

Spring 2022

## Monuments of Folly: The Persistence of the Lost Cause at the University of South Carolina

Sean Dedmon  
*University of South Carolina - Columbia*

Follow this and additional works at: [https://scholarcommons.sc.edu/senior\\_theses](https://scholarcommons.sc.edu/senior_theses)



Part of the [American Politics Commons](#), [American Popular Culture Commons](#), [Models and Methods Commons](#), and the [Social Justice Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Dedmon, Sean, "Monuments of Folly: The Persistence of the Lost Cause at the University of South Carolina" (2022). *Senior Theses*. 551.  
[https://scholarcommons.sc.edu/senior\\_theses/551](https://scholarcommons.sc.edu/senior_theses/551)

This Thesis is brought to you by the Honors College at Scholar Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Senior Theses by an authorized administrator of Scholar Commons. For more information, please contact [digres@mailbox.sc.edu](mailto:digres@mailbox.sc.edu).

# MONUMENTS OF FOLLY: THE PERSISTENCE OF THE LOST CAUSE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA

By

Sean Dedmon

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for  
Graduation with Honors from the  
South Carolina Honors College

May 2022

Approved:



5/1/22

---

Dr. Joshua Meyer-Gutbrod  
Director of Thesis

---

Dr. Derek O'Leary  
Dr. Payal Shah  
Second Readers

---

Steve Lynn, Dean

For South Carolina Honors College

### **Abstract**

The recent controversies surrounding the Confederate flag and Confederate monuments has sparked increased interest understanding why many people, particularly in the South, celebrate the Confederate States of America. This thesis seeks to better understand the motivations and emotions behind the persistence of the Lost Cause among students at the University of South Carolina. This study utilizes both deep textual readings and sentiment analysis to analyze student-published newspaper articles printed in *The Gamecock* from 1960-2006 and survey responses from current University of South Carolina students to capture the scope and history of belief in the Lost Cause at the University of South Carolina. The Lost Cause has gradually lost support from the university's student body over time, but some facets of the ideology remain.

Keywords: Sentiment Analysis, *The Gamecock*, University of South Carolina, Lost Cause, Racism, Confederacy, American Civil War.

## Table of Contents

Introduction .....	1
Relevant Literature.....	3
Core Theoretical Framework .....	6
The Lost Cause Over Time .....	7
Methodology	
Newspaper Methodology .....	9
Survey Methodology.....	11
Historical Analysis .....	13
Sentiment Analysis of History	
1960s .....	18
1970s .....	23
1980s .....	27
1990s .....	31
2000s .....	35
The Lost Cause Among Current Students	
Description of Sample Group .....	39
Analysis Results.....	42
Discussion/Conclusion .....	58
Appendix 1: Sample Survey.....	61
Bibliography .....	72

## MONUMENTS OF FOLLY: THE PERSISTENCE OF THE LOST CAUSE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA

Memory of the U.S. Civil War is a contentious subject in the U.S. South. After the conclusion of the war, Southern leaders consciously shifted the narrative of the war away from slavery toward an idealization of the antebellum South and Southern pride and demonization the Union and Reconstruction.<sup>1</sup> Advocates argued that Southern secession was a cause worth fighting for. This new narrative became known as the Lost Cause. Former slave and abolitionist Frederick Douglass foresaw this narrative in 1871, declaring that, “monuments to the Lost Cause will prove monuments of folly.”<sup>2</sup> By the 1960s however, the Lost Cause had succeeded in whitewashing the war and its causes within the American consciousness. These whitewashing efforts traditionally focused on the manipulation of national culture and education in order to localize and internalize alternate narratives about the Civil War within people in the South.<sup>3</sup> Specifically, educational institutions downplayed the severity of slavery and heavily emphasized Southern identity in connection to the war.<sup>4</sup> In the age of the internet, the vast increase of information has not yet fully eroded the Lost Cause from American culture. Academia and mainstream education, fields that previously touted the Lost Cause, now reject Lost Cause ideology because of its reliance on historically inaccurate narratives and fabrications. The potency and danger of these continuing beliefs was shown during the 2017 Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, VA, in which one counter protester was murdered and many more were injured, and the Charleston Shooting in 2015 perpetrated by Dylan Roof who identified his crimes with the Confederate Flag. Despite the access

---

<sup>1</sup> G. E. Hale, “The Lost Cause and the Meaning of History,” *OAH Magazine of History* 27, no. 1 (January 2013): pp. 13-17, <https://doi.org/10.1093/oahmag/oas047>, 14.

<sup>2</sup> David Crisp, “Frederick Douglass Warned: Forgive, but Never Forget,” *Missoula Current*, August 23, 2017, <https://missoulacurrent.com/opinion/2017/08/frederick-douglass-civil-war/>.

<sup>3</sup> Ann Bausum. 2017. “Fighting the Lost Cause.” *Horn Book Magazine* 93 (6): 29–34. <http://search.ebscohost.com.pallas2.tcl.sc.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a9h&AN=125914328&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>4</sup> Brian Lyman, “Southern Schools’ History Textbooks: A Long History of Deception, and What the Future Holds,” *The Montgomery Advertiser* (Montgomery Advertiser, December 3, 2020), <https://www.montgomeryadvertiser.com/story/news/education/2020/12/03/southern-history-textbooks-long-history-deception/6327359002/>.

to widely available information disproving the Lost Cause, many people still choose to adhere to these beliefs today. This is even true among college students, who have the most direct access to information through their education. Clearly, current efforts to push away this harmful mythology have been ineffective.

Understanding the continued belief in the Lost Cause is particularly relevant today. Across the South, protestors have resisted efforts to bring down Confederate monuments and flags on the grounds that they represent symbols of heritage rather than hate. Those for and against the removal of Confederate iconography from public places have pushed their arguments publicly through news and television outlets. In *The Hill*, Dr. Alan Brownstein published the op-ed, “Down with Confederate monuments, 'up with the stars,'” in which he made the case that removing Confederate symbolism was patriotic.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, former President Trump frequently voiced his support for keeping statues in place in order to remember what he described as America’s cultural heritage.<sup>6</sup> This issue has sparked protests from both sides, with some turning violent. The continued resilience of the Lost Cause and the rise in violence in the name of this ideology in the face of constant opposition necessitates further research.

I examine the evolution of Civil War discourse at the University of South Carolina to answer the questions of what students at the University of South Carolina believe, and who holds those beliefs. I am interested in learning more about how these beliefs have changed and why. To begin, I review discussion of the Civil War throughout the University of South Carolina’s primary newspaper, *The Gamecock*, from 1960 to 2006. This time period encompassed both the Civil Rights movement and the struggle to remove the Confederate flag from the South Carolina State House. Events during this time sparked a heated debate over the legitimacy of Southern pride that played out in the letters and articles

---

<sup>5</sup> Alan Brownstein, “Down with Confederate Monuments, 'up with the Stars',” *TheHill* (The Hill, July 7, 2020), <https://thehill.com/opinion/white-house/506257-down-with-confederate-monuments-up-with-the-stars?rl=1>.

<sup>6</sup> Talia Kaplan, “Trump Blasts 'Weak' State Leaders for Allowing Removal of Statues and Historic Monuments,” *Fox News* (FOX News Network, June 23, 2020), <https://www.foxnews.com/media/trump-blasts-weak-states-for-allowing-targeting-of-statues-to-happen>.

within *The Gamecock*. My research examines and compares the emotional charges of articles within the student newspaper. My newspaper sample ends in 2006 because *The Gamecock* became fully digital in 2007 and contained no student opinion articles about the Civil War. I then employ a study of current USC students enrolled in 100-200 level political science and history classes with the goal of understanding the backgrounds and beliefs of my participants. I analyze my newspaper sources using a sentiment analysis and my survey data using pivot tables. These data sources allow me to trace the feelings and beliefs held towards the Lost Cause throughout the university's history.

### Relevant Literature

For the purposes of this study, I rely on the adjusted seven-item national pride scale adapted by Ouyang et. al.<sup>7</sup> Using this, I define Southern pride as: the belief that cultures and traditions understood to be Southern are inherently superior to those of other parts of the United States, as well as taking pride in the South's history. This justification is still used in defense of Confederate iconography today. Although modern historians categorically reject these lines of thought, many people still perpetuate Lost Cause beliefs.<sup>8</sup>

It is important to understand how emotion and memory impact belief in the Lost Cause. Literature on the subject asserts that memory and emotion are interconnected, meaning that emotions can influence the formation and recollection of memories.<sup>9</sup> Traumatic emotional experiences like war can be especially impactful on the development of memories.<sup>10</sup> These same emotion-driven memories are

---

<sup>7</sup> Yunzhu Ouyang et al., "The American South: Explorations on Southern Attachments and Personal Values," *The Journal of Social Psychology* 160, no. 2 (2019): pp. 137-149, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224545.2019.1629866>, 141.

<sup>8</sup> Smith and Lowery, *The Dunning School Historians*, 296

<sup>9</sup> Christopher Clausen, "Living Memory," *The Wilson Quarterly* 28, no. 4 (2004): pp. 24-30, 26; Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (New York, NY: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2015), 25; Ersula J. Ore, *Lynching: Violence, Rhetoric, and American Identity* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2019), 9; Timothy J. Williams, "The Intellectual Roots of the Lost Cause: Camaraderie and Confederate Memory in Civil War Prisons," *Journal of Southern History* 86, no. 2 (2020): pp. 253-282, <https://doi.org/10.1353/soh.2020.0036>, 256; Robert Cook, "'Hollow Victory': Federal Veterans, Racial Justice and the Eclipse of the Union Cause in American Memory," *History and Memory* 33, no. 1 (2021): p. 3, <https://doi.org/10.2979/histmemo.33.1.02>, 5.

<sup>10</sup> Clausen, "Living Memory," 26; Williams, "The intellectual Roots of the Lost Cause," 256.

passed down through time, even to those who had not experienced them directly.<sup>11</sup> In her book, *The Cultural Politics of Emotions*, Sara Ahmed highlights a key point regarding the relation between love and hate. She argues that groups project their hatred for others as love for their own shared identity in need of protection. In doing so, the role of victimhood is reversed, and the subject of the group's hate are portrayed as the aggressors while those who hold the shared identity become the victim.<sup>12</sup> The transfer of victimhood onto the South was popularized by Southern media, like *The Birth of a Nation*, and was carried by Southern academics like the neo-Confederate Agrarians and the Dunningites.<sup>13</sup> The experience of the American Civil War left a lasting emotional impact on Southern society, visible in the continued use of Confederate iconography by Southerners and the prevalence of monuments honoring Confederate soldiers in the South.

The origins of the political beliefs of adolescents are also important in understanding the persistence of the Lost Cause. Debate on this topic examines the importance of family compared to the importance of outside influences in shaping the values of adolescents. Some research has shown that family political discourse can influence the ideological development of adolescents.<sup>14</sup> Other researchers argue that the ideological values of a child's parents have little long-term impact on that child's personal ideological beliefs.<sup>15</sup> Reconciling these competing arguments, other scholars have proposed that

---

<sup>11</sup> Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 45; Ore, *Violence, Rhetoric, and American Identity*, 9.

<sup>12</sup> Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotions*, 43.

<sup>13</sup> Niall Munro, "Neo-Confederates Take Their Stand: Southern Agrarians and the Civil War," *European Journal of American Culture* 39, no. 2 (January 2020): pp. 141-162, [https://doi.org/10.1386/ejac\\_00020\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1386/ejac_00020_1), 144.

<sup>14</sup> Harold D. Grotevant and Catherine R. Cooper, "Patterns of Interaction in Family Relationships and the Development of Identity Exploration in Adolescence," *Child Development* 56, no. 2 (1985): p. 415, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1129730>, 415; Hugh McIntosh, Daniel Hart, and James Youniss, "The Influence of Family Political Discussion on Youth Civic Development: Which Parent Qualities Matter?," *PS: Political Science & Politics* 40, no. 03 (2007): pp. 495-499, <https://doi.org/10.1017/s1049096507070758>, 498; Jan W. van Deth, Simone Abendschön, and Meike Vollmar, "Children and Politics: An Empirical Reassessment of Early Political Socialization," *Political Psychology* 32, no. 1 (December 2010): pp. 147-174, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2010.00798.x>, 149; Alan C. Taylor et al., "Grandma, Tell Me Another Story : Family Narratives and Their Impact on Young Adult Development," *Marriage & Family Review* 49, no. 5 (2013): pp. 367-390, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01494929.2012.762450>, 370.

<sup>15</sup> M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, "The Transmission of Political Values from Parent to Child," *The American Political Science Review* 62, no. 1 (1968): p. 169, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1953332>, 183.



children and adolescents remain ideologically similar to their parents while living in the same household, but their beliefs can drift greatly depending on their environments once they leave home.<sup>16</sup> Importantly, the sources agree that regardless of the relationship between the political ideologies of parents and children, children of politically engaged households are more likely to be politically engaged themselves.<sup>17</sup> Beck and Jennings determined that parent-child agreement increased as the level of family politicization increased.<sup>18</sup> Scholars have also discussed the the role of education in the belief formation process. There is clear evidence that college attendance plays a role in influencing the beliefs of students.<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, it is unclear whether K-12 education has any significant impact with debate on both sides.<sup>20</sup> Finally, there is a growing field of literature examining the role of technology in the development of ideological beliefs. Technology, particularly social media, can serve to facilitate meetings of like-minded individuals, perpetuating and reinforcing misinformation.<sup>21</sup> Overall, there is no clear consensus on the specific origin of students' beliefs.

### Core Theoretical Framework

---

<sup>16</sup> Paul Allen Beck and M. Kent Jennings, "Family Traditions, Political Periods, and the Development of Partisan Orientations," *The Journal of Politics* 53, no. 3 (1991): pp. 742-763, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2131578>, 758.

<sup>17</sup> Beck and Jennings, "Family Traditions, Political Periods, and the Development of Partisan Orientations," 751; van Deth, Abendschön, and Vollmar, "Children and Politics," 158; McIntosh, Hart, and Youniss, "The Influence of Family Political Discussion on Youth Civic Development," 495.

<sup>18</sup> Beck and Jennings, "Family Traditions, Political Periods, and the Development of Partisan Orientations," 751.

<sup>19</sup> Mack D. Mariani and Gordon J. Hewitt, "Indoctrination U.? Faculty Ideology and Changes in Student Political Orientation," *PS: Political Science & Politics* 41, no. 04 (2008): pp. 773-783, <https://doi.org/10.1017/s1049096508081031>, 777.

<sup>20</sup> Jennings and Niemi, "The Transmission of Political Values from Parent to Child," 169.

<sup>21</sup> Robert Farrow and Rolin Moe, "Rethinking the Role of the Academy: Cognitive Authority in the Age of Post-Truth," *Teaching in Higher Education* 24, no. 3 (2019): pp. 272-287, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13562517.2018.1558198>, 273.

The theoretical framework contains the theories and justifications needed to determine what students at the University of South Carolina believe about the Civil War.<sup>22</sup> My study focuses on the sources of information students use to understand the causes of the civil war as well as their resistance to new information that conflicts with their previous understanding. Understanding the latter requires an understanding of the cognitive processes that contribute to decision making and information processing. In order to do this, I utilize motivated reasoning theory. This theory states that individuals interpret new information based on prior held beliefs, world views, or political ideologies in order to reach a desired outcome.<sup>23</sup> Through this interpretation, the theory highlights two possible goals for cognitive processing. The accuracy driven goal, the desire to come to the most accurate conclusion possible, and the directional or defensive goal, the desire to reach a specific or pro-attitudinal conclusion.<sup>24</sup> The desire to reach an accurate conclusion leads to weighing options equally, while the desire to reach a specific conclusion can lead to dismissing relevant information in favor of dated or factually incorrect

---

<sup>22</sup>Cynthia Grant and Azadeh Osanloo, "Understanding, Selecting, and Integrating a Theoretical Framework in Dissertation Research: Creating the Blueprint for Your House," *Administrative Issues Journal Education Practice and Research* 4, no. 2 (2014), <https://doi.org/10.5929/2014.4.2.9>, 12.

