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Chapter 1

Pre-War Politics in the Papers: The Role of the Newspaper in Sparking the Civil War

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Charles Sumner. Dred Scott. John Brown. In the years leading up to the Civil War, these individuals all had starring roles in the tumultuous politics of the antebellum period. While one can point to numerous factors that led to the outbreak of war, what were arguably the most significant were those political in nature. From a Supreme Court decision that opened the possibility of the spread of slavery to disagreements between Northern attitudes and Southern honor that led to outright violence on the Senate floor, these political events were critical in pushing the sectional divides that grew into war. Yet, when considering how these events contributed to the larger lead-up to the war, one valuable connection to explore is the ways that such events were covered in the media at the time—especially in the newspapers. Not only did the papers allow for the news of these events to be reported to readers across the country, but the deep political affiliations of the papers themselves meant that such events were reported with strong biases that appealed to certain readerships. With this in mind, the newspaper served as the critical tool in heightening the divisive political attitudes that developed during the antebellum period, especially the 1850s, culminating in the outbreak of the Civil War.

The role of the newspaper as a critical tool in the political atmosphere of the 1850s is best understood when one begins to examine the growing importance of the papers in disseminating news to readers. By the beginning of this decade, a variety of factors allowed the newspaper to

gain significant prominence as a means of national media. From new innovations like faster printing technologies and the telegraph to the growth of the railroad, news was able to be picked up and distributed to a wide range of readers faster than ever before.[1] Likewise, the growth of newspaper readership can also be linked to the changes in population that were taking place at the time due to the effects of urbanization and rapid population growth.[2] In their book, *Fanatics and Fire-Eaters: Newspapers and the Coming of the Civil War,* Lorman Ratner and Dwight Teeter, Jr. explain the results of such changes: "Newspapers were the primary source of information about what happened in the world beyond each citizen's realm of experience, and the explanations they provided about events in that larger world were important… Through the pages of the newspapers they read, Americans had daily or weekly encounters with other countrymen and other points of view."[3] That this rise in power for the newspaper coincided with the rapidly changing political landscape of the antebellum period very much represents an important factor in how the news of such political decisions was able to capture and shape the minds of wide audiences.

Yet, the political nature of how news was reported in the papers at this time adds critical layers of complexity to the ways in which the newspapers themselves were able to function as political tools. The ways in which the print media at the time covered events was far removed from any expectations of unbiased reporting that we may hold today. In fact, it was often the case to have entire newspapers linked to political parties, meaning that the news covered in such papers—and the language used to report on such events—very much reflected the attitudes and

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[1] Lorman A. Ratner and Dwight L. Teeter Jr., *Fanatics & Fire-Eaters: Newspapers and the Coming of the Civil War* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 2.

[2] Ibid., 1-2.

[3] Ibid., 2.

opinions of whatever political entity with which the paper was associated. Ratner and Teeter shed some light on the close political affiliations of papers at the time when they discuss the ways in which those who owned and edited the newspapers of the day often did so to advance their own political agendas:

> Editors and publishers who lust after political office may still surface, but not as frequently and prominently as they did during the 1850s… Even if newspapers had not been founded by a political party of supporters of an individual politician, they were often reliant on political subsidies in one form or another, whether… printing contracts or patronage jobs for editors, to help ends meet.[4]

Following such strong and clear political associations, therefore, can clearly help to explain the role of the newspaper as a political tool. Looking to the newspapers as a source of information on the day's events meant that citizens at the time were receiving news that had been filtered through the political lens of the paper.

Furthermore, because of this politically-biased nature of print media at the time, readers were likely to see their own political views represented in various papers. This is a point that Ratner and Teeter echo, as they speak to how "[n]ewspapers often reinforced readers' traditional values and attitudes, encouraging them to retain faith in existing institutions and feel secure about the motives and skills of their societal leaders… Then as now, the press did not speak with one voice, and viewpoints and stridency varied."[5] For such readers, selecting newspapers that reflected their own political views would mean that the news that they read would only serve to

[4] Ibid., 21.

[5] Ibid., 19.

further cement their own ideas and opinions, making the newspapers' roles in helping to bring about the Civil War all the more prominent.

A clear example of the extent to which the political links of the newspapers of the time ran can be seen by looking at an example of the party-affiliated newspapers of Columbia, South Carolina in the mid-1850s, as discussed in Debra Van Tuyll's article "Protecting Press Freedom and Access to Government Information in Antebellum South Carolina." To illustrate the effects of politically-linked newspapers at the time, Van Tuyll presents the case of two papers that were operating in Columbia at the time of the city's 1854 mayoral elections. Describing the "symbiotic relationship" that existed between newspapers and political parties at the time, Van Tuyll explains, "Newspapers were not just a public forum; they were the locus of American political life, and their relationship to political parties was tightly knit. A party newspaper enforced discipline on members, nominated and campaigned for candidates, and, most importantly, shaped public opinion."[6]

As Van Tuyll's example goes to illustrate, however, party newspapers of this nature had consequential effects on the likelihood of fair political reporting. At the time of the 1854 elections, a paper linked with the city's Democratic Party quickly found itself on the outs of Columbia's political scene once a Know-Nothing candidate won the election. The editor of the Democrats' paper, Robert Gibbes, Sr., soon found himself blocked from being able to report on city council meetings after the Know-Nothing mayor gave reporting privileges (through the form of a printing contract) to the paper affiliated with his party.[7] Such was the name of the game at

[6] Debra Van Tuyll, "Protecting Press Freedom and Access to Government Information in Antebellum South Carolina," *Journalism History* 43, no. 4 (2018): 211.

[7] Ibid.

the time. Van Tuyll explains that "[p]atronage in the form of government printing contracts, government jobs for editors, and sometimes direct cash payments, were common means parties used to secure the loyalty and support of a newspaper in this period."[8] Yet, what these measures illustrate are the ways in which such antebellum newspapers acted in ways far beyond simply reporting the news of the day. In many ways, these papers were powerful political tools themselves—acted on by editors and owners who operated hand-in-hand with party and government officials who wished to tout their own agendas within the pages of the day's media.

