

**UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA
GAINESVILLE DIVISION**

FAIR FIGHT, INC., et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

TRUE THE VOTE, INC., et al.,

Defendants,

Case No. 2:20-CV-00302-SCJ

DECLARATION OF DR. VERNON BURTON

I, Dr. Vernon Burton, make the following declaration:

1. I was retained by Plaintiffs in this case to provide the expert opinions set forth in my expert report attached as Exhibit A to this declaration.
2. The statements in my expert report, attached as Exhibit A, are true and correct to the best of my personal knowledge.
3. If called as a witness, I will testify to the expert opinions and conclusions offered in my expert report and the bases for those opinions, all of which are matters within my personal knowledge.

Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746, I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed on this 15th day of May, 2022.

Vernon Vernon Burton

Dr. Vernon Burton

Exhibit A

Fair Fight Inc., et al. v. True the Vote, Inc., et al., Case No. 2:20-CV-00302-SCJ

United States District Court for the Northern District of Georgia

Expert Report of Orville Vernon Burton, Ph.D.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Orville Vernon Burton". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial "O" and "V".

Dr. Orville Vernon Burton

May 14, 2021

I. STATEMENT OF INQUIRY

I have been asked by Plaintiffs' counsel to serve as an expert witness in litigation surrounding voter intimidation in Georgia. Plaintiffs' counsel asked me to give an overview of prior voter intimidation efforts in Georgia, particularly as they relate to the historical use of voter challenges, and to assess the extent to which True the Vote's activities in Georgia in advance of the 2021 runoff elections align with voter intimidation tactics historically aimed at disfranchising Black and other minority voters.

I am being compensated at \$350 per hour for my work on this case. My compensation is not contingent on or affected by the substance of my opinions or the outcome of this case.

II. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Georgia's voter challenge provision, first introduced in the early 1900s, was explicitly envisioned as a means to exclude Black Georgians from the ballot box under the guise of "purifying" elections. Since its inception, the voter challenge provision has been repeatedly exploited in a racist, exclusionary, and intimidating manner. In the late 1940s and 1950s, for example, after the white primary system was ruled unconstitutional, white candidates in Georgia used voter challenges to great effect to purge and exclude Black Georgians from the voter rolls. The challenges largely succeeded at diminishing the votes cast by Black citizens, in part because many Black voters were either unable to appear or intimidated from appearing to defend the challenges against their eligibility to vote.

Voter challenges did not stop in Georgia in the 1950s; instead, they continued through the 1980s and 2000s, and many—if not all—of these challenge efforts were directed toward Georgia's minority voters. True the Vote, an organization that filed mass challenges in advance of Georgia's 2021 runoff election, has its own history of using the pretext of voter fraud to engage in voter

suppression. As demonstrated in this report, True the Vote's mass challenges and other activities initiated by the organization in advance of the Senate runoff elections are consistent with the types of voter intimidation tactics that have been used historically to disfranchise voters, especially Black Georgians and other minority groups.

III. QUALIFICATIONS

I received my undergraduate degree from Furman University in 1969 and my Ph.D. in American History from Princeton University in 1976. I have been researching and teaching American History at universities since 1971. Currently I am the Judge Matthew J. Perry Distinguished Professor of History and Professor of Pan-African Studies, Sociology and Anthropology, and Computer Science at Clemson University. From 2008 to 2010, I was the Burroughs Distinguished Professor of Southern History and Culture at Coastal Carolina University. I am an emeritus University Distinguished Teacher/Scholar, University Scholar, and Professor of History, African American Studies, and Sociology at the University of Illinois. I am a Senior Research Scientist at the National Center for Supercomputing Applications (NCSA), where I was Associate Director for Humanities and Social Sciences from 2004–2010. I am also the founding Director of the Institute for Computing in Humanities, Arts, and Social Science (ICHASS) at the University of Illinois and currently chair the ICHASS Advisory Board.

I am the author or editor of more than twenty books and two hundred articles, many of which can be found at my Curriculum Vitae attached to the end of this report. I have received several academic awards and honors. I was selected nationwide as the 1999 U.S. Research and Doctoral University Professor of the Year (presented by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and by the Council for Advancement and Support of Education). My book, *The Age of Lincoln: A History*, published in 2007, won the *Chicago Tribune* Heartland

Literary Award for Nonfiction. One reviewer proclaimed, “If the Civil War era was America’s ‘Iliad,’ then historian Orville Vernon Burton is our latest Homer.” The book was featured at sessions of the annual meetings of the African American History and Life Association, the Social Science History Association, and the Southern Intellectual History Circle. I was also one of ten historians selected to contribute to the *Presidential Inaugural Portfolio* (January 21, 2013) by the Joint Congressional Committee on Inaugural Ceremonies. I have also been elected president of the Southern Historical Association and the Agricultural History Society, and I was elected to the Society of American Historians. I also edit two academic press series for the University of Virginia Press: *The American South* Series and the *A Nation Divided: Studies in the Civil War Era* Series.

Over the past forty years, I have been retained to serve as an expert witness and consultant in numerous voting rights cases by the Voting Section of the Civil Rights Division of the United States Department of Justice, the Voting Rights Project of the Southern Regional Office of the American Civil Liberties Union, the Brennan Center, the NAACP, the Legal Defense Fund of the NAACP, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the California Rural Legal Association, the League of United Latin American Citizens, the Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, the Legal Services Corporation, the Southern Poverty Law Center, and other individuals and groups.

I have extensive experience in analyzing social and economic status, discrimination, and historical intent in voting rights cases, as well as group voting behavior. I have been qualified as an expert in the fields of districting, reapportionment, and racial voting patterns and behavior in elections in the United States. My testimony has been accepted by federal courts regarding statistical analyses of racially polarized voting and socioeconomic analyses of the population, as well as on the history of discrimination and the discriminatory intent of laws. In 2014, for example,

my testimony and my expert report were favorably cited by the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Texas in the court's finding that the Texas in-person Voter ID Law was racially motivated and had a disparate effect on minorities. *See Veasey v. Perry*, 71 F.Supp.3d 627 (S.D. Tex. 2014). My testimony and reports have also been cited by the U.S. Department of Justice. In 2012, for example, my expert report was cited by the Justice Department as a reason for their objection to South Carolina's Voter ID law. *See* Dkt. 118-1, *South Carolina v. United States*, No. 1:12-cv-00203-CKK-BMK-JDB (D.D.C. June 29, 2012).

To the best of my knowledge and memory, in the last five or so years, I have given testimony and/or depositions in the following cases: (i) *Community Success Initiative v. Moore*, No. 19-cv-15941 (N.C. Superior Court) (2020); (ii) *Perez v. Perry* (5:11-CV-00360, W.D. Tex.); (iii) *South Carolina v. United States* (1:12-cv-00203, D.D.C.); and (iv) *Veasey v. Perry* (2:13-CV-193, S.D. Tex.). In addition, I testified on the Voting Rights Act in a Congressional Briefing on December 4, 2015.

As a scholar, I have had a long relationship with Georgia. I was born in Royston, Georgia, and I own the family farm in Madison County, Georgia. My book, *In My Father's House Are Many Mansions: Family and Community in Edgefield, South Carolina* (1985), is an intense study of a large section of South Carolina that is only separated from Georgia by the Savannah River. That area has strong ties to Georgia and especially to the city of Augusta, which I have studied since before my Ph.D. I have researched and written about Georgia, and I have researched in the archives of the University of Georgia, Emory University, and Morehouse College. I have served on Ph.D. committees, and am serving on one currently, at the University of Georgia. I gave one of Georgia's annual humanities lectures in connection with the state's Governor's Awards for the Humanities. I also keynoted one of the annual meetings of the Georgia Historical Society. I am

currently serving on the Advisory committee for the Atlanta History Museum to develop new exhibits on the modern South. I have been invited to present papers and talks and to participate in seminars at a number of Georgia institutions and universities, including the Carter Center, University of Georgia, Augusta University, Payne College, Mercer University, Morehouse College, Georgia State University, Georgia Southern University, Fort Valley State University, Berry College, Emory University, the Georgia Institute of Technology, and Young Harris College.

IV. METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES

In this report, I have employed the standard methodology used by historians and other social scientists in investigating the adoption, application, and maintenance of election laws. When analyzing political decision-making, historians examine the circumstantial evidence regarding the political, institutional, and social context in which a decision is made, as well as direct evidence of the reasons asserted for the decision. We examine relevant scholarly studies; newspaper coverage of events; reports of local, state or federal governments; relevant court decisions; and the record in court cases, including expert reports, deposition and trial testimony, and statistical data. In writing this report, I have examined a wide range of sources. I have relied on primary and secondary sources available to me at the time of writing this report. This report makes extensive use of primary sources, especially contemporary newspapers that record debates and speeches and help to provide a barometer of public sentiment. Where possible, I have consulted newspaper accounts from multiple perspectives and checked for accuracy. I have also read the records of both houses of the Georgia General Assembly, the journals and debates of the constitutional conventions of Georgia, bill histories, and public statutes. I have consulted secondary works on politics and race relations in Georgia specifically, as well as in the South as a whole. I also reviewed the Amended Complaint and TRO Motion filed in this case, both of which were provided

to me by Plaintiffs’ counsel. This report features extensive footnotes to allow readers to assess the accuracy and credibility of my evidence and my conclusions.

V. FINDINGS

A. Since its inception, Georgia’s voter challenge provision has repeatedly been used in an intimidating manner against minority voters.

1. Georgia adopted voter challenges as a tool to disfranchise Black Georgians.

From the time Black Americans received the right to vote, Georgia has sought to deny it. In 1868, the *Atlanta Constitution* insisted that “the negro [was] incapable of self-government” and that the “interest of the white race . . . should be held as paramount to all perilous experiments upon an alien race.”¹ Samuel Bard of the *Atlanta Daily New Era* similarly reassured his readers that “Reconstruction does not make negro suffrage a permanency” and promised that “as soon as the State is once more in its place . . . they can amend their Constitution, disfranchise the negroes, and restore suffrage to the disfranchised whites.”²

Following the success of multiracial alliances in the 1880s and 1890s Populist movement, Southern Democrats in Georgia promulgated disfranchising measures predicated on the specter of voter fraud, echoing vitriolic Reconstruction-era rhetoric regarding who deserves the rights of citizenship and the sanctity of the ballot. As Governor Hoke Smith argued, “the first step toward purifying the ballot” was “the exclusion of the ignorant and purchasable negro.”³ John M. Brown,

¹ *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), July 30, 1868.

² “Reconstruction and the Southern Whites,” *The Atlanta Daily New Era* (Atlanta, GA), January 4, 1868. For a scholarly overview of these post-Civil War and post-Reconstruction disfranchising measures, see Laughlin McDonald, Michael B. Binford, and Ken Johnson, “Georgia,” in *Quiet Revolution in the South: The Impact of the Voting Rights Act, 1965–1990*, eds. Chandler Davidson and Bernard Grofman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 67–70.

³ “Hoke Smith Writes of Campaign Issues,” *The Atlanta Georgian and News* (Atlanta, GA), July 29, 1910. On Populism in Georgia see J. Morgan Kousser, *The Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One-Party South, 1880–1910* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 41–42, 62, 78, 214–21.

the editor of *The Bainbridge Democrat*, argued that “the negro as a voter—by a very large majority—is purchasable,” and without disfranchisement a “minority of the whites” could control Black voters and take Georgia hostage.⁴ Indeed, white Democrats blamed “fraudulent negro voters” for Republican rule during Reconstruction and falsely claimed that denying African Americans the right to vote would eliminate fraud.⁵ The false claim that African American votes were fraudulent thus began during Reconstruction and continues today.

Grounded on unsubstantiated claims of voter fraud, the pretext of purifying elections was used to justify the wholesale disfranchisement of Black voters in Georgia in the early twentieth century, primarily through a pair of laws: a disfranchisement law, and a registration law containing a challenge provision allowing a voter to challenge the registration of other voters. In 1907, the Georgia General Assembly decisively passed the Felder-Williams disfranchisement bill. The bill, though broadly written to disfranchise many Georgians, targeted Black men by adding specific exceptions that permitted white men to retain their voter registrations. These exceptions included owning a certain amount of land, being descendants of certain persons, or being “persons of good character who understand the duties and obligations of citizenship.”⁶ In his message to the General Assembly delivered on June 24, 1908, Governor Smith noted that the “disfranchisement act” would require that a new registration of voters be held after its adoption by popular vote.⁷ Smith insisted on the need for “honest elections in Georgia,” which could begin by “keeping registration

⁴ “For Negro Disfranchisement,” *The Bainbridge Democrat* (Bainbridge, GA), September 3, 1908.

⁵ *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta GA), June 16, 1898.

⁶ Laughlin McDonald, *A Voting Rights Odyssey: Black Enfranchisement in Georgia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 41.

⁷ *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia*, 1908 (Atlanta, GA: Franklin-Turner Company, 1908), 11.

lists above suspicion.”⁸ The Felder-Williams bill was adopted by the white voting citizens of Georgia as an amendment to the Georgia constitution in October 1908.⁹

That same year, the Georgia General Assembly also passed a “pure registration law” that amended the process for registering voters, including for the Black men whose registrations had been stripped. The *Cartersville News* explained that this law provided that “the registration list shall be placed on exhibit in the office of the clerk of the court, *where all may inspect and may challenge those who are thought not to be worthy of a place.* (emphasis added)”¹⁰ The bill further stipulated that “the list from the voters’ books . . . shall be open to public inspection, and any citizen of the county shall be allowed to contest the right of registration of any person whose name appears upon the voters’ list.”¹¹ This “challenge” provision was incorporated into the 1910 Code of the State of Georgia.

The purpose of the disfranchisement law and the registration law was clear: to disfranchise Black Georgians and keep it that way. Governor Smith explained that during his tenure, “we adopted a registration law” that “was intended to make complete and fully effective the disfranchisement law.”¹² The *Atlanta Semi-Weekly Journal* reported that “this registration provision is a part of the pure election law which guarantees the ballot to every real white citizen

⁸ *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia*, 1908, 19.

⁹ Georgia’s 1908 voter challenge provision remains substantively unchanged to this day. Originally codified as § 34-605, the 1908 voter challenge provision was preserved in substantially the same form through extensive reorganization and modernization of the Georgia Election code in 1964 and 1981, when it was re-codified at § 21-2-230. As observed in the editor’s note for the 2008 edition of *The Official Code of Georgia, Annotated* § 21-2-230, the voter challenge provision of the reorganized 1981 *Official Code of Georgia* was so similar to the 1933 *Code*’s voter challenge statute that any legal opinions decided under the older code would apply to § 21-2-230. See O.C.G.A. § 21-2-230 (2008).

¹⁰ “Laws to Govern Georgia Elections,” *The Cartersville News* (Cartersville, GA), August 20, 1908.

¹¹ Part I, Title VII, *Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, 1908* (Atlanta, GA: Charles P. Byrd, 1908), 60.

¹² “Hoke Smith Writes of Campaign Issues,” *The Atlanta Georgian and News* (Atlanta, GA), July 29, 1910.

of the state and which guarantees further that his ballot's power shall not be vitiated by a corrupt and floating element"¹³—i.e. the “purchasable” Black voter whose vote was “fraudulent.”

Together, the disfranchisement amendment and the registration law were devastatingly effective. In 1908, 33,816 Black Georgians were registered to vote. Two years later, in 1910, only 7,847 Black voters were registered—a decrease of more than 75 percent. In comparison, less than 6 percent of white voters were disfranchised by Georgia's new election laws.¹⁴ Just prior to the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, there were only three Black officials elected in the entire state, all elected in the three years before the Voting Rights Act was passed. Less than a third of eligible Black voters were registered in the state.¹⁵ As two scholars who carefully studied Georgia during this time concluded, “This exclusion from the normal political process was not fortuitous; it was the result of two centuries of deliberate and systematic discrimination by the state against its minority population.”¹⁶

2. Georgia's voter challenge law has been repeatedly exploited to exclude voters, and particularly Black Georgians, from the ballot box.

Unsurprisingly, Georgia's voter challenge provision has had a powerful discriminatory and exclusionary effect. It was used to disfranchise Black voters even as federal courts struck down other Jim Crow-era methods that had been used to deny Black Georgians their right to vote, such as literacy tests, poll taxes, and white-only primaries. As described below, Georgia's voter challenge laws have continued to be used to disfranchise Black voters from the 1946 gubernatorial election through the modern era. Though the voter challenges have often lacked merit, they

¹³ “A Puerile Attack on a Great Law,” *The Atlanta Semi-Weekly Journal* (Atlanta, GA), June 24, 1910.

¹⁴ “A Puerile Attack on a Great Law,” *The Atlanta Semi-Weekly Journal* (Atlanta, GA), June 24, 1910.

¹⁵ *U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Political Participation: A Study of the Participation by Negroes in the Electoral and Political Processes in Ten Southern States since the Passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), 216–17, 232–39; McDonald, Binford, and Johnson, “Georgia.”