<sup>23</sup>Gale M. Sinatra, Dorothe Kienhues, and Barbara K. Hofer, "Addressing Challenges to Public Understanding of Science: Epistemic Cognition, Motivated Reasoning, and Conceptual Change," *Educational Psychologist* 49, no. 2 (March 2014): pp. 123-138, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00461520.2014.916216>, 130; Patrick C. Meirick, "Motivated Reasoning, Accuracy, and Updating in Perceptions of Bush's Legacy\*," *Social Science Quarterly* 97, no. 3 (2016): pp. 699-713, <https://doi.org/10.1111/ssqu.12301>, 699; Brian F. Schaffner and Cameron Roche, "Misinformation and Motivated Reasoning: Responses to Economic News in a Politicized Environment," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, September 2016, <https://doi.org/10.1093/poq/nfw043>, 88; Carlos Brenes-Peralta, Magdalena Wojcieszak, and Yphtach Lelkes, "Can I Stick to My Guns? Motivated Reasoning and Biased Processing of Balanced Political Information," *Communication & Society*, 2021, pp. 49-66, <https://doi.org/10.15581/003.34.2.49-66>, 51.

<sup>24</sup> Strickland, Taber, and Lodge, "Motivated Reasoning and Public Opinion," 936; Sinatra, Kienhues, and Hofer, "Addressing Challenges to Public Understanding of Science," 130; Brenes-Peralta, Wojcieszak, and Lelkes, "Can I Stick to my Guns?" 50-52; Schaffner and Roche, "Misinformation and Motivated Reasoning," 88; Matthew L. Stanley et al., "Resistance to Position Change, Motivated Reasoning, and Polarization," *Political Behavior* 42, no. 3 (2019): pp. 891-913, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-019-09526-z>, 892; Joanne M. Miller, Kyle L. Saunders, and Christina E. Farhart, "Conspiracy Endorsement as Motivated Reasoning: The Moderating Roles of Political Knowledge and Trust," *American Journal of Political Science* 60, no. 4 (2015): pp. 824-844, <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12234>, 827.

beliefs.<sup>25</sup> The theory also explicitly states that possessing knowledge does not insulate individuals from falling victim to motivated reasoning. Contrarily, possessing relevant knowledge increases susceptibility to motivated reasoning.<sup>26</sup> This is important to understand because even people who are knowledgeable about the Civil War will still come to the defense of the Lost Cause. The strength of motivated reasoning is not limitless, however. According to the theory, strong, credible arguments and information presented in a balanced manner can help shut off the cognitive defenses that lead to motivated reasoning.<sup>27</sup> There comes a point at which the amount of unambiguous evidence against a position makes that position untenable.

For many, belief in the Lost Cause is enfolded in Southern pride. This shifts the Lost Cause from the realm of simple factual inaccuracy to that of a worldview. In this cognitive frame, motivated reasoning acts as a bridge between new information and the world view.<sup>28</sup> Both individuals and entire communities may collectively reject new information that paints their cultural identity in a negative light. This process works to solidify the Lost Cause in the face of new information. Finally, simply presenting individuals with information that opposes their pre-held world view is not enough to change minds. People processing information with a directional goal will exhibit a disconfirmation bias. This bias causes them to view counter-attitudinal messages as intellectually weak compared to pro-attitudinal messages.<sup>29</sup> New information must be both balanced and irrefutable to overcome motivated reasoning.

### **The Lost Cause Over Time**

The ending of the American Civil War upended Southern planter society. Sweeping expansions of suffrage and socioeconomic changes threatened to upend the dominance of White plantation owners

---

<sup>25</sup> Sinatra, Kienhues, and Hofer, Addressing Challenges to Public Understanding of Science,” 130.

<sup>26</sup> Strickland, Taber, and Lodge, Motivated Reasoning and Public Opinion,” 935; Schaffner and Roche, Misinformation and Motivated Reasoning,” 88.

<sup>27</sup> Brenes-Peralta, Wojcieszak, and Lelkes, Can I Stick to my Guns?” 62; Stanley, Henne, Yang, and De Brigard, Resistance to Position Change, 893.

<sup>28</sup> Strickland, Taber, and Lodge, Motivated Reasoning and Public Opinion,” 936.

<sup>29</sup> Brenes-Peralta, Wojcieszak, and Lelkes, Can I Stick to my Guns?” 50.

within Southern politics.<sup>30</sup> Freedmen during the Reconstruction era exercised their new voting rights by electing African Americans to positions of power within both federal and state governments. In South Carolina, Black voters elected the first and only Black majority legislature of Reconstruction in 1868.<sup>31</sup> Many Southerners reconciled with the changes happening around them by nostalgically reflecting on the Confederacy and the Antebellum Period.<sup>32</sup> By the 1890s, large portions of academia would begin to favor the Southern cause. A group of historians known as the Dunning School, led by Columbia University professor Dr. William Archibald Dunning, sought to analyze the history of the Civil War and Reconstruction using their own personal beliefs as the basis of what they referred to as scientific history.<sup>33</sup> These historians were highly critical of the efforts of Republican Reconstruction in the South after the Civil War, arguing that Republicans were wrong to disrupt the Southern social order by extending citizenship to former slaves. Within these criticisms were assumptions of White supremacy and Southern victimhood that were already present within the American populace.<sup>34</sup> W.E.B. Du Boise highlighted this criticism, writing that the Dunningite authors, “Select and use facts and opinions in order to prove that the South was right in Reconstruction, the North vengeful or deceived and the Negro stupid.”<sup>35</sup> The Dunning School found great success, and their teachings remained at the core of White, mainstream historical study until the 1950s. The rise of the civil rights movement gave rise to schools of history which rejected the White supremacy of the Dunningites and instead emphasized racial and political activism.<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup> W. Hiers, “Party Matters: Racial Closure in the Nineteenth-Century United States,” *Social Science History* 37, no. 2 (2013): pp. 255-308, <https://doi.org/10.1215/01455532-2074438>, 255.

<sup>31</sup> <https://slate.com/human-interest/2018/01/the-many-black-americans-who-held-public-office-during-reconstruction-in-southern-states-like-south-carolina.html>

<sup>32</sup> “The Lost Cause: Definition and Origins,” American Battlefield Trust, October 30, 2020, <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/lost-cause-definition-and-origins>.

<sup>33</sup> John David Smith and J. Vincent Lowery, *The Dunning School Historians, Race, and the Meaning of Reconstruction* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2013), <https://www-jstor-org.pallas2.tcl.sc.edu/stable/j.ctt4cgsj9>, 55.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 78.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 211.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 296.

By this time, however, the principle thought of the Dunning School was engrained in American culture. Literature, education, and popular culture, as well as organizations like the Daughters of the Confederacy, perpetuated and advocated for Lost Cause narratives.<sup>37</sup> These sources largely ignored the institution of slavery itself and instead viewed the American Civil War as a struggle between two distinct and equally valid cultural and political identities.<sup>38</sup> Authors writing in honor of the centennial of war's conclusion leaned heavily on this view. Despite harsh criticism from Black commentators and academia, the works of authors like Robert Penn Warren and Bruce Catton produced highly successful sensationalized accounts of the Civil War.<sup>39</sup> The works of these authors evoked a sense of nostalgia that had been brewing within White America due to the perceived need for unity in the face of the Cold War and civil rights movement.<sup>40</sup> The centennial literature capitalized on a hunger for safe and sanitized depictions of the Civil War. This literary basis provided justification for the expanding Southern pride movements that grew in opposition to the Civil Rights movement. College campuses became battlegrounds between progressive ideology and Southern pride. For college conservatives, Southern pride manifested as a defense of aspects of Confederate identity against charges of racism by their peers.<sup>41</sup>

## Methodology

### Newspaper Data Methodology

This study compiles and analyzes information from both survey results from current University of South Carolina students and articles written in *The Gamecock*, USC's student newspaper. From *The*

---

<sup>37</sup> J. W. Loewen, "Using Confederate Documents to Teach about Secession, Slavery, and the Origins of the Civil War," *OAH Magazine of History* 25, no. 2 (January 2011): pp. 35-44, <https://doi.org/10.1093/oahmag/oar002>, 39.

<sup>38</sup> Lowen, "Using Confederate Documents," 36.

<sup>39</sup> David W. Blight, *American Oracle: The Civil War in the Civil Rights Era* (Cambridge, UK: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013), <https://web-b-ebshost-com.pallas2.tcl.sc.edu/ehost/ebookviewer/ebook/ZTkWMHh3d19fMzk4ODkwX19BTg2?sid=50ad836b-5df1-43a5-8f5e-5768b8f86466@pdc-v-sessmgr01&vid=0&format=EB&rid=1>, 116-117; Blight, *American Oracle*, Blight,

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

<sup>41</sup> Robert Cohen, *Rebellion in Black and White: Southern Student Activism in the 1960s* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 180-182.

*Gamecock*, I analyzed articles written by USC students that contained either the words “confederate” or “confederacy” from 1960 to 2006. This date range encompasses the history of the University South Carolina from when it first integrated in 1963 to the end of *The Gamecock’s* run as a print newspaper. Although *The Gamecock* continued as an online newspaper, the student write-in letters did not carry over to the new format. I chose to restrict my article search to the word’s “confederate” and “confederacy” because these terms encompass all relevant subjects related to the Lost Cause. I also chose to exclude articles written by people who were not undergraduate students at the University of South Carolina. This excludes letters or advertisements written by graduate students, faculty, or people not affiliated with the University. I made this distinction because I wanted a picture of active students on campus comparable to the undergraduate population of my survey. I also paired my statistical data with analytical close readings of individual articles.

I used a sentiment analysis to analyze the text within these news articles because this format allowed me to track expressed sentiments about the Lost Cause through word choice.<sup>42</sup> I determined the sentiment of each word by cross analyzing my dataset with the popular NRC sentiment lexicon.<sup>43</sup> I sorted the articles by their title, author’s name, author’s major, author’s grade’ and the date. I coded the articles by their support for aspects of the Lost Cause, from full support, to neutrality, to opposition. Within the data set, support of the lost cause was presented as 0, a neutral position presented as 1, and opposition to the Lost Cause was presented as 2. Positions 0 and 2 provided the most interesting data for discussion. I determined whether each article was defending some aspect of the Confederacy or Confederate iconography, or whether they were posing a compromise or stating their displeasure about the debate or attempting to debunk or refute arguments in favor of Confederate iconography. I then created a list of the top sixty most common words across my dataset. From this list, I created a list of

---

<sup>42</sup> Saif, M. Mohammad and Peter D. Turney, “Crowdsourcing a Word-Emotion Association Lexicon,” *Computational Intelligence* 29, no. 3 (2012): 436–465. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8640.2012.00460.x>, 436.

<sup>43</sup> Mohammad and Turney, “Crowdsourcing a Word-Emotion Association Lexicon,” 437.

words, known as stop words, that may hold specific positive or negative connotations in some situations, but do not here. These words were:

Flag	Student	Confederate	Symbol	South	War	Slavery	Symbols	Issues
Southern	Carolina	People	History	Battle	Fought	Southerners	Black	Civil
Dixie	Issue	Americans	Slaves	White	University	Country	Letter	confederacy
Died	Army	Represents	Dixie	United	Union	African	Slaves	White
University	Country	Letters	Confederacy	Did	Army	Union	United	African
Fly	Flying	Gamecock	Majority	Northern	Time	House	Government	student
Feel	Flags	Statehouse	USC	Atop	Citizens	It's	National	School

None of these words were included in my sentiment analysis. Although many of these words may have emotional charges, their actual usage within the articles was not to convey emotion.

### **Survey Data Methodology**

Beyond my newspaper sources, I also utilized a survey with an entirely separate methodology. The purpose of my survey is to examine what types of beliefs students at the University of South Carolina have about the Civil War today, in order to bridge the gap between the end of the newspaper sources and present students. I intended to determine whether aspects of the Lost Cause still linger at the university today. In order to reach a relatively balanced population of students, I distributed my survey to students in the University of South Carolina's History 111, History 201, and Political Science 201 classes. Because I have relationships with the professors in these classes, I was able to ensure higher participation. These classes are also general education requirements, so they comprise students from a variety of majors and backgrounds. The survey is broken into three main segments: questions relating to the Civil War, personal information questions, and background questions. I utilized pivot tables which cross-reference one datapoint with other data points to analyze my data.

The questions relating to the Civil War first ask the participants to answer whether they believe the Civil War is an important part of their culture. Next, this segment asks the participants to state their one-word responses to a series of eight Civil War subjects. These subjects were Robert E. Lee, The

Union Army, William T. Sherman, Abraham Lincoln, The Confederate Army, The Confederate States of America, The Confederate Flag, and The Emancipation Proclamation. I chose these topics because each is involved in the Lost Cause's mythology. Therefore, these questions help frame what influence the Lost Cause has had on each participant. The participants were then asked to what degree they believed that specific causes contributed to the start of the Civil War, with four answer choices ranging from "did not contribute" to "greatly contributed as well" as a choice labeled as "unsure." Participants were then asked to state which choice they thought was the single greatest cause of the Civil War. The four possible choices through this section were cultural differences between the North and the South, slavery, states' rights, and tariffs. Participants could also write in a single greatest reason if they had a choice beyond those listed. I specifically chose these four because they are the four most cited arguments for the cause of the Civil War. Whitewashing the issue of slavery out of the Civil War was a goal of the Lost Cause movement. The goal of this section is to further gain insight into whether this ideology still influences students today.

The participants were then asked to respond with their demographic information. The purpose of the first questions within this section was to better understand the characteristics of the participants responding. To do this, the participants were asked to respond with their academic year, their gender, their age, and their race or ethnicity. Although age, academic year, and race or ethnicity were multiple choice responses, I left the gender question as a fill-in-the-blank question. I chose this because I wanted to leave this answer entirely up to the participant, resulting in many possible responses. I also allowed participants to select multiple choices for the race or ethnicity section and added options for other and prefer not to say so that they could be as accurate as possible. The goal of the next segment of personal demographic information was to search for possible correlations between Civil War beliefs and aspects of a student's education, political affiliation, and level of engagement. Participants wrote down their major and, if they had one, their second major. Next, they selected whether they had previously taken an AP or college level history class. Finally, the participants were asked to describe their political affiliation



and their level of political engagement. The participants ranked their political affiliation on a five-point scale from very conservative to very liberal, with moderate in the middle. This format allowed the participants flexibility with their choice without forcing them to describe themselves in a way that they may not have felt was inaccurate. The personal political engagement had three choices: not politically engaged, somewhat politically engaged, and very politically engaged.

The next section asked the participants background information beyond demographics. The purpose of this section is to further find correlations between these responses and the responses to the Civil War section. The first question asked the participants to respond with the state in which they received the majority of their education. This question was meant to gauge where they spent the most time in school rather than simply identify where they were born. Next, the participants described where they were from, as either rural, suburban, or urban, and what type of schooling, public, private, chartered, or home school, they attended. Finally, the participants stated their family's political affiliation and political participation. This section was formatted the same way as the personal affiliation and participation section. I added this question to further compare with the data from the first segment.