With the political links and agendas of antebellum newspapers in mind, one can begin to truly understand the roles that the papers played in the context of the leading political stories of the 1850s. One such event worthy of consideration is the May 22, 1856 attack on Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner by Representative Preston Brooks of South Carolina. Taken on its own, this outbreak of violence on the Senate floor serves a striking harbinger of the violence that was to come during the Civil War between North and South. On the surface, this event illustrates the ways in which political tensions were boiling over due to sectional attitudes on the issue of slavery. On a deeper level, however, Brooks's caning of Sumner represents more than just a violent dispute over slavery.

In his book, *The Impending Crisis*, David M. Potter illustrated the event in the context of what truly sparked it—that is, the colorful and "abusive" speech that Sumner gave to the Senate in which he targeted several southern politicians for their support of the institution of slavery.[9] Of those targeted in Sumner's speech, titled "The Crime Against Kansas," was South Carolina Senator Andrew P. Butler—a kinsman to Brooks. In his speech, Sumner characterized Butler as

[8] Ibid.

[9] David M. Potter, *The Impending Crisis: 1848-1861* (New York, NY: Harper & Row Publishers, 1976), 209-210.

"a 'Don Quixote who had chosen a mistress to whom he has made his views, and who… though polluted in the sight of the world is chaste in his sight—I mean the harlot, slavery.'"[10] While such a characterization likely touched sore spots for its use of offensive language in regards to the ever-present issue of slavery, it was the issue of honor that truly served as the driving force for Brooks, "who felt the obligation of the southern code to retaliate for an insult to his elderly kinsman."[11] Thus, the caning of Charles Sumner serves as a stark example of the types of sectional social and cultural ambitions that came to a head in the antebellum political front.

Likewise, the event also serves to illustrate how such an event garnered national attention in the print media, and how both sectional and political differences led to vastly different portrayals of the event from paper to paper. Ratner and Teeter succinctly summarize the types of clashing descriptions that newspapers provided of Sumner and Brooks: "The rhetoric of newspapers, north and south, Whig, Republican, and Democratic, evoked images of civilized or barbaric men, of courage and cowardice, of manliness or timidity, of defense of honor or promotion of reckless violence and of the championing of republican liberty or despotic destruction of that liberty."[12] Such images evoked in the papers came largely with the politician that the newspaper decided to throw its support behind.

As one might guess, Southern newspapers provided some of the most biased reporting in support of Brooks and his actions. In its May 26, 1856 edition, the *New York Daily Times* published a short article from the *Richmond Whig,* published in Richmond, Virginia, to provide what it explained was the Southern perspective of the Sumner-Brooks event. One need only read

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[10] Ibid., 210.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ratner and Teeter, *Fanatics and Fire-Eaters*, 48.

the types of adjectives used in the article to describe Sumner and the caning that Brooks gave to him to understand the position that this paper took:

> A GOOD DEED.—As will be seen by telegraph, Mr. Brooks, of South Carolina, after the adjournment of the Senate on yesterday, administered to Senator Sumner, the notorious and foul-mouthed Abolitionist from Massachusetts, an elegant and effectual caning. We are rejoiced at this. The only regret we feel is, that Mr. Brooks did not employ a horsewhip or a cowhide upon his slanderous back, instead of a cane. We trust the ball may be kept in motion. Seward and others should catch it next.[13]

On the other side of the issue, however, one can also look to the *Daily Times* to see how others in the media, especially those in the North with tendencies to support the Republican Party, took a noticeably different stand on the issue.

In an article published the same day as the excerpt from the *Richmond Whig*, the *New York Daily Times* effectively condemned the actions of Brooks by condemning other newspapers in the North who, in their eyes, were merely apologizing for Brooks's actions rather than taking a clear stand against them. Labeling such papers as "Apologists for Brutality," the *Times* offered their scathing opinion: "There is but one grade below that of ruffianism, and that is held by those who volunteer to become its apologists… not one of them has failed to brand it as an outrage for which no palliation can be offered and for which no punishment could be too severe."[14] Not stopping there, however, the *Times* also went on in their article to support the provocative speech that Sumner had given:

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[13] "What the South Thinks of the Washington Brutality," *New York Daily Times*, May 26, 1856.

[14] "The Apologists for Brutality," *New York Daily Times*, May 26, 1856.

> Mr. Sumner was speaking solely of their political conduct, and made not the remotest allusion to their personal character. He did not transcend in this particular the ordinary limits of Parliamentary courtesy. His speech was sarcastic and severe—but not upon the personal character of a single Senator. He criticized sharply and severely the political action and the political speeches of Senators—and this he had a perfect right to do.[15]

Taking these contrasting examples into consideration, then, demonstrates how newspapers at the time did more to shape and support political viewpoints than simply reporting on the events as they occurred and allowing readers to draw their own conclusions and positions.

Less than a year after the caning of Charles Sumner came another critical moment in the political scene of the 1850s: the Dred Scott Decision. With the issue of slavery at the center of most all political and sectional divisions at the time, the Supreme Court's decision over Dred Scott's case had significant implications on the nation's political climate—something clearly reflected in the newspapers. Beginning with the case itself, one can better understand its significance by breaking it down as Potter did into two questions which framed the issue. As Potter explained, these questions included "whether Dred Scott was a citizen of the state of Missouri in the sense that would make him eligible to bring a suit against a citizen of another state" and "whether residence in Illinois or in Wisconsin Territory had made Scott free and whether the antislavery law of the latter was constitutional."[16]

Understanding Chief Justice Taney's ruling, therefore, can likewise be understood in the context of these two questions. In regards to the first pertaining to Scott's citizenship, Taney's

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[15] Ibid.