¹⁶ McDonald, Binford, and Johnson, “Georgia,” 67.

nevertheless have been devastatingly effective at preventing Black Georgians from accessing the ballot box.

a. Voter Challenges in Georgia’s 1946 Gubernatorial Election

The voter challenges that would plague Georgia’s 1946 gubernatorial election came on the heels of federal court decisions that had just expanded access to the ballot for Black Americans, and particularly Black Georgians. In 1944, the U.S. Supreme Court in *Smith v. Allwright* held in a landmark decision that political parties could not prohibit Black Americans from participating in the party’s primary elections, thereby prohibiting the widely used white primary system.¹⁷ One year later, in *King v. Chapman*, the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of Georgia ruled that the Muscogee County Democratic Executive Committee and the state of Georgia had violated the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Seventeenth Amendment rights of Primus E. King, a Black Georgian who had been turned away when he had attempted to vote in the Democratic Party’s primary in Columbus, Georgia, in July 1944.¹⁸

Following these cases, Georgia saw a massive surge in voter registration, especially among Black voters. Georgia governor Ellis Arnall ultimately decided not to attempt to “circumvent the [*Chapman*] decision,” and groups like the NAACP-backed All Citizens Registration Committee led extensive organizing efforts to register voters. By June 13, 1946, 897,000 voters had registered, including 116,345 Black voters. By the July 17 primary, 118,387 Black Georgians had qualified

¹⁷ *Smith v. Allwright*, 321 U.S. 649 (1944).

¹⁸ *King v. Chapman*, 62 F. Supp. 639 (M.D. Ga. 1945); *Chapman v. King*, 154 F.2d 460 (5th Cir. 1946); *Chapman v. King*, 327 U.S. 800 (1946); “Judge Rules Negroes May Vote,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), October 13, 1945; “Georgia Reform Faces Test in Hot Primary,” *The Sunday News* (Lancaster, PA), July 14, 1946; Ronald H. Bayor, *Race and the Shaping of Twentieth-Century Atlanta* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 34.

to vote. According to the *Jackson Progress-Argus* of Jackson, Georgia, this was “by all odds the largest registration in Georgia’s primary.”¹⁹

Black Georgians’ registration progress, however, was met by outright hostility from two candidates in the 1946 gubernatorial election. One Democratic gubernatorial candidate, Eugene Talmadge, explicitly campaigned on a platform of white supremacy and Black disfranchisement. He threatened that if the “Democratic White Primary is not restored and preserved,” Black voters, “directed by influences outside of Georgia,” would control the Democratic Party.²⁰ His words echoed earlier language, such as Governor Smith’s, that questioned the legitimacy of Black voters. Talmadge’s supporters claimed that if he were not elected, Georgia would be ushered into an era of “carpet-bagger rule” propagating the “horrors of Reconstruction,” a common trope and scare tactic. Voters were urged to “vote right and keep our state white,” and by so doing preserve white supremacy.²¹ Marvin Griffin, a candidate for lieutenant governor, also made white supremacy a cornerstone of his campaign and announced that he believed that “the White Democratic Party should be kept white in Georgia, and that carpet baggers and scalawags should not be permitted to take over this state and destroy southern racial traditions.”²²

As the 1946 gubernatorial race progressed, both Griffin’s and Talmadge’s campaigns depended on voter challenges to steal the election from their opponents, disfranchise Black voters,

¹⁹ “Total Registration in Georgia May Reach Million When Deadline Falls,” *The Jackson Progress-Argus* (Jackson, GA), June 20, 1946; “118, 387 Qualified to Vote in Georgia Primary Election,” *The Plaindealer* (Kansas City, KS), July 19, 1946.

²⁰ “Georgia CAN Restore the Democratic White Primary and Retain County Unit System,” *The Forsyth County News* (Cummings, GA), July 4, 1946.

²¹ “Our Last Chance for WHITE SUPREMACY,” *The Jackson Herald* (Jefferson, GA), July 11, 1946; “Georgia’s State Campaign To Be Red Hot Affair,” *The Gaffney Ledger* (Gaffney, SC), April 25, 1946.

²² *The Houston Home Journal* (Perry, GA), May 30, 1946

and repudiate *King v. Chapman* and *Smith v. Allwright*.²³ In particular, Talmadge responded to *Smith v. Allwright* by mounting challenges to Black voters' registrations in more than thirty counties, purging an estimated 15,000 to 25,000 Black registrants.²⁴ In Putnam County, the Talmadge machine challenged every Black voter on the rolls before the July 17 primary, and the Board of Registrars issued a subpoena for every challenged voter to appear before them.²⁵ In Houston County, a supporter of Marvin Griffin single-handedly submitted around 700 challenges against Black voters.²⁶ Collectively, around 20,000 Black voters across Georgia—in Appling, Atkinson, Ben Hill, Butts, Coffee, Colquitt, Glynn, Hall, Houston, Lamar, Pierce, Putnam, Spalding, and eighteen other counties—faced challenges from Talmadge's and Griffin's campaigns.

Although the state law required specific grounds for voiding registrations, Talmadge's crew cited spurious reasons. They had pre-filled forms with spaces to fill in the challenged voter's name and county, with reasons such as “the voter was not a resident, was not eighteen, was not a person of good character, could not read the English language, and so forth.” The Talmadge machine did not know the specific circumstances or qualifications of the voters they challenged: “What they did know was that they were black, and that was enough.”²⁷ Ultimately, the Talmadge machine challenged so many voters that it proved impossible to process all of the challenges.²⁸

Austin Dean, editor of the *Gainesville Eagle*, argued that “this challenge is a mean trick of the

²³ “Talmadge ‘Purge’ of Negro Voters Boggling Down in Georgia Counties,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), July 12, 1946.

²⁴ McDonald, *Voting Rights Odyssey*, 52–54.

²⁵ “Primary Plans Set for Wednesday July 17,” *The Eatonton Messenger* (Eatonton, GA), July 11, 1946.

²⁶ “Friday Is Last Day to Register to Vote,” *The Houston Home Journal* (Perry, GA), July 4, 1946.

²⁷ McDonald, *Voting Rights Odyssey*, 52–54.

²⁸ McDonald, *Voting Rights Odyssey*, 53.

Talmadge forces” and “an obvious effort to disqualify these voters for no other reason than it is known they will not vote for a man who has low-rated and reviled them.”²⁹

In the summer of 1946, federal courts were called upon to intercede and stop Talmadge’s and Griffin’s voter challenges. The U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Georgia issued a temporary injunction on challenges in Atkinson and Bibb Counties, and the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of Georgia pledged to continue a hearing on an injunction ending the purge in Ben Hill County “until September” in order to stop what was described as a “statewide conspiracy to deprive Negroes . . . of their right of franchise.”³⁰ Despite the federal courts’ efforts, the challengers, who “used pretexts that the Negroes were ineligible because they couldn’t write, couldn’t ‘interpret’ the constitution, or weren’t ‘good citizens,’” were largely successful in their efforts to disqualify Black voters. The *Courier-Journal* of Louisville, Kentucky, reported that, in one Georgia county, 90 percent of Black voters were disqualified by Georgia’s voter challenge provisions, in part because many of those Black voters were laborers who were unable to take a day off from work to respond to the challenge.³¹

b. Voter Challenges in Georgia, 1948–1957

Voter challenges against Black voters persisted in Georgia in the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s. Following Governor Talmadge’s death shortly after his election in 1946, voter challenges were used in the 1948 Georgia gubernatorial special election to disfranchise Black

²⁹ “Negroes Purged from Rolls, Two Ware Registrars Resign,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), July 6, 1946.

³⁰ “Talmadge ‘Purge’ of Negro Voters Boggling Down in Georgia Counties,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), July 12, 1946; “The Talmadge Purge of Negro Voters,” *The Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), July 15, 1946; “Colored Citizens Challenged By Butts Citizens,” *The Jackson Progress-Argus* (Jackson, GA), July 11, 1946; “Judge Halts Vote Purge in Georgia,” *The Pittsburgh Courier* (Pittsburg, PA), July 20, 1946; “U.S. Studies Negro Purge,” *The Los Angeles Times* (Los Angeles, CA), July 14, 1946.

³¹ “The Talmadge Purge of Negro Voters,” *The Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), July 15, 1946.

voters. Just one month before the 1948 primary, nearly three-quarters of the 2,477 Black voters who were registered to vote in Laurens County were purged from the rolls after their right to vote was challenged and they did not personally appear before the Board of Registrars. Eventually, however, the Laurens County Tax Collector was forced to re-register the purged voters after a grand jury found the action illegal.³² Attempts to purge Black voters before the primary election also occurred in Marion County, where Black voters were challenged because of their supposed “lack of education.” The Board of Registrars, however, ultimately stepped in and prevented the disqualification of more than 2,000 voters in that county.³³ The day before the 1948 Democratic primary election, 558 Black voters were purged from Spalding County’s registration list.³⁴ Attempts to challenge and purge Black voters from voter registration lists also occurred in Lowndes, Marion, Schley, and Twiggs Counties.

Attempts to use voter challenges to disfranchise Black voters continued into the 1950s. In 1956, Georgia’s challenge laws were used to strike 25 percent of Black voters from Pierce County’s voting lists after one individual challenged the voting rights of 300 Black voters. As a result of those challenges, around 130 Black voters were purged from the list of qualified voters when they did not attend a qualification hearing.³⁵ The following year, in 1957, Governor Marvin Griffin—whose campaign had filed thousands of challenges against Black voters in 1946—formed a state election law revision committee that introduced new voter requirements “aimed

³² “Tax Collector of Laurens County Puts Negroes Back on List,” *The Butler Herald* (Butler, GA), June 17, 1948.

³³ “‘Vote Purge’ Evidence Said Insufficient,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), August 29, 1948; “Twiggs Board Directed to Enroll Negroes,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), August 14, 1948.

³⁴ “Marion County Striking 400 From Voting List,” *The Butler Herald* (Butler, GA), August 26, 1948; “Attempts to Intimidate Voters Told,” *The Alabama Tribune* (Montgomery, AL), September 17, 1948.

³⁵ “FBI to Probe ‘Purge’ of Pierce Negro Voters,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), October 25, 1956; “Suit by Negroes to Regain Vote in Pierce Won’t Affect FBI Probe,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), October 26, 1956.

primarily . . . at curbing potential Negro voting strength in Georgia.” Voters could be disqualified for offenses like “moonshine liquor law violations, adultery and child abandonment,” and a new, more stringent voter qualification test was proposed. Rather than forcing a re-registration to ensure that all 1.2 million registered voters in the state could meet the new requirements, the new requirements were intended to “be invoked against a registered voter upon challenge by another voter.”³⁶ Griffin’s insistence that the legislation include a \$1.00 poll tax and bi-annual re-registration, however, led to the bill’s failure in the General Assembly.³⁷

c. Voter Challenges in Georgia, 1980s–2000s

In 1981, white Republicans on the northside of Atlanta formed the Voter Information Project (VIP), which used Georgia’s voter challenge law to dispute the right to vote of more than 50,000 registered voters in Fulton County. Of these challenged voters, 58 percent were Black. Ben O’Callaghan, one of the directors of the VIP, argued that the challenges were necessary because there were “thousands” of fraudulent votes cast in Fulton County elections. Though Fulton County Chief Registrar Joe Honstein resisted a “mass execution” of voters, one in five registered voters was purged from Fulton County’s voter rolls as a result of the mass challenge.³⁸

Voter challenges against minority voters in Georgia also persisted into the early 2000s. During the 2004 presidential election, Jerry Metts, a county commissioner in Atkinson County, persuaded non-citizen Latinos to register to vote. The ensuing fear that non-citizens would vote

³⁶ William M. Bates, “Crime Barriers and Stiffer Tests Proposed to Curb Negro Voting,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), November 22, 1957.

³⁷ “Griffins Poll Tax, Voter Registration Bids Face Scuttling Move in House,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), February 13, 1958.

³⁸ Barry King, “Notices Sent on Fulton Voter Purge,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), March 3, 1981; Jim Walls, “One in Five Voters Dropped From Rolls,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), April 16, 1981; Frederick Allen, “Voter Challenges Seen Through a Glass Darkly,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), September 15, 1981.

became a reason for white voters in Atkinson to challenge “all Hispanic voters whom they did not know to be citizens.” Leslie Lobos, who represented Atlanta’s Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, argued that the challenges in Atkinson (as well as earlier challenges in Long County) were “racial profiling” and could “be used to discourage voters.”³⁹

As recently as 2016, the Hancock County Board of Elections and Registration, which at the time was majority white, challenged 174 residents of Sparta, Georgia, nearly all of whom were Black. Though the Hancock County attorney, Barry A. Fleming, denied that this purge was about race, the Georgia State Conference of the NAACP, the Georgia Coalition for the People’s Agenda, and four voters who had their registrations challenged sued the Hancock County Board of Elections seeking an injunction to force the Board to end their use of the challenge procedures to intimidate and target Black voters. The parties agreed to a negotiated settlement, but a U.S. District Court ordered the defendants to pay the plaintiffs’ attorney fees, and the terms of the consent agreement specified that the Board of Elections would follow a strict process that required the Board to notify the plaintiffs’ counsel if the Board made any voter challenges.⁴⁰

B. Recent Georgia elections have been defined by voter investigations and continued voter challenges.

The voter challenges that have plagued Georgia’s history throughout the twentieth century have persisted into the modern era. These voter challenges have also come at a time of rapid demographic shifts in Georgia’s electorate and calls for investigations into Georgia voters by both the State itself and private groups like True the Vote.

³⁹ Teresa Borden, “Latino Voters Challenged,” *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), October 28, 2004.

⁴⁰ Wines, Michael, “Critics See Efforts by Counties and Towns to Purge Minority Voters from Rolls,” *The New York Times* (New York, NY), July 31, 2016; *Ga. State Conference of the NAACP v. Hancock Cnty. Bd. of Elections & Registration* (CIVIL ACTION No. 5:15-CV-00414 (CAR) (M.D. Ga. Mar. 30, 2018)).

1. State-Sponsored Voter Investigations

As in Georgia's past, modern-day elected officials, law enforcement officers, and political activists have continued to harass and intimidate Black voters and candidates in order to maintain political power. Nowhere is this more obvious than in Quitman, Georgia—a predominantly Black city in otherwise predominantly white Brooks County. In the early 2000s, Nancy Dennard, a Black educator, won a 2009 special election to the Brooks County School Board through a campaign that targeted citizens “who had never voted before” and who had problems getting to the polls on election day. At the time, Dennard's opponent complained about the large number of absentee ballots cast for Dennard. The Georgia secretary of state's office conducted a brief investigation but found no evidence of fraud.⁴¹

The next year, two more Black women and allies of Dennard—Diane Thomas and Linda Troutman—ran for seats on the school board and again worked to increase voter turnout through absentee voting. This time, the Brooks County School Board hired a private investigator to track Dennard and her allies. More than 1,400 Black voters participated in the Democratic primary election for school board that year—three times the turnout in previous midterm elections—and Thomas and Troutman were elected as the Democratic Party's nominees. In response, then-Secretary of State Brian Kemp (in cooperation with the Georgia Bureau of Investigation) opened a formal investigation into the 2010 election in Quitman.⁴²

Six weeks after Thomas and Troutman won seats on the school board, state and local police arrested Dennard, Thomas, Troutman, and seven other people. Two more women were arrested a year later. The “Quitman 10+2,” as they came to be known, were collectively charged with 102

⁴¹ John Ward, “How a Criminal Investigation in Georgia Set an Ominous Tone for African-American Voters,” Yahoo! News, August 6, 2019, <https://news.yahoo.com/how-a-criminal-investigation-in-georgia-set-a-dark-tone-for-african-american-voters-090000532.html> (accessed April 27, 2021).

⁴² Ward, “How a Criminal Investigation in Georgia Set an Ominous Tone for African-American Voters.”

felony counts. Prosecutors alleged that organizers had provided unlawful assistance to voters and had unlawfully possessed ballots when they delivered sealed ballots to the post office. Despite a paucity of evidence, Kemp doggedly pursued a case against the Quitman 10+2, only backing down in 2016 when Georgia’s attorney general issued an opinion clarifying that it was not a violation of the law for organizers to mail absentee ballots.

Afterward, Dennard argued the investigation and prosecution were an attempt to disqualify Black officeholders and stifle Black political activism. She insisted, “[T]hey thought they could make an example out of me, and that would kill the spirit of this movement.”⁴³ Thomas interpreted the Quitman 10+2’s arrest and investigation by explaining that “the message sent to our citizens was, if you don’t want the GBI to come visiting and put you in jail, you better not vote.”⁴⁴

In 2014, while speaking to a group of Republican voters in Gwinnett County, then-Secretary Kemp made clear the connection between minority voting rights and election victories when he remarked that “the Democrats are working hard . . . registering all these minority voters that are out there and . . . if they can do that, they can win these elections in November.”⁴⁵ Around the same time, Kemp’s office launched an investigation into the New Georgia Project, an organization with the explicit goal of registering Georgia’s unregistered minority voters. The New Georgia Project was cleared of any wrongdoing. Kemp’s office also launched an investigation into the Asian American Legal Advocacy Center (AALAC), an organization that had criticized Kemp

⁴³ Ward, “How a Criminal Investigation in Georgia Set an Ominous Tone for African-American Voters.”

⁴⁴ Ariel Hart, “Voting Case Mirrors National Struggle,” *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, December 13, 2014; Gloria Tatum, “Voter Fraud Charges from 2020 Fizzle in Quitman, South Georgia,” *The Atlanta Progressive News*, September 18, 2014, <http://atlantaprogressivenews.com/2014/09/18/voter-fraud-charges-from-2010-fizzle-in-quitman-south-georgia/> (accessed April 27, 2021).