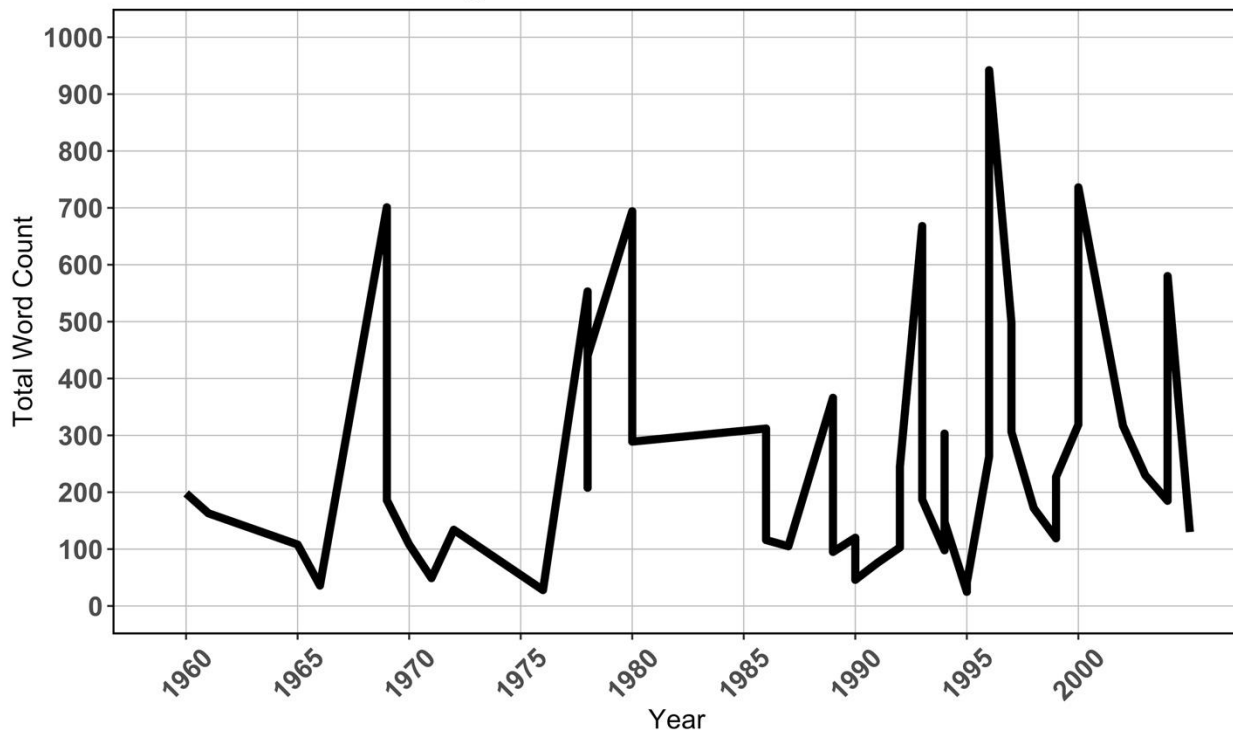
## **Historical Analysis**

### **Sentiment Analysis of History**

Decades of heated debate

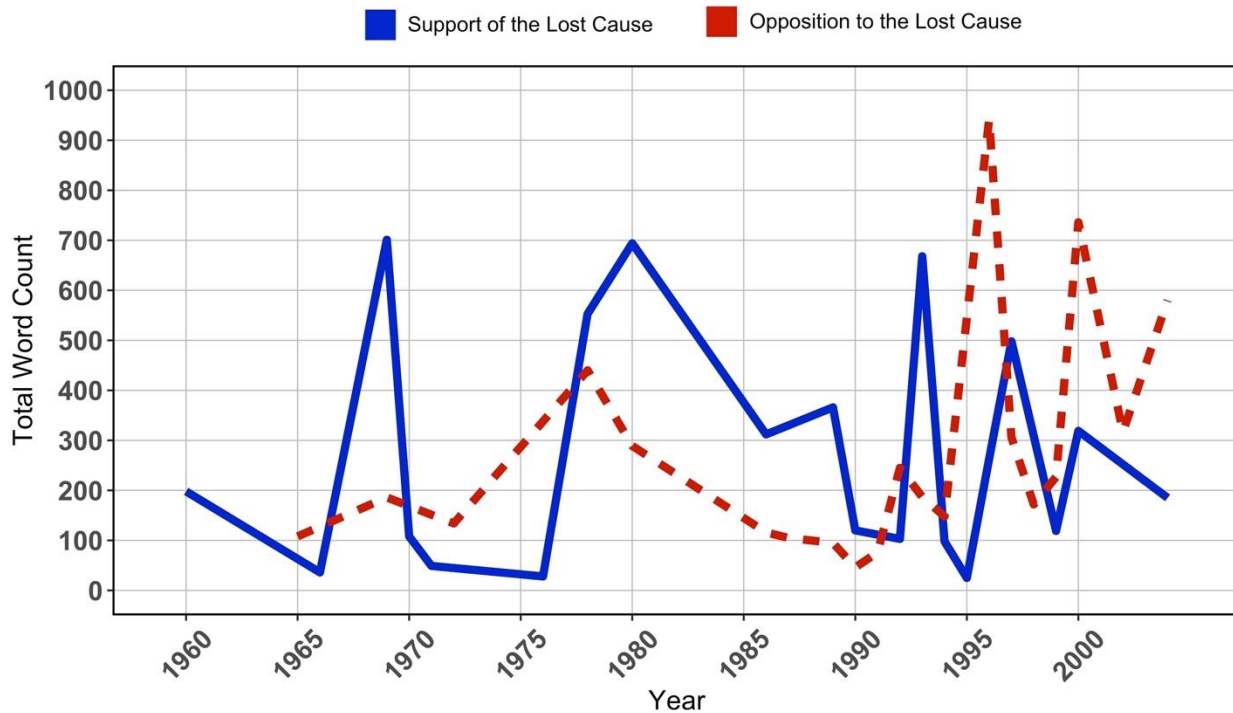
From 1960 to 2006, students at the University of South Carolina debated the Confederacy over 108 individual articles and 13,512 words. Students spilled the most ink in the 1990s with 5150 words. Students in this decade responded to both state-wide and national attention on the presence of the Confederate flag on the South Carolina State House. Before discussing each decade individually, I will analyze the data in its entirety. Figure 1 depicts the total number of words used in each year.

Figure 1: Total Words Over Time



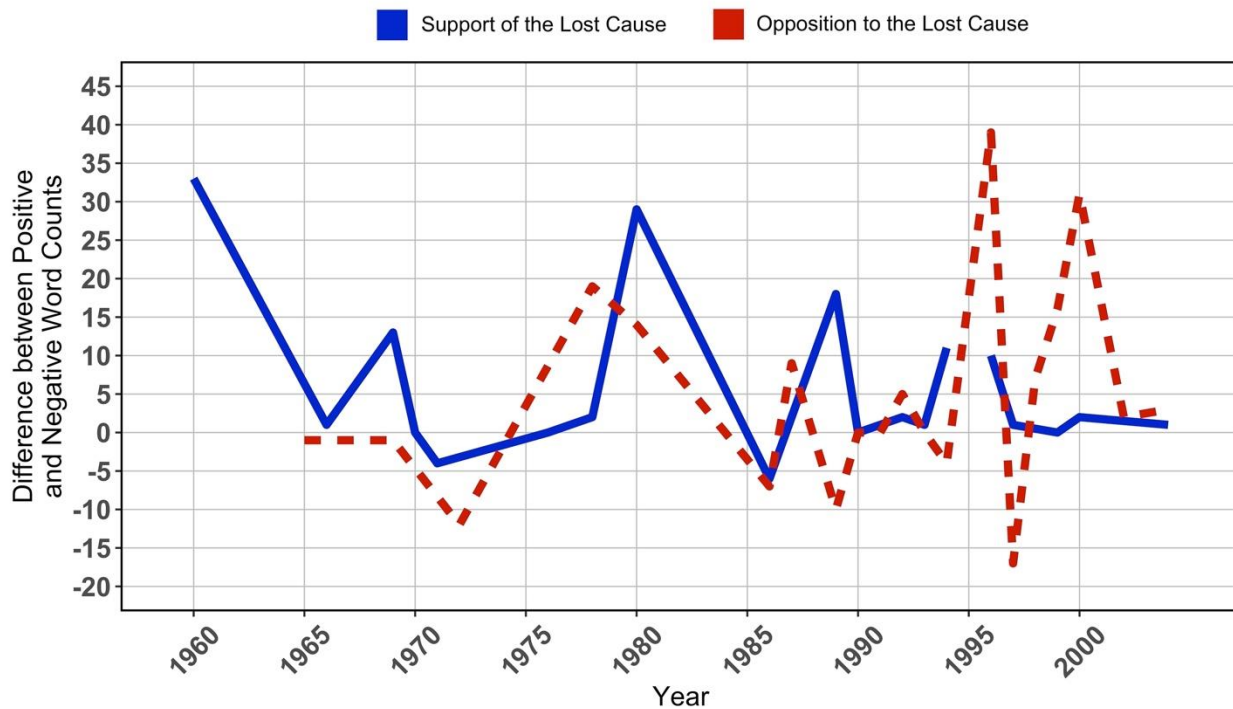
Interest in this topic spiked at various times in response to events that happened on and off campus.

Individual letters written to *The Gamecock* could cause spikes of words written in response as well. The total number of words can also be divided by the author's position. Figure 2 represents a line graph of the total words by year for those supporting and opposed to Confederate iconography.

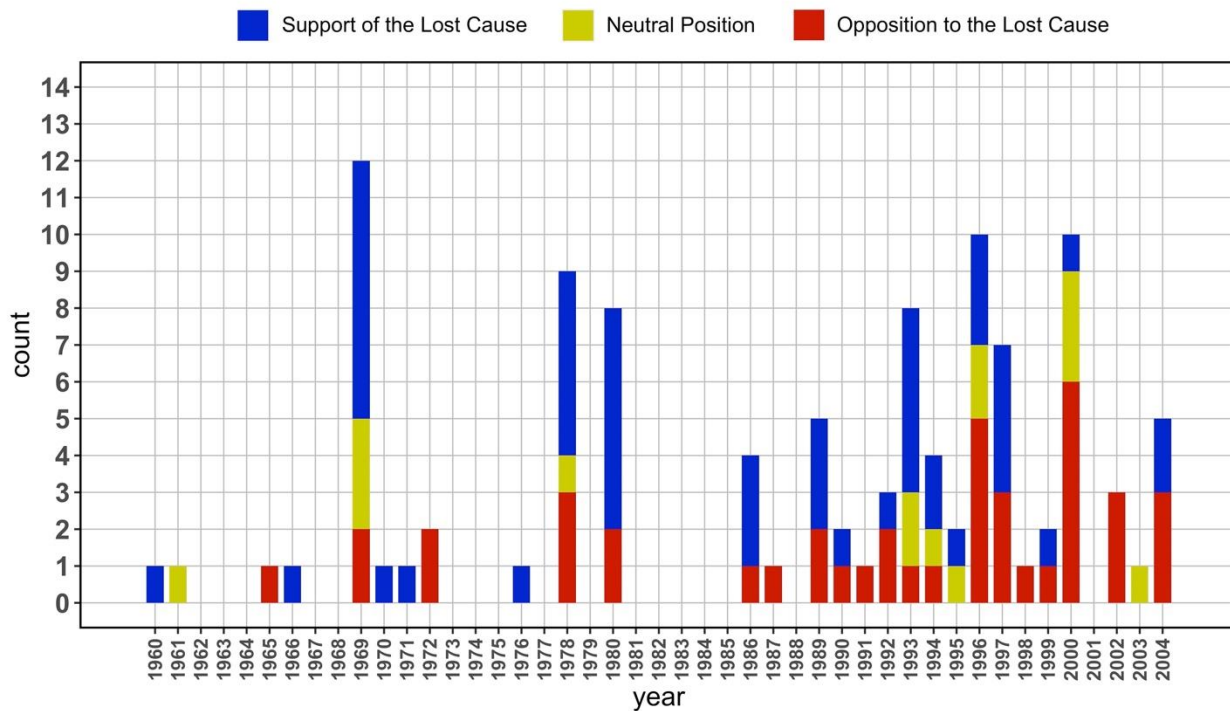
**Figure 2: Total Words Over Time by Position**

In this form, the data reveals that some spikes in word use seen in Figure 1 are the result of many articles written by one position. These spikes result from either an outcry of support for or attacks against Confederate iconography. I analyze the specific reasons behind these spikes in my close reading. The number of words written on the topic Figure 3 depicts a word cloud of every word within the dataset with at least ten appearances. A word cloud is a chart depicting words within a dataset, with the most frequently used words presented as larger than less frequently used words. A word cloud is a cluster of words used to visualize a set of written data. The number of times a word appears in the dataset correlates to a larger sized word on the word cloud.



**Figure 4: Difference Over Time by Position**

For this chart, I sorted the articles in each category by year then subtracted the total number of positive words by the number of negative words within each year. Years with more negative words than positive words place as negative data points on the chart. Outside of the spike in positive word choice from the opposed position in the year 2000, these deviations tend to occur with a positive spike for the support position and a negative spike for the oppose position. I explore this relationship further through my close reading. Another method of conceptualizing this data is to examine the number of articles printed over time by position. Figure 5 depicts a bar chart of the number of articles within the data set.

**Figure 5: Total Articles By Year**

I chose to include neutral articles for Figure 5 to show the entire scope of articles printed. This chart visualizes the spread of positions across the set time period. There are major shifts both in the proportion between articles written for and against the Lost Cause over time and the number of articles written. My close readings of individual articles further explore these relationships and their results.

### **The 1960s: *Integration and new conflict***

The integration of the University of South Carolina and the centennial of the Civil War drove students to write essays to *The Gamecock* debating the use of traditional Confederate iconography like the singing of the song “Dixie” and the flying of the Confederate flag on campus. Students began to discuss whether Confederate icons stood for racism or for the honor of the South.

Figure 6: Word Cloud of the 1960s



The words racism, honor, and ban seen in Figure 6 encapsulate the conflict between students who supported and opposed the use of Confederate iconography on campus.

In 1961, two years before the integration of the University of South Carolina, the University of South Carolina Marching Band performed a halftime show along with 36 high school bands honoring the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Civil War. Among their musical selections, the marching bands performed “...Carolina,” “Yellow Rose of Texas,” “The Bonnie Blue Flag,” and “Dixie.”<sup>44</sup> These selections highlight the value placed on the Confederacy by these students. Further describing the environment of the university at the time, *The Gamecock* writer Jacquie Splawn recounts the events of the Old South Ball. They write,

“Amidst shouts of ‘ten thousand Yankees died for every one of us,’ and ‘old General Sherman was an SAE’, the KA’s relived a RIOTOUS ante-bellum weekend with the celebration of their annual Old South Ball... Confederate soldiers, brightly costumed Southern gentlemen, and the highly bedecked Southern belles gathered for the secession ceremonies... and after the despicable Nawth was successfully put down-the convention adjourned...”<sup>45</sup>

Although the subject matter of this event was one of the most impactful events in United States history, the partygoers, and even the author of the article, take a celebratory tone. This article reflects the spike in

<sup>44</sup> Joan Wolcott, “Hats off to the Marching Band and Carolina Coquettes,” *The Gamecock*, October 27, 1961.

<sup>45</sup> Jaccquie Splawn, “Old South,” *The Gamecock*, March 25, 1960.

positive connotations during this time. Integration brought students who were diametrically opposed to this admiration of antebellum Southern society directly into contact with this prevalent aspect of campus culture.

Even students who chose not to celebrate the Confederacy used the Lost Cause in their articles. In an article entitled “Observer Observes Observance,” student Lee Jordan questioned the point of honoring the Civil War to begin with. They write, “The sole purpose of the ‘Observance’ seems to be the creation of more friction... the ‘Observance’ is being used as an instrument of propaganda by both sections.”<sup>46</sup> This criticism of the importance of remembering the Confederacy differs from the articles of later students in that it does not criticize the Confederacy itself. Jordan instead argues against current, partisan actors on both sides for stoking tensions. Jordan similarly avoids singling out the actions of the Confederacy in their reasoning for the cause of the Civil War. They write, “Each was fighting for a way of life that suited only their section. It was an economic war with some moral flag-waving to get the home folk on their feet and moving.”<sup>47</sup> Although this description does not celebrate the Confederacy, it does paint the Civil War as an inevitable event in which both sides were equally at fault and dismisses slavery as the specific cause of the conflict. The removal of slavery from even the opposition to Confederate veneration left little room for the collective experiences of people of color living in the South.

Black students entered this environment in 1963. Soon, these students began to call for the University to respond to what they saw as outright displays of racism. Students of color on campus began to call for the banning of Confederate flags and the singing of the song “Dixie” at football games and other sporting events. Debate over these issues peaked in 1969 when members of the student organization AWARE burned a Confederate flag outside of the president’s house on the Horseshoe in a call for action against Confederate icons.<sup>48</sup> This resulted in a wave of responses from White students criticizing AWARE and deploring the possibility of a ban on “Dixie” and the Confederate flag. The

---

<sup>46</sup> Lee Jordan, “Observer Observes Observance,” *The Gamecock*, May 12, 1961.

<sup>47</sup> Jordan, “Observance,” 2.

<sup>48</sup> Mike Krochmalny, “Confederate Flag Burned on Campus,” *The Gamecock*, February 14, 1969.



authors of these articles defending “Dixie” and the Confederate flag argued that they believed that their pride in these symbols was justified. They defended these symbols by making explicit their belief that the flag did not represent racism. As a result, many students defending the Confederate flag used the word racism in their articles. These students used more positive words when discussing the Confederate history in order to convey its value. In the article “The ‘Low Ebb’ of Carolina,” student Baxter Kelly writes, “Remember it was the State of South Carolina that blasted the Yankees out of Fort Sumter and helped to make ‘Dixie’ a household word. It was the students of Carolina that volunteered to the last man for Confederate serve.”<sup>49</sup> Student Baxter Kelly makes their correlation between pride in the state of South Carolina generally and pride in the actions of the Confederacy explicit. Kelly argues that Confederate iconography should represent both the South Carolina of their time and the South Carolina of the Civil War period. Another article, entitled, “Students Defend ‘Dixie’” similarly argues that the purpose of Confederate iconography was to honor the Confederacy itself. Author George Wheeler Jr. writes,

“To those of us whose great-grandfathers, uncles, and cousins so bravely and gallantly gave their lives under Confederate colors, the flag and dixie provide nostalgic reverie through which we may pay respect to their memories, and we Europeo-Americans shall not disavow our blood kin by striking their colors and silencing their anthem.”<sup>50</sup>

This student directly connects the use of the Confederate flag to the Confederacy rather than an abstract symbol of the South. Defending the use of the Confederate flag in this way creates a narrative that collects nearly every use of Confederate iconography under the category of honoring Southern, specifically Confederate, history. In depicting this history, Wheeler uses positive words like bravely, gallantly, nostalgic, and respect in association with Confederate symbols in order to portray the value of these symbols as positive. As seen in Figure 6, students like Wheeler Jr. considered the Confederate flag an icon for honoring the past. The word choices of other students supporting the Lost Cause resulted in the peak of positive words during this time.