[16] Potter, *Impending Crisis*, 269-270.

argument was that he was not a citizen because citizenship could only be earned by being born a citizen or by being naturalized, neither of which could apply to slaves as Taney saw it.[17] As to the question of the constitutionality of the antislavery laws in territories north of the 36°30′ parallel, Potter explained that Taney "argued that the citizens of all states alike enjoyed a right to take their property into the territories, and that an act of Congress which excluded one type of property and not another was an impairment of this property right and was a violation of the guarantee in the Fifth Amendment."[18]

Responses by the media to these two elements of Taney's ruling were similarly varied and politically-charged much in the way that the Sumner-Brooks incident was reported in the papers. One can look at the editorial published in the March 28, 1857 edition of *Harper's Weekly* to see one such example of a Northern-published response to the decision. As they responded to the first question of the Dred Scott Case (that is, the question of Scott's citizenship,) the editors of *Harper's* took up a tone that might seem a bit surprising for a publication based in the North. After listing a number of ways in which blacks were treated as anything but equals to whites—even in locations where slavery did not exist—the editors made the following comment:

> …and yet, when half a dozen old lawyers at Washington, after racking their heads for two years over a question that has bothered the Robe for half a century, announce as their decision that free blacks are not citizens of the United States… we fume, and fret, and bubble, and squeak, as if some dreadful injustice and oppression were committed. It

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid., 276.

> really does not seem to us that this part of the Dred Scott decision is likely to produce any very serious practical results.[19]

The language used in this editorial implies that the Supreme Court's ruling on the issue of citizenship should not come as a surprise when the reality of conditions in the United States made it very unlikely that citizenship would be met with any meaningful changes for blacks.

Yet, the stance taken in *Harper's Weekly* on the ruling is very different from that which comes through in the elements of the ruling that the *New York Daily Times* highlighted in their coverage. In various articles published following the ruling, the *Times* seemed to focus on the aftermath of the piece of the case that hinged on the issue of the constitutionality of slavery in the territories. With Taney's ruling that such antislavery laws were unconstitutional came the fears by many in the North that slavery was open to be taken anywhere, allowing the South to use the ruling to undermine the federal government. The *Times* made it a point to report on the actions of the political bodies of various Northern states to try and condemn the ruling, capitalizing on the alarmist language used in the process. In an article published on May 11, 1857, for example, the *Times* reported on a speech given by Governor Halley of Connecticut as he addressed his state's legislature, a speech which began with the statement that "[i]t is not too much to say that if the principles laid down as the opinion of the majority of the court be followed to their legitimate issues, Slavery becomes a national institution. Not only is the Federal Government made subservient to its interests, but all legal power is taken from the several States to resist…"[20]

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[19] "The Dred Scott Case," *Harper's Weekly*, March 28, 1857, http://blackhistory.harpweek.com/2Slavery/193DredScottCase.htm.

[20] "Gov. Halley of Connecticut on the Dred Scott Decision," *New York Daily Times*, May 11, 1857.

In a similar fashion, the *Times* also reported in a June 17, 1857 article on actions by the New Hampshire state legislature to pass resolutions condemning the Supreme Court's decision. Such resolutions were described in the article as "denouncing the Dred Scott decision as an attempt to usurp the legislative functions of the Government."[21] By including such examples that highlight and express concerns that the Dred Scott case was fueling the South's abilities to seize power in the federal government, the role of the *Times* can be seen as further cementing such political fears in its readers.

Standing in contrast to the *Times* were those publications that sought to express alternative political positions, namely those of the Democratic Party. While the *Times*, representing largely the views of the Republican Party, saw the Dred Scott ruling as a likely contributor to future woes between Northern values and Southern ambitions, northern Democrats saw the decision in a positive light. In their eyes, a ruling handed down by the country's highest court should settle any issues of future debate rather than spark more. As Ratner and Teeter explain, such was the position that was presented in the papers that acted as the Party's mouthpiece: "northern Democratic newspapers shared the hopes of the Court majority that the decision would end the divisive debates over slavery."[22]

This was precisely the interpretation that was presented to readers of the *New Hampshire Patriot*, a paper published in Concord and linked with the northern Democratic Party. In an article published several weeks following the Supreme Court's ruling, the *Patriot* explained, "We feel, therefore, that the danger is for the present over; that sectionalism is virtually dead… that the decision of the Supreme Court had left nothing vital in republicanism, and has placed the

[21] "The New-Hampshire Legislature and the Dred Scott Decision," *New York Daily Times*, June 17, 1857.

[22] Ratner and Teeter, *Fanatics and Fire-Eaters*, 51.

Democratic party beyond and above all competition as the constitutional, national, Union party of the country."[23] That the Supreme Court's ruling established what they saw as a clear interpretation of the Constitution's position on slavery was central to the position that the paper presented. Singling out those who sought to take up a position against the ruling, the *Patriot's* article warns that "[w]hoever now seeks to revive sectionalism, arrays himself against the constitution, and consequently, against the Union."[24]

The *Patriot*, therefore, clearly contradicted the position of the papers like the aforementioned *New York Times*—something which they were all-too-willing to call attention to. In their article, they addressed "the organs of black republicanism" who attempted to "assail the late decision of the Supreme Court," something that they explained as "the last dying fit of fanatical sectionalism."[25] Speaking to their respective audiences, these newspapers and the articles that they put forth help to position them as a critical tool in the war of words that would eventually come to be replaced by a war of bullets.

Prior to the outbreak of war, however, came another critical event that garnered much attention in the newspapers of the day. Coming less than two years prior to the first shots of the war, John Brown's raid at a federal arsenal in Harpers Ferry, Virginia and attempts to arm a slave uprising piqued attention and fears across the nation and sparked an onslaught of sectional and partisan reactions captured and magnified by the media. Discussing the media's enhanced reaction to Brown's raid, Ratner and Teeter explain:

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[23] William Butterfield, "The Question Settled.—Black Republicanism vs. the Constitution," *New Hampshire Patriot¸* March 18, 1857, in *The Antebellum Era: Primary Documents on Events from 1820 to 1860*, ed. David Copeland (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003), 376-377.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid.