⁴⁵ Steve Benen, “Georgia GOP Official Express Concerns about ‘Minority Voters,’” MSNBC, September 11, 2014, <https://www.msnbc.com/rachel-maddow-show/georgia-gop-official-express-concerns-about-minority-voters-msna410401> (accessed April 27, 2021).

for not registering all voters who had submitted voter registrations to Georgia.⁴⁶ Kemp pursued the investigation for more than two years, and though he found no evidence of wrongdoing, the investigation had an effect: it created an atmosphere of fear. One journalist tracking these investigations described them as “legal terrorism, exploiting the law to intimidate and discourage citizens from accessing their constitutional right to vote.”⁴⁷ In other words, the threat of investigation or allegation of wrongdoing—even when not backed up by any substantive evidence—has sowed terror in Georgia’s minority communities, particularly when it comes to voting.

2. Private Voter Investigations and Challenges: True the Vote

True the Vote’s mass challenges and other tactics in advance of Georgia’s 2021 Senate runoff election are consistent with the long history of using voter challenges to disfranchise and intimidate minority voters. Moreover, True the Vote has its own history of using the pretext of voter fraud to engage in voter suppression.

a. History of True the Vote

True the Vote began as an initiative of the King Street Patriots, a Tea Party organization founded in Houston, Texas, in 2008. From its earliest attempts to intimidate voters, True the Vote has relied on allegations of voter fraud. In 2010, True the Vote dispatched a thousand volunteer poll watchers to voting sites across Houston. As Patrick Michels of the *Texas Observer* wrote in 2011, though it “generated little evidence of voter fraud, the King Street Patriots’ effort did result

⁴⁶ Spencer Woodman, “Register Minority Voters in Georgia, Go to Jail,” *The New Republic*, May 5, 2015, <https://newrepublic.com/article/121715/georgia-secretary-state-hammers-minority-voter-registration-efforts> (accessed May 10, 2021).

⁴⁷ Austin Adkins, “Opinion: Voter Fraud Investigations Weaponized to Suppress Voters,” *The Mainline*, November 3, 2019, <https://www.mainlinezine.com/voter-fraud-investigations-weaponized-to-suppress-voters/>.

in complaints about voter intimidation and breached ethics, a lawsuit from the Texas Democratic Party, and an investigation by the U.S. Department of Justice.”⁴⁸ True the Vote’s actions in 2010 caused a flurry of voter intimidation complaints in minority neighborhoods in Houston, where poll watchers were accused of “‘hovering over’ voters, ‘getting into election workers’ faces’ and blocking or disrupting lines of voters waiting to cast their ballots.”⁴⁹ In the end, True the Vote found no evidence of fraud but did generate 56 complaints about the group’s behavior during the 2010 election.⁵⁰

In November 2011, the King Street Patriots hosted conservative columnist Matthew Vadum shortly after he had argued in an essay, “Registering the Poor to Vote is Un-American,” that “registering the unproductive to vote” would “destroy the country.” Like Hoke Smith a century earlier—who had argued that “the first step toward purifying the ballot” was “the exclusion of the ignorant and purchasable negro”—Vadum argued that “welfare recipients are particularly open to demagoguery and bribery.” He recommended that disfranchising huge swaths of society was necessary to avoid political corruption.⁵¹ Pointing to True the Vote’s support of Vadum and his theory, scholar Ian Haney López argues that “True the Vote and [Catherine] Engelbrecht

⁴⁸ Patrick Michels, “King Street Patriots Go National,” *The Texas Observer* (Austin, TX), December 28, 2011, <https://www.texasobserver.org/king-street-patriots-go-national/> (accessed March 30, 2021).

⁴⁹ Joe Holley, “Some Harris County Early Voters Upset by Poll Watchers,” *Houston Chronicle* (Houston, TX), October 18, 2010, <https://www.chron.com/news/houston-texas/article/Some-Harris-County-early-voters-upset-by-poll-1705867.php> (accessed March 30, 2021).

⁵⁰ Abby Rapoport, “What’s the Truth about True the Vote?,” *The American Prospect*, October 12, 2021, <https://prospect.org/power/truth-true-vote/> (accessed March 30, 2021).

⁵¹ Matthew Vadum, “Registering the Poor to Vote is Un-American,” *American Thinker*, September 1, 2011, https://www.americanthinker.com/articles/2011/09/registering_the_poor_to_vote_is_un-american.html (accessed March 30, 2021); Ryan J. Reilly, “Columnist: ‘Registering the Poor to Vote Is Un-American’ Piece ‘Indelicately Worded,’” *Talking Points Memo*, November 15, 2011, <https://talkingpointsmemo.com/muckraker/columnist-registering-the-poor-to-vote-is-un-american-piece-indelicately-worded> (accessed March 30, 2021).

demonstrate that the campaign against voting fraud is intimately connected with dog whistle concerns”—that is, cries of voter fraud are in fact a kind of coded racial appeal.⁵²

By the 2012 presidential election, True the Vote had expanded its efforts to thirty states. As its founder, Catherine Engelbrecht, explained, the organization’s “exportable, comprehensive True the Vote model” had been used to create a network of poll watchers. That same year, one of those state-affiliates, the Ohio Voter Integrity Project, faced allegations of voter suppression after challenging more than 1,077 voters in Hamilton County alone.⁵³ A majority of these challenges were found to lack merit and were thrown out, but that did not stop every challenged voter from receiving a letter notifying them that their right to vote had been challenged. Reverend Rousseau A. O’Neal, a Black minister from Cincinnati, described the efforts of the Ohio Voter Integrity Project as “bigotry of the highest order.”⁵⁴

By the end of the 2012 election, True the Vote faced condemnation from Representative Elijah Cummings and Senator Barbara Boxer for alleged voter intimidation. In particular, Cummings argued in a letter to Engelbrecht that “an effort to challenge voter registrations by the thousands” could be evidence of voter intimidation.⁵⁵

⁵² Ian Haney López, *Dog Whistle Politics: How Coded Racial Appeals Have Reinvented Racism and Wrecked the Middle Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 160.

⁵³ Dan Harris and Melia Patria, “Is True the Vote Intimidating Minority Voters from Going to the Polls?,” ABC News, November 1, 2012, <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/true-vote-intimidating-minority-voters-polls/story?id=17618823> (accessed March 30, 2021).

⁵⁴ Michael Finnegan, “Tea Party Groups Work to Remove Names from Ohio Voter Rolls,” *The Los Angeles Times* (Los Angeles, CA), September 26, 2012, <https://www.latimes.com/la-xpm-2012-sep-26-la-na-ohio-voting-fight-20120927-story.html> (accessed March 14, 2021).

⁵⁵ Finnegan, “Tea Party Groups Work to Remove Names from Ohio Voter Rolls”; Mariah Blake, “The Ballot Cops,” *The Atlantic*, October 2012; “Election Digest,” *The Austin American-Statesman* (Austin, TX), October 6, 2012. Michael Finnegan, “Congressman Opens Voting Rights Probe of Tea Party Group,” *The Los Angeles Times* (Los Angeles, CA), October 5, 2012.

b. True the Vote's 2020 Voter Challenge Effort

True the Vote's aggressive efforts to hunt down alleged instances of voter fraud threatened to suppress minority voter turnout in Georgia's 2020 general election and 2021 Senate runoff election. In the months before the 2020 general election, True the Vote sketched out an aggressive campaign to recruit off-duty police officers and former Navy Seals to patrol polling places. As True the Vote founder Catherine Engelbrecht described, True the Vote sought individuals "who understand and respect law and order and chain of command" and are "unafraid to call it like they see it." True the Vote endeavored to recruit such individuals in its "absolute front-line fight" against voter fraud.⁵⁶ At the same conference where Engelbrecht discussed True the Vote's plans to recruit law enforcement and military veterans as poll watchers, she also reportedly "called repeatedly for more collaboration among conservative groups, suggesting that participants at the meeting work with groups like the Republican National Lawyers Association to formulate plans to challenge registrations and disqualify voters."⁵⁷ Then, just weeks before the Georgia Senate runoff election, True the Vote issued a press release announcing "its partnership with the Georgia Republican Party to assist with the Senate runoff election process."⁵⁸ As the Georgia Republican Party Chairman, David Shafer, explained in that press release, True the Vote's

⁵⁶ Lee Fang and Nick Surgery, "Conservative Operatives Float Plan to Place Retired Military, Police Officers as GOP Poll Watchers on Election Day," *The Intercept*, April 11, 2020, <https://theintercept.com/2020/04/11/republican-poll-watchers-vote-by-mail-voter-fraud/> (accessed May 9, 2021).

⁵⁷ Fang and Surgery, "Conservative Operatives Float Plan to Place Retired Military, Police Officers as GOP Poll Watchers on Election Day."

⁵⁸ True the Vote, "True the Vote Partners with Georgia GOP to Ensure Transparent, Secure Ballot Effort for Senate Runoff Elections," December 14, 2021, <https://truethevote.org/true-the-vote-partners-with-georgia-gop-to-ensure-transparent-secure-ballot-effort-for-senate-runoff-elections/> (accessed May 11, 2021).

resources would “help [the Georgia Republican Party] implement the most comprehensive ballot security initiative in Georgia history.”⁵⁹

Four days later, on December 18, 2020, True the Vote announced a “landmark coordinated” effort “to preemptively challenge 364,541 potentially ineligible voters” in all 159 counties in Georgia.⁶⁰ Compared to past voter challenges, True the Vote’s Georgia challenges are notable for their size. Before December 2020, the largest private voter challenge efforts in Georgia had been the Talmadge and Griffin machines’ challenges in the 1940s. Though significant in size for their day, those challenges pale in comparison to the magnitude of True the Vote’s challenges in 2020.

True the Vote’s 2020 Georgia voter challenges are also notable for their timing. Like the challenges filed by the Talmadge and Griffin campaigns, True the Vote’s challenges were filed not months before the election, but immediately before election day. As demonstrated by the Talmadge and Griffin challenges, one risk of filing myriad challenges so close to the election is that local jurisdictions will not have the capacity to process the voters who arrive to “prove” their eligibility to vote.

From a historical perspective, the timing of True the Vote’s challenges is also notable because they were filed immediately before Black Georgians exercised their full political power. In the 1940s, the Talmadge and Griffin machines used the voter challenge provisions to exclude Black Georgians from primary elections as soon as Black Georgians gained legal access to the primaries and would have otherwise been able to exert influence over the primary process.

⁵⁹ True the Vote, “True the Vote Partners with Georgia GOP to Ensure Transparent, Secure Ballot Effort for Senate Runoff Elections.”

⁶⁰ True the Vote, “True the Vote Partners with Georgia GOP to Ensure Transparent, Secure Ballot Effort for Senate Runoff Elections.”

Similarly, True the Vote filed the voter challenges on the eve of Georgians electing their first Black Senator to the United States Congress.

Though True the Vote stated in its press release that no voter would be disfranchised due to these challenges if the voter could “prove” their eligibility to vote,⁶¹ as history demonstrates, voters may be reasonably hesitant to arrive at the polls to “prove” their eligibility if it has been challenged, even if the voter is in fact eligible to vote. This hesitancy is especially prevalent in a state that, in the past decade, has launched numerous investigations into voters accused of wrongdoing. Fear of being confronted about one’s eligibility to vote may also be exacerbated in minority communities because groups like True the Vote have publicly recruited law enforcement and similar groups who claim to be “unafraid to call it like they see it” when they patrol the polls.⁶²

c. True the Vote’s 2020 “Validate the Vote” Effort

True the Vote’s voter challenge effort must also be viewed through their contemporaneous rewards for Georgians who report evidence of voter fraud. In November 2020, True the Vote began a new initiative, “Validate the Vote,” designed to “provide that the 2020 election returns reflect the principle of ‘one vote for one voter.’” This endeavor, according to Engelbrecht, was intended “to provide the resources needed that will ensure voters, election workers, and volunteers who are observing the extended ballot counting process . . . have the resources they need to document and report the malfeasance with the confidence that these issues will be pursued.” A crucial part of this campaign was the “Whistleblower Compensation Fund,” which made more than a million dollars

⁶¹ True the Vote, “True the Vote Partners with Georgians in Every County to Preemptively Challenge 364,541 Potentially Ineligible Voters,” December 18, 2021, <https://truethevote.org/true-the-vote-partners-with-georgians-in-every-county-to-preemptively-challenge-364541-potentially-ineligible-voters/> (accessed May 11, 2021).

⁶² Fang and Surgery, “Conservative Operatives Float Plan to Place Retired Military, Police Officers as GOP Poll Watchers on Election Day.”

available as an incentive for individuals who reported fraud.⁶³ True the Vote also paired this reward fund with a 24/7 hotline for “citizen watchdogs” to report fraud.⁶⁴

These types of rewards can risk incentivizing individuals to create fraud out of whole cloth. In 1944, after a private “fair elections committee” offered a \$100 reward for evidence of election fraud in Burlington, North Carolina, state officials warned that the group could be accused of subornation of perjury through their “blanket offer . . . to pay for information about crimes not known to have been committed.” One unnamed state official observed, “I know a lot of folks who would tell a lie” for \$100.⁶⁵

Rewards or bounties for voter fraud can also be used to direct suspicion around minority voters. In 1900, antilynching crusader Ida B. Wells observed the role that rewards could play in arousing public opinion, noting that “the leading journals inflame the public mind to the lynching point with scare-head articles and offers of rewards.”⁶⁶ Since the nineteenth century, the promise of rewards has been used to stir up racial animosity and to silence voices of reform—from offering rewards in Georgia to capture abolitionists,⁶⁷ to offering rewards to prevent individuals from speaking out about integration.⁶⁸ True the Vote’s own “bounty” for fraud presented similar risks—incentivizing individuals to create or suspect fraud where there may have been none, and casting

⁶³ True the Vote, “True the Vote Launches ‘Validate the Vote’ Initiative and Whistleblower Compensation Fund to Ensure Election Validity, Process Integrity,” November 6, 2020, <https://truethevote.org/true-the-vote-launches-validate-the-vote-initiative-and-whistleblower-compensation-fund-to-ensure-election-validity-process-integrity/> (accessed April 20, 2021).

⁶⁴ True the Vote, “True the Vote Launches Georgia Election Integrity Hotline as Part of the Most Comprehensive Ballot Security Effort in Georgia History,” December 15, 2020, <https://truethevote.org/true-the-vote-launches-georgia-election-integrity-hotline-as-part-of-the-most-comprehensive-ballot-security-effort-in-georgia-history/> (accessed May 11, 2021).

⁶⁵ “Subornation,” *The Daily Times-News* (Burlington, NC), September 13, 1944.

⁶⁶ Ida B. Wells-Barnett, “Lynch Law in America,” *The Arena* 23 (January 1900), 15–24.

⁶⁷ *Liberator*, March 12, 1836.

⁶⁸ Allida Mae Black, *Casting Her Own Shadow: Eleanor Roosevelt and the Shaping of Postwar Liberalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 176.

suspicion on voters who have been historically and consistently singled out as “unworthy” of participation in Georgia’s elections.

C. Conclusion

In order to understand the rationale for the current attempts to intimidate and to eliminate or reduce the number of minority voters, one must understand the false trope created by southern whites about the “tragedy of Reconstruction,” a story that was successfully marketed to much of the country by the end of the nineteenth century and continues today. The idea that only a “qualified” few, rather than all citizens, should be permitted to vote propagates white Democrats’ rhetoric from Reconstruction about the illegitimacy of freedmen’s votes. It echoes Governor Hoke Smith’s accusations of the “purchasable negro.” And, like poll taxes and literacy tests before the Voting Rights Act banned such practices—and like the use of voter challenges today—it sustains the discriminatory use of laws to disfranchise minority voters in the modern age.

True the Vote seems to accept the premise that fewer voters are better than a true democracy. Rather than celebrating high voter turnout, the organization is haunted by imagined fraud. Its tactics are in line with disfranchising measures that date back to Reconstruction. The question of who deserves the rights of citizenship was settled by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Nineteenth Amendments, and then enforced through the Voting Rights Act. In the state of Georgia, however, this question seems to continue to be an open one. It continually forces citizens to prove their qualifications as voters and creates a situation where the mere act of voting—especially while Black, or Asian, or Hispanic—risks citizens running afoul of the criminal justice system. Georgia Republicans and conservatives, in a desperate bid to cling to power, have terrorized legitimate, qualified minority voters, even though the Constitution—and more than 250

years of debates, protests, and bloodshed—ensures that all Americans should have the right to vote without fear.