---

<sup>49</sup> Baxter Kelly, “The ‘Low Ebb’ of Carolina,” *The Gamecock*, February 18, 1969.

<sup>50</sup> George Ellis Wheeler Jr, “Students Defend ‘Dixie,’” *The Gamecock*, February 14, 1969

Some students drew a distinction between celebrating the South generally and celebrating the Confederacy. A different article title ““Paranoic Disposition,”” by Gonzalo Leon, states, “I admit that at one time these symbols stood for ideas and institutions regarded very unfavorably today... just like the beliefs of the people have changed, so have the meaning of these symbols.”<sup>51</sup> This article, rather than arguing in favor of the history of these symbols, attempts to unnest them from this history. Other articles took a similar path in defending the Confederate flag. In another article, entitled “‘AWARE’s Idiocy,”” student Daniel Taylor writes, “AWARE has branded the Gamecocks’ symbol of rough and readiness and will to win as an element of backwardness, segregation, and rebellion that should be abolished and burned.”<sup>52</sup> Just as in the previous article, this author distinguishes the current use of the flag as a simple symbol of the university from its use to defend slavery and segregation. These two seemingly mutually exclusive arguments that Confederate iconography either represents a celebration of the deeds of the past or a historically detached regional symbol would continue as the two main defenses of these symbols. Ultimately however, in the minds of all these students, attacks or criticisms of Confederate iconography represented direct and personal attacks against the state and the university.

Not every article during this time defended the use of the Confederate flag and “Dixie.” The first of these articles, entitled “A Great Issue,” discusses the trial and arrest of the student who previously had burned the Confederate flag on campus. The author argues that treating the Confederate flag as though it were equal to the United States flag is inherently wrong, particularly when so many view it as a symbol of slavery.<sup>53</sup> This article differs from the previous articles that defended the Confederate flag in that it acknowledges the feelings that it elicited in many students of color were valid. This is important because the previous students that defended icons like the Confederate flag argued using their perspective as a White Southerner without regard for why students of color reacted to those icons with hatred or disgust. Another article titled “‘Dixie’ Antagonizes” similarly considers the perspectives of students of color. Student Steve Streinert writes that the University itself is a product of its student body and not the

---

<sup>51</sup> Gonzalo Leon, ““Paranoic Disposition,”” *The Gamecock*. February 18, 1969.

<sup>52</sup> Daniel Taylor, “‘AWARE’s Idiocy,”” *The Gamecock*. February 18, 1969.

<sup>53</sup> “A Great Issue?”, *The Gamecock*, April 29, 1969.

collection of its past traditions and symbols. Therefore, those symbols should be thrown out if the members of the student body deem them as antagonizing.<sup>54</sup> Rather than imposing their own personal beliefs onto the debate, they instead solely consider the feelings of everyone else involved. This was the primary form of opposition to Confederate iconography from white students during this time. White students chose to avoid too heavily criticizing aspects of the South's past themselves.

Debate over the usage of Confederate icons like the Confederate flag and the song "Dixie" began within *The Gamecock* during the 1960s. Although many students vehemently opposed calls by Black students to ban these symbols, other White students wrote into the newspaper to support them. These early interactions characterized the racial conflicts on university campuses during the Civil Rights movement. This discussion would continue to expand through the following decades.

#### **1970s:** *The debate over heritage*

With the South Carolina legislature considering whether to remove the Confederate flag from the Statehouse dome in the 1970s, students heightened their own debate of Confederate iconography. This debate carried over into the *The Gamecock*. Many students sought to defend the Confederate flag's use as symbols of the South's heritage

Figure 7: Word Cloud of the 1970s



<sup>54</sup> Steve Steinert, "'Dixie' Antagonizes," *The Gamecock*, February 28, 1969.

or pride as seen in Figure 7. Defenders of the Confederate flag used these words to justify its continued use, while those opposed to the Confederate flag attempted to undermine the underlying beliefs behind the pride many students held in the Confederacy. As a result, these words dominated the decade.

Students who supported the Confederate flag advocated for the value of Confederate iconography. The major spike in articles seen in 1978 followed one article defending Confederate iconography titled, “Whatever happened to playing ‘Dixie?’” During this spike, many students attempted to justify the choices of their ancestors to fight for the Confederacy. Article author Gregory Ballentine writes, “several of my family had inlisted [sic]... in the various South Carolina regiments... I insist upon the notion that my forefathers did not die in vain.”<sup>55</sup> Ballentine continues the argument that Confederate symbols represent respect for the Confederacy specifically rather than the South generally. As seen in Figure 7, many students like Ballentine argue that Confederate soldiers who fought and died under these icons represent the source of Southern pride. In order to justify finding pride in these men, Ballentine provides a reason for their sacrifice. They write, “It seems notorious... to attempt to erase all symbols of those who so gallantly defended our state when the crisis arose.”<sup>56</sup> This statement strips the actual history of its context in order to victimize the South and similarly victimize the defenders of Confederate iconography. In doing so, Ballentine argued using a key facet of the Lost Cause: Southern victimization. Claiming that the South and its people were merely defending themselves allowed the defenders of Confederate symbols to ignore the issues of slavery and the secession crisis entirely. Other students followed suit in blaming the North for starting the war, resulting in the word North appearing in Figure 7. Ballentine also cites a poll from 1970 claiming that 83% of students supported the Carolina band playing “Dixie” at sporting events, showing that most of the student body still stood behind these symbols.<sup>57</sup> This response was a reaction to a growing national opposition movement to the Lost Cause. Ballentine used this survey to further cement the University of South Carolina as an institution opposed to this change.

---

<sup>55</sup> Gregory Ballentine, “Whatever Happened to Playing ‘Dixie?’” *The Gamecock*, September 25, 1978.

<sup>56</sup> Ballentine, “Whatever Happened to Playing ‘Dixie?’”

<sup>57</sup> Ballentine, “Whatever Happened to Playing ‘Dixie?’”

Contributor Bobby Price defended the Confederate flag from a different perspective in the article “Criticizing the Flag Criticizes the South.” They write, “The Confederate flag is not a symbol of racism but a symbol of Southern pride and tradition... to criticize it would be to criticize the South.”<sup>58</sup> Although Price acknowledges the connection between the Confederate flag the Confederate States of America, the specific words that they attribute to the Confederate flag are euphemistic words like pride and tradition which obscure the referenced historical issue. As seen in Figure 7, students like Bobby Price relied on words like pride and heritage to bolster their description of Confederate icons with positive words. Although students defending the Confederacy used many more words this decade, the actual difference between positive and negative words was near zero. This was largely because these students spent an equal amount of effort criticizing students who opposed these symbols as they did discussing to the symbols themselves.

Those opposed to Confederate iconography attempted to rebut the arguments of students like Ballentine. Students of color also played a greater direct role in the newspaper debate. An example of this is an article titled “Black Insult” written in response to a prior article advertising a Confederate history celebration event. Student Stanley Hollinshead writes, “So all races had Confederate sympathizers, eh? Certainly not mine. If I remember correctly, the Confederates fought to keep my people under... slavery in the flimsy guise of ‘states rights.’”<sup>59</sup> Hollinshead’s article presents a direct counter narrative to the notion that the Confederacy was an institution worth celebrating. In doing so, Hollinshead reinserts the Black experience of the South during the antebellum and Civil War periods into the discussion of Confederate iconography. This reinsertion created a major shift in the discussion.

Simply stating the reason for their support of the Confederate flag was no longer a sufficient defense for supporters of the Lost Cause. These supporters instead were forced to justify why Confederate soldiers, secession, and Southern planter lifestyles were worth celebrating. Other articles from this time also connected the Confederate flag to the institution of slavery, including an earlier

---

<sup>58</sup> Bobby Price, “Criticizing Flag Criticizes South,” *The Gamecock*, October 11, 1978.

<sup>59</sup> Stanley Hollinshead, “Black Insult,” *The Gamecock*, June 8, 1972.

editorial.<sup>60</sup> A letter to the editor written by White freshman Ronald Tate and Chuck Bowen further criticized the use of Confederate symbols by targeting the pride that other students felt in their Confederate heritage. They write, “It is repugnant that the Confederate flag should fly over the state capital building. This provides a lasting reminder that their state government is not ready to accept them as equal citizens.”<sup>61</sup> These authors further connected the Confederate flag to the inherent inequality of slavery. They then directly criticize the causes for which the soldiers of the Confederacy fought. They write, “And no, the men of the old South did not die in vain. They fought for the tradition of not only black slavery, but white slavery as well.”<sup>62</sup> This article equates pride in the Confederacy to pride in the institution of slavery and asserts that those who died for the Confederacy did not die for a noble cause. Many during this time argued that the use of Confederate iconography was acceptable because it honored those who died for a cause like freedom or personal liberty. This argument is tantamount to a defense of slavery without a set of non-racist beliefs to associate with these Confederate soldiers. This was especially important, as historians had begun reevaluating the history of the Confederacy after the end of the bicentennial and the Civil Rights movement.

Debate over confederate iconography evolved on campus throughout the 1970s. Students defending the flag were for the first time required to justify this defense. Some argued that the value of these symbols stemmed from their connection to the Confederacy and Confederate soldiers. Others distanced these traditions and symbols from the Confederacy itself and instead positioned them as symbols of Sothern heritage overall. Those who opposed Confederate symbols questioned the foundation of pride in the Confederacy and the old South. Students of color also reintroduced the Black Southern perspective to the issue, relating the Confederacy directly to the institution of slavery. These debates would further intensify into the 1980s.

---

<sup>60</sup> “Defending Expression,” *The Gamecock*, March 20, 1972.

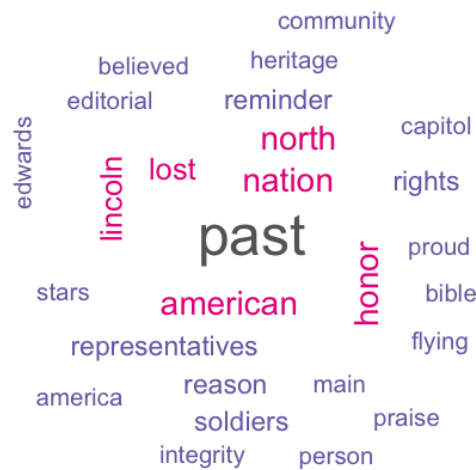
<sup>61</sup> Ronald Tate and Chuck Bowen, “Confederate Flag Symbol of Racism,” *The Gamecock*, October 4, 1978.

<sup>62</sup> Tate and Bowen, “Confederate Flag Symbol of Racism.”

### 1980s: *Exploration of History*

Further debate on moving the Confederate flag from the Capitol building in the South Carolina State House of Representatives during the 1980s spurred students at the university of South Carolina to discuss the symbols of the former Confederacy. Eight total articles were written in the year 1980 alone, followed by a gap in debate until 1986. Students on both sides of the issue cemented the importance race and history within their arguments.

Figure 8: Word Cloud of the 1980s



Those defending Confederate iconography focused mostly on defending Confederate soldiers from criticism. In kind, those opposed to Confederate iconography attacked the honor of Confederate soldiers and other symbols of the past. As a result, the focus had nearly entirely shifted towards discussing the history of the Civil War.

Students who opposed Confederate iconography during this time often chose to engage with the history of the Confederacy as well. The spike in discussion in 1980 began with a viewpoints article calling for South Carolina legislators to put the flag in “its proper place,” away from public view.<sup>63</sup> Other writers urged the removal of the Confederate flag from the Statehouse dome. These students focused on tying symbols of the Confederacy to the institution of slavery and the role slavery played in

<sup>63</sup> “Confederate Flag Should be Put in Proper Place,” *The Gamecock*, February 4, 1980.

the South's secession. In one article, entitled "Confederate Flag Should be Destroyed," an author whose name is withheld by request writes, "South Carolina was the first state to secede from the Union States. It did so because of increasing agitation against one of the South's chief economic institutions – slavery."<sup>64</sup> This author specifically ties the Confederate flag to slavery by arguing that slavery itself was the primary reason for the founding of the Confederacy. Because the institution of slavery itself was indefensible for supporters of the flag, this link, if left unopposed, would have subsequently rendered the Confederate flag indefensible. Another article entitled "Guest Editorial Exposes Racism" stated a similar argument. Student Sallie Butler writes, "There, above our capitol, waves a symbol of a time when one race of people controlled and continuously oppressed another group of people."<sup>65</sup> Butler's article connects the Confederate flag that was flying over the Statehouse specifically with the institution of slavery. This specific tactic countered the argument that the meaning of the Confederate flag, and other Confederate symbols, have changed over time. This article also gave a drawn-out description of slavery rather than simply stating that the flag represented slavery. This served to both reestablish the reality of slavery and undercut arguments that minimized and softened slavery's horrors. Articles opposing the use of Confederate iconography largely sought to delegitimize the values that other students placed in these symbols.

Those defending the Confederate flag and similar icons engaged directly with the history of the South and the causes of the Civil war in order to justify their pride in the Confederacy. These students attempted to portray the South and the Confederacy in a positive light, like the Dunningites and the Agrarian Society, in order to rebuke claims by their fellow students that the Confederate flag represented slavery. Many of these articles were written in response to the first article in 1980 calling for the flag's removal. As a result, student word choice created a high spike in positive words relative to negative words from students defending Confederate iconography in the year 1980. In one article titled "South

---

<sup>64</sup> "Confederate Flag Should be Destroyed," *The Gamecock*, November 7, 1980.

<sup>65</sup> Sallie Butler, "Guest Editorial Exposes Racism," *The Gamecock*, February 6, 1987.



Carolina has Proud History,” students Danny Kesler, Ed Land, and Chris Lommen defend the morals of the Confederacy. They write,

“The Civil War was not fought ‘mainly’ over slavery, although it did play a factor. The war was fought between two separate countries... One was an industrial country which believed in a strong centralized national government while the other was an agrarian country with a belief in states’ rights.”<sup>66</sup>

Distinguishing the North and South as separate countries not only legitimized the South’s right to secede, but also increases the importance of regional differences to the cause of the Civil War. Although the regional differences existed due to the prominence of slavery in the South, pinning the conflict on regional differences specifically avoids placing blame or cause on any side, as both sides seem equal and opposite from one another. This served to sanitize the image of the Confederate flag by removing the context of slavery from the South’s regional history. Other Confederate-defending students argued for a different reason for secession than the authors of “South Carolina has Proud History.” Students Chip Shurpe, Paul Berresford, and Martin Graves write in their article, “Confederate Flag: Pride of the South,” “South Carolina, for example, rose... for the main reason that taxes were placed on European imports... the North tried to pressure the South into buying their goods.”<sup>67</sup> Rather than presenting both sides as equals as Kesler, Land, and Lommen had, these authors portray the South as victims of Northern economic imperialism. This argument sidesteps the issue of slavery entirely and places blame for the start of the Civil War on Northern aggression. These authors and others continued to vilify the North in order to justify the existence of the Confederate army resulting in the word North appearing in Figure 9. Students defending Confederate iconography blamed issues like regional differences, states’ rights, and a need for economic independence for causing the Civil War in order to justify the South’s secession from the Union. These students portrayed the history of the cause of the Civil War in such a way that that their use and respect for Confederate iconography could also be justified.

---

<sup>66</sup> Danny Kesler, Ed Land, Chris Lommen, “South Carolina has Proud History,” *The Gamecock*, February 11, 1980.

<sup>67</sup> Chip Shurpe, Paul Berresford, Martin Graves, “Confederate Flag: Pride of the South,” *The Gamecock*, November 14, 1980.