> Both northern and southern newspapers referred to John Brown's 'Quixotic' act. The raid on Harpers Ferry arsenal brought northerners and southerners, Republicans and Democrats, face to face with the slavery issue in new and frightening ways. The drama of the north-south conflict became more intense than ever before, and the press of both regions added greatly to that drama.[26]

Across the country, Brown's raid brought the issue of slavery to the forefront of people's attention through the papers' coverage of the matter. One can see a clear illustration of the surge brought on by Brown's raid by looking to the various papers published in the city of Baltimore at the time. Presenting Baltimore's papers as a case study, historian Nicholas Penniman IV explains in his article "Baltimore's Daily Press and Slavery, 1857-1860" that the issue of slavery, which had generally received mixed attention in the city's papers, suddenly changed: "Any sense of complacency the press might have felt soon vanished. John Brown's raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry brought the issue of slavery to a sudden boil in the Baltimore press. Baltimore's daily newspapers covered the story in remarkable depth and breadth."[27]

Yet, as Penniman points out, it was not just the attention that the papers suddenly gave to Brown and the issue of slavery, but in fact the manner in which they covered the event that is valuable to consider. While the rise of the newspaper as a valuable political tool owed, in part, to the technological developments that came about at the time, Brown's raid pushed the papers—at least in the city of Baltimore—to suddenly employ as many of these innovations as they could. Highlighting the tactics used by two of the city's papers, the *American and Commercial Daily*

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[26] Ratner and Teeter, *Fanatics and Fire-Eaters,* 73.

[27] Nicholas Penniman IV, "Baltimore's Daily Press and Slavery, 1857-1860," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 99, no. 4 (Winter 2004): 504.

Advertiser and the *Sun*, Penniman discusses how "[b]oth papers showcased the latest in communications technology."[28] Examples of the types of technologies employed by the papers in covering the event included telegraphic dispatches from their own reporters, the use of the railroad to carry reports from correspondents in Harpers Ferry back to Baltimore, and the incorporation of foreign analysis on the event.[29] Despite this expansive coverage, Penniman also points out that this was not the case for every paper's approach to John Brown. Two of Baltimore's other papers—the *Baltimore Republican* and the *Baltimore Patriot and Daily Gazette*—devoted hardly any attention and space to the happenings in Harpers Ferry, let alone the new approaches to reporting that papers like the *Sun* and the *American* were using. They took, as Penniman explains, a "decidedly low-key" approach to covering Brown's raid.[30]

Such differences between the papers' approaches is not an insignificant detail, for it speaks to the ways in which the papers continued to act as a critical tool in shaping political opinions. Within the city of Baltimore itself, citizens were being presented with markedly different perspectives on the events taking place in Virginia depending on the paper that they read. For some, it was an event of epic proportions while for others it was hardly a blip in the day's news. On a larger scale, these differences align themselves with the varied perspectives presented on John Brown in the papers across the nation. As with previous events, the position taken by each paper hinged almost entirely on the platform of the party with which they were associated. As Ratner and Teeter explain, the consensus among southerners—and to some extent northern Democrats—was that Brown's raid was an alarming example of the type of danger that

[28] Penniman IV, "Baltimore's Daily Press and Slavery," 504.

[29] Ibid., 504-504.

[30] Ibid., 505.

abolitionists posed. The result was that "[s]outhern newspapers and most northern Democratic ones tied Brown's actions directly to abolitionists, who, in turn, were linked to Republicans."[31] Southern newspapers in particular went as far as offering "blanket condemnation of the North in the wake of what the Richmond *Enquirer* dramatically labeled the 'invasion,' meaning to conjure up the image of an abolitionist army descending on the South."[32]

The result, therefore, was a war of words in which each party by means of its newspapers attempted to advance its position and defend itself against how they were being portrayed by rival papers. Take, for example, the *New York Times*. Seeing the firestorm that Brown's actions had touched off and the type of associations being drawn of the likes which Ratner and Teeter discuss, the *Times*—and by extension the Republican Party—attempted to ensure that they were not dragged into the mess. Writing in an article prior to Brown's execution, the *Times* attempted to distance themselves from the South's alarmist portrayals of the North and its abolitionists, writing in part that the raid at Harpers Ferry "has done more to stimulate the Abolitionists to fresh efforts, by convincing them of their feasibility, than any other incident of the day. And this, in our judgment, is the most dangerous and deplorable feature of the whole affair."[33] Yet, they too point their fingers at the "Southern Disunionists" who they saw as sharing as much of the blame "as the Abolitionists of the North in seeing how the Brown invasion may be used for the promotion of their common end. They have swelled the chorus of alarm and execration, and have proclaimed the complicity of the entire North in this scheme of insurrection."[34] They also

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[31] Ratner and Teeter, *Fanatics and Fire-Eaters*, 73.

[32] Ibid., 78.

[33] "John Brown and Southern Politics," *New York Times*, November 21, 1859.

[34] Ibid.

pointed to the visible sectional divides that were taking place within the Democratic Party and were being exacerbated by their response to Brown, adding that "[t]he Republican Party has not been weakened in the least by the Harper's Ferry affair," a clear and resounding attempt to position their platform over that of their rivals.[35]

Although the *Times* felt the need to address the falsehood in the southern media's attempt to create a blanket image of all northerners, one only needed to look in a couple of different papers to see the ways in which positions diverged across the North. While Brown's raid was the event that sparked the papers' interests, his subsequent execution continued the onslaught of media coverage. Without a doubt, sympathy in Brown's name was expressed across the North. As David Potter explained, "When John Brown was hanged at Charlestown, Virginia, on December 2, 1859, the organized expressions of sympathy in the North reached startling proportions… the death of a national hero could not have called forth a greater outpouring of grief."[36] In some Northern newspapers, these sympathetic positions were certainly echoed. One such example was Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania's *Gazette*, which published in an editorial the day after his execution that Brown "succeeded—Sampson-like—in dragging down the pillars of Slavery in his fall, and his victory is complete!"[37] Such a portrayal, therefore, created the image for readers of a martyr-like death for Brown in which he sacrificed himself to help bring down the institution of slavery.

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[35] Ibid.

[36] Potter, *Impending Crisis*, 378.

