. New York: Oxford University Press.
- OC Historyland. "An Orange Shelf." Accessed April 1, 2026. <https://www.ochistoryland.com/orangeshef>.
- OC Historyland. "Friis-Pioneer." Accessed April 2, 2026. <https://www.ochistoryland.com/f-p>.
- Placentia Library District. "History of Placentia Library." Accessed April 1, 2026. <https://placentialibrarydistrict.ca.gov/history-of-placentia-library-32cedf9>.
- Poppenheim, Mary B, Maude Blake Merchant, Ruth Jennings Lawton, May M. Faris Mckinney, Rassie Hoskins White, Eloise Welch Wright, Anne Bachman Hyde, Susie Stuart Campbell, and Charlotte Osborne Woodbury. 1938. *The History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, / by Mary B. Poppenheim--Maude Blake Merchant [and Others] Ruth Jennings Lawton, Chairman; under Authority Granted in Convention Assembled at Hot Springs, Arkansas, 1925*. Richmond, Virginia: Garrett and Massie, Incorporated.
- Richardson, Heather Cox. 2020. *How the South Won the Civil War: Oligarchy, Democracy, and the Continuing Fight for the Soul of America / Heather Cox Richardson*. Oxford University Press.
- Robinson-Sweet, Anna. 2024. "Caring for Archives of Incarceration: The Ethics of Carceral Collecting at University Archives." *Archivaria* (Ottawa) 97 (97): 46–80. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1112073ar>.
- Rutherford, Mildred D. 1919. *A Measuring Rod to Test Text Books, and Reference Books in Schools*. United Confederate Veterans.
- Samuels, Helen W. 1991. "Improving Our Disposition: Documentation Strategy." *Archivaria* (Ottawa) 33 (December): 125-140.

- Schlesselman-Tarango, Gina. 2016. "The Legacy of Lady Bountiful: White Women in the Library." *Library Trends* 64 (4): 667–86. <https://doi.org/10.1353/lib.2016.0015>.
- Sutherland, Tonia. 2019. "The Carceral Archive: Documentary Records, Narrative Construction, and Predictive Risk Assessment." *Journal of Cultural Analytics* 4 (1). <https://doi.org/10.22148/16.039>.
- "The South's Finest Hour: Essays on the War Between the States by Robbins, Lois Brown: Very Good Cloth (1965) First Edition | Callaghan Books South." Accessed April 1, 2026. <https://www.abebooks.co.uk/first-edition/Souths-Finest-Hour-Essays-States-Robbins/368369718/bd>.
- United Daughters of the Confederacy-Emma Samson Chapter #449. California State University, Fullerton, University Archives and Special Collections.
- United Daughters of the Confederacy. Stirling Price Chapter (Stockton, Calif.) Records, Mss206, Holt-Atherton Department of Special Collections, University of the Pacific Library
- United States. Adjutant-General's Office and Townsend, E. D., "General Orders, no. 127 (U.S. Army. 21 July 1865)" (1865). Military Records. 92. https://egrove.olemiss.edu/ciwar_milrec/92
- Waite, Kevin. 2020. "The 'Lost Cause' Goes West: Confederate Culture and Civil War Memory in California." *California History (San Francisco)* 97 (1): 33–49. <https://doi.org/10.1525/ch.2020.97.1.33>.
- Welter, Barbara. 1966. "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860." *American Quarterly* 18 (2): 151-. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2711179>.
- Wuthnow, Robert. 1989. *Meaning and Moral Order: Explorations in Cultural Analysis*. 1st ed. Berkeley: University of California Press. <https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520909250>.