ORVILLE VERNON BURTON

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Education: 1976, Ph.D. Princeton University Ph.D. dissertation: "Ungrateful Servants? Edgefield's Black Reconstruction: Part I of the Total History of Edgefield County, South Carolina." Advisors Sheldon Hackney and James McPherson
1969, B.A. Furman University, magna cum laude

Military Service: active service 1969, 1974 U.S. Army, Honorably Discharged as Captain, 1977

Academic Positions:

Clemson University, 2010-

The Judge Matthew J. Perry, Jr. Distinguished Professor of History

Professor Sociology and Anthropology, Clemson University, 2014-

Creativity Chair of Humanities, Clemson University, 2013-15

Professor Pan-African Studies, 2012-

Professor Computer Science, Clemson University, 2011-

Director Clemson CyberInstitute, 2010-

Associate Director Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences, Clemson CyberInstitute, 2010

Professor of History, Clemson University, 2010-

Burroughs Distinguished Prof. Southern Hist. & Culture, Coastal Carolina University, 2008-10

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC), 1974-2008

2009- Chair, Advisory Board for Institute for Computing in Humanities, Arts, and Social Science (I-CHASS)

2008-11, Consultant for Humanities to Chancellor's and Provost's Office

2004-09, Founding Director I-CHASS

2008 - Emeritus University Distinguished Teacher/Scholar, University Scholar, and

Professor History, African American Studies, and Sociology

2006-08, Professor African American Studies

1989-2008, Professor History

1989-2008, Professor Sociology

1988-2008, Graduate College Statistics Faculty

1986-2008, Campus Honors Program

1985-2006, Faculty Affiliate, African American Studies and Research Program

1982-1989, Associate Professor, History

1976-1982, Assistant Professor History

1974-1976, Instructor

National Center for Supercomputing Applications (NCSA)

2002-10, Associate Director, Humanities and Social Sciences

1993-2002, Head, Initiative for Social Sciences and Humanities

1986- Senior Research Scientist

Princeton University

1972-74, Assistant Master, Woodrow Wilson Residential College

1971-72, Instructor, Mercer County Community College, NJ

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College of Charleston

2001-, Executive Director, Program in the Carolina Lowcountry and the Atlantic World (CLAW) <http://claw.cofc.edu>

1987, Professor of History, Governor's School of South Carolina

Selected Honors, Fellowships, Awards

U.S. Professor of the Year, Outstanding Research and Doctoral Universities Professor (Council for Advancement and Support of Education and Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching), 1999

American Historical Association Eugene Asher Distinguished Teaching Prize, 2004

Chicago *Tribune's* Heartland 2007 Literary award for nonfiction for *The Age of Lincoln*

Illinois House Resolution of Congratulations, HR 0711, 2007. The Illinois State legislature passed a special resolution acknowledging my contributions as a scholar, teacher, and citizen of Illinois.

South Carolina Governor's Award for Lifetime Achievement in the Humanities, presented by the SC Humanities Council, 2017 (selected 2016)

Society of American Historians, Elected 2012

Fellow, National Humanities Center (NEH Senior Scholar Award), 1994-95

Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 1988-89

Fellow, Pew Foundation, 1996

National Fellowship Program for Carnegie Scholars, 2000-2002

Rockefeller Humanities Fellowship, 1978

Earl and Edna Stice Lectureship in the Social Sciences at the University of Washington, 2005

Strickland Visiting Scholar, Department of History, Middle Tennessee State University, 2006

Pew-Lilly Foundation Graduate Professor, Notre Dame University, 2001

Mark W. Clark Distinguished Chair of History, The Citadel, 2000-01

Elected to honorary life membership in BrANCH (British American Nineteenth-Century Historians)

Organization of American Historians Distinguished Lecturer, 2004-

Choice Outstanding Academic Book for *The Age of Lincoln*, 2008

Choice Outstanding Academic Title for *Slavery and Anti-Slavery: Transnational Archive*, 2009

Booklist's Editors' Choice Title for *Slavery and Anti-Slavery: A Transnational Archive*, 2009

Choice Outstanding Academic Book for *Computing in the Social Sciences and Humanities*, 2003

Richard F. Fenno Prize, Legislative Studies Section, American Political Science Association, for *Quiet Revolution*, 1995

President Southern Historical Association, 2011-12

President Agricultural History Society, 2001-02

Elected to the South Carolina Academy of Authors, 2015, inducted 2016.

Certificate of Excellence from the Carnegie Academy for the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning for Work that Advances the Practice and Profession of Teaching In Support of Significant Student Learning, 2001

H-Net received the James Harvey Robinson Prize for teaching from the American Historical Association, 1997 (I was one of the founders, and the first treasurer).

Award of Distinction in the Film/Video-History/Biography category from the International Academy of the Visual Arts, 16th Annual Communicator Awards, for "People: A Lincoln Portrait" television interstitial series (The Communicator Awards is the leading international awards program honoring creative excellence for communications professionals), 2010 (part of program I put together for Lincoln commemoration at

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UIUC).

SC African American Heritage Commission's 2009 "Preserving Our Places in History" Project Award for Claw's (Executive Director, College of Charleston Carolina Lowcountry and Atlantic World) work in commemorating the banning of the international slave trade
Florida Historical Society, Medallion Lecture, 2002
Auburn University, Eminence in the Arts and Humanities Fellows Lectures Medallion, "awarded to persons of distinguished achievement in the arts and humanities: writers, artists or renowned scholars in one or more of the liberal arts disciplines," 2012
Senior Research Fellow, Southern Studies, University of South Carolina, 1988
Phi Beta Kappa, Furman University, 1986
Princeton University Scholar Award, 1969
National Defense Educational Award Title IV Fellowship, 1971 (Princeton University)
Clark Foundation Scholarship, 1966-69 (Furman University)
Wicker Award for Outstanding Student (sophomore), Furman University, 1967
Endel History Award, Furman, 1969
Bradshaw-Feaster General Excellence Award (Furman's highest honor for the graduating senior selected by faculty), 1969

Honors Clemson University and Recognition

College of Architecture, Art, and Humanities (CAAH), Dean's Award for "Outstanding Service," 2019
Inaugural Class 2018 University Research Scholarship and Artistic Achievement Award
Inaugural Judge Matthew J. Perry Distinguished Chair of History, 2017-
CAAH, Dean's Award for "Excellence in Research," 2016
CAAH, Creativity Professor Humanities, 2013-15
Featured Clemson Homepage 2017, "Meet a Tiger," <http://newsstand.clemson.edu/meet-a-tiger-vernon-burton/>

UIUC Honors and Teaching Awards and Recognition

Inaugural University "Distinguished Teacher/Scholar," 1999-2008
University Scholar, 1988 – 2008
Campus Award for Excellence in Public Engagement, 2006
Graduate College Outstanding Mentoring award, 2001-02
Fellow, Center for Advanced Study, 1982, Associate, 1994
Burlington Northern Faculty Achievement Award (UIUC), 1986
Study in a Second Discipline, Statistics and Demography, 1984
All-Campus Award for Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching, 1999
LAS Dean's Award for Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching, 1999
LAS Award for Distinguished Teaching, 1986
School of Humanities Teaching Award, 1986
George and Gladys Queen Excellence in Teaching Award in History, 1986
Undergraduate Instructional Award (UIUC), 1984
Every semester and for every undergraduate course that I taught at the University of Illinois (excluding large survey classes of between 300-750 students), I was deemed excellent in the UIUC "Incomplete List of Excellent Teachers." I was noted on the list for more than twenty different courses. I was noted as "outstanding" from 1979 as long as they used that designation.
Recognized by the Pan-Hellenic Council at as an "outstanding staff member for furthering scholastic achievement"

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Selected by History Department as the “one instructor whom you believe best at creating intellectual excitement in students” for an educational study of teaching practices of college teachers, 1978

Received the Resident Hall Association Award for the Best Educational Program for lectures/discussion on *Gone With the Wind* and *Jubilee* for Black History Month, 1996

The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi, UIUC, Vice President, 2002-03; President, 2003-04

Ronald E. McNair Scholars Program Dedicated Service Award for service to Minority Students, 1996

Associate Vice Chancellor Academic Affairs award for contributions to the Student Research Opportunities Program and work with minority students (1995, 2006)

Publications:

Books:

(with Armand Derfner) *Justice Deferred: Race and the Supreme Court*. Cambridge: Belknap Press, Harvard University Press, 2021.

(with Beatrice Burton and Megan Shockley) *Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park, Charleston, SC Administrative History*. Washington, DC: The National Park Service, November, 2020.

Penn Center: A History Preserved. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2014; paperback edition, 2017.

The Age of Lincoln. NY: Hill and Wang, 2007. (Audio: Blackstone Audio Books). Paperback edition 2008. Selection for Book of the Month Club, History Book Club, Military Book Club. *The Age of Lincoln* was nominated by Farrar, Straus, and Giroux for the Pulitzer Prize. Three historical associations featured sessions on the book, Association for the Study of African American Life and History, 2008; Social Science History Association, 2008; The Southern Intellectual History Circle, 2009.

(with Judy McArthur) “*A Gentleman and an Officer*”: *A Military and Social History of James B. Griffin's Civil War*. NY: Oxford University Press, 1996; second printing 1999.

In My Father's House Are Many Mansions: Family and Community in Edgefield, South Carolina. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985. Paperback edition 1987; 5th printing 1998. *In My Father's House* was nominated by the University of North Carolina Press for the Pulitzer Prize. Two Historical Associations featured this book in sessions at their annual meetings: Social Science History Association, 1986; Southern Historical Association, 1987.

Editor, *Becoming Southern Writers: Essays in Honor of Charles Joyner*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2016.

(edited with Ray Arsenault) *Dixie Redux: Essays in Honor of F. Sheldon Hackney*. Montgomery, AL: New South Books, 2013.

(edited with Jerald Podair and Jennifer L. Weber) *The Struggle for Equality: Essays on Sectional Conflict, the Civil War, and the Long Reconstruction in Honor of James M. McPherson*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011.

Editor, *The Essential Lincoln*. NY: Hill and Wang, 2009.

(edited with David O'Brien) *Remembering Brown at Fifty: The University of Illinois Commemorates Brown v. Board of Education*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009.

(edited with Winfred B. Moore, Jr.) “*Toward the Meeting of the Waters*”: *Currents in the Civil Rights Movement in South Carolina during the Twentieth Century*. Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2008. Paperback 2011.

Editor, *Slavery in America: Gale Library of Daily Life*, 2 vols. NY, Detroit: Gale Cengage Learning, 2008.

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(edited and annotated with Georganne B. Burton, introduction pp. 1-48) *"The Free Flag of Cuba": The Lost Novel of Lucy Pickens* [orig. pub. 1854] in the Library of Southern Civilization series, edited by Lewis P. Simpson. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002. Paperback 2003.

Editor, *Computing in the Social Sciences and Humanities*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002.

(edited with David Herr and Terence Finnegan) *Wayfarer: Charting Advances in Social Science and Humanities Computing*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002. This CD-ROM contains more than 65 essays and research and teaching applications, including illustrative interactive multimedia materials.

(with et al.) *Documents Collection America's History*, vol. 1, to accompany James Henretta, et al., *America's History*, 2nd ed. NY: Worth Publishers, 1993.

(edited with Robert C. McMath, Jr.) *Class, Conflict, and Consensus: Antebellum Southern Community Studies*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1982.

(edited with Robert C. McMath, Jr.) *Toward a New South? Studies in Post-Civil War Southern Communities*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1982.

In Press:

(edited with Brent Morris) *Reconstruction at 150: Reassessing the Revolutionary "New Birth of Freedom"*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, expected 2022.

(edited with Peter Eisenstadt) *Lincoln's Unfinished Work*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, expected 2022.

Promised, but not Finished:

Air Conditioning and the Voting Rights Act: The Voting Rights Act of 1965 in Historical Perspective. Stice Lectures University of Washington. Seattle: University of Washington Press contracted, (withdrawn from press to include the 2013 recent challenge to Sections 5, which ended preclearance in 2013, and the recent challenges to Section 2, the in-person Voter Id controversies, and partisan redistricting challenges).

Lincoln and the South Revisited. Under contract. Carbondale: University of Southern Illinois Press.

The South as Other: The Southerner as Stranger—The Contradictions of Southern Identity. The expansion of my presidential address for the Southern Historical Association. Promised to University of South Carolina Press.

Plays:

(with Georganne Burton) "Abraham Lincoln's Beardstown Trial: The Play" Premiered Sept. 29, 2009, Beardstown, IL. (Endorsed by the Congressional Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission, November 2009; Play available upon request);

<http://www.lincolnbicentennial.gov/calendar/beardstown-trial-11-10-09.aspx>;

<http://www.civilwar.org/aboutus/events/grand-review/2009/almanac-trial.html>

Editor, Book Series, *A Nation Divided: Studies in the Civil War Era Series*, University of Virginia Press, 2011-

Editor, Book Series, *The American South Series*, University of Virginia Press, 2013-

Introductions and Forewords to Books:

"Foreword," pp. ix-liv to *Born to Rebel: An Autobiography* by Benjamin Elijah Mays. Athens: University of Georgia Press Brown Thrasher edition, 1987, also in paperback edition

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(book without foreword originally published by Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971). Revd. Foreword 2003.

“Introduction,” pp. 9-11 to *Roll the Union On: Southern Tenant Farmers Union*. As told by its Co-founder, H.L. Mitchell. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company, 1987.

“Introduction,” pp. xiii-xviii to *Soldiering with Sherman: The Civil War Letters of George F. Cram*. Jennifer Cain Bohrnstedt, ed., DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2000.

“Introduction,” pp. x-xxxiv to *Pitchfork Ben Tillman: South Carolinian* by Francis Butler Simkins, for the reprint edition of the Southern Classics Series of the Institute for Southern Studies. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2002 (book without Introduction originally published by Louisiana State University Press, 1944).

(with James Barrett) “Foreword,” pp. xi-xxv to paperback edition of *Cause at Heart: A Former Communist Remembers* by Junius Irving Scales with Richard Nickson. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005 (book without Foreword originally published 1987).

“Foreword,” pp. vii-xi to *Recovering the Piedmont Past: Unexplored Moments in Nineteenth-Century Upcountry South Carolina History*, edited by Timothy P. Grady and Melissa Walker. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2013.

“Foreword,” pp. vii-xiii to *Our Ancestors – Our Stories: The Memory Keepers*, edited by Harris Bailey, et al. Suwanee, Georgia: The Write Image, 2014.

“Foreword,” pp. iv-xiv, to Kevin M. Cherry, *Virtue of Cain, Biography of Lawrence Cain* Washington: *From Slave to Senator*: Takoma Park, MD: Rocky Pond Press, 2019.

“Foreword,” pp. vi-x, to Frankie Felder, *OURstory Unchained and Liberated from HIStory*. Anderson, S.C.: Edelweiss Publishers, 2021.

Journals Edited:

Special issue on the “Digital South,” *Southern Quarterly: A Journal of Arts and Letters in the South*, 58: 1-2 (Fall 2020/Winter 2021).

“Three Articles from a Century of Excellence: The Best of *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*,” pp. 182-89 for *South Carolina History Magazine* 101: 3 (July 2000).

“Introduction,” pp. 161-65 for *Social Science Computer Review* 12:2 (Summer 1994).

Co-editor, “Technology and Education,” *International Journal of Social Education* 5:1 (Spring 1990).

History Articles, Chapters, and Essays:

“The South as Other, The Southerner as Stranger,” Presidential address for the Southern Historical Association, *The Journal of Southern History* LXXIX:1 (February 2013): 7-50.

“Reaping What We Sow: Community and Rural History,” Presidential address for the Agricultural History Society in *Agricultural History* (Fall 2002): 631-58.

“Building the Transcontinental Railroad,” *Presidential Inaugural Portfolio*, Joint Congressional Committee on Inaugural Ceremonies, January 21, 2013.

“The Creation and Destruction of the Fourteenth Amendment During the Long Civil War,” *Louisiana Law Review*, Vol. 79 (Fall 2018): 189-239.

“Mystery and Contradiction: My Story of Ninety Six,” in *State of the Heart: South Carolina Writers on the Places They Love*, Vol. 3, pp. 18-27. Edited by Aida Rogers (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2018)

“Reconstructing South Carolina’s Reconstruction,” keynote South Carolina Historical Association, 2017 (Columbia: Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association, 2018), pp 7-40.

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- “The Birth of a Nation: A Roundtable,” (Roundtable Discussion of film on 1831 Nat Turner Insurrection), edited Ryan Keating in *Civil War History* 64 (March 2018), pp. 56-91.
- (with Anderson R. Rouse) “Southern Identity,” pp. 40-53, in *The Routledge History of the American South*. Edited by Maggi M. Morehouse (New York: Routledge, 2018).
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- “Reconstructing South Carolina’s History Through the South Caroliniana Library, 80th Annual Meeting Address by Dr. Orville Vernon Burton,” The University South Caroliniana Society 81st Annual Meeting, 22 April 2017, pp. 2-32.
- “From Clarendon County to the Supreme Court,” pp. 84-88 and “Eating with Harvey Gantt and Mathew Perry: Myth and Realities of “Integration with Dignity,” pp.139-40 accompanying Cecil Williams’ photographs of South Carolina’s Civil Rights Movement in Cecil Williams, *Unforgettable, Life Hope Bravery, 1950-1970: Celebrating a Time of Bravery* (Orangeburg: Cecil J. Williams Photography/Publishing, 2017).
- “Localism and Confederate Nationalism: The Transformation of Values from Community to Nation in Edgefield, South Carolina,” pp. 107-123, 233-39 in Robert H. Brinkmeyer, Jr., ed., *Citizen Scholar: Essays in Honor of Walter B. Edgar* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2016).
- “Lincoln, Secession, and Emancipation,” pp. 81-104 in Paul Finkelman and Donald R. Kennon, eds., *Lincoln, Congress, and Emancipation*, for the U.S. Capitol Historical Society (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2016).
- “Stranger Redux,” pp. 38-49 in Orville Vernon Burton, Editor, *Becoming Southern Writers: Essays in Honor of Charles Joyner* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2016)
- “Tempering Society’s Looking Glass: Correcting Misconceptions About the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and Securing American Democracy” *Louisiana Law Review* Lead article for Vol. 76:1 (2015): 1-42.
- “Perceptions and Meaning of the Confederate Flag,” *The Proclamation* (President Lincoln’s Cottage), XXVIII (Summer 2015): 8- 14 (longer unedited version on-line at: <http://www.lincolncottage.org/perceptions-and-meaning-of-the-confederate-flag-an-interview-with-two-scholars/> and with Edna Medford)
- “Revisiting the Myth of the Black Matriarchy,” pp. 119-65 in Orville Vernon Burton and Ray Arsenault, eds., *Dixie Redux: Essays in Honor of F. Sheldon Hackney* (Montgomery, AL: New South Books, 2013).
- “The Passage of Lincoln’s Republic: Providence in Progress,” pp. 13-36 in Stephen Engle, ed. *The War Worth Fighting: Abraham Lincoln’s Presidency and Civil War America* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2015).
- “Bertram Wyatt-Brown: An Honorable Man and a Man of Grace,” *Georgia Historical Quarterly* XCIX, No. 3(Fall, 2015): 2013-18.
- (with Michael LeMahieu), “Civil War Memory in the Civil Rights Movement and Contemporary Commemoration,” *Journal of American Studies* (with American Studies International, *AMSJ*) 53:4 (2014): 107-18.
- Remembering the Civil War,” pp. 278-85 in *The Civil War as Global Conflict*. Edited by Simon Lewis and David Gleeson (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 2014).
- “The Gettysburg Address Revisited.” In *1863: Lincoln’s Pivotal Year*. Edited by Harold Holzer and Sara Vaughn Gabbard (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2013), pp. 137-55.
- (with Ian Binnington) “And Bid Him Bear A Patriot’s Part”: National and Local Perspectives on Confederate Nationalism in *Deconstructing Dixie*, pp 126-155. Edited by Jason Kyle Phillips (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2013).