Pro-Confederate students during this time emphasized the deaths of Confederate soldiers. Many students argued that using the Confederate flag and other symbols of the past honored the sacrifices of their ancestors on the Battlefields of the Civil War. To these students, criticizing the cause their relatives died for came across as a personal attack. The words believed and reason appear in Figure 8 because these students sought to justify their ancestors' actions and beliefs, particularly regarding slavery. Like the causes of the Civil War, articles in *The Gamecock* cited many reasons related to the Lost Cause to justify their veneration. In one article, entitled "Confederate Flag Tribute to Valor," Author C.K. Smith Jr. argued in favor of celebrating fallen soldiers using the Confederate flag. They write, "The flag stands... as a tribute to those who gave their lives for a cause. That cause, incidentally, was not the practice of slavery but the rights of states within the Union."<sup>68</sup> Here, the soldiers' motivations for fighting are deflected away from slavery and towards a common argument for the cause of the Civil War: the need to defend states' rights. This argument follows the larger expulsion of slavery from the Civil War narrative. Similarly, other articles claimed specifically that Confederate soldiers fought to defend their homeland. Steven Sanders writes in his article entitled "Flag Symbolizes Brave Soldiers" that, "Southerners have flown our defeated flag, not in reference to slavery... but to honor our ancestry who fought bravely and valiantly to defend their homeland."<sup>69</sup> This argument victimizes the South in order to justify using the Confederate flag. These arguments also serve to distance the Confederate flag from the Confederacy itself by focusing on individuals. Articles defending the use of Confederate iconography attempted to redefine the history of the South in line with the Lost Cause in order to distance Confederate icons from the slaveholding society in which they originated.

Students during the 1980s further explored the history of the Confederacy and the meanings of symbols that Confederate soldiers lost their lives to defend. The argument during this time shifted from a discussion of Confederate icons themselves to a debate on the very history and legitimacy of the

---

<sup>68</sup> C.K. Smith Jr. "Confederate Flag Symbol of Honor," *The Gamecock*, March 24, 1986.

<sup>69</sup> Steven Sanders, "Flag Symbolizes Brave Soldiers," *The Gamecock*, April 7, 1986.

Confederate States of America. Those defending Confederate icons in particular sought justifications for the South's secession in order to avoid discussing slavery.

### **1990s: *External pressure***

Students, government officials, and external organizations all increased their efforts to force South Carolina to remove the Confederate flag from the Statehouse during the 1990s. In 1999, the NAACP called for a boycott of the entire state of South Carolina until they removed the Confederate flag, forcing the issue to the forefront of state politics. As the state government grappled with the Confederate flag question, students at the University of South Carolina discussed the history of the Confederacy and their personal relationship to Confederate iconography in even greater depth. Students further debated the value of

Figure 9: Word Cloud of the 1990s



Confederate symbols, both in representing the South today and representing Southern history. Heritage ended up as the most-used word, as depicted in Figure 9, as sides attempted to define which aspects of Southern heritage Confederate icons represented by discussing the history of the Confederacy in greater detail.

Students defending Confederate iconography during this time sought to clearly define what historical values they believed that these symbols should represent. In one article, entitled “Flag not Just Slavery Symbol,” author Catherine Trybula argues that the Confederate flag was both a symbol of slavery and of pride in defending the South from the North.<sup>70</sup> Trybula defines the specific source of

<sup>70</sup> Catherine Trybula, “Flag not Just Slavery Symbol,” *The Gamecock*. March 23, 1990.

Southern pride with this argument. Rather than representing pride in the tradition and culture of the South, they instead point to the military resilience of the Confederate military. Drawing pride from this source connects their argument to the veneration of Southern soldiers. Trybula also attempts to justify Southern secession to separate those Southern soldiers from the institution of slavery. They write,

“...the Confederate flag is a part of South Carolina’s history. This history is not based solely [sic] on slavery, as a matter of fact, the main reason South Carolina seceded was because the North was denying the South fair representation in Congress (this is true, look it up!). Slavery was not profitable anymore and most slaves did not want to be ‘free’ (a lot of them fought for the South, look that up too!).”<sup>71</sup>

Like articles from prior decades, Trybula attempts to victimize the antebellum South. They target the legitimacy of the horrors of slavery as an argument against using the Confederate flag. In doing so, Trybula takes the position of both distancing the Confederate flag from slavery and defending the institution of slavery itself.

Other students defended the Confederate flag by focusing on former Confederate soldiers. These students emphasized positive words like ancestors and proud, seen in Figure 9, to position Confederate icons towards a positive tradition and away from slavery. In “Historic Flag not Hateful,” student David Culbertson writes, “My great-great grandfather lost a leg at the battle of Tennessee... He... earned a living as a farmer and never owned slaves.”<sup>72</sup> Culbertson attempts to shield his usage of the flag from accusations of racism by pointing out that his great-great grandfather never owned slaves, and therefore could not have joined the Confederate army with the intention of defending slavery. It is important that this argument is so personal to the author. By using a personal relative, students defending the flag gave their own usage of the flag greater potential legitimacy. This personalization of Confederate symbols showed how ingrained the ideals of the Lost Cause were in many students. In a similar article titled “Fabrications Shade Battle Flag’s Honor,” student Matt McCord also discusses their personal familial relationship to the flag. They write, “...my great, great, great grandfather returned home from... the Confederate army... he didn’t fight for slavery. He fought for his home... family... way of life, and for an

---

<sup>71</sup> Trybula, “Flag not Just Slavery Symbol.”

<sup>72</sup> David Culbertson, “Historic Flag not Hateful,” *The Gamecock*. March 4, 1992.

economy which was dying under.... the industrialized north.”<sup>73</sup> Just as in the previous article by Culbertson, McCord appeals to the reader that their Confederate heritage is worth celebrating with the Confederate flag by using positive words like home, family, and life. These words juxtapose their ancestor’s apparent motivations with the preservation of slavery. Arguing on behalf of an individual ancestor as opposed to discussing the entire Confederate army allowed students who supported the Lost Cause to largely sidestep the need to defend the Confederacy itself. It also allowed them to shrink the argument to a personal level, defining the values associated with the Confederate flag from the example of one individual rather than the beliefs or practices of an entire society. Framing the argument in this way made it more difficult for those opposing Confederate iconography to cast sweeping judgements on the defining values of the Confederate Cause.

Students opposed to Confederate iconography sought to refute the claims made by their peers about the history of the Confederacy. In response to the article, “Flag not Just Slavery Symbol,” student Troy Kennedy writes, “how dare you make an assertion that most black people wanted to be slaves and that many of them fought for the South... And what unfair representation are you talking about? The constitution specifies the means by which states shall be represented...”<sup>74</sup> Students opposing the Confederate flag began writing direct counterarguments against their peers. Here, Kennedy undercuts Catherine Trybula’s attempt to define both slavery and the reasoning behind the South’s secession by once again reinserting the Black experience into the discussion. In an article titled “Confederate Flag Part of Dead Era,” student Robert Davis similarly discusses the Black experience in rebutting the specific arguments of another student. In response to “Historic Flag not Hateful” Davis writes, “You say your great-great grandfather lost a leg in the Civil War. That is a bedtime story to what I learned about my ‘ancestry’ in America. My relatives have been burnt, hanged, raped...”<sup>75</sup> As in the previous article, Davis directly contradicts the argument of a prior student in order to assert that the Confederate flag represents centuries of enslavement and abuse rather than ancestral pride. These students both used

---

<sup>73</sup> Matt McCord, “Fabrications Shade Battle Flag’s Honor,” *The Gamecock*. November 1, 1993.

<sup>74</sup> Troy Kennedy, “Equality Got Lost in Shuffle,” *The Gamecock*. April 11, 1990.

<sup>75</sup> Robert Davis, “Confederate Flag Part of Dead Era,” *The Gamecock*. March 6, 1992.

negative language when describing slavery's association to the Confederacy. These words connect the Confederate flag and similar icons to the institution of slavery to dissuade the reader from supporting the usage of these icons.

The spike in positive word usage during the year 1996 within articles opposed to the Confederate flag largely stemmed from the letter to the editor titled "Tradition not Representative of all Southerners" by psychology junior Rodney White. In this article, White attempted to find a middle ground on the issue of the Confederate flag as someone who opposed Confederate iconography personally. White argues that to students of color like themselves, the Confederate flag represents slavery and oppression. They also state that it is acceptable for White students to use the flag so long as they do not force it upon others.<sup>76</sup> The tone and purpose of this article drove up the difference between its positive and negative words. White presents a deviation from the tones of other opposition articles from this decade with a 15-point difference between this article and the next highest in 1996.

The very next year saw a sharp spike in negative words. Of the three from students opposing the Lost Cause, only one had more positive words than negative. These articles all share casually antagonistic tones toward Confederate iconography. The most negative article was titled "Yankee Offers to Use Confederate Flag as Butt Wipe." Student Kurt Johnson writes, "...let's take a minute here to remember the ways of the Old South: slavery, secession, and stupid people... People who believe in this flag are still fighting the Civil War. Get over it!"<sup>77</sup> This article also contradicts arguments that the Confederate flag could be representative of anything but the slaveholding Confederacy using a joking and mocking tone. By using so many negative words to insult the Confederacy and its symbols, Johnson, and the other students who wrote to *The Gamecock* in 1997, more openly and casually displayed their disgust than most students had before. Their willingness to write in this way is evidence that the overall tone towards these symbols on campus was shifting away from the pro-Lost Cause position.

---

<sup>76</sup> Rodney White, "Tradition not Representative of all Southerners," *The Gamecock*. February 20, 1996.

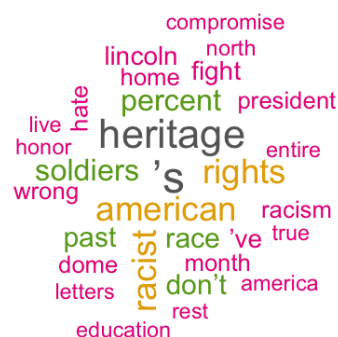
<sup>77</sup> Kurt Johnson, "Yankee Offers to Use Confederate Flag as Butt Wipe," *The Gamecock*. October 22, 1997.

Students on both sides began to discuss and define aspects of their support or opposition to Confederate iconography during the 1990s, particularly using personal stories or relationships. Some students discussed the Confederacy using positive words relating to the values their ancestors fought for while others used negative words to define Confederate iconography by its relationship to the institution of slavery. In both cases, students discussed the history of the Civil War using even greater detail than they had in the 1980s.

### **2000s: *The flag removed***

Student debate in *The Gamecock* continued despite the removal of the Confederate flag from the Statehouse in 2000. The 2000s saw the most words used in discussion about the Confederate flag behind only the 1990s despite the physical newspaper only spanning the time period from 2000 to 2006. This continued discussion was at least partially due to the flag's placement in front of the Statehouse after its removal from the dome. The student body's support for the Confederate flag also faced a marked shift. According to a poll of 213 Students at the University of South Carolina conducted by *The Gamecock*, 65.4% of students supported removing the Confederate flag from the Statehouse, including 57% of White students.<sup>78</sup> This represents a drastic shift in the sentiments of students at the university.

Figure 10: Word Cloud of the 2000s



<sup>78</sup> Brad Walters, "USC Students Overwhelmingly Support Removal of Rebel Flag," *The Gamecock*. February 7, 2000.

Reflecting this, many more students used words like hate and racist depicted in Figure 10 to describe Confederate iconography than words like honor.

The group of students writing in opposition to the Confederate flag expanded to include some White students who still justified their ancestors' Confederate military service but did not support Confederate iconography. In one article titled "Flag a Symbol of Rich Man's Exploitations," senior Robert Davis writes,

"My great-grandfathers... did not risk their lives because they believed that slavery was an ethical institution. Rather, the rich men who controlled Southern society tricked them into believing that they would have to defend their homes against an evil North... It is time to bring down from our Statehouse dome that symbol of the rich man's exploitation of our society..."<sup>79</sup>

Interestingly, Davis uses positive words when describing their father's motivations, but negative words when describing or referring to aspects of Southern, slaveholding leadership. This argument, although partially focused on absolving Davis's ancestors of personal shame, still serves to rebut the argument that the goal behind secession was noble.

Positive word usage saw a peak in this decade for students opposing the Confederate flag that was not mirrored by students in the in support of the Confederacy. This is primarily because three anti-flag articles from this year had relatively high differences between positive and negative word counts. The first of these is "Flag Location Still Irks Some" by senior Greg Hightower. This article primarily focuses on providing alternate places for the Confederate flag besides the Statehouse grounds and describing what the Confederate flag means to people in South Carolina.<sup>80</sup> Although this article is clearly in opposition to the Lost Cause, as Hightower describes the flag as a symbol of the slaveholding way of life, they also acknowledge that other people take personal pride in its use.<sup>81</sup> This article's non-partisan tone lends itself to a high rate of positive word usage since Hightower avoids disparaging any group involved with this debate. The second article is titled "Black Community Must Unite on Flag." In this article, written before the Confederate flag was removed from the Statehouse dome, attempts to

<sup>79</sup> Robert Davis, "Flag a Symbol of Rich Man's Exploitations," *The Gamecock*. April 21, 2000.

<sup>80</sup> Greg Hightower, "Flag Location Still Irks Some," *The Gamecock*. November 11, 2000.

<sup>81</sup> Hightower, "Flag Location Still Irks Some."



persuade students of color to collectively call for the flag's removal.<sup>82</sup> This article uses more positive words than negative because of its focus is on convincing students that their voice can matter. The third article is titled, "Columnist Wrong for Supporting Flag," was authored by junior Dave Campbell in response to a previous article. Unlike the prior two articles, this letter to the editor takes an aggressive tone. This article ended with a higher positive score despite its aggressive tone due to the author's deconstruction of defenses of the Confederate flag which spin it in a positive light. Campbell still, however, uses the history of the Confederacy to contradict defenses of Confederate iconography. He writes, "the South's economic structure was based on agriculture, which was based on the need for cheap labor, which made slavery the key to the South's economic base, which made slavery the primary reason for secession."<sup>83</sup> As in arguments from prior decades, Campbell targets the cause of secession in order to rebuke the acceptability of being proud of the Confederacy.

These three articles are very different from each other, yet all have high positivity scores. The first two articles attempt to show positive energy for change against the Confederate flag, while the third takes down positive arguments in favor of the Confederate flag. These three articles do show that by this time, students opposing Confederate iconography need to spend less time writing out their criticisms and instead could write on positive activism or current topics relating to the flag. They could afford to do this since by this time, more students favored removing the flag. Students opposing Confederate iconography had to spend less ink using negative words for criticisms, resulting in more positive words during the 2000s.

USC students supporting Confederate iconography only wrote three articles in *The Gamecock* from 2000 to 2006. The three articles were all responses to an article criticizing a student for presenting a Confederate flag on campus during a segment of ESPN's college football live show College GameDay. These articles continue to attempt to justify the use of the Confederate flag by its association with Southern soldiers or by lessening its association with slavery. In one article entitled, "War Wasn't

---

<sup>82</sup> "Black Community Must Unite on Flag," *The Gamecock*. February 2, 2000.

<sup>83</sup> David Campbell, "Columnist Wrong for Supporting Flag," *The Gamecock*. February 16, 2000.

Fought Over Slavery,” student David Wright writes, “African-Americans did as much as any white man did to defend the south... Black soldiers fought in our Armies... just as whites did, in the defense of their nation.”<sup>84</sup> This article, unlike others supporting the flag, attempts to claim that Black Americans had positive experiences under the Confederate flag. In doing so, Wright attempts to divert the conversation away from the issue of slavery entirely. Rather than discussing Confederate soldiers, Brad Tune discusses slavery’s relation to secession in their article titled “Washington Doesn’t Recognize History.” Tune writes, “Slavery did not even become an issue for President Lincoln until he realized without supporting the cause of emancipation, he would be hard pressed to rally the neutral states to the side of the Union to win the war.”<sup>85</sup> Here, Tune shifts the blame for secession from the South and onto President Lincoln by claiming that he made the war about slavery instead of the Southern states. Unlike the previous article, this article took the approach of pushing the Black narrative out of the Confederacy’s history almost entirely. The third article provides a combination of the previous two arguments. Jarrett Calder’s “Rebel Flag Important to Southern Heritage” both ignores the experiences of people of color and justifies the use of the flag through the remembrance of Confederate soldiers. Calder writes, “Not only does the battle flag represent the banner under which many South Carolinians died, but the banner under which many USC students died as well.”<sup>86</sup> Just as Wright brought a different dimension to the argument around Confederate veterans, Calder discusses the relationships the Confederate flag and the Confederacy have with the University of South Carolina. Although these three articles differ in their scope, they all share the continued goal of article entries supporting the Confederacy: distancing Confederate icons from the issue of slavery.

Ultimately, these arguments were dwarfed by the volume of articles opposing the Confederate flag. In the 2000s, the politics of the Confederate flag had finally shifted closer to opposition. This was not only reflected in the decision to remove the flag from the Statehouse dome but also the number of

---

<sup>84</sup> David Wright, “War Wasn’t Fought Over Slavery,” *The Gamecock*. April 14, 2000.