[37] David N. White, *Gazette*¸ December 3, 1859, in *The Antebellum Era: Primary Documents on Events from 1820 to 1860,* ed. David Copeland (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003), 400-401.

Other northern newspapers, however, did not follow in the footsteps of the *Gazette*. Returning to the *New York Times*, one can see how their take on Brown's execution echoed their position in their previously-mentioned article. Writing on the day of his death, the *Times* again sought to distance themselves from associations with fanatical abolitionists by arguing that "we cannot doubt, and we must not silently suffer others to deny, that our sister Commonwealth has been in her Right from the first," speaking of Virginia's decision to execute Brown for his crimes.[38] Furthermore, they argued, "we must earnestly repudiate and to the best of our abilities repress the sympathy which thousands of easy enthusiasts will now be hastening to offer to the memory of a man in whom Virginia can only see the invader of her established order," sympathy of the likes which papers like the *Gazette* were trying to encourage.[39]

And still others in the North went even further in their take on the execution of John Brown. In an editorial published in Cincinnati's *Enquirer,* a paper known for its southern sympathies, the position could not be further from that of those in the North who mourned Brown's death and celebrated his memory. The *Enquirer* was, in fact, celebrating, but not his memory: "We rejoice that old BROWN has been hung. He was not only a murderer of innocent persons, but he attempted one of the greatest crimes against society—the stirring up of a servile and civil war. He has paid the penalty for his crimes."[40] Taken with the previous examples, the *Enquirer's* response forms a spectrum of sorts of the various responses that Brown's execution generated in the North and were, in turn, presented to readers of the papers. While some, like the

[38] "John Brown's Execution," *New York Times,* December 2, 1859.

[39] Ibid.

[40] James Faran, "Our Harper's Ferry and Charlestown News," *Enquirer¸* December 3, 1859, in *The Antebellum Era: Primary Documents on Events from 1820 to 1860,* ed. David Copeland (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003), 407-408.

Enquirer, sought to ally themselves with largely southern sentiments and take solace in the fact that Brown was dead as much-deserved punishment for his dangerous acts, others, like the *Gazette*, established themselves at the other end of the spectrum, expressing their sympathies for the death of a hero for the abolitionist cause. In between such positions were those like the *Times*, whose Republican platform sought to establish itself in the middle, justifying Brown's death but distancing itself from any emotionally-charged responses in his name.

In less than two years from the time that these papers were writing about John Brown, the nation would be at war. The "servile and civil war" that the *Enquirer* sought to warn against would come to fruition, and with it much death and destruction. Yet, the writing was certainly on the walls—or, at least in the newspapers. In the lead-up to our nation's bloodiest war, the antebellum print media served as an invaluable tool in not only reporting the ever-diverging political attitudes of the time, but in shaping them. Utilizing new technologies and reaching wider audiences than ever before, the papers reported on the events of the day in increasingly partisan and sectional ways, acting as mouthpieces for the political parties with which many had deep-seeded affiliations. Presenting their readerships with often vastly different accounts of the political events of the day, it is not difficult to see how these papers helped to shape the political divides that eventually became insurmountable and led to the outbreak of war. From the outbreak of blows first on the floor of the Senate to the hanging of John Brown with the nation on the brink of conflict, the newspapers took readers on a journey to the Civil War.

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Chapter 2

Granite State Warriors: The Professionalization of Civilian Soldiers during the Civil War

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The Civil War was the most chaotic and destructive event in American History. This war resulted in approximately 750,000 deaths. There was a plethora of reasons as to why this war was so devastating. It was the first modern total war, but advancements in military technology outpaced advancements in military strategy. Masses of troops would line up and fight on open battlefields, or march towards entrenched enemy positions, constantly under the threat of artillery barrages and accurate rifle fire. Most Civil War volunteer regiments were exposed to this type of fighting with little to no training, and this would prove to be a calamity. But the Sixth New Hampshire Volunteer Regiment was an anomaly. Despite being poorly equipped, this regiment was often very successful as a unit on the battlefield. It was through rigid training, discipline, and a socialistic camaraderie that allowed this unit to excel. Socialistic camaraderie is a sense of family that allowed the unit to excel. The military is an innately hierarchical institution, but rank did not foster division among the troops' military experiences. Every troop wore the same uniform, enjoyed the same provided entertainment, received the same training, received the same medical care, and shared the same experience on the battlefield no matter what social classes

these troops came from. In retrospect, the training and disciplining of the Sixth New Hampshire Volunteer Infantry Regiment broke down social hierarchies, improving battlefield outcomes.

These men enlisted for service to the Union on November 27, 1861, into the Sixth New Hampshire Volunteer Infantry Regiment (Sixth NH Volunteers). The boys from Cheshire County New Hampshire signed up for the Civil War for many reasons. For some it was a patriotic duty, others fought for the preservation of the Union, or to end slavery, but for most, the most enticing factor was money. Howard Rand was one of these men.

Rand was from Rindge, New Hampshire. He was an educated man. He was a teacher and a student at Dartmouth College in 1860, however Rand decided to leave college in pursuit of military service. In a letter written to his cousin, Howard writes "If I don't go I shall feel uneasy all the time shant feel like studying and shall always be ashamed that I didn't go besides the times are so almighty hard that I can't get money to go on here much longer so I think I might as well go".[41] (Rand, letter to his cousin, Oct. 18, 1861). Thus, avoiding dishonor and ensuring financial gains.

Not all men who wished to serve would be allowed to serve. All recruits upon enlisting were given a medical inspection. Medical inspections were done through observation. Surgeons would examine anatomical features and test the range of motion for specific parts of the body. The ears, eyes, teeth, chest, arms, legs, hands and feet were checked, and height and weight were noted. Additionally, recruits would be checked for diseases, and signs of mental illness. Only men were allowed to serve. Each man had to be no younger than 18 and no older

[41] Howard Rand. CO K 6th NHV. "Letters of Howard Rand," 1862 1859. Box No. 1, Folder No. 15. Cheshire County Historical Society of New Hampshire.

than 35, unless otherwise re-enlisting. During these medical examinations, the recruit would also be checked for a criminal background.[42] If they were medically cleared to serve, they signed onto roll sheets. These men were provided a uniform and were outfitted with Austrian Lorenz .58 caliber rifles. They were promised new Springfield rifles, but never received them. In regards to monetary compensation, the state treasurer of New Hampshire, Colonel Peter Sanborn paid the men $13 per month of military service and a $10 bounty for volunteering.[43] The men were then assigned to a particular company within the regiment based on their home residence.