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- “The Silence of a Slaveholder: The Civil War Letters of James B. Griffin,” in *The Battlefield and Beyond: Essays on the American Civil War*. Edited by Clayton E. Jewett (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013), pp. 13-27.
- “Abraham Lincoln,” in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of American Political and Legal History*. Edited by Donald T. Chritchlow and Philip R. VanderMeer, 1:560-64. 2 vols. (NY: Oxford University Press, 2012).
- (with Lewie Reece) “Abraham Lincoln,” Essential Civil War Curriculum, <http://www.essentialcivilwarcurriculum.com/>. Edited by William C. Davis and James I. Robertson, Sesquicentennial Project of the Virginia Center for Civil War Studies and the History Department of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (Virginia Tech, 2013).
- “Family,” in *Enslaved Women in America: An Encyclopedia*. Edited by Daina R. Berry and Deleso Alford Washington (Santa Barbara & Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 2012), pp. 83-87.
- “Lincoln at Two Hundred: Have We Finally Reached Randall's Point of Exhaustion?” In *The Living Lincoln: Essays from the Harvard Lincoln Bicentennial Symposium*, pp. 204-25. Edited by Thomas A. Horrocks, Harold Holzer, and Frank J. Williams (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2011), pp. 204-25.
- (with Nick Gaffney) “South Carolina,” Vol. 2: pp. 745-764 in *Black America: A State by State Encyclopedia*. Edited by Alton Hornsby (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 2011).
- “Mays, Benjamin” in *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*. Vol. 19 *Education*, Edited by Clarence Mohr. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), pp. 254-255.
- “The Age of Lincoln: Then and Now,” Keynote for the South Carolina Historical Association Annual Meeting, *The Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association*, 2010, pp. 7-22. Edited by Robert Figueira and Stephen Lowe (Columbia: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 2010). Reprinted pp 11- 26 in Michael Bonner and Fritz Hamer (eds.) *South Carolina in the Civil War and Reconstruction Eras: Essays from the Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2016).
- (with Larry McDonnell and Troy D. Smith) “Slavery and Anti-Slavery: A Transnational Archive,” pp. 121-26 in *L'abolition de l'esclavage au Royaume-Uni 1787-1840 : débats et dissensions The abolition of slavery in Britain 1787-1840 : debate and dissension.* Edited by Susan Finding (Paris: ArmandColin, November 2009).
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- “Author’s Response to the Southern Intellectual History Circle Forum on *The Age of Lincoln.*” *The Journal of the Historical Society* IX:3 (September 2009): 355-72.
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- “Radical Reconstruction, United States, Promise and Failure of” VI: 2798-2801
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- (with Beatrice Burton) “American Civil War and Slavery,” I: 70-72
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(with Beatrice Burton) "Lincoln, Abraham (1809-1865) and African Americans," Volume V: 2121-2123"

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- "Imagine Another Ending: Tweaking History to Shape an Alternative World," pp. 48-50 in *A New Birth of Freedom, 1809*2009: Abraham Lincoln's Bicentennial*. Edited by Don Wycliff (Washington, D.C.: The Lincoln Bicentennial Commission, 2009).
- (with Simon Appleford and Beatrice Burton) "Seeds in Unlikely Soil: The *Briggs v. Elliott* School Segregation Case," pp. 176-200 in *Toward the Meeting of the Waters: Currents in the Civil Rights Movement of South Carolina during the Twentieth Century*. Edited by Orville Vernon Burton and Winfred B. Moore, Jr. (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2008).
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- "Stranger in a Strange Land: Crossing Boundaries," pp. 256-283 in *Shapers of Southern History: Autobiographical Essays by Fifteen Historians*. Edited by John Boles. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004).
- "Dining with Harvey Gantt: Myth and Realities of 'Integration with Dignity,'" pp. 183-220 in *Matthew J. Perry: The Man, His Times and His Legacy*. Edited by W. Lewis Burke and Belinda F. Gergel. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004).
- "'Tis True that Our Southern Ladies have Done and are Still Acting a Conspicuous Part in this War': Women on the Confederate Home Front in Edgefield, South Carolina," pp. 95-108 in *"Lives Full of Struggle and Triumph": Southern Women, Their Institutions, and Their Communities*. Edited by Bruce L. Clayton and John A. Salmond. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2003).
- (with Georganne Burton) "Lucy Holcombe Pickens and *The Free Flag of Cuba*," *South Carolina History Magazine* 103:4 (October 2002): 296-324.
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- “The Development of Tenantry and the Post-Bellum Afro-American Social Structure in Edgefield County, South Carolina.” In *Presentations Paysannes, Dimes, Rente fonciere et Mouvement de la Production Agricole a l'epoque Preindustrielle: Actes du Colloque preparatoire* (30 juin-let et 2 juillet 1977) au VIIe Congres international d'Histoire economique Section A3. Edimbourg 13-19 aout 1978, Vol. 2: 762-78. Edited by E. LeRoy Ladurie and J. Goy. Paris: Editions De L'Ecole des Hautes Etudes En Sciences Sociales, 1982. Reprinted pp.19-35 in *From Slavery to Sharecropping: White Land and Black Labor in the Rural South, 1865-1900*, vol. 3 of *African American Life in the Post-Emancipation South 1861-1900*. Edited by Donald G. Nieman. (Hamden, CT: Garland Publishing, 1994).
- “Race and Reconstruction: Edgefield County, South Carolina,” *Journal of Social History* 12 (Fall 1978): 31-56. Referenced and summarized in *Sociological Abstracts* 12, #1 (April 1978): 45. Reprinted in *The Southern Common People: Studies in Nineteenth Century Social History*. Edited by Edward Magdol and Jon L. Wakelyn, pp. 221-37. (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1980). Reprinted pp. 87-112 in *The Politics of Freedom: African Americans and the Political Process During Reconstruction*, vol. 5 of *African American Life in the Post-Emancipation South 1861-1900*. Edited by Donald G. Nieman. (Hamden, CT: Garland Publishing, 1994).
- “The Antebellum Free Black Community: Edgefield's Rehearsal for Reconstruction,” *The Furman Review* 5 (Spring 1974): 18-26.

In press:

- “Modeling the Baptist Faith” in *Walk with Me: Reflections on the Life and Influence of James Milton Pitts*. Edited by Cecil P. Staton and John Adams (Macon, Georgia: Smyth and Helwys, 2021, Expected Sept or Oct).
- “American Slavery Historiography,” *The Journal of Modern Slavery*
- “The Origins of the 14th Amendment” in *Reconstructing the Constitution, Remaking Citizenship, and Reconsidering a Presidential Succession* for the U.S. Capitol Historical Society (Athens: Ohio University Press, expected 2022).
- “Lincoln and the South,” in *Blackwell Companion to Abraham Lincoln*. Edited by Michael Green.

Papers Started and Committed, but not yet completed or submitted:

- “Lincoln and His Faith,” *Fides et Historia*.
- “Datamining for the South: A Digital History Case Study.” Commissioned by Editor of the *American Historical Review*, expected 2023.
- “Picturing Lincoln in the 1850s,” *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association*.

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“Lincoln’s Gettysburg Address in Context of the Emancipation Proclamation and 13th and 14th Amendment,” *Lincoln Lore*.

“Reconsidering Reconstruction,” Peter Parish keynote Lecture, British American Nineteenth Century Historians: BrANCH *American Nineteenth Century History*.

Selected Review Essays:

"A Nation without Borders: The United States and its World in An Age of Civil Wars, 1830-1910," by Steven Hahn (NY: Viking Press, 2016) In the Penguin History of the United States, Eric Foner, Series Editor, H-South Reviews, 2019.

Review essay of Edward L. Ayers, *The Thin Light of Freedom: The Civil War and Emancipation in the Heart of America*, in *The Journal of the Civil War Era*, Vol 9, no. 3, September 2019, pp. 493-496.

“A Monumental Labor,” Review Essay of Walter Edgar’s *South Carolina: A History*,” *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 100:3 (July 1999): 262-268.

Review essay of Elizabeth H. Pleck, *Black Migration and Poverty: Boston, 1865-1900*, in *Social Science History*, vol. 5 (Fall 1981): 483-88.

“Economics as Postbellum Southern History.” A Review Essay of *Old South, New South: Revolutions in the Southern Economy Since the Civil War* by Gavin Wright. (NY: Basic Books, 1986) in *Reviews in American History* 16:2 (June 1988): 233-40.

“Reconstruction,” review essay of Eric Foner's *Reconstruction* in *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 91:3 (July 1990): 217-220.

Articles on Digital History, Statistics, Computing, and Scholarship of Teaching and Learning (SoTL):

(with Simon Appleford) “Cyberinfrastructure for the Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences,” in *ECAR (Educause Center for Applied Research) Bulletin* 9: 1 (January 13, 2009): 2-11.

(with James Onderdonk and Simon Appleford) “History: The Role of Technology in the Democratization of Learning,” pp. 197-205 in *Ubiquitous Learning*. Edited by Bill Cope and Mary Kalantzis. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009).

“Teaching Race and Citizenship,” pp. 229-35 in *America on the World Stage: A Global Approach to U.S. History*. Edited by Ted Dickinson and Gary Reichard. Published for the Organization of American Historians by University of Illinois Press, 2008.

(with Simon Appleford) “Digital History: Using New Technologies to Enhance Teaching and Research,” Web Site Reviews in *The Journal of American History* 99 (March 2008): 1329-31.

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Chapter 3, U.S. History Survey Syllabus (annotated), Teaching Philosophy, and examples, pp. 94-107 in *AP US History Teacher’s Guide*. Edited by Nancy Schick and Warren Hierl (with Marc Singer, Assessment Specialist). (Princeton: College Board Advanced Placement of the Educational Testing Service, 2007). Also available at (http://apcentral.collegeboard.com/apc/public/courses/teachers_corner/3501.html).

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- “Creating a Sense of Community in the Classroom,” pp. 131-35 in *The Art of College Teaching: 28 Takes*. Edited by Marilyn Kallet and April Morgan. (Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 2005).
- (with Ian Binnington and David Herr) “What Difference Do Computers Make? History, Historians, and Computer-Mediated Learning Environments,” *History Computer Review* 19 (Spring 2003): 98-103.
- (with Ian Binnington and David Herr) “Computer Mediated Learning Environments: How Useful Are They?” *AHR Perspectives: Newsmagazine of the American Historical Association* 41:1 (January 2003): 14, 22 (More detailed Carnegie Report as “Historians Face the E-Future: Findings from the Carnegie Scholar Survey on Computer Mediated Learning Environments,” at AHA Website www.theaha.org/perspectives/issues/2003/0301/0301not3.cfm).
- (with Terence Finnegan and Beatrice Burton) “The Census Workbench: A Distributed Computing U.S. Census Database Linkage System,” in *Wayfarer: Charting Advances in Social Science and Humanities Computing*. Edited by Orville Vernon Burton, David Herr, and Terence R. Finnegan. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002).
- (with David Herr and Beatrice Burton) “RiverWeb: History and Culture of the Mississippi River Basin American Bottom,” in *Wayfarer: Charting Advances in Social Science and Humanities Computing*. Edited by Orville Vernon Burton, David Herr, and Terence R. Finnegan. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002).
- “Interviews with Exemplary Teachers: Orville Vernon Burton,” *The History Teacher* 35 (February 2002): 237-251.
- “A Special Kind of Community,” *Furman Magazine* 44, no. 1 (Spring 2001), 16-19.
- “Why Care About Teaching? An interview with an Accomplished Scholar and National Teaching Award Winner,” *The Real Issue* (January/February 2000): 2-5.
- “The Use of Historical and Statistical Data in Voting Rights Cases and Redistricting: Intent and Totality of Circumstances Since the Shaw Cases,” “Understanding Ecological Regression Techniques for Determining Racial Bloc Voting: An Emphasis on Multiple Ecological Regression,” and “Report on South Carolina Legislative Delegation System for *Vander Linden v. South Carolina*, Civ. Non. 2-91-3635-1, December 1995,” in *Conference Workbook*. Lawyer’s Committee for Civil Rights Under Law Voting Rights Project, American University Washington College of Law, Voting Rights Conference, November 19-20, 1999, Washington D.C.
- “Presenting Expert Testimony in Voting Rights Cases” and “Understanding Ecological Regression Techniques for Determining Racial Bloc Voting,” in *Conference Proceedings*. CLE/NAACP Annual Meeting, Indianapolis, IN, 1993.
- (with James W. Loewen, Terence Finnegan, Robert Brischetto) “It Ain’t Broke, So Don’t Fix It: The Legal and Factual Importance of Recent Attacks on Methods Used in Vote Dilution Litigation,” lead article in *The University of San Francisco Law Review* 27:4 (Summer 1993): 737-780.
- “Teaching Historians with Databases,” *History Microcomputer Review* 9:1 (Spring 1993): 7, 9-17.
- (with Terence Finnegan), “Two Societies at War, 1861-1865,” pp. 273-90 in *Documents Collection America’s History*, vol. 1. Edited by Orville Vernon Burton, et al., to

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- accompany James Henretta, et al., *America's History*, 2nd ed. (NY: Worth Publishers, 1993).
- "Populism," pp. E7-E11, in *Instructor's Resource Manual America's History*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 to accompany James Henretta, et al., *America's History* (NY: Worth Publishing, 1993).
- "Quantitative Methods for Historians: A Review Essay," *Historical Methods* 25:4 (Fall 1992): 181-88.
- "Computers, History, and Historians: Historians and Converging Cultures?" *History Microcomputer Review* 7:2 (Fall 1991): 11-23.
- (with Terence Finnegan) "Historians, Supercomputers, and the U.S. Manuscript Census," in *Proceedings of the Advanced Computing for the Social Sciences Conference*. Edited by Bruce Tonn and Robert Hammond. Washington, D.C.: GPO (U.S. Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census), 1990. Revised edition published in *Social Science Computer Review* 9:1 (Spring 1991), 1-12.
- (with Terence Finnegan) "Developing Computer Assisted Instructional (CAI) Materials in the American History Surveys," *The History Teacher* 24:1 (Nov. 1990): 1-12.
- (with Terence Finnegan) "Teaching Historians to Use Technology: Databases and Computers," *International Journal of Social Education* 5:1 (Spring 1990): 23-35.
- "Complementary Processing: A Supercomputer/Personal Computer U.S. Census Database Project" in *Supercomputing 88*, vol. 2 *Science and Applications*. Edited by Joanne L. Martin and Stephen Lundstrom. Washington, D.C.: IEEE Computer Society Press, 1990, pp. 167-177.
- "History's Electric Future" in *OAH* (Organization of American Historians) *Newsletter* 17: #4 (November 1989): 12-13.
- "New Tools for 'New' History: Computers and the Teaching of Quantitative Historical Methods" in *Proceedings of the 1988 IBM Academic Information Systems University AEP Conference, "Tools for Learning,"* Dallas/Ft. Worth, Texas, June 1988. Edited by Frederick D. Dwyer. Abstract in *Agenda*, pp. 73-74. An expanded and significantly different version with Terence Finnegan as coauthor appears in *History Microcomputer Review* 5:1 (Spring 1989): 3, 13-18.
- (with Robert Blomeyer, Atsushi Fukada, and Steven J. White) "Historical Research Techniques: Teaching with Database Exercises on the Microcomputer," *Social Science History* 11:4 (Winter 1987): 433-448.
- The United States in the Twentieth Century* (History 262). Champaign: University of Illinois Guided Individual Study, Continuing Education and Public Service, 1986.
- "The South in American History" in *American History: Survey and Chronological Courses, Selected Reading Lists and Course Outlines from American Colleges and Universities*, Edited by Warren Susman and John Chambers, vol. 1: 121-27. (NY: Marcus Wiener Publishing, Inc., 1983, rev. 2nd ed. 1987, rev. 3rd ed. 1991).
- "Using the Computer and the Federal Manuscript Census Returns to Teach an Interdisciplinary American Social History Course," *The History Teacher* 12 (November 1979): 71-88. Reprinted with a few changes in *Indiana Social Studies Quarterly* 33 (Winter 1980-81): 21-37.

In Press:

- (with Simon Appleford) "Digital History Memories" *Southern Quarterly: A Journal of Arts and Letters in the South*, 58: 1-2 (Fall 2020/Winter 2021).