<sup>85</sup> Brad Tune, “Washington Doesn’t Recognize History,” *The Gamecock*. September 15, 2004.

<sup>86</sup> Jarrett Calder, “Rebel Flag Important to Southern Heritage,” *The Gamecock*. September 17, 2004.

articles written to *The Gamecock* as well as *The Gamecock*'s poll on the issue. Many students at the University had begun to shift away from the regional identifiers of the Lost Cause.

The issue of Confederate icons shifted drastically over forty-six years from 1960 to 2006. This span of *The Gamecock* began with heated backlash over the burning of a Confederate flag on campus to backlash and debate over a student waving the Confederate flag on campus. The number of words written, and the tone of the words used changed and fluctuated over time as well. These tones represent differences in the ways in which students on campus reacted to Confederate iconography on campus. Students discussed the history of the Civil War in greater detail and depth over each successive decade with greater opposition to the Lost Cause in later decades. Although there is no data from *The Gamecock* on this subject after 2006, the next section analyzes the results of my survey to track belief in the Lost Cause to today.

### **The Lost Cause Among Current Students**

#### **Description of Sample Group**

Respondents to my survey represented a diverse group of students at the University of South Carolina. Overall, 168 students responded to my survey. The responses are depicted below in Table 1. I analyzed these responses using pivot tables to correlate individual factors with different levels of responses.

Table 1

	Response Count	Percentage
Do you feel like the Civil War is an Important Part of your Culture?		
Yes	133	79.20%
No	35	20.80%
How Much do You Believe Cultural Differences Contributed to Causing the Civil War		
Did Not Contribute	4	2.38%
Contributed a little	18	10.71%
Unsure	1	0.60%
Somewhat Contributed	50	29.76%
Greatly Contributed	95	56.55%
How Much do You Believe States' Rights Contributed to Causing the Civil War		
Did Not Contribute	3	1.79%
Contributed a Little	22	13.10%
Unsure	7	4.17%
Somewhat Contributed	58	34.52%
Greatly Contributed	78	46.43%
How Much Do You Believe Slavery Contributed to Causing the Civil War		
Did Not Contribute	2	1.19%
Contributed a Little	7	4.17%
Unsure	0	0%
Somewhat Contributed	32	19.05%
Greatly Contributed	127	75.60%
How Much do You Believe Tariffs Contributed to Causing the Civil War		
Did Not Contribute	8	4.76%
Contributed a Little	39	23.21%
Unsure	22	13.10%
Somewhat Contributed	77	45.83%
Greatly Contributed	22	13.10%
Considering the Above, Which do You Believe to be the Single Greatest Contributor to the Civil War		
Cultural Differences Between the North and the South	45	26.80%
Slavery	90	53.60%
States' Rights	28	16.70%
Tariffs	2	1.20%
Factions (Party System)	1	0.60%
Northern Domination	1	0.60%
Greed	1	0.60%
If You are an Undergraduate Student at the University of South Carolina, What is Your Year		

Freshman	85	50.60%
Sophomore	54	32.10%
Junior	20	11.90%
Senior	8	4.80%
I am not an Undergraduate Student	1	0.60%
Gender		
Male	95	56.55%
Female	70	41.67%
n/a	1	0.60%
Not Sure	1	0.60%
Person	1	0.60%
Race or Ethnicities		
White or Caucasian	131	77.98%
Black or African American	13	7.74%
Latino or Hispanic	7	4.17%
Asian or Pacific Islander	4	2.38%
Have you completed or are Currently Enrolled in a College Level American History Class		
Yes	139	82.70%
No	29	17.30%
Personal Political Affiliation		
Very Conservative	12	7.14%
Conservative	52	30.95%
Moderate	54	32.14%
Liberal	40	23.81%
Very Liberal	8	5.95%
Personal Political Engagement		
Not Politically Engaged	45	26.79%
Somewhat Politically Engaged	99	58.93%
Very Politically Engaged	24	14.29%
From Which State or Territory Did You Receive the Majority of Your Education*		
Southeast	124	73.81%
Northeast	30	17.86%
Midwest	9	5.36%
West	4	2.38%
Outside of United States	1	0.60%
How Would You Describe Where You are From		
Rural	25	14.90%
Suburban	131	78.00%
Urban	12	7.10%
In Which Type of School did You Spend Most of Your Primary and Secondary Education		
Public School	136	81.00%

Private School	28	16.70%
Charter School	2	1.20%
Homeschool	2	1.20%
<hr/> Family Political Affiliation <hr/>		
Very Conservative	29	17.26%
Conservative	70	41.67%
Moderate	46	27.38
Liberal	21	12.50%
Very Liberal	2	1.20%
<hr/> Family Political Engagement <hr/>		
Not Politically Engaged	19	11.31%
Somewhat Politically Engaged	108	64.29%
Very Politically Engaged	41	21.40%

I utilized the Federal Information Processing Standards (FIPS) to group the respondents' home states by their region. FIPS splits the United States into four categories: the Northeast, the Midwest, the South, and the West.<sup>87</sup> I also added a fifth category to cover nations outside of the United States. To quantify the questions relating to the Civil War, I coded the responses numerically with 1 representing did not contribute, 2 representing contributed a little, 3 representing unsure, 4 representing somewhat contributed, and 5 representing greatly contributed.

### **Data Analysis**

In the next section of my survey analysis, respondents were grouped by personal attributes (e.g., race, gender, political ideology). Next, I analyzed the responses to each theory of the cause of the Civil War relative to each grouping of personal attributes using pivot tables to determine if these attributes could be influencing factors in beliefs about the causes of the Civil War. Table 2 depicts a table of responses based on the participants' gender. The mean response was higher overall for females than males for each question, although most have high standards of deviation. Generally, a standard deviation above 1 is considered high, meaning that there is a wide range of opinions rather than one consensus opinion indicated by most respondents. The mean response for the importance of slavery as a

---

<sup>87</sup> "Census Regions and Divisions of the United States." Accessed April 6, 2022.  
[https://www2.census.gov/geo/pdfs/maps-data/maps/reference/us\\_regdiv.pdf](https://www2.census.gov/geo/pdfs/maps-data/maps/reference/us_regdiv.pdf).

contributing factor is higher for women at 4.79 with a standard deviation of 0.54 compared to the mean male response of 5.57 with a standard deviation of 0.93. This means that more of the female respondents agreed that slavery was a greater factor in causing the Civil War while males had more varied opinions.

Table 2: Gender

Female: 57.58%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural Differences	4.38	0.97
States' Rights	4.19	1.03
Slavery	4.79	0.54
Tariffs	3.49	1.05
Male: 42.42%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural Differences	4.17	1.14
States' Rights	4.03	1.12
Slavery	4.47	0.93
Tariffs	3.29	1.17

Table 3: Personal Ideology

Very Liberal: 5.95%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural Differences	3.80	1.75
States' Rights	3.70	1.25
Slavery	4.90	0.32
Tariffs	2.7	1.06
Liberal: 23.81%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural Differences	4.30	1.07
States' Rights	3.68	1.31
Slavery	4.93	0.27
Tariffs	3.38	1.21
Moderate: 32.14%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural Differences	4.33	0.95
States' Rights	4.26	0.94
Slavery	4.69	0.67
Tariffs	3.37	1.14
Conservative: 30.95%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural Differences	4.44	0.80
States' Rights	4.35	0.88
Slavery	4.48	0.92
Tariffs	3.58	0.96
Very Conservative: 7.14%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural Differences	3.58	1.62
States' Rights	4.17	1.27
Slavery	3.92	1.44
Tariffs	3.33	1.37



Table 3 depicts a table with responses sorted based on the respondent's personal political beliefs. The mean response to cultural differences generally increases as the belief trends more conservative with means from most liberal to most conservative of 3.80, 4.30, 4.33, 4.44, and 3.58. The very liberal and very conservative responses have extremely high standard deviations of 1.75 and 1.62 respectively showing a lack of consensus. A similar trend can be seen with the mean responses to the importance of states' rights. Although the overall mean score trends higher with conservative respondents, the standard deviations also remain high. The responses to the importance of slavery trend lower the more conservative the responder. The mean response for those who identified as very liberal was 4.90 with a standard deviation of 0.32, and for those who responded as liberal 4.93 with a standard deviation of 0.27. These high averages and low standard deviations mean there were very few disagreements among liberal and very liberal respondents on the importance of slavery in sparking the Civil War. Moderate respondents had a mean of 4.69 with a standard deviation of 0.67, while conservative and very conservative respondents had means of 4.48 and 3.92 with standard deviations of 0.92 and 1.44 respectively. Although conservative students placed less value on the importance of slavery, their responses tended to be less centralized than their more liberal counterparts.

Table 3.1: Personal Ideology, Gender

Female			Male		
Very Liberal: 8.42%	Mean	Standard Deviation	Very Liberal: 2.86%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural Differences	3.50	1.85	Cultural Differences	5.00	0.00
States' Rights	3.75	1.16	States' Rights	3.50	2.12
Slavery	4.88	0.35	Slavery	5.00	0.00
Tariffs	2.75	1.16	Tariffs	2.50	0.71
Liberal: 31.58%	Mean	Standard Deviation	Liberal: 12.86%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural Differences	4.57	0.68	Cultural Differences	3.44	1.67
States' Rights	3.87	1.22	States' Rights	3.00	1.50
Slavery	4.90	0.31	Slavery	5.00	0.00
Tariffs	3.57	1.14	Tariffs	2.89	1.36
Moderate: 28.42%	Mean	Standard Deviation	Moderate: 37.14%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural Differences	4.33	0.96	Cultural Differences	4.31	0.97
States' Rights	4.26	0.94	States' Rights	4.23	0.95
Slavery	4.78	0.64	Slavery	4.58	0.70
Tariffs	3.44	1.05	Tariffs	3.23	1.21
Conservative: 27.37%	Mean	Standard Deviation	Conservative: 37.14%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural Differences	4.38	0.85	Cultural Differences	4.50	0.76
States' Rights	4.54	0.76	States' Rights	4.15	0.97
Slavery	4.69	0.68	Slavery	4.27	1.08
Tariffs	3.69	0.84	Tariffs	3.46	1.07
Very Conservative: 4.21%	Mean	Standard Deviation	Very Conservative: 10.00%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural Differences	5.00	0.00	Cultural Differences	3.14	1.46
States' Rights	4.75	0.50	States' Rights	4.29	0.95
Slavery	4.50	0.58	Slavery	4.00	1.41
Tariffs	3.50	1.29	Tariffs	3.57	1.27

I filtered the responses by gender, region, and race to further analyze these relationships. Table 3.1 depicts these results filtered by gender. Women tended to have lower deviations in their responses than men, which is in keeping with the overall trend. No real trend in values was present among the means of the importance of cultural differences when filtered by male and female. On states' rights, however, both men and women trended with higher responses for those who responded as more conservative. Men's average responses from least conservative to most conservative is 3.50, 3.00, 4.23, 4.15, and 4.29 with standard deviations of 2.12, 1.50, 0.95, 0.97, and 0.95 respectively. Women's mean responses were 3.75, 3.87, 4.26, 4.54, and 4.75 from least to most conservative with standard deviations of 1.16, 1.22, 0.94, 0.76, and 0.50 respectively. Interestingly, when filtered by men and women, more liberal respondents tended to have higher standards of deviation, particularly for women. Filtering the question of slavery by gender decreased the standard deviations across political divides. Responses tended to be higher overall for women than men, particularly among conservatives. Very liberal women had a mean response of 4.88 with a standard deviation of 0.35. Liberal women had a mean response of 4.90 with standard deviation of 0.31. Moderate women had an average response of 4.78 with a standard deviation of .64. Conservative women had a mean response of 4.69 with a standard deviation of 0.68. Very conservative women had an average of 4.50 with a standard deviation of .58. These responses both clearly and consistently trend lower for more conservative respondents. This means that more conservative women valued slavery as less important to the cause of the Civil War. Male responses show a similar story. The average response for very liberal men was 5.00 with a standard deviation of 0. This was shared with liberal men. Moderate men had an average response of 4.58 with a standard deviation of 0.70, while conservative and very conservative men had mean responses of 4.27 and 4.00 with standard deviations of 1.08 and 1.44 respectively. This data seems to suggest that conservative men also place less value on slavery as a cause of the Civil war, although conservative and very conservative men both had high standard deviations. The importance of tariffs also trended higher with more conservative respondents of both genders, but every category had high standard deviations.

The two largest regional categories were the Northeast and the Southeast. These two regions are depicted in Table 3.2. Interestingly, the average overall response to the importance of cultural differences in sparking the Civil War was higher in the Northeast, with a 4.33 compared to a 4.26 in the Southeast. The Northeast also had a larger overall standard deviation for this question at 1.24 compared to 1.03. By political beliefs, the Southeast trended a slight increase from liberal to conservative, with a mean of 4.00 for the very liberal respondents, 4.22 for liberal respondents, 4.26 for moderate respondents, 4.44 for conservative respondents, and 3.75 for very conservative respondents. These response groups had standard deviations of 1.60, 1.15, 0.96, 0.75, and 1.49 respectively. The three middle values, liberal, moderate, and conservative, had the lowest standard deviations and a clear, if small, trend of more conservative respondents placing greater importance on cultural differences. Students from the Northeast displayed the opposite of this trend. Although the very liberal row only contained one respondent, the means from liberal, to moderate, conservative, to very conservative were: 4.78, 4.78, 4.38, 2.67, with standard deviations of 0.44, 0.44, 1.19, and 2.08. Northeastern students who responded as liberal or moderate responded with answers significantly higher, and with less variation, than their Southeastern counterparts. For the importance of slavery, the Southeast displays a clear trend of reduced importance with more conservative respondents.

Table 3.2: Personal Ideology, Region

Northeast			Southeast		
Very Liberal: 3.33%	Mean	Standard Deviation	Very Liberal: 6.45%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural Differences	1.00		Cultural Differences	4.00	1.60
States' Rights	4.00		States' Rights	3.50	1.31
Slavery	5.00		Slavery	4.88	0.35
Tariffs	1.00		Tariffs	2.88	0.99
Liberal: 30.00%	Mean	Standard Deviation	Liberal: 21.77%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural Differences	4.78	0.44	Cultural Differences	4.22	1.15
States' Rights	3.11	1.45	States' Rights	3.89	1.25
Slavery	5.00	0.00	Slavery	4.89	0.32
Tariffs	3.44	1.01	Tariffs	3.44	1.31
Moderate: 30.00%	Mean	Standard Deviation	Moderate: 33.87%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural Differences	4.78	0.44	Cultural Differences	4.26	0.96
States' Rights	4.22	0.97	States' Rights	4.31	0.90
Slavery	4.33	1.00	Slavery	4.76	0.58
Tariffs	3.33	1.32	Tariffs	3.36	1.10
Conservative: 26.76%	Mean	Standard Deviation	Conservative: 31.45%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural Differences	4.38	1.19	Cultural Differences	4.44	0.75
States' Rights	4.63	0.52	States' Rights	4.28	0.97
Slavery	4.88	0.35	Slavery	4.44	0.94
Tariffs	3.25	1.04	Tariffs	3.69	0.92
Very Conservative: 10.00%	Mean	Standard Deviation	Very Conservative: 6.45%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural Differences	2.67	2.08	Cultural Differences	3.75	1.49
States' Rights	3.33	2.08	States' Rights	4.38	0.92
Slavery	3.33	2.08	Slavery	4.13	1.36
Tariffs	2.67	1.53	Tariffs	3.38	1.30

From most liberal to most conservative, the means for the Southeast were: 4.88, 4.89, 4.76, 4.44, and 4.13, with standard deviations of 0.35, 0.32, 0.58, 0.94, and 1.36 respectively. It is interesting that every group, other than those who responded as very conservative, in the Southeast has a standard deviation below one. This means that for my respondents from the Southeast, ideology was highly predictive of any individual's evaluation of the importance of slavery. Although overall the Northeast had a lower average response than the Southeast at 4.60 compared to 4.65. The only two ideologies from Northern students with standard deviations below one were those who were liberal either liberal or conservative. The average response from those who identified as liberal from the Northeast was 5.00 and the mean from conservative respondents was 4.88. Given that these two responses are opposites ideologically, it is interesting that both means would be this close together. This could indicate that a larger sample size might yield higher means for the other ideologies in this category with higher standard deviations as well, meaning that students from the Northeast generally rank slavery as more important.