The Sixth NH Volunteers company designations were: Company A: Plymouth and Holderness; Company B: Haverhill, Enfield, and Littleton; Company C: Exeter and Hampton; Company D: Ossipee, Sandwich, Rochester, and Wakefield.; Company E: Keene and Peterborough; Company F: Swanzey and Chesterfield; Company G: Croydon and Cornish; Company H: Dover and Portsmouth; Company I: Concord and Canterbury; Company K: Rindge, New Ipswich, and Peterborough. This type of regimental organization was common amongst Civil War regiments. The idea was that these men would be more familiar with one another and it would allow for a sense of community. This would come to be recognized as a disaster for military organization; if a whole company was annihilated, then most of the young men from a singular town would be killed off. This would be changed post-Civil War.

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[42] Terry Reimer. "Recruiting Exams and Disqualifications for Military Service." *National Museum of Civil War Medicine*, November 9, 2002. http://www.civilwarmed.org/surgeons-call/exams/.

[43] Captain Lyman Jackman, and Amos Hadley. *History of the 6th New Hampshire Regiment in the War for Union*. Concord, NH: Republican Press Association, Railroad Square, 1891. https://archive.org/details/historyofsixthne91jack.

Enlisting for service was a clean slate for these men. It did not matter what class in society they represented. The troops of the same company took care of one another as noted in a letter by George Upton to his wife Sarah.

> I gave the tarts, with your respects, to the Boys of Co. G and they all said you must be a good woman or you would have never thought of them. They told me to send their best respects to you. I have the good will of the company, and this are of power strengthens it. The Boys said they were very nice. I did not taste them myself as there was not enough into two to go round but I gave an able to each of those and this made them feel they were all used alike.[44]

It did not matter if they were lower class, middle class, or upper class citizens, or even unemployed; upon entry into military service these social classes were eradicated and replaced with a rank structure. For an enlisted rank structure to work, only the most competent and hard-working enlisted soldiers would receive bids for promotion. This type of structure allows for the equal footing of every individual to achieve success. Additionally, pay rate was based on rank and service, not connections, or class status back home. All the men were equipped with the same gear, and the same uniforms (for the most part, some uniforms were mixed due to a lack of manufacturing). Despite the military being innately hierarchical, it nurtured camaraderie and invested in its service men through education and training.

Pre-deployment training was traditionally very simple and took place at the local encampment. The Sixth NH Volunteers mustered and encamped at the Cheshire Fair Grounds in

[44] George Upton. "Letters of George Upton," December 13, 1861. Box 1, Folders 1-10. New Hampshire Historical Society.

Keene, New Hampshire. The unit elected Colonel Converse to be the commanding officer of the regiment. Because mustering occurred in Keene during winter, the unit did not perform any form of pre-deployment training, and therefore quickly departed for the Croatan Sound, opposite of Roanoke, North Carolina. Colonel Converse accompanied his regiment to North Carolina, remaining in its command until March 8, 1862, when, in ill health, he resigned, and returned home and was replaced by recently promoted Colonel Simon G. Griffen.

Colonel Griffen was the grandson of two American Revolution veterans. He took training very seriously and understood that proper military training was vital to the success of the unit. A letter from John Weeks to his father consistently mentioned the amount of training the unit was doing, "We get read of drilling and that is worth twenty five Cts for we have to drill like hell".[45] Because of his zealous consideration for training he created a drill school where he remained rigid in his determination to provide the best training possible for his troops as noted by Captain Lyman Jackman.

> He at once gave us to understand in a very few words, that he intended to perfect us in battalion drill, so that we should not be ashamed to appear beside every other regiment in service. To this end he stabled a school for the commissioned officers at ten O' Clock A.M., and for the first sergeants at 11 A.M., of each day. The sergeants were very much pleased with this, but some of the old militia officers kicked against it, and said they would not go to school… So they would not attend the school; and the result was, that when they came out with their companies on battalion drill, they were green as the greenest of their men, and were obliged to inquire of their orderly sergeants how the

[45] John Weeks. "Letters of John Weeks," February 21, 1862. Box 2, Folder 3. New Hampshire Historical Society.

> different movements were to be made. They were in a bad plight in being thus dependent on their sergeants for instruction. In a very short time (thanks to Colonel Griffens excellent school) the sergeants could drill the companies as well as the captains, and in some cases better, so that some of these officers began to see that to have been a colonel, or, even a general, in the militia, did not, of itself, amount to much in active service. Accordingly they thought it best to resign, and return to peaceful life in New Hampshire.[46]

Every member of the unit was provided the same drilling instruction. The above block quotation shows how previous civilian status even as a member of the state militia would not change Colonel Griffens mind on how training was to be conducted. Colonel Griffen set the precedence that all personnel in the unit would receive the same drill, and those that excelled at drill were afforded the chance of promotion over officers that refused to drill or were inadequate at leading. Drill allows for the most efficient way to move troops to, from, and on the battlefield. Drill also allows for the massing of armies, while maintaining unit integrity and accountability. Drill had serious psychological ramifications for an infantry-based army. Close order marching drew upon a primitive human behavioral form of sociality. Training and marching in unison bonded men together in a unique way and created a special sense of cooperativeness and of belonging among men sharing a common danger.[47]

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[46] Captain Lyman Jackman, and Amos Hadley. *History of the 6th New Hampshire Regiment in the War for Union*. Concord, NH: Republican Press Association, Railroad Square, 1891. Pages 33-34. https://archive.org/details/historyofsixthne91jack.