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Collaborative Research With Dermatologists--Medical doctors and Computer Scientists

Articles

With Urso, B, Updyke KM, Domozych R, Solomon JA, Brooks I, Dellavalle RP, MD, PhD. Acne Treatment: Analysis of Acne-Related Social Media Posts and the Impact on Patient Care." 2018 *Cutis* **102**(1): 41-43.

With Updyke KM, Urso B, Ali H, Brooks I, Dellavalle RP, Solomon JA." "Following Autoimmune Diseases Through Patient Interactive Diaries: Continuous Quality Improvement." *Practical Dermatology* 2017; 14 (12) 48-54.

Abstracts & Poster presentations:

Dupuis L, Jueng J, Su A, Kunadia A, Siddiqui F, Harding TP, Brooks I, Solomon JA, Burton V, Dellavalle R, Seyffert J. Comparing Patient Perspectives of Melanoma to Non-Oncologic Dermatological Disease (Non- Oncologic) via Social Media Data Mining. Poster presentation The Autoimmunity Conference, Athens, Greece, November 28, 2020.

Kunadia A, Brooks I, Solomon JA, Burton V, Dellavalle R, Seyffert J, Harding TP. Utilization of Patient Interactive Diaries to Establish a Database of Patient Reported Outcomes Generating a Cycle of Continuous Quality Improvement. Poster presentation accepted for The Autoimmunity Conference, Athens, Greece, November 28, 2020.

Jueng J, Dupuis L, Su A, Kunadia A, Dellavalle R, Brooks I, Sinha R, Maner B, Siddiqui F, Burton V, Seyffert J, Solomon JA. Using Artificial Intelligence to Understand Patient Perspectives Towards Treatment of Dermatologic Diseases. *Journal of Investigative Dermatology*: July 2020 Ed. Abstract

Kunadia A, Brooks I, Solomon JA, Burton V, Dellavalle R, Seyffert J, Harding TP. Combining Social Media Mining and Patient Interactive Diaries for Population-Based Care. E-Poster Exhibit, American Academy of Dermatology Virtual Meeting Experience event, Denver, CO, June 13, 2020.

Su A, Dupuis L, Jueng J, Kunadia A, Brooks I, Sinha R, Siddiqui F, Maner B, Harding T, Burton V, Dellavalle R, Seyffert J, Solomon J A. Use of Artificial Intelligence for Analyzing Emotions vs. Patient Global Impression of Change of Melanoma Treatments. *Journal of Clinical Oncology*. 38: 2020 (suppl; abstr e24177).

Dupuis L, Su A, Jueng J, Kunadia A, Dellavalle R, Brooks I, Sinha R, Maner B, Siddiqui F, Burton V, Seyffert J, Solomon J A. Capturing Patient Perspectives: Natural Language Processing of Social Media to Evaluate Patient Global Impression of Change in Dermatological Treatments. Poster presentation, Cochrane Skin Conference, Denver, CO, March 19, 2020.

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Kunadia A, Haresh S, Shih S, Brooks I, Solomon JA, Burton V, and Dellavalle, R. Positive Sentiment for Biologic Therapies among Psoriasis Patients on Social Media: An Analysis of 4.8 million Social Media Posts from 2008-2019. ePoster Presentation. 24th World Congress of Dermatology 2019, Milan, Italy 10-15 June 2019

With Updyke KM, Urso B, Solomon JA, Brooks I, Dellavalle RP. "Identifying the most influential social media networks utilized by different populations of patients with autoimmune diseases." Oral poster presentation, 2017 Society for Investigative Dermatology Annual Meeting, Portland, OR. April 2017

With Updyke KM, Urso B, Solomon JA, Brooks I, Dellavalle RP. "An overview of social media posts related to psoriasis patients' perspectives towards Humira." Oral poster

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presentation, 2017 Society for Investigative Dermatology Annual Meeting, Portland, OR. April 2017

With Urso B, Updyke KM, Domozych R, Solomon JA, Brooks I, Dellavalle RP. "Acne treatment utilization among patients on social media platforms." Oral poster presentation, 2017 Society for Investigative Dermatology Annual Meeting, Portland, OR. April 2017

With Urso B, Updyke KM, Domozych R, Solomon JA, Brooks I, Dellavalle R. Acne treatment utilization among patients on social media platforms (abstract). *J Invest Dermatol.*;137(5):s66, 2017

Updyke KM, Urso B, Solomon JA, Brooks I, Burton V, Dellavalle RP. Identifying the most influential social media networks utilized by different populations of patients with autoimmune diseases (abstract). *J Invest Dermatol.*;137(5):s13, 2017

With Updyke KM, Urso B, Solomon JA, Brooks I, Dellavalle RP. An overview of social media posts related to psoriasis patients' perspectives towards Humira (abstract). *J Invest Dermatol.*;137(5):s13, 2017

Interviews, Reports, and Other Publications:

"A Brief Conversation with James M. McPherson," in *The Struggle for Equality: Essays on Sectional Conflict, the Civil War, and the Long Reconstruction in Honor of James M. McPherson*. Edited by Burton et al., pp. 288-92 (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011).

"We must learn not to hide from our racist past," *Greenville News* December 27, 2014.

"Dr. Lacy K. Ford Jr.," *Caroliniana Columns: University of South Caroliniana Society Newsletter*, Issue 35 (Spring, 2014), pp. 3-4.

"A Few Words about Allen Stokes as He Retires as Director of the South Caroliniana Library," *Caroliniana Columns: University of South Caroliniana Society Newsletter*, Spring 2013, pp. 1, 4-5.

"UI Earns Right to be Mr. Lincoln's University: Excerpted from remarks by Prof. Vernon Burton, April 1, 2010 keynote address at the UI College of Law," *The News Gazette* (Champaign, Illinois) May 23, 2010, pp. C-1 and C-4.

"Learning from the Bicentennial: Lincoln's Legacy Gives Americans Something for which to Strive," *The News Gazette* (Champaign, Illinois) February 12, 2010, pp. C-1 and C-4.

"Life of Lincoln Resonates Today," *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, Opinion, Dec. 9, 2009, A19.

"Colbert History," *Pan-African Studies*, Fall 2009, p. 3.

"Remarks by Professor Orville Vernon Burton at the October 10, 2009 Celebration of Abraham Lincoln's September 30, 1959 Speech," Delivered at the Milwaukee War Memorial Center at the Invitation of the Wisconsin Lincoln Bicentennial Commission, Appendix pages 166-177 in *Final Report and Appendix of the Wisconsin Lincoln Bicentennial Commission*, To: The Governor of the State of Wisconsin, Jim Doyle, Responsive to: Executive Order #245, Date: February 12, 2010.

"Max Bachmann's Bust of Abraham Lincoln, Circa 1915," pp. 88-89 in *Lincoln in Illinois*, Ron Schramm, Photographer and Richard E. Hart, Compiler and Editor (Springfield: published by the Abraham Lincoln Association, 2009).

"Liberty," in the Fetzer Institute's *Booklet of Notable Lincoln Quotations*, 2009.

"Is There Anything Left to Be Said about Abraham Lincoln?" *Historically Speaking* 9:7 (September/October 2008): 6-8.

"An Interview with Vernon Burton" *Lincoln Lore*, no. 1894 (Fall 2008), pp. 18-24.

"Lincoln's Generation also Faced Crisis Involving Religion and Terrorism," in *History Network Newsletter*, February 25, 2008.

"Abraham Lincoln, Southern Conservative: An Interview with Orville Vernon Burton" (2 Parts),

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posted by Allen Barra, October 2, 2007.

http://www.americanheritage.com/blog/200710_2_1259.shtml and

http://www.americanheritage.com/blog/200710_2_1260.shtml

Interview by Roy A. Rosenzweig, 2001, "Secrets of Great History Teachers," *History Matters*, at <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/browse/secrets/>.

"Keeping Up With the e-joneses: Information Technology and the Teaching of History," *Proceedings for First Annual Charleston Connections: Innovations in Higher Education Conference. Learning from Each Other: The Citadel, The College of Charleston, The Medical University of South Carolina, Charleston Southern University and Trident Technical College.* June 1 and 2, 2001, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina, p. 63.

(with Terence Finnegan and Barbara Mihalas) "Developing a Distributed Computing U.S. Census Database Linkage System," Technical Report 027 (December 1994). National Center for Supercomputing Applications, UIUC.

"On the Study of Race and Politics," *Clio: Newsletter of Politics & History, An Organized Section of the American Political Science Association* 3:1 (Fall & Winter, 1992/1993): 6.

"Benjamin Mays of Greenwood County: Schoolmaster of the Civil Rights Movement," *South Carolina Historical Society News Service*, published in various newspapers, 1990.

"Quantitative Historical U.S. Census Data Base" in *Science: The State of Knowing*. National Center for Supercomputing Applications, Annual Report to the National Science Foundation 1987, p. 29.

"Computer-Assisted Instructional Database Programs for History Curricula" *Project EXCEL*. 1986-87 Annual Report. Office of the Chancellor, UI at Urbana-Champaign, pp. 41-42.

"Postmodern Academy," *The Octopus*, January 24, 1997, p. 6.

(with David Herr and Ian Binnington) "Providing Lessons in Mississippi River Basin Culture and History: riverweb.ncsa.uiuc.edu," in *Touch the Future: EOT-PACI*, 1997, p. 43.

"The Coming of Age of Southern Males During Reconstruction: Edgefield County, South Carolina," Working Papers in Population Studies, School of Social Sciences, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1984.

In Memorial – Essays for Charles Joyner, F. Sheldon Hackney, Bertram Wyatt-Brown in the American Historical Association (AHA) *Perspectives*; Thomas Krueger and Philip Paladin in Organization of American Historians *OAH Newsletter*, and F. Sheldon Hackney JSH LXXXI:2 (May 2015), pp. 350-52, and Ernest L. "Whitey" Lander, in *Journal of Southern History*.

"Creating a Major Research Archive on Southern History," *Caralogue: The Journal of the South Carolina Historical Society*, June, 2015.

A number of brief essays about the Clemson CyberInstitute, for example, "Clemson's CyberInstitute encourages Collaboration," <http://features.clemson.edu/inside-clemson/inside-news/clemson%E2%80%99s-cyberinstitute-encourages-collaboration/>

In addition, I have written a number of reports as expert witness for minority plaintiffs in voting rights and discrimination cases.

Digital Publications and Projects:

Editor in Chief, *The Long Civil War: A Digital Research and Teaching Resource*, Alexander Street Publishers (Now Proquest) , 2013-

Editor in Chief, *Slavery and Anti-Slavery: A Transnational Archive*. The Largest Digital Archive on the History of Slavery. Farmington Hills, MI: Thompson-Gale, 2007--14.

<http://www.galetrials.com/default.aspx?TrialID=16394;ContactID=15613>. Advisory Board: Ira Berlin, Laurent Dubois, James O. Horton, Charles Joyner, Wilma King, Dan Littlefield, Cassandra Pybus, John Thornton, Chris Waldrep.

Part I: Debates Over Slavery and Abolition, 2009

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Part II: Slave Trade in the Atlantic World, 2011

Part III: Institution of Slavery, 2012

Part IV: Age of Emancipation, 2014

Webmaster for the Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission Website, 2007-10, now maintained by the ALB Foundation. <http://www.lincolnbicentennial.gov/>

"Does Southern Exceptionalism Exist," Inside Clemson, May 14, 2014

<http://newsstand.clemson.edu/does-southern-exceptionalism-exist/>

Lincoln Remembered: Nine essays – "Lincoln and the Founding of Democracy's Colleges," "Lincoln: America's "First and Only Choice," "Picturing Lincoln," "Putting His Politics on Paper," "Belief in the Rule of Law," "Taking a Stand Against Slavery," "The Movement Toward Civil Rights," "Political Brilliance on the Path to the Emancipation Proclamation," "Lincoln's Last Speech," commemorating the bicentennial of Lincoln's birth, February 2009 to February 2010. A monthly blog for the Illinois LAS On-line Newsletter; available at <http://www.las.illinois.edu/news/lincoln/>.

Writing the South in Fact, Fiction and Poetry: A Conference Honoring Charles Joyner. Thursday and Friday Sessions. DVD produced of Conference I organized at Coastal Carolina University, Conway, SC, Feb. 17-19, 2011. Produced CD Aug. 2011.

Editor, "Slavery in America in Sources in U.S. History Online." Farmington Hills, MI: Thompson Gale, 2007.

"The Mississippi River in American History," for *Mark Twain's Mississippi*, including essays with Simon Appleford and Troy Smith, on "Economic Development, 1851–1900," "Politics, 1851–1900," "African Americans in the Mississippi River Valley, 1851–1900," "Native Americans in the Mississippi River Valley, 1851–1900," "Religion and Culture, 1851–1900," and "Women in the Trans-Mississippi West, 1851–1900." Edited by Drew E. VandeCreek, Institute of Museum and Library Services (IMSL) Project (2007). Online Resource: <http://dig.lib.niu.edu/twain/>.

RiverWeb: An interdisciplinary, multimedia, collaborative exploration of the Mississippi River's interaction with people over time (now redone as Cultural Explorer). CD-ROM and Website <http://riverweb.ncsa.uiuc.edu/>.

The Illinois RiverBottom Explorer (IBEX). Part of the East Saint Louis Action Research Project (ESLARP) where Faculty and East St. Louis neighborhood groups and local churches work on tangible and visible projects that address the immediate and long-term needs of some of the city's poorest communities. (More is available at <http://www.eslarp.uiuc.edu/>). IBEX serves as a resource for historical documents, primary and secondary sources, and oral history interviews. Website: <http://www.eslarp.uiuc.edu/ibex/archive/default.htm>.

Text96. A collection of primary source electronic texts for teaching American History. Website <http://www.history.uiuc.edu/uitext96/uitexttoc.html>.

"Database Exercises and Quantitative Techniques: Exercise I: Colonial America." Madison, WI: Wiscware, 1987. (for IBM and compatible computers, 1 disk, Instructional Workbook, and Teacher's Instructional Sheet).

"Lessons in the History of the United States." Wentworth, NH: COMPress, 1987 (1989 with QUEUE, Fairfield, CT). For IBM color monitor; originally 50 computer exercise modules on 25 computer disks + instructor's manual. An interactive electronic textbook of U.S. history.

Automated linkage and statistical systems Unix Matchmaker, AutoLoad, RuleMatch, DisplayMatch, ViewCreate (Urbana: UI NCSA, 2000).

Website <http://www.granger.uiuc.edu/aitg/maps/1870/htm/default.htm>

"Illinois Windows Dataentry System for U.S. Census." University of Illinois, 1988 (for IBM PS2 and compatible computers with Windows applications, 1 disk, Instructional Sheet)

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The Age of Lincoln website at <https://ageoflincoln.app.clemson.edu>.

Current Digital Projects include Social Media Learning Center Studies of Elections, Redistricting, Minorities, and Discussions of the American South, Race, and the Civil War. Also text and data analytics (mining) – developing techniques using the HathiTrust, Internet Archive II Digital Book Collection, and Library of Congress Chronicling America U.S. newspaper archive to study “DNA” of writings of Abraham Lincoln, changing views of American South over time, interpretations of Civil War and development of “Lost Cause Mythology.”

In addition, I continue to use Edgefield County, South Carolina to investigate, “large questions in small places.” I have accumulated a quantitative database that includes every person and farm recorded in the U.S. manuscript census returns linked from 1850 to 1880 for old Edgefield District, South Carolina (a region now comprising five different counties). With this unique database I (and my students) can study, test, and suggest themes in American History with details and specificity related to the lives of ordinary folks.

Selected Grants:

National Science Foundation (NSF), GK-12: Ed Grid Graduate Teaching Fellows Program, 2003-09 (\$4,990,015)

NSF, EAGER: Prototype Tool for Visualizing Online Polarization (co-Pi), 2012-14 (\$262,654)

NSF CISE/IRIS Division Award, Grant No. ASC 89-02829, Automated Record Linkage, 1991

NSF Grant No. CDA-92-11139, “Historical U.S. Census Database with High Performance Computing,” 1992

NSF, EPIC Grant, 2006-08 (\$20,000)

NSF Catalyst Grant for Social Science Learning Center (with MATRIX, Michigan State University), 2006-09 (\$175K)

NSF, Senior Investigator on the MRI award, Award #1228312 MRI: Acquisition of High Performance Computing Instrument for Collaborative Data-Enabled Science (\$1,009,160) See:

http://nsf.gov/awardsearch/showAward?AWD_ID=1228312&HistoricalAwards=false

Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Foundation, Lincoln’s “Unfinished Work”: Conference on The South and Race,” 2012-2018 (\$27,000)

National Parks Service, “*Administrative Histories of Fort Sumter National Monument and Charles Pinckney National Historic Site*,” \$110,000.00

Clemson University, “Tracking Themes Across Time and Space,” 2012 (\$10,000)

National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) Challenge Grant for Institute for Computing in Humanities, Arts, and Social Science, 2008-11 (\$750,000, 3 mil. Total with challenge matches)

NEH Educational Technologies Grant, ED-20758, 1997-99

NEH Humanities High Performance Computing Advance Research and Technology (HpC): Coordinating High Performance Computing Institutes and the Digital, 2008-09

(\$249,997). To support a total of nine institutes and one joint conference for humanities scholars, to be hosted by three different high-performance computer centers: the National Center for Supercomputing Applications, the Pittsburgh Supercomputing Center, and the San Diego Supercomputer Center.