I then pivoted my data by the participants' level of political engagement and filtered the data by their personal political beliefs, depicted in Figure 3.1. There was no crossover between students who described themselves as very liberal and not politically engaged. Between the two remaining categories, very liberal responses yielded high standard deviations for every question except the importance of slavery. Somewhat politically engaged students who described themselves as very liberal responded with an average of 4.83 and a standard deviation of 0.41.

Table 4.1: Personal Political Engagement, Personal Ideology

## Very Liberal

Somewhat Engaged: 60.00%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural Differences	3.67	1.75
States' Rights	4.00	1.10
Slavery	4.83	0.41
Tariffs	3.00	0.89
Very Engaged: 40.00%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural Differences	4.00	2.00
States' Rights	3.25	1.50
Slavery	5.00	0.00
Tariffs	2.25	1.26

Those who were both very liberal and very politically engaged responded with a mean of 5.00 and a standard deviation of 0, meaning every respondent rated the importance of slavery at 5.00. Among very liberal students, students who were more politically engaged were more likely to give higher importance to slavery, although both categories yielded high means.

The reverse is true among liberal students, depicted in Table 4.2. Students who described themselves as liberal and not very politically engaged rated slavery as a 5.00 with no standard deviation, while liberal students who were somewhat politically active rated the importance of slavery with a mean of 4.96 with a standard deviation of 0.19. Very politically active liberal students rated slavery at 4.71 with a standard deviation of 0.49. Although the overall average of liberal students was still a 4.93, it is surprising that the average of slavery would decrease with political engagement. I decided to filter the data by gender to further explore this trend. While, as previously discussed, liberal men ranked slavery at a 5.00 across the dataset, liberal women varied based on political engagement with low standards of deviation.

Table 4.2: Personal Political Engagement, Personal Ideology

Liberal

Not Engaged: 12.50%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural Differences	4.60	0.55
States' Rights	3.60	1.14
Slavery	5.00	0.00
Tariffs	4.00	0.71
Somewhat Engaged: 70.00%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural Differences	4.21	1.13
States' Rights	3.71	1.33
Slavery	4.96	0.19
Tariffs	3.21	1.26
Very Engaged: 17.50%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural Differences	4.43	1.13
States' Rights	3.57	1.51
Slavery	4.71	0.49
Tariffs	3.57	1.27

I further applied filters of family politics and family political engagement to narrow the results. I found that highly politically engaged female liberal students with conservative parents who were also highly politically engaged ranked slavery as less significant, and states' rights as more significant, than similar female students who described themselves as somewhat politically engaged. Although the sample sizes are low, this could mean that family political engagement and personal political engagement could be related to this issue in some way with female respondents.



Table 4.3: Personal Political Engagement, Personal Ideology

## Moderate

Not Engaged: 46.30%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural Differences	4.48	0.87
States' Rights	4.32	0.85
Slavery	4.56	0.87
Tariffs	3.60	1.26
Somewhat Engaged: 50.00%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural Differences	4.22	1.05
States' Rights	4.26	0.94
Slavery	4.78	0.42
Tariffs	3.19	1.00
Very Engaged: 3.70%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural Differences	4.00	0.00
States' Rights	3.50	2.12
Slavery	5.00	0.00
Tariffs	3.00	1.41

The responses of students who described themselves as moderates trended clearly with their political engagement. These results are represented in Table 4.3. From least to most politically engaged, the mean responses for moderate respondents on the importance of cultural differences were 4.48, 4.22, and 4.00, with standard deviations of 0.87, 1.05, and 0. On states' rights, the mean responses were 4.32, 4.26, and 3.50, with standard deviations of 0.85, 0.94, and 2.12 respectively. On the question of the importance of slavery, average responses from moderate respondents from least to most engaged were 4.56, 4.78, and 5.00, with standard deviations of 0.87, 0.42, and 0. According to this survey, moderate students who engage more in politics are less likely to value causes of the Civil War that are highlighted by the Lost Cause.

Table 4.4: Personal Political Engagement, Personal Ideology

## Conservative

Not Engaged: 23.08%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural Differences	4.33	0.98
States' Rights	4.33	0.98
Slavery	4.58	0.90
Tariffs	3.58	0.79
Somewhat Engaged: 63.46%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural Differences	4.48	0.80
States' Rights	4.33	0.92
Slavery	4.45	0.90
Tariffs	3.48	1.06
Very Engaged: 13.46%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural Differences	4.43	0.53
States' Rights	4.43	0.53
Slavery	4.43	1.13
Tariffs	4.00	0.58

Conservative respondents did not follow the trends visible in moderate responses, as displayed in Table 4.4. With low standard deviations, conservative responses showed little to no changes between levels of political engagement on the importance of cultural differences between the North and the South and states' rights as factors in causing the Civil War. The rating for the importance of slavery slightly decreased by rising political engagement among conservatives, with mean responses from least to most engaged of 4.58, 4.45, and 4.43, with standard deviations of 0.90, 0.90, and 1.13. These somewhat higher standard deviations make this trend less clear, but it does show that higher political engagement did not influence conservative respondents' acceptance of Lost Cause responses to the Civil War. The differences in responses between moderate and conservative respondents could mean that conservative students are either more resistant to new information on the issue, or that their political engagement distances them from new information.

Table 5: Family Ideology

Very Liberal: 1.19%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural Differences	2.50	2.12
States' Rights	3.00	1.41
Slavery	5.00	0.00
Tariffs	1.50	0.71
Liberal: 12.50%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural Differences	3.95	1.32
States' Rights	3.67	1.39
Slavery	4.90	0.30
Tariffs	3.29	1.45
Moderate: 27.38%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural Differences	4.26	1.06
States' Rights	4.04	1.05
Slavery	4.72	0.69
Tariffs	3.57	1.05
Conservative: 41.67%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural Differences	4.40	0.89
States' Rights	4.14	1.01
Slavery	4.60	0.82
Tariffs	3.34	1.18
Very Conservative: 17.26%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural Differences	4.34	1.14
States' Rights	4.52	0.95
Slavery	4.38	1.05
Tariffs	3.45	1.18

I next analyzed a table pivoted by the political ideology of the parents of the respondents. Without filters, the question on the importance of slavery was the only question with a set of low standard deviations. This dataset is depicted in Table 5. Responses to this question, from most liberal to most conservative parents, averaged at 5.00, 4.90, 4.72, 4.60, and 4.38 with standard deviations of 0, 0.30, 0.69, 0.82, and 1.05. This implies that within this dataset, students with more conservative parents are more likely to rate slavery as less important in causing the Civil War when compared to students with more liberal parents. I then filtered the data by the personal political beliefs of my respondents. Very liberal students had nearly all 5.00 averages across all levels of parental ideology, with no trends present for other questions. Liberal students showed similarly few trends. Liberal and Moderate responses are depicted in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Family Ideology, Personal Ideology

Liberal Parents			Moderate Parents		
Liberal: 32.50%	Mean	Standard Deviation	Liberal: 9.26%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural	3.85	1.34	Cultural	4.40	0.55
Differences			Differences		
States'	3.62	1.56	States'	3.40	1.34
Rights			Rights		
Slavery	4.92	0.28	Slavery	5.00	0.00
Tariffs	3.38	1.56	Tariffs	3.20	1.64
Moderate: 30.00%	Mean	Standard Deviation	Moderate: 46.30	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural	4.33	1.15	Cultural	4.16	1.07
Differences			Differences		
States'	3.33	1.15	States'	4.24	0.97
Rights			Rights		
Slavery	5.00	0.00	Slavery	4.52	0.87
Tariffs	3.50	1.09	Tariffs	3.52	1.08
Conservative: 25.00%	Mean	Standard Deviation	Conservative: 33/33%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural	4.80	0.42	Cultural	4.56	0.78
Differences			Differences		
States'	3.60	1.26	States'	4.33	0.77
Rights			Rights		
Slavery	5.00	0.00	Slavery	4.78	0.43
Tariffs	3.10	0.99	Tariffs	3.06	1.11
Very Conservative: 12.50%	Mean	Standard Deviation	Very Conservative: 11.11%	Mean	Standard Deviation
Cultural	4.40	0.55	Cultural	4.33	1.21
Differences			Differences		
States'	4.80	0.45	States'	4.83	0.41
Rights			Rights		
Slavery	4.60	0.55	Slavery	4.83	0.41
Tariffs	2.00	0.00	Tariffs	3.83	0.98

Interestingly, however, liberal students with very conservative parents rated slavery with a mean of 4.60 and a standard deviation of 0.55, and states' rights a mean of 4.80 with a standard deviation of 0.45. This could mean that very conservative parents have some impact of the beliefs of liberal respondents.

Responses to the importance of slavery from moderate students showed no trends based on the politics of their parents. Responses did, however trend on the question of the importance of states' rights. Mean responses from the most liberal to the most conservative parents read, liberal as 3.40, moderate as 4.24, conservative as 4.33, and very conservative as 4.83. These responses had standard deviations of 1.34, 0.97, 0.77, and 0.41 respectively. No moderate students reported that they had very liberal parents. Not only does this show that moderate respondents were more likely to rate states' rights as more important with more conservative parents, but also that moderate respondents with more conservative parents were more likely to have similar answers. This could mean that not only did the politics of the respondent's parents impact their choice, but that conservative parents impacted their children more than liberal students. Interestingly, neither conservative nor very conservative students showed no trends regardless of parental beliefs. This could be the result of my sample size, as neither conservative nor very conservative students responded as having liberal or very liberal parents.

### **Discussion/Conclusion**

The data gathered throughout my research has shed light on the history of belief in the Lost Cause at the University of South Carolina as well as possible factors that may impact that belief. Ideology has been one key factor throughout. For example, Conservative student organizations like Young Americans for Freedom fought to ensure that the Confederate flag remained a part of campus culture. This was reflected in the articles from *The Gamecock*. The ideology of the author was often indicative of their position for or against Confederate iconography. Many articles in support of Confederate iconography complained that their opposition were leftists or outsiders to the community. In the present, conservative respondents were more likely to rate slavery as less important than more liberal respondents. Conversely, conservative respondents were more likely to rate issues other than slavery as

being of greater importance to the start of the Civil War than liberal respondents. The correlation of personal ideology and opinion about the Lost Cause means that approaching the issue from a non-partisan perspective may be beneficial in properly teaching the Civil War. Conservative students would be far less receptive lessons they deem as being liberal or inconsiderate of their own experiences. What is interesting, however, is that the overall opinion at the university has shifted away from the Lost Cause over time. The total number of articles shifted towards opposition to the Lost Cause in the 1990s, with more students arguing that the Civil War was caused by the South's adherence to slavery. Students since 1960 have trended away from the Lost Cause, with the importance of slavery slowly coming back into focus. Integration, a changing political environment, and a growing awareness of racism all contributed towards shifting the narrative of the Civil War away from traditional Lost Cause ideology. Slavery also had the highest mean response and lowest standard deviation among my questions, meaning that most students in the overall dataset ranked it as more influential than other options. Further research may be able to determine if this was simply the result a shift in the ideological makeup of the university or if the opinions of conservative students changed with time.

Family and familial ties also played a role in how students reflected on the Lost Cause. Many students wrote to *The Gamecock* defending their ancestors' choices to fight for the Confederacy as well as the right to use Confederate iconography to honor their memories. These students thought of Confederate iconography as a symbol meant to honor the South of the past rather than a symbol used necessarily to celebrate the present South. Because of the perceived personal significance that Confederate symbols held to these students, they were likely more resistant to change than others. As a result, respect for Confederate ancestry remained a consistent argument in favor of the Confederate flag within *The Gamecock* through the 2000s. Moderate survey respondents rated the importance of states' rights in causing the Civil War at different rates depending on the political beliefs of their parents. Outside of moderate students, however, I found the more politically polarized respondents to be less influenced by the political beliefs of their parents on these issues when their ideologies differ. More

research will also be needed to determine whether education has any comparable effect on students' belief in aspects of the Lost Cause.

Overall, the University of South Carolina has been a hub of debate around the Confederacy and the Lost Cause. The history of the Lost Cause at the University of South Carolina can be traced through the opinions made by university students and their word choices. Although support for certain aspects of the Lost Cause have waned since the university integrated in 1963, there is still work to be done pushing false or misleading narratives about the causes of the Civil War out of common discourse.



## Appendix 1

### Student Civil War Survey

My name is Sean Dedmon, and I am performing research to determine what opinions students at USC have about the American Civil War. My goal is to determine how current opinions relate to different identities at the university and throughout the past. This survey will collect personal information to determine characteristics of the participants as well as your own reactions to topics related to the American Civil War. This survey will be anonymous, not even the researcher will be able to connect your identity to your answers. To ensure anonymity, your name and email address are not included the personal information section of the survey and will not be collected.

Your participation is highly valued; however, your participation is entirely voluntary. There will be no consequences if you choose to withdraw yourself from the study. If you have already taken the study, you do not have to take it again.

I will be happy to answer any questions you have about the study. You can contact me at [sdedmon29@gmail.com](mailto:sdedmon29@gmail.com), or my faculty advisor Dr. Derek O'Leary at [doleary@mailbox.sc.edu](mailto:doleary@mailbox.sc.edu). If you would like to participate, please click next to begin answering the survey questions. It will take approximately four minutes to complete the survey. There is nothing else you need to do once you finish answering the survey questions.

With warm regards,

Sean Dedmon  
Senior History Major, University of South Carolina.

---

\* Required

1. Do you feel like the Civil War is an important part of your culture? \*

*Mark only one oval.*

☐ Yes

☐ No

Reaction  
Response

For each of the next eight questions, write one word that describes your reaction to each American Civil War related subject. If you are unsure who, or what, the question is asking about, please type N/A

Question  
1/8

Write one word that describes your reaction to the American Civil War related subject. If you are unsure who, or what, the question is asking about, please type N/A

## 2. Robert E. Lee \*

Question

2/8

Write one word that describes your reaction to the American Civil War related subject. If you are unsure who, or what, the question is asking about, please type N/A

## 3. The Union Army \*

Question

3/8

Write one word that describes your reaction to the American Civil War related subject. If you are unsure who, or what, the question is asking about, please type N/A

## 4. William T. Sherman \*

Question

4/8

Write one word that describes your reaction to the American Civil War related subject. If you are unsure who, or what, the question is asking about, please type N/A

## 5. Abraham Lincoln \*

Question

5/8

Write one word that describes your reaction to the American Civil War related subject. If you are unsure who, or what, the question is asking about, please type N/A

## 6. The Confederate Army \*

Question

6/8

Write one word that describes your reaction to the American Civil War related subject. If you are unsure who, or what, the question is asking about, please type N/A

## 7. The Confederate States of America \*

Question

7/8

Write one word that describes your reaction to the American Civil War related subject. If you are unsure who, or what, the question is asking about, please type N/A

## 8. The Confederate Flag \*

Question

8/8

Write one word that describes your reaction to the American Civil War related subject. If you are unsure who, or what, the question is asking about, please type N/A

## 9. The Emancipation Proclamation \*

Civil War

This section will involve the Civil War

## 10. How much do you believe cultural differences contributed to causing the Civil War? \*

*Mark only one oval per row.*

	Did not contribute	Contributed a little	somewhat contributed	Greatly contributed	Unsure
Cultural Differences	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Civil War Cont...

11. How much do you believe states' rights contributed to causing the Civil War? \*

*Mark only one oval per row.*

	Did not contribute	Contributed a little	somewhat contributed	Greatly contributed	Unsure
States' Rights	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Civil War Cont...

12. How much do you believe slavery contributed to causing the Civil War? \*

*Mark only one oval per row.*

	Did not contribute	Contributed a little	somewhat contributed	Greatly contributed	Unsure
Slavery	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Civil War Cont...

13. How much do you believe tariffs contributed to causing the Civil War? \*

*Mark only one oval per row.*

	Did not contribute	Contributed a little	somewhat contributed	Greatly contributed	Unsure
Tariffs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Civil War Cont...