[47] Quoted in Mark Weitz. "Drill, Training, and the Combat Performance of the Civil War Soldier: Dispelling the Myth of the Poor Soldier, Great Fighter." *Journal of Military History* 62, no. 2 (April 1998): 263–90.

These Cheshire County boys were in high spirits upon departure. "Just then Captain Quarles, officer of the day, coming along, drew his sword, and, swinging it over our heads, told us to get into the cars, which we did. But the most of us had a good supply of the 'world's goods' for that time, and as the cars moved on we were all singing 'John Brown's *body* is marching on'".[48]

Discipline was a part of military life. For the civilian soldiers of the Sixth NH Volunteers, the brutality of Union discipline came as a shock. Historian Lorien Foote said "Civilians were nourished on ideals of independence and equality; military discipline required unquestioned obedience to the commands of officers who were to be treated as superiors".[49] The point of disciplining troops is not merely to punish troops. Troops are disciplined in order to become obedient. Duty in combat required following orders in situations where men must act in concert, obeying commands when communication became difficult and when there was little time to think. Frederick the Great defined it best: "Prussians' discipline renders these troops capable of executing the most difficult maneuvers . . . advancing at close order at double time . . . gaining an advantage by forced march . . . surpassing the enemy in constancy and fortitude. Obedience to the officers and subordination is so exact that no one ever questions an order . . . however little a general knows how to make himself obeyed, he is always sure to be."' Strong combat performance meant suppressing fear of one's own injury or death and following orders whether

[48] Captain Lyman Jackman, and Amos Hadley. *History of the 6th New Hampshire Regiment in the War for Union*. Concord, NH: Republican Press Association, Railroad Square, 1891. https://archive.org/details/historyofsixthne91jack. Page 19.

[49] Lorien Foote. *The Gentlemen and the Roughs: Manhood, Honor, and Violence in the Union Army*. New York University Press, 2010. Page 10.

those orders required one to advance, stand firm, or retreat.'". [50] The reason for this, is that during a battle troops need to execute the commands of their superior officers. These superior officers having either the knowledge or the experience to conduct battlefield maneuvers needed direct attention from their troops.

Being disciplined and being experienced in drill keeps troops alive, it allows for the execution of commands, and overall battlefield success. Theory on war fighting and troop training is outlined in Baron De Jomini's book *The Art of War.* He was one of the most widely read and respected military strategists to ever live. Jomini was a Swiss officer who served as a general in the French Army under Napoleon. His theories made up the core curriculum of the United States Military Academy at West Point and his theories affected many officers who served in the American Civil War. Jomini said "Courage should be recompensed and honored, the different grades in rank respected, and discipline should exist in the sentiments and convictions rather than in external forms only".[51]

Discipline and training mitigated battlefield panic and disorder. Jomini also noted that "An army seized with panic is similarly in a state of demoralization; because when disorder is once introduced all concerted action on the part of the individuals becomes impossible, the voice of the officers can no longer be heard, no maneuver for resuming the battle can be expected, and there is no resource but in ignominious flight" .[52] Drill and weapons handling served to reduce

[50] Mark Weitz. "Drill, Training, and the Combat Performance of the Civil War Soldier: Dispelling the Myth of the Poor Soldier, Great Fighter." *Journal of Military History* 62, no. 2 (April 1998): 263–90.

[51] Baron De Jomini, and Tranlation by - Captain G. H. Medell, Lieutenant W.P. Craighill. *The Art of War*. J. B. Lippincott & CO. Reprinted by Greenwood Press U.S.A, 1862. Page 63.

[52] Ibid. Page 64.

the possibility of error that inevitably occurred in the excitement and confusion of battle. Drill taught men to move in unison, not as individuals, and rifle practice enabled soldiers to increase not only the quantity of fire, but also its accuracy.[53] The troop was no longer an individual but part of the group, moving, eating, training, sleeping, and fighting alongside their comrades.

The battle of Second Bull Run was a reflection of how dangerous insubordination and disorderly conduct affected battlefield outcomes. As the troops prepared and marched into battle forming battle lines they could not help being over whelmed by the amount of devastation they saw. The troops were rightly nervous and scared. This battle was horrendous to the Sixth New Hampshire Regiment due to the fact that the Forty-Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment could not hold its line together on the flank. Even worse still, The Forty-Eighth had also fallen into the "fog of war" and broke rank and fled the previous day. [54] Because the Forty-Eighth scattered the entire Sixth New Hampshire Regiment, who was advancing and performing quite well that day, were outflanked and being fired upon from the left and the front, resulted in complete devastation.

> "But they [the rebels] fell back as we pressed forward, firing as fast as we could and as often as we could get a sight at the "gray-backs.' We felt that we were driving them; but perhaps we hurried too much, and therefore did less execution than we should have done had we moved more slowly. Suddenly we received a terrific volley, which seemed to come from the ground just in front of us. The colonel ordered us to charge, which we did

[53] Mark Weitz. "Drill, Training, and the Combat Performance of the Civil War Soldier: Dispelling the Myth of the Poor Soldier, Great Fighter." *Journal of Military History* 62, no. 2 (April 1998): 263–90.

[54] Joseph Gould. *The Story of the Forty-Eight: A Record of the Campaigns of the Forty-Eigths Regiment Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteer Infantry during the Four Eventful Years of Its Service in the War for the Preservation of the Union.* The Regimental Association, 1908. https://archive.org/stream/storyfortyeight00goulgoog/storyfortyeight00goulgoog_djvu.txt.