NEH, NSF, and the Joint Information Systems Committee, “Digging Into Image Data to Answer Authorship Related Questions,” 2009-11 (\$100,000).

(with Max Edelson) NEH, The Cartography of American Colonization Database Project, To support the development of a database of 1000 historical maps illustrating the trajectory of colonization in the Americas. The database will provide a searchable introduction to

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the mapping of the western hemisphere in the era of European expansion, ca. 1500-1800.
2008-09 (\$24,997)

NEH Conference Grant (with R. C. McMath, Jr., History and Social Sciences, Georgia Institute of Technology), 1978

NEH Summer Research Fellowship, 1983

American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) Travel grant, 1977

American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) Grant- to Recent Recipients of the Ph.D., 1977

PT3/Technology Across Learning Environments for New Teachers grant, U.S. Department of Education, 2002-03, 2003-04

Academy of Academic Entrepreneurship, 2006-08

National Archives Record Administration grant for digital records, 2003-05

IBM Shared University Research Grant, 1994

IBM Innovations grant, Educational Technologies Board, 1992

IBM Technology Transfer IBM grant, 1988

IBM EXCEL II, History Database Teaching Project, 1987

IBM EXCEL Project, History Database Teaching Project, 1986

Partnership Illinois Award, 1998 (with Brian Orland, Pennsylvania State University Landscape Architecture, East St. Louis Research Project), RiverWeb 2002-03, 2003-04

East Saint Louis Action Research Program Grant, 2005-06, 06-07, 07-08

Andrew Carnegie Foundation 3-year Baccalaureate Study Grant, 1976

Sloan Center for Asynchronous Learning Environment Grant, 1998

South Carolina Humanities Grant for Lincoln's Unfinished Work, \$7,000, 2018-19

The Humanities Council (South Carolina) Outright Grant (\$8,000), THC grant #10-1363-1 (Writing the South in Fact, Fiction, and Poetry), 2011

South Carolina Humanities Council Conference Grant (with Tricia Glenn), 2005

South Carolina Humanities Council Conference Grant (with Winfred Moore), 2002-03

South Carolina Humanities Council Conference Grant (with Bettis Rainsford), 2000-01 (with Ian Brooks, University of Illinois) "Improving patient outcomes by listening to their social media communications," **Homecare Education And Resource Team Support (H/E/A/R/T/S)**, \$15,000, 2017-19

Grant for Conference on "Lincoln's Unfinished Work," Thomas Watson Brown Foundation, \$17,560, 2017- 18

Grant for Lincoln's Unfinished Work, The Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Foundation, \$27,000, 2017-20

Self Family Foundation, \$6,000 for Lincoln's Unfinished Work, 2018-19.

The Humanities Council (South Carolina) Outright Grant (\$8,000) for Lincoln's Unfinished Work Conference.

Ford Foundation Grant to bring Minority Students and their Teachers to participate in "Lincoln's Unfinished Work" conference and workshop on how to teach the History of race relations in South Carolina public schools, \$5,000, 2018...

NEH Public Humanities Exhibitions: Implementation Grant (with Rhondda Thomas), 2020-23

Selected Grants from University of Illinois

Office of Continuing Education Grant, 2005-06, 06-07

Chancellor, Provost, and Vice Chancellor Research, RiverWeb Grant, 2004-05 (\$30K)

Advanced Information Technologies Group Research Award, 1994, 96, 97, 2000

Applications of Learning Technologies in Higher Education grant for UI--Text96 Project, 1995--2000 (co-principal investigator with Richard Jensen of UIC campus)

Educational Technologies Board Grant for RiverWeb 1998

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Guided Individual Study Grant for RiverWeb, 1997-98
 Program for the Study of Cultural Values and Ethics, Course Development Award, 1993
 Arnold O. Beckman Research Grant Award, UIUC Research Board, 1989, 1992
 Language Laboratory Computer Assisted Instruction Award, 1988
 Research Board Humanities Faculty Research Grant, 1986
 Graduate Research Board, support for various projects, 1976-08

Selected Grants from Clemson University

2011/2012 University Research Grant Committee (URGC) Program (\$10,000)
 2013-14 CAAH & Library Digital Humanities Grant (\$4000)
 2018- Clemson Humanities Hub Short Term Visiting Humanities Fellowship, a grant to help fund the Conference on Lincoln's Unfinished Work (\$5,000)
 CAAH Equipment Grant, \$1,500, 2021.
 CAAH Faculty Research and Development Grant, \$5,000, 2021-22.

Selected Professional Activities and Service:

Officer Congressional Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission Foundation, 2008-2010;
 Board of Directors, Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Foundation, interim President, 2010, vice-chair 2010-17
 Southern Historical Association, President 2011-12, President Elect, 2011, Vice President Elect, 2010, Executive Council, 2005-08, 09-15; Program Committee 1989, 1998; 2005 (Chair); Membership Committee, 1986-87, 1991-92; 1995-98; 2002; Committee on Women, 1992-95, Nominating Committee, 1999-2000, Chair H.L. Mitchell Book Award Committee, 2000-02
 Agricultural History Society, President 2001-02, Vice President 2000-01, Executive Committee, 1997-2006; Committee to Review and Revise Constitution and By-Laws, 2004-05; Nominating Committee, 1991-94, chair 1993-94; Committee to Select first Group of Fellows for Society, 1995; Committee to select new Secretary/Treasurer, 2009-10
 Organization of American Historians, Included in the Organization of American Historians Race Relations Expert Guide, 2015-, OAH/ALBC (Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission) Abraham Lincoln Higher Education Awards Committee, 2007-09; ABC-CLIO "America: History and Life" Award Committee, 1997-99; Membership Committee, 1990-94, nominated for executive board 1989.
 Social Science History Association, Executive Committee 2000-03; Nominating Committee 1990-91; Program Committee 1989, 1993; Community History Network Convener, 1976-79; Rural History Network Convener, 1988-90, 1993-94
 Social Science Computing Association, Executive Council, 1993-2002; Organizing Committee Chairperson for Annual Conference, 1993, Conference on Computing for the Social Sciences (CSS93); program committee 1993-95, 2001
 American Historical Association, Nominated for Vice President for Teaching, 2009
 Southern Association for Women Historians, Membership Committee, 1996-99
 The Society of Civil War Historians, Chair Thomas Watson Brown Book Award for the best book published on the causes, conduct, and effects, broadly defined, of the Civil War, 2017-18.
 South Carolina Historical Association, Executive Board, 2009-12
 H-Net, founding member of H-Net, Treasurer and Executive Committee, 1993-99; Chair, committee to evaluate multimedia NEH grant; Editor H-South (book review editor 1997-2000); Editorial Board of H-Rural, H-Slavery, and H-CivWar.
 Scholarly Advisory Group, President Lincoln's Cottage at the Soldier's Home, 2012-
 Executive Council, The University South Caroliniana Society, 2011-15

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University of South Carolina, Search Committee for Director South Caroliniana Library, 2012
 Executive Board South Carolina Jubilee Project, 2012-14
 Member South Carolina Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission, 2008-2010
 Member Champaign County, Illinois, Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission, 2006-10
 Council, U.S. Civil War Sesquicentennial Commission, 2009-15
 Historical Advisory Committee to the “Fort Sumter/Fort Moultrie Trust,” charged with
 organizing Sesquicentennial Activities in Charleston and South Carolina Lowcountry,
 2010-15
 The Illinois Humanities Council Scholar, 2004-05
 Presented to President’s Information Technology Advisory Commission (PITAC), 9-16-2004
 Invited to NEH Digital Humanities Initiative Mini-Conference, March 2006 and Digital
 Humanities Summit, April 2011, December 2007
 Digital Library Federation Scholars’ Advisory Panel, 2004-7
 University of Tennessee Knoxville Horizon Project Steering Committee, 2014-
 Peer Reviewer, ACH/ALLC/SDH-SEMI Joint Digital Humanities Conferences, 2007-13
E-Docs, (one of 3 founding members) Editorial Board, 1998-2005
 Mentor for Southern Regional Council Minority Scholars Program, 1992-96
 UIUC Representative to Lincoln Presidential Library Committee: Educational Activities
 Committee, 2001; Fellowship Committee, 2002
 Faculty Associate, Council for International Exchange of Scholars, 2002-03
 Evaluator/Referee (one of two for history) for the Pew Foundation Faculty Research
 Fellowships, 1997-98, 1998-99; 2001 (for graduate students for summer seminar)
 Evaluator and Referee for American Council of Learned Societies Grants, 2005-08
 National Endowment Humanities, Review Panels: Scholarly Editions Program, 2007-08, for
 Digital Humanities Grants, 2010, NEH Division of Public Programs Panel, “America's
 Historical and Cultural Organizations” (AHCO) grant initiative, 2013; Humanities
 Connections, 2016
 National Science Foundation Review Panel for Knowledge and Distributed Intelligence grants,
 1998, 1999
 Humanities, Arts, Science, and Technology Advanced Collaboratory (HASTAC), Steering
 Committee and Planning Committee, 2003-04, Program Committee, 2009, 2010, 2013-14
 Advisory Committee, American Studies Program, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs,
 U.S. Information Agency, 1989-93
 Delegate to the Mexican/American Commission on Cultural Cooperation, Mexico City, June
 1990; Chairperson of United States delegation (Co-Chairperson with Mexican
 counterpart), U.S. Studies Working Group
 Advisor for “Crossroads of Clay”: NEH Alkaline Glazed Stoneware Exhibition and Catalog,
 McKissick Museum, University of South Carolina, 1987-90
 Advisory Committee Film Project for Historic Southern Tenant Farmers Union, 1986-90
 Consultant, Commercial film, “Roll the Union On” about H.L. Mitchell and the Southern Tenant
 Farmers Union
 Consultant on the Renewal of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, 1981-82, 2004-07, including
 consultation for an NBC TV Special.
 Consultant for Documentary, “Behind the Veil,” 1995-2005
 Board of Directors of the Abraham Lincoln Historical Digitization Project, 1997-
 Advisory Council for the Lincoln Prize at Gettysburg College, 1997-
 Prize Committee for the Technology and History Award, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of
 American History, 2000-01
 International Committee on Historic Black Colleges and Universities, 2001-15

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Consultant, Belle Meade and The Hermitage and Vanderbilt University. Presentations of slavery.
 Consultant, Morven Park, 2010-12
 Consultant, for Matt Burrows, documentary “The Assassination of N.G. Gonzales by James H. Tillman,” 2010-
 Consultant, for Chris Vallilo musical performance, “This Land is Your Land: Woody Guthrie and the Meaning of America,” 2010-
 Organizing and Founding Committee International Society for the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning (IS-SOTL), 2003-7. Drafted initial mission statement for Society.
 Furman University Alumni Council Board, 2010-16
 International African American Museum (IAAM) Program Subcommittee (Charleston, SC), 2016-
 IAAM, Content team for an exhibit wall located in the Carolina Gold gallery entitled Built on Slavery, 2018-
 Dr. Benjamin E. Mays Historical Preservation Site Foundation Board, 2015-
 Advisory Board for “History of the American South,” Atlanta History Center, 2021-

Editorial Boards:

Associate Editor for History, *Social Science Computer Review*, 2012- (reappointed 2020-)
 Editorial Board, [International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Research](#), 2015-
 Editorial Board, Digital Humanities Series, University of Illinois Press, 2005-
 Editorial Board, *Change and Continuity*, 1995-
 Editorial Board *Fides et Historia*, 2010-
 Editorial Board *Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association*, 2009-14
 Editorial Board, *History Computer Review*, 1990-2003
 Editorial Board, *Locus: An Historical Journal of Regional Perspectives on National Topics*, 1994-96
 Editorial Advisory Board, *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, gen. editor Walter Edgar, 2000-06

Other Advisory Boards:

Advisory Board for *International Journal of Social Education*, 1986-2000
 Advisory Reviewer for *The Journal of Negro History* (since 2002, *The Journal of African American History*), 1992-
 Advisory board for the online *South Carolina Encyclopedia*. Southern Studies Institute, University of South Carolina, 2015-
 Advisory Board, Digital Library on American Slavery, University of North Carolina, Greensboro, 2004-10
 Advisory Board, Biographies: The Atlantic Slaves Data Network (ASDN), 2010-
 Advisory Board, Simms Initiatives of the Library at the University of South Carolina, 2009-14
 Advisory Board, American Insight, 2013- (www.AmericanINSIGHT.org)
 Strategic Advisory Council for MATRIX: The Center for Humane Arts, Letters and Social Sciences On-line at Michigan State University, 2004-
 Advisory board, of the Michigan State University MATRIX online project, “Mapping Civil War Politics”
 External Advisory Board (EAB) of proposed Center of Data for the Public Good, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
 Advisory Board, The Virtual Archives for Land-Grant History Project, Association of Public-Land Grant Universities, 2012-

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External Advisory Board, National Historic Preservation Research Commission (NHPRC)
 “Effective User-Centered Access For Heterogeneous Electronic Archives” project,
 Illinois Institute of Technology, 2003-05
 Advisory Board, *Postwar America: An Encyclopedia of Social, Political, Cultural, and
 Economic History*
 External Advisory Board (EAB) of the proposed NSF Center for Data Science and Engineering,
 University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 2014-
 National Advisory Board to Alan Lomax's Global Jukebox: 1993-2015
 The Civil Rights Project at University of California, Berkeley, Advisory Board for “The Decade
 Ahead: Reauthorization of the Voting Rights Act and the Future of Democratic
 Participation,” 2004-07
 Advance Research and Technology Collaboratory for the Americas (ARTCA) –Organization of
 American States, Advisory Board Chair, 2008-
 History Advisor for Gullah-Geechee Corridor Board, 2019-
 Reconstruction and Civil Rights Movement National Park Service Advisory Board for Beaufort
 area

Service Clemson University:

Chair, Search committee for Dean of the Library, 2017-18
 Search Committee for Dean of CAAH, 2019-20
 Search for University Historian, 2019-20
 Screening committee for the new University Historian, 2021
 Faculty Advisory Committee for Education & Interpretation MAP - Historic Properties,
 in process of becoming an official Faculty Museum committee, 2021-
 Provost's Research Strategy Committee, 2014-16
 Martin Luther King, Jr. program planning committee, 2013-
 Pan-African Advisory Committee, 2014-17; Steering Committee, 2017-, Chair Speaker's
 committee, 2018-19
 History Department Graduate Committee, 2017-18
 Search Committee for Director Digital History Ph.D. Program, 2019-20
 History Department Civil War Sesquicentennial Committee, 2010-15
 History Department Digital MA, then Digital Ph.D. committee, 2011-
 Clemson Center for Geospatial Technologies Advisory Committee, 2017-
 GIS Steering Committee, 2012-
 Clemson University Computational Advisory Team (CU-CAT), 2010-
 University Academic Technology Council, 2010-
 Ex-officio Steering Committee, Clemson CyberInstitute, 2010-
 University Committee to commemorate 50th Anniversary Integration Clemson, 2011-13
 Outstanding Staff Employee Award, Academic Affairs Selection Committee, 2011
 University Morrill Act Anniversary Celebration, 2011-13
 Ben Robertson Society (BRS) Foundation Advisory Board, 2013-
 Chair, Clemson University Humanities Grid committee, 2012-14
 Chair, CAAH Digital Humanities Computing committee, 2013-15
 CAAH, Digital Humanities Ph.D. taskforce, 2014-16
 CAAH taskforce on undergraduate “Creativity Certificate”
 History Department committee to review university signage, 2015-
 First Faculty in Residence (Norris Hall), 2011-13
 Workshop on Diversity and Inclusion, 2013
 Lincoln's Unfinished Work Conference, 2018

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Service - University of Illinois (three campus system – Urbana, Chicago, Springfield)
 UI Senate Conferences (elected), all three campuses of the University of Illinois, 2006-09,
 Presiding officer (chair) 2007-08
 Lincoln Bicentennial Commission, 2006-09
 Academic Affairs Management Team, 2007-08
 Task Force for Global Campus, 2006-07
 External Relations Management Team, 2006-09
 Strategic Plan Committee, 2005-06