14. Considering the above, which do you believe to be the single greatest contributor to the Civil War? \*

*Mark only one oval.*

- ☐ Cultural Differences Between the North and the South
- ☐ Slavery
- ☐ States' Rights
- ☐ Tariffs
- ☐ Other: \_\_\_\_\_

### Personal Questions

Questions about yourself

15. Are you currently an undergraduate student at the University of South Carolina? \*

*Mark only one oval.*

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

16. From which class were you given this survey? \*

*Mark only one oval.*

- ☐ History 201
- ☐ Political Science 201
- ☐ History 111

17. If you are an undergraduate student at the University of South Carolina, what is your year? \*

*Mark only one oval.*

- ☐ Freshman
- ☐ Sophomore
- ☐ Junior
- ☐ Senior
- ☐ I am not an undergraduate student at the university of South Carolina

18. Gender \*

---

19. Age \*

*Mark only one oval.*

- ☐ 16-25
- ☐ 25-40
- ☐ 40+

20. Races or Ethnicities \*

*Check all that apply.*

- ☐ Black or African American
- ☐ Asian or Pacific Islander
- ☐ White or Caucasian
- ☐ Latino or Hispanic
- ☐ Native American
- ☐ Other or Unknown
- ☐ Prefer not to say

21. Major (If you are a double major, list the second major in the next question) \*

---

22. Second Major (optional)

---

23. Have you completed or are currently enrolled in a college level American history class? (This includes AP classes or dual-enrollment) \*

*Mark only one oval.*

☐ Yes

☐ No

24. Personal political affiliation \*

*Mark only one oval per row.*

	Very Conservative	Conservative	Moderate	Liberal	Very Liberal
How would you describe your personal political views?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

---

25. Personal political engagement \*

*Mark only one oval per row.*

	Not Politically Engaged	Somewhat Politically Engaged	Very Politically Engaged
How would you describe your political Engagement?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

---

## Personal Questions Cont...

26. From state/territory did you receive the majority of your education? \*

*Mark only one oval.*

☐ Country other than US

☐ Alabama

☐ Alaska

☐ American Samoa

☐ Arizona

☐ Arkansas

☐ California

☐ Colorado

☐ Connecticut

☐ Delaware

☐ Florida

☐ Georgia

☐ Guam

☐ Hawaii

☐ Idaho

☐ Illinois

☐ Indiana

☐ Iowa

☐ Kansas

☐ Kentucky

☐ Louisiana

☐ Maine

☐ Maryland

☐ Massachusetts

☐ Michigan

☐ Minnesota

☐



- ☐ Mississippi
- ☐ Missouri
- ☐ Montana
- ☐ Nebraska
- ☐ Nevada
- ☐ New Hampshire
- ☐ New Jersey
- ☐ New Mexico
- ☐ New York
- ☐ North Carolina
- ☐ North Dakota
- ☐ Northern Marina Islands
- ☐ Ohio
- ☐ Oklahoma
- ☐ Oregon
- ☐ Pennsylvania
- ☐ Puerto Rico
- ☐ Rhode Island
- ☐ South Carolina
- ☐ South Dakota
- ☐ Tennessee
- ☐ Texas
- ☐ US Virgin Islands
- ☐ Utah
- ☐ Vermont
- ☐ Virginia
- ☐ Washington
- ☐ Washington D.C.
- ☐ West Virginia
- ☐ Wisconsin
- ☐ Wyoming

27. How would you describe where you are from? \*

*Mark only one oval.*

- ☐ Rural
- ☐ Suburban
- ☐ Urban

28. In which type of school did you spend most of your primary and secondary education? \*

*Mark only one oval.*

- ☐ Public School
- ☐ Private School
- ☐ Charter School
- ☐ Homeschool
- ☐ Other

29. Family political affiliation \*

*Mark only one oval per row.*

	Very Conservative	Conservative	Moderate	Liberal	Very Liberal
How would you describe your parents' political views?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

## 30. Family political engagement\*

*Mark only one oval per row.*

Not Politically Engaged

☐

Somewhat Politically Engaged

☐

Highly Politically Engaged

☐

---

How would you describe your  
parents' political Engagement?

---

---

This content is neither created nor endorsed by Google.

Google Forms

## Bibliography

“A Great Issue?” *The Gamecock*. April 29, 1969, 2.

Ahmed, Sara. *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. New York, NY: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2015.

Ballentine, Gregory N. “Whatever Happened to Playing ‘Dixie?’” *The Gamecock*. September 25, 1978, 23.

Bausum, Ann. “Fighting the Lost Cause.” *Horn Book Magazine* 93, no. 6 (November 2017): 29-34. <http://search.ebscohost.com.pallas2.tcl.sc.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a9h&AN=125914328&site=ehost-live>.

Beck, Paul Allen, and M. Kent Jennings. “Family Traditions, Political Periods, and the Development of Partisan Orientations.” *The Journal of Politics* 53, no. 3 (1991): 742–63. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2131578>.

“Black Community Must Unite on Flag.” *The Gamecock*. February 2, 20002, 7.

Blight, David W. *American Oracle: The Civil War in the Civil Rights Era*. EBSCOhost. Cambridge, UK: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013. <https://web-b-ebscohost.com.pallas2.tcl.sc.edu/ehost/ebookviewer/ebook/ZTkWMHh3d19fMzk4ODkwX19BTg2?sid=50ad836b-5df1-43a5-8f5e-5768b8f86466@pdc-v-sessmgr01&vid=0&format=EB&rid=1>.

Bowen, Chuck and Ronald Tate. “Confederate Flag is a Symbol of Racism.” *The Gamecock*. October 4, 1978, 18.

Brownstein, Alan. “Down with Confederate Monuments, 'up with the Stars'.” *TheHill*. The Hill, July 7, 2020. <https://thehill.com/opinion/white-house/506257-down-with-confederate-monuments-up-with-the-stars?rl=1>.

Brenes-Peralta, Carlos, Magdalena Wojcieszak, and Yphtach Lelkes. "Can I Stick to My Guns? Motivated Reasoning and Biased Processing of Balanced Political Information."

*Communication & Society*, 2021, 49–66. <https://doi.org/10.15581/003.34.2.49-66>.

Butler, Sally. "Guest Editorial Exposes Racism." *The Gamecock*. February 6, 1987, 6.

Calder, Jarrett. "Rebel Flag Important to Southern Heritage." *The Gamecock*. September 17, 2004, 4.

Campbell, David. "Columnist Wrong for Supporting Flag." *The Gamecock*. February 16, 2000, 7.

"Census Regions and Divisions of the United States." Accessed April 6, 2022.

[https://www2.census.gov/geo/pdfs/maps-data/maps/reference/us\\_regdiv.pdf](https://www2.census.gov/geo/pdfs/maps-data/maps/reference/us_regdiv.pdf).

Clausen, Christopher. "Living Memory." *The Wilson Quarterly* (1976-) 28, no. 4 (2004): 24–30.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40261519>.

Cohen, Robert. *Rebellion in Black and White: Southern Student Activism in the 1960s*.

Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013.

"Confederate Flag Should be Destroyed." *The Gamecock*. November 7, 1980, 6.

"Confederate Flag Should be Put in Proper Place." *The Gamecock*. February 4, 1980, 6.

Cook, Robert. "'Hollow Victory': Federal Veterans, Racial Justice and the Eclipse of the Union

Cause in American Memory." *History and Memory* 33, no. 1 (2021): 3.

<https://doi.org/10.2979/histmemo.33.1.02>.

Crisp, David. "Frederick Douglass Warned: Forgive, but Never Forget." *Missoula Current*,

August 23, 2017. <https://missoulacurrent.com/opinion/2017/08/frederick-douglass-civil-war/>.

Culbertson, David. "Historic Flag not Hateful." *The Gamecock*. March 4, 1992, 3.

Davis, Robert. "Flag a Symbol of Rich Man's Exploitations." *The Gamecock*. April 21, 2000, 6.

Davis, Robert T. "Confederate Flag Part of Dead Era." *The Gamecock*. March 6, 1992, 2.

"Defending Expression." *The Gamecock*. March 20, 1972, 2.

Farrow, Robert, and Rolin Moe. "Rethinking the Role of the Academy: Cognitive Authority in the Age of Post-Truth." *Teaching in Higher Education* 24, no. 3 (2019): 272–87.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/13562517.2018.1558198>.

Foner, Eric. "South Carolina's Forgotten Black Political Revolution." *Slate Magazine*. Slate, January 31, 2018. <https://slate.com/human-interest/2018/01/the-many-black-americans-who-held-public-office-during-reconstruction-in-southern-states-like-south-carolina.html>.

Grant, Cynthia, and Azadeh Osanloo. "Understanding, Selecting, and Integrating a Theoretical Framework in Dissertation Research: Creating the Blueprint for Your 'House.'" *Administrative Issues Journal Education Practice and Research* 4, no. 2 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.5929/2014.4.2.9>.

Grotevant, Harold D., and Catherine R. Cooper. "Patterns of Interaction in Family Relationships and the Development of Identity Exploration in Adolescence." *Child Development* 56, no. 2 (1985): 415. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1129730>.

Hale, G. E. (2013). The Lost Cause and the Meaning of History. *OAH Magazine of History*, 27(1), 13–17. <https://doi-org.pallas2.tcl.sc.edu/10.1093/oahmag/oas047>

Hiers, W. "Party Matters: Racial Closure in the Nineteenth-Century United States." *Social Science History* 37, no. 2 (2013): 255–308. <https://doi.org/10.1215/01455532-2074438>.

Hightower, Greg. "Flag Location Still Irks Some." *The Gamecock*. November 11, 2000, 4.

Hollinshead, Stanley M. "Black Insult." *The Gamecock*. June 8, 1972, 6.

Jennings, M. Kent, and Richard G. Niemi. "The Transmission of Political Values from Parent to Child." *The American Political Science Review* 62, no. 1 (1968): 169.

<https://doi.org/10.2307/1953332>.

Johnson, Kurt. "Yankee Offers to Use Confederate Flag as Butt Wipe." *The Gamecock*. October 22, 1997, 3.

Jordan, Lee. "Observer Observes Observance." *The Gamecock*. May 12, 1961, 2.

Kaplan, Talia. "Trump Blasts 'Weak' State Leaders for Allowing Removal of Statues and Historic Monuments." Fox News. FOX News Network, June 23, 2020.

<https://www.foxnews.com/media/trump-blasts-weak-states-for-allowing-targeting-of-statues-to-happen>.

Kelly, Baxter. "The 'Low Ebb' of Carolina." *The Gamecock*. February 18, 1969, 3.

Kennedy, Troy A. "Equality Got Lost in Shuffle." *The Gamecock*. April 11, 1990, 3.

Kesler, Danny, Ed Land, and Chris Lommen. "South Carolina has Proud History." *The Gamecock*. February 11, 1980, 5.

Krochmalny, Mike. "Confederate Flag Burned on Campus." *The Gamecock*. February 14, 1969, 1.

Leon, Gonzalo. "'Paranoic Disposition.'" *The Gamecock*. February 18, 1969, 2.

Loewen, J. W. "Using Confederate Documents to Teach about Secession, Slavery, and the Origins of the Civil War." *OAH Magazine of History* 25, no. 2 (2011): 35–44.

<https://doi.org/10.1093/oahmag/oar002>.

Lyman, Brian. "Southern Schools' History Textbooks: A Long History of Deception, and What the Future Holds." *The Montgomery Advertiser*. Montgomery Advertiser, December 3,

2020.<https://www.montgomeryadvertiser.com/story/news/education/2020/12/03/southern-history-textbooks-long-history-deception/6327359002/>.

Mariani, Mack D., and Gordon J. Hewitt. "Indoctrination U.? Faculty Ideology and Changes in Student Political Orientation." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 41, no. 04 (2008): 773–83. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s1049096508081031>.

McCord, Matt. "Fabrications Shade Battle Flag's Honor." *The Gamecock*. November 1, 1993, 4.

McIntosh, Hugh, Daniel Hart, and James Youniss. "The Influence of Family Political Discussion on Youth Civic Development: Which Parent Qualities Matter?" *PS: Political Science & Politics* 40, no. 03 (2007): 495–99. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s1049096507070758>.

Meirick, Patrick C. "Motivated Reasoning, Accuracy, and Updating in Perceptions of Bush's Legacy\*." *Social Science Quarterly* 97, no. 3 (2016): 699–713. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ssqu.12301>.

Miller, Joanne M., Kyle L. Saunders, and Christina E. Farhart. "Conspiracy Endorsement as Motivated Reasoning: The Moderating Roles of Political Knowledge and Trust." *American Journal of Political Science* 60, no. 4 (2015): 824–44. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12234>.

Mohammad, Saif M., and Peter D. Turney. "Crowdsourcing a Word-Emotion Association Lexicon." *Computational Intelligence* 29, no. 3 (2012): 436–65. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8640.2012.00460.x>.

Munro, Niall. "Neo-Confederates Take Their Stand: Southern Agrarians and the Civil War." *European Journal of American Culture* 39, no. 2 (2020): 141–62. [https://doi.org/10.1386/ejac\\_00020\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1386/ejac_00020_1).



Ore, Ersula J. *Lynching: Violence, Rhetoric, and American Identity*. Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2019.

Ouyang, Yunzhu, David E. Rast, Justin D. Hackett, and Zachary P. Hohman. "The American South: Explorations on Southern Attachments and Personal Values." *The Journal of Social Psychology* 160, no. 2 (2019): 137–49.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00224545.2019.1629866>.

Price, Bobby. "Criticizing Flag Criticizes South." *The Gamecock*. October 11, 1978, 23.

Sanders, Steven P. "Flag Symbolizes Brave Soldiers." *The Gamecock*. April 7, 1989, 4.

Schaffner, Brian F., and Cameron Roche. "Misinformation and Motivated Reasoning: Responses to Economic News in a Politicized Environment." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 2016.  
<https://doi.org/10.1093/poq/nfw043>.

Shurpe, Chip, Paul Berresford, Martin Graves. "Confederate Flag: Pride of the South." *The Gamecock*. November 14, 1980, 5.

Sinatra, Gale M., Dorothe Kienhues, and Barbara K. Hofer. "Addressing Challenges to Public Understanding of Science: Epistemic Cognition, Motivated Reasoning, and Conceptual Change." *Educational Psychologist* 49, no. 2 (2014): 123–38.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00461520.2014.916216>.

Smith, C.K. Jr. "Confederate Flag Tribute to Valor." *The Gamecock*. March 24, 1986, 2.

Smith, John David, and J. Vincent Lowery. *The Dunning School Historians, Race, and the Meaning of Reconstruction*. JSTOR. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2013. <https://www-jstor-org.pallas2.tcl.sc.edu/stable/j.ctt4cgsj9>.

Splawn, Jacquie. "Old South." *The Gamecock*. March 25, 1960, 5.

- Stanley, Matthew L., Paul Henne, Brenda W. Yang, and Felipe De Brigard. "Resistance to Position Change, Motivated Reasoning, and Polarization." *Political Behavior* 42, no. 3 (2019): 891–913. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-019-09526-z>.
- Steinert, Steve. "'Dixie' Antagonizes." *The Gamecock*. February 28, 1969, 2.
- Strickland, April A., Charles S. Taber, and Milton Lodge. "Motivated Reasoning and Public Opinion." *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 36, no. 6 (2011): 935–44. <https://doi.org/10.1215/03616878-1460524>.
- Taylor, Alan C., Bethany L. Fisackerly, Elise R. Mauren, and Kelly D. Taylor. "'Grandma, Tell Me Another Story': Family Narratives and Their Impact on Young Adult Development." *Marriage & Family Review* 49, no. 5 (2013): 367–90. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01494929.2012.762450>.
- Taylor, Daniel E. "'AWARE's Idiocy.'" *The Gamecock*. February 18, 1969, 1.
- "The Lost Cause: Definition and Origins." American Battlefield Trust, October 30, 2020. <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/lost-cause-definition-and-origins>.
- Trybula, Catherine A. "Flag not Just Slavery Symbol." *The Gamecock*. March 23, 1990, 3.
- Tune, Brad. "Washington Doesn't Recognize History." *The Gamecock*. September 9, 2004, 5.
- van Deth, Jan W., Simone Abendschön, and Meike Vollmar. "Children and Politics: An Empirical Reassessment of Early Political Socialization." *Political Psychology* 32, no. 1 (2011): 147–74. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2010.00798.x>.
- Walters, Brad. "USC Students Overwhelmingly Support Removal of Rebel Flag." *The Gamecock*. February 7, 2000, 1.
- Wheeler Jr, George E. "Students Defend 'Dixie.'" *The Gamecock*. February 14, 1969, 2.

White, Rodney O. "Tradition not Representative of all Southerners." *The Gamecock*. February 20, 1996, 3.

Williams, Timothy J. "The Intellectual Roots of the Lost Cause: Camaraderie and Confederate Memory in Civil War Prisons." *Journal of Southern History* 86, no. 2 (2020): 253–82.  
<https://doi.org/10.1353/soh.2020.0036>.

Wolcott, Joan. "Hats off to Marching Band and Carolina Coquettes." *The Gamecock*. October 27, 1961, 3.

Wright, David. "War Wasn't Fought Over Slavery." *The Gamecock*. April 14, 2000, 5.