Service (selected) University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
 Faculty Senate (elected), 1999-2001, 2002-03; 2005-06, 2006-07, Presiding Officer (Chair,
 Senate Executive Committee), 2005-06, 2006-07 (was Senate Council) elected 2000-01,
 2003-04; 2005-06; 2006-07; Chair, Education Policy Committee, 2002-03, Chair 2003-
 04; Budget and Priorities Committee, 1999-01, Chair 2000-01
 As Chair Faculty Senate Executive Committee, 2005-07 represented faculty at Board of Trustee
 meetings, and CIC meetings. Led in developing ideas of shared governance, helped in
 the drafting and implementing of a strategic plan for both the University of Illinois and
 the Urbana-Champaign campus. Oversaw establishment of the Illinois Informatics
 Institute (I3) and the School of Earth, Society, and Environment. Dealt with issues of
 multi-year contracts for research faculty and staff policy, rehiring of retirees, Global
 Campus, and led study of Academic effects of Chief Illini and diversity issues.
 Organizer and Chair, Planning Committee for the Lincoln Bicentennial, 2006-09
 Task Force for Diversity and Freedom of Speech, 2007-08
 Convocation address, August 21, 2000
 Search Committee for Chancellor, vice-chair, 2004-5
 Association of American Colleges and Universities campus representative and Assoc., 2004-05
 Martin Luther King, Jr., Week Planning Committee, co-chair, 2002-03, 03-04, 04-05, 05-06
 Strategic Plan Committee, 2005-06
 Chancellor's Task Force ("Kitchen Cabinet") for the Humanities, 2002-04
 Provost's ad hoc Committee on Evaluating Public Service for Promotion and Tenure, 2003-04
 Brown Jubilee Planning Committee, Diversity Initiative, 2002-04
 Law-Education *Brown* Jubilee Conference Program Committee, 2002-04
 East St. Louis Action Research Projects (ESLARP) Campus Advisory Committee, 2004-9
 University Planning Council, 2000-01
 Selection Committee for University Scholars, 1999 -- 2000, Chair Subcommittee for Social
 Sciences, Humanities, FAA, Communications, Education, Law 2000
 UI President's Distinguished Speakers Program, 2000-02, 2006-08
 University of Illinois Press Board, 1995-2000, Chair 1998-2000
 Search Committee for Director University of Illinois Press, 1998-99
 Committee on University Publishing, 1997-98
 Graduate College Executive Committee, 1998-2000; Committee to Evaluate Dean of Graduate
 College, Committee to Review and Implement Graduate Program Revisions, Graduate
 Student Grievance Policy Committee
 Graduate College Office of Minority Affairs Strategic Planning Committee, 1999-2000
 University Administration Budget and Benefits Study Committee, 2000-02
 Budget Strategies Committee, 1993-94, Subcommittee for Library. Subcommittee for Faculty
 Productivity and Teaching Models
 Illinois Program for Research in the Humanities (IPRH) Advisory Committee, 2001-03
 Center for Democracy in a Multicultural Society, Advisory Committee, 2002-08
 Center for Advanced Study George A. Miller Committee, 2000-03

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African American Studies and Research Program (AASRP), later Department of African American Studies, Advisory Council, 1982-86; Curriculum Development & Faculty Recruitment Committee, 2002-2003; Research and Course Competition Committee, 1991-94, Chair 93-94; Electronic Networking Committee, 1996-2000, Chair 1997-98; Library Advisory Committee, 1997-2003

UI-Integrate Faculty Advisory Committee, 2003-04

Graduate College Area Subcommittee for the Humanities and Creative Arts, 1996-98

Campus-wide Advisory Committee for the Center for Writing Studies, 2000-01

Committee on Institutional Cooperation (CIC), Selection Committee for CIC Research Grants in the Humanities, 1993-94

Chancellor's Task Force for Minority Graduate Students, 1989-92

Chair, Subcommittee for Summer Program for Minority Graduate Students, 1990

Computer Resources Development Committee, Program for the Study of Cultural Values and Ethics, 1991-93

High Performance Computing Committee for the Social Sciences, 1989-95

Rural History Workshop Convener, 1989-94 (with Sonya Salamon)

Faculty Fellow, 1990-2003

Graduate College Fellowship Committee, 1988

Selection Committee for Lily Fellows, 1987

Social Studies Committee for the Preparation of Teachers, Council on Teacher Education, 1986

Chair, Search Committee for African-American Scholar, 1986-87

Search Committee, Director for AASRP, 1985-86, Chair 87-88

Graduate College Appeals Committee, 1984

Chancellor's Allerton Conference, 1988; Chancellor's Beckman Conference, 2001-06; Chancellor's Conference on Diversity, 2002, faculty facilitator

Combating Discrimination and Prejudice Workshop, 1988

Krannert Art Museum, Committee on The Black Woman as Artist, 1992

H. W. Wilson Faculty Panel, 1993

Advanced Information and Technology Committee, 1992-97, Advisory Committee, 1993-94

Honors Symposium for UI recruitment of High School Seniors, 1993

Search Committee for Archivist, UIUC Computing and Communications Service Office, 1993

Search Committee for Research Librarian, UIUC Library, 1997; Undergraduate Library Advisory Committee, 2002-9

Member Human Dimensions of Environmental Systems Group, 1997-2017

Faculty Learning Circle for 2003-04

Illini Days Speaker, 1999, 2000, 2002

Public Interest Fund of Illinois Representative, 1996- 08

Facilitator for Interinstitutional Faculty Summer Institute on Learning Technologies, UIUC, 2000, 2002

Board Advisors, Collaborative for Cultural Heritage and Museum Practices (CHAMP), 2005-08

Faculty Mentor for Campus Honors Program, 1980-2008

Service - College of Liberal Arts and Science UI:

Lecturer at Pedagogy 2000: Teaching, Learning and Technology, Annual UIUC Retreat on Active Learning (2000)

Keynote Address at LAS Awards Banquet, 2000 and Keynote at UIUC Campus Awards Banquet, 2000

Dean's Committee to Evaluate Chair of History Department (1 of 3 elected by History Department), 1996

Oversight Committee Computing for the Social Sciences, 1993-95

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Committee to select nominees for election to College Executive Committee, 1992
 Academic Standards Committee, 1983-85, Chair 1984-85
 School of Humanities Scholarship and Honors, 1986-88, Chair 1987-88
 Social Sciences and Humanities Respondent to the Joint Task Force on Admission Requirements and Learning Outcomes, 1988
 Advisory Committee, Social Sciences Quantitative Laboratory, 1987-88, 1989-93
 Alumni Association Annual Speaker, 1990
 General Education Committee, 1990-91
 Awards Committee, Chair, 1991-92
 Race & Ethnicity, Class & Community Area Committee of Sociology Graduate Program, 1993-2009
 LAS Alumni Association Speaker, 2000
 Cohn Scholars Honors Mentoring Program (choosing the 10 best Humanities first-year students), 1986-88, 1989-90, 1992-93, 1995-96, 1998-99, 2002 -05
 Faculty Mentor, Committee of Institutional Cooperation Summer Research Opportunities Program for Minority Students, 1987, 1991-95, 1997-2000, 2002, 2003
 Faculty Mentor, McNair Minority Scholars, 1993-94, 1996-97
 Summer Orientation and Advance Enrollment Program, Faculty Leader, 1991-93, 2000, 2002, 2004
 Gender Inclusivity Seminar, 1992
 The African-American Experience: A Framework for Integrating American History: An Institute for High School Teachers of History, instructor 1992, 1994
 Faculty Advisor for UIUC Law School Humanities Teaching Program, 1998-99
 Senior Faculty Mentor, LAS Teaching Academy, 1999-2008

Service - Department of History UI:

Lincoln Bicentennial Committee, Chair, 2005-06, co-Chair 2006-08
 Department Distance Learning and Global Campus committee, 2007-08
 Carnegie Initiative on the Doctorate, 2003-05
 Ethical Conduct Liaison, 2004-05
 Phi Alpha Theta Faculty Advisor, 2005-06
 Graduate Placement Officer, 1990, 1991-94, 1997-99
 Graduate Admissions Officer, 1990-91
 Graduate Committee, 1990-93
 Organizer of OAH Breakfast Meeting, 1989-90, 1993-94
 Computer Resources, 1976-88, 1989-91, 1995-99, Chair 1976-85, 1997-99
 Teaching Awards, 1986-88, 1992-93, 1997-98, 1999-2000, Chair, 1987-88, 1997-98, 1999-2000
 T.A. Evaluation, 1975-76, 1978-82, 1984-88, 1990-91, 1995, 1998-99, 2002, 2005-06
 Speakers and Colloquia, 1981-82
 Grants and Funding, 1981-82
 Capricious Grading, 1985-86, 2002-03
 Social Science History Committee, 1980
 Advisor, History Undergraduate Club, 1976-78
 Swain Publication Prize Essay Committee, 1991
 Proposal-Writing Workshop, 1991-92, 2002
 Teaching Workshop, 1993
 Chair Library Committee, 1996-97
 Faculty Advisor for Phi Alpha Theta, 2005-06
 American History Search Committee, 1991-92
 Chair, American History Search Committee, 1993-94

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James G. Randall Distinguished Chair Search Committee, 1999-2000

Service Coastal Carolina University:

Search committee for Archaeologist, 2008-09

Selection Committee for Clark Chair of History, 2010

Third Year Assistant Professor Faculty Review Committee, 2010

A more complete list of Service and Public Engagement is available upon request.

Conferences Organized (selected list):

In 1978, I (with Robert C. McMath, Jr.) organized and chaired a National Endowment for the Humanities Conference on Southern Communities at the Newberry Library. In 1993, I organized, hosted, and chaired the annual meeting of the Conference on Computing for the Social Sciences at the National Center for Supercomputing Applications. In 1999, I organized and hosted the 12th Annual Meeting of the Southern Intellectual History Circle (SIHC) in Edgefield and Ninety Six, S.C, and again hosted SIHC for its 16th Annual meeting in 2004 at the College of Charleston, and the 2013 meeting in Edgefield. In 2001, I organized a workshop and conference on diversity and racism in the classroom with Carnegie Scholars at The Citadel in Charleston, S.C. In 2001, I organized a South Carolina Humanities Council Edgefield Summit History Conference. In January 2003, I organized a Workshop on Diversity and Racism and a Conference on the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning, both at the University of Illinois. In March 2003 I organized The Citadel Conference on the South: “The Citadel Symposium on the Civil Rights Movement in South Carolina.” I organized the Humanities, Arts, Science, and Technology Advanced Collaboratory (HASTAC) meeting in January 2004 in Washington, D.C. I organized and hosted a Humanities Computing Summit in August 2004 at NCSA and UIUC. In 2005, I planned and hosted the British American Nineteenth Century History (BrANCH) Conference in Edgefield, South Carolina and a symposium honoring Jim McPherson’s retirement in April 2005 in Princeton. As program chair I helped organize the Southern Historical Annual meeting in Atlanta in November 2005. In 2011, I organized a conference in honor of Charles Joyner, *Writing the South in Fact, Fiction, and Poetry*, at Coastal Carolina University. In 2013, I organized a conference honoring F. Sheldon Hackney at Martha’s Vineyard. On Nov. 28-Dec 1, 2018, I organized and hosted an international conference on “Lincoln’s Unfinished Work,” and on the afternoon of Dec. 2 lead a workshop for teachers on how to teach about the history of race in South Carolina k-12 schools. As Director of I-CHASS, I regularly organized conferences and workshops, at least two major conferences a year such as “Computing in Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences” (2005), “Spatial Thinking in the Social Sciences and Humanities” (2006), and the “e-Science for Arts and Humanities Research: Early Adopters Forum” (2007). In 2007 we hosted the annual international meeting of The Alliance of Digital Humanities Organizations including The Association for Computers and the Humanities. As Director of the Clemson CyberInstitute, I regularly organized workshops, brownbags, conferences, and meetings. And as Executive Director of the College of Charleston Atlantic World and Lowcountry (CLAW) Program, I regularly work with others to organize conferences and meetings.

Reviews:

I have reviewed books for numerous journals and book manuscripts for numerous presses. In addition, I have refereed article manuscripts for numerous journals. I have also reviewed

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proposals for various granting agencies. I have also reviewed and written outside letters of recommendation for promotion, tenure, and endowed chair decisions for more than a hundred cases at various colleges and universities. Lists of these reviews, presses, journals, universities, and granting agencies are available upon request.

Invited lectures and conference participation available upon request. Recently, selected invited lectures include those at Harvard University, University of Pennsylvania, Black Congressional Caucus on Lincoln (2009), Printers Row Book Fair, Society of Civil War Historians, Society of Historians of Early America, Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission (ALBC), Atlanta Town Hall meeting on Race at Morehouse College and at Jimmy Carter Presidential Library Center, the Crown Forum Martin Luther King, Jr. lecture at Morehouse College, Western Illinois University, Drake University, University of Illinois Law School, Union League Club of Chicago, Association of Archivists and Librarians, CASC, University of Georgia, Lawrence University, Wisconsin Lincoln Bicentennial, University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee, University of Wisconsin at Madison, University of Wisconsin at Eau Claire, University of Kansas, Samford University, Talladega University, ALBC Morrill Act Conference, Arkansas State University, San Francisco State University, Lewis University, Notre Dame, University of Oklahoma, University of Florida, University of Southern Florida, Florida State University, University of South Carolina, South Carolina State University, North Greenville University, Anderson University, Augusta State University, Auburn University, Mercer University, American Historical Association, Organization of American Historians, Southern Historical Association, Agricultural History Society, Wheaton College, University of Illinois, Florida Atlantic University, Lincoln College, Claflin University, Francis Marion University, Policy Studies Association, Southern Studies Association Meeting (regional affiliate of American Studies Association), Association for the Study of African American Life and History (ASALH), Penn Center, Coastal Carolina University, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (Virginia Tech), South Carolina Historical Society, South Carolina Department of Archives and History Civil War Symposium, Supercomputing11 (Seattle), History Miami, William Patterson University, USC Upstate, University of Hawaii, University of North Carolina at Charlotte, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, The Lincoln Forum, Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum, Furman University, Berry College, High Noon series at S.C. Upstate Museum, Erskine College, Mississippi State University, University of Manchester, Cambridge University, Edinburg University, University of London, Oxford University.

Samples of recognition given to me or my work:

The Chronicle of Higher Education, Vol. L: 2 (September 5, 2003), cover page, A37-38. On-line at <http://chronicle.com/prm/weekly/v50/i02/02a03701.htm>

C. Vann Woodward, "District of Devils," *New York Review of Books*, xxxii #15: 30-31

Chicago Tribune, October 13, 2007, cover of the Book Review Section, "Orville Vernon Burton's Heartland Prize-winning *The Age of Lincoln*." Catherine Clinton, "Lincoln and His Complex Times," pp. 4-5; Cover page 1988 on *In My Father's House*

Washington Post, Hannah Natanson, "Lincoln's forgotten legacy as America's first 'green president'" in the *Washington Post* on Feb. 16, 2020

(<https://www.washingtonpost.com/.../lincoln-green-president-e.../>)

USA Today, February 25, 2010, Larry Bleiberg, 10 Civil Rights Sites You Should See before Black History Month Comes to a Close,"

<https://www.usatoday.com/story/travel/destinations/10greatplaces/2020/02/25/black-history-month-10-civil-rights-sites-you-should-check-out/4832666002/>

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Featured as example of “Faculty Excellence” on UIUC Homepage:

<http://www.uiuc.edu/overview/explore/>

Call out in Sonia Sotomayor, *My Beloved World* (NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013), p. 132, and her Commencement Address at the University of South Carolina, 2011 (on C-Span) and “Supreme Court Justice Sonia Sotomayor uses vivid examples from two key figures in her life—her mother and South Carolina native and historian [Vernon Burton](#)”; Wayne Washington, “You Learn Values from Your Family, Supreme Court Justice Tells Grads,” *The Columbia State*, May 9, 2011;

<http://www.thestate.com/2011/05/07/1808978/sotomayor-parents-are-key.html#storylink=misearch#ixzz1NljBBgHA> and

<http://dailygamecock.com/news/item/1422-sonya-sotomayor-delivers-personal-inspiring-message-at-university-of-south-carolina-graduation>; and at Clemson 2017 with Supreme

Court Justice Sonia Sotomayor, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sn3GbXen58c>;

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zq1LAQmHh0I> (4 April 1992 on history and high performance computing);

The South Carolina Encyclopedia Guide to South Carolina Writers. Edited by Tom Mack (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2014), pp. 33-35 (SC Humanities)

In last few years, numerous international, national and local television, radio interviewed me (especially about the murders at Mother Emanuel in Charleston and the removal of the Confederate battle flag from the statehouse grounds).

A number of interviews about the Voting Rights Act (VRA) or Voter ID, for example, Congressional Briefing on the Voting Rights Act (2015), [Voting Rights Act 1965, Dec 4 2015 | Video | C-SPAN.org](#) and [Historians Expert Witnesses Civil Rights, Jan 7 2017 | C-SPAN.org](#), NPR—for example, June 27, 2013, “On Point” discussing the Supreme Court Ruling on VRA, Sections 4 and 5-- <http://onpoint.wbur.org/2013/06/27/scotus-voting-rights>; and <http://wbur.fm/138DolQ>, and NPR and BBC, see for example recently, Jorge Valenca, Feb. 26, 2020, “The Abroad Primary,” ([For overseas voters, a primary of their own www.pri.org › stories › overseas-voters-primary-their-o...](#)) and commercial, and other media interviews and programs, including several C-SPAN Book TV (for example, “President Lincoln and Secession,” <http://www.c-spanvideo.org/program/293631-3>) and a two-hour Clemson University lecture on Southern Identity at “Lectures in History,” <http://www.c-span.org/History/> – downloaded 492,791 times in first year after it debuted October 25, 2012. Numerous appearances on SC ETV for documentaries.

In Feb., 2019 the Clemson Area Pledge to End Racism (CAPER) began using a training video featuring Vernon Burton speaking on racism (Video on youtube at ([CAPER Burton Video](#))). In May 2021 *The Last Rice River* is a half-hour experience examining the rise and fall of the Rice Kingdom on South Carolina’s Combahee River. “Rediscovered Ancestry: a Family Learns the Story of Their Remarkable Ancestor, Senator Lawrence Cain,” interviewed by Walter Edgar, *South Carolina Public Radio*, Columbia, SC, Apr. 12, 2021.

<https://www.southcarolinapublicradio.org/show/walter-edgars-journal/2021-04-12/rediscovered-ancestry-a-family-learns-the-story-of-their-remarkable-ancestor-senator-lawrence-cain>;

“Confederate Monuments Continue to Come Down in Racial Justice Protests,” interviewed by Jeremy Hobson, *NPR*, Boston, MA: WBUR, June 19, 2020.

<https://www.wbur.org/hereandnow/2020/06/19/confederate-monuments-come-down>

.(more complete list available upon request).