with a will, and came out upon the brink of a railroad cut, with a clearing and bushes beyond, in which the rebels had taken position, the embankment making a good breastwork for them. We poured into them such a volley that they got out of their hiding-place on the double-quick, and retreated to the clearing and woods beyond. From the course of the railroad cut and that of our march the left of our regiment had struck the cut first. We moved into and across it, supposing that the Forty-eight Pennsylvania was on our left all the time, but, to our surprise, that regiment was not to be seen. Soon the shots came thick from the bushes to the left, and some of the boys thought at first that the Forty-eight was firing into us by mistake. Straightway, however, they saw the "gray-backs" running through the bushes on the bank, and fell back across the track. As they could see a whole line of rebels coming down upon them from still further to the left, those of them who could moved northward along the cut through the bushes towards the right of the regiment. Adjutant Bixby and Lieutenant Emerson were captured here on the left, and Lieutenant Thomas Moore of Company I, and J. Prescott of Company D, were killed. It seems that as we advanced through the woods and got fully into the fight, and about the time our left went down into the railroad cut, the Forty-eight Pennsylvania fell back, and moving to the right and rear of our regiment, exposed our left to the enemy that was following up the Forty-eight. This is one reason why our left suffered so much. Had the regiment held its ground with the Sixth New Hampshire, we should have lost no men as prisoners, and comparatively few in killed and wounded. As it was however, before our left companies were aware of it, the rebels were in their rear pouring in a destructive fire, and they could do nothing better that to run or surrender. Few, however, were

> captured, but many were killed between the two fires. The dead and wounded lay thickest at this point, for the enemy had a fair, raking fire on us from the front and left" [55]

After the battle, the Sixth NH Volunteers performed roll call. Of the 450 troops that entered into battle, there were 210 casualties. 50 killed, 130 wounded, 30 missing. Most of the missing troops were killed or were mortally wounded. This was the most disastrous battle the regiment was a part of. "There the Sixth lay, with orders to hold itself in readiness to move at call, and no sadder night did it ever pass than that of August 29th, 1862".[56] Morale for the unit reached an all-time low. However, despite the devastation the Sixth NH Volunteers suffered, the troops would realize the importance of order, and discipline. On the battlefield, it did not matter what civilian social hierarchy you belonged to, everyone was able to be killed. In battle, it did not matter if you were a commissioned officer, a non-commissioned officer, or a private, everyone fought side by side. Losing half the regiment due to panic and a breakdown of orderly battlefield conduct and maneuvers stressed the importance of following orders and maintaining discipline.

Second Bull Run was a disaster for the Union army. Despite the amount of training that the Sixth had endured, it did not matter, because units adjacent to them could ultimately lead to their demise. It was a costly lesson. If the Forty-Eighth did not break line, and the Sixth NH Volunteers did not break into panic upon learning they were surrounded, an orderly, and hasty retreat could have been performed preventing additional losses. It was imperative to perform and execute proper military strategy, and in order to execute orders, drill and discipline were

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[55] Captain Lyman Jackman, and Amos Hadley. *History of the 6th New Hampshire Regiment in the War for Union*. Concord, NH: Republican Press Association, Railroad Square, 1891. Pages 80-81. https://archive.org/details/historyofsixthne91jack.

[56] Ibid. Page 84.

required. It is important to utilize Second Bull Run because it represents the turning point of how the troops performed in battle. This was the first major engagement for these troops. By the end of the battle, accountability had been conducted, and 66 men of the Sixth NH Volunteers had died. After the battle of Second Bull Run, the number of killed from all other engagements combined adds up to 91 killed. The Sixth NH Volunteers lost almost half of all their Civil War related killed in action (KIA) in one day's battle. The next highest KIA came at the Battle of Fredericksburg where the unit lost 13 men. Throughout the Civil War the casualty rates were as follows: KIA or mortally wounded, 158; died of disease, 197. [57] most units suffered 2 to 1.

War, death, and training was the unifying experience for the Sixth NH Volunteers. Even towards the end of the war, Simon Griffen required strict adherence to training. The regiment became known for its comradery and its ability to perform. The Ninth Army Corps deemed the Sixth NH Volunteers as one of the best trained regiments in their Corps.

> "The regiment participated, moreover, in numerous reconnoissances[sic] and skirmishes in which the loss was small. For many days during the Wilderness campaign, and for nine weeks before Petersburg, it was constantly under fire, suffering almost daily loss which made a large aggregate. The Sixth was oftener sent forward to skirmish than any other regiment, almost always doing that duty for its brigade, and often for its division. Company C usually skirmished for the regiment. The men of the Sixth were particularly well drilled for this service,- having while at Roanoke and Hatteras islands, practiced

[57] Captain Lyman Jackman. "Revised Register of the Soldiers and Sailors of New Hampshire in the War of the Rebellion. 1861-1866: Sixth Regiment New Hampshire Volunteer Infantry," 1894. http://www.actonmemoriallibrary.org/civilwar/regiments/NewHamp/6nh-nhregister_283-349.pdf.

every day for three months as sharpshooters,- and were esteemed the best shots in the Ninth Army Corps".[58]

The ending of the war was a joyous moment for these troops, they expressed how much they wanted the war to end and would help in any way possible to allow for that. Letters of William Angell showcase just how committed the troops were to ending this war. "The ware is a bout to come to a close if Johnson surrenders the thing is over and he will soon if he hante all ready for we will just go down and make him for we have men a nuf now to eat him and all his men mules and wagons and not get a half a meal Johnson has somewhere from fifty to eighty thousand men and Shurman has over a hundred thousand with him and if he wants any more we can share a hundred thousand more and we can go there in five days or les".[59]

On July 7, 1865 the regiment mustered out of service. The troops went back home. There is little evidence to see what became of these troops, if their experiences in the Civil War changed how they thought about civilian society and structure. On August 7, 1889 the veterans of the Sixth NH volunteers held their first reunion at Keene. The military is as much a social institution as it is a military institution. Civilian volunteers coming from all backgrounds and classes underwent a transformation upon enlisting in the army. They were stripped of their civilian identity and provided a new identity on equal footing with everyone else. They underwent intensive training, and were promoted based on quality not connections. No one

[58] Captain Lyman Jackman, and Amos Hadley. *History of the 6th New Hampshire Regiment in the War for Union*. (Concord, NH: Republican Press Association, Railroad Square, 1891), 373. https://archive.org/details/historyofsixthne91jack.

[59] William Angell. "Letters of William Angell," April 12, 1865. Box 1, Folder 22. New Hampshire Historical Society.

person did all the fighting, everyone fought, from the private to the colonel. The journal of Captain Josiah N. Jones mentions this very thing, "Our regiment with the division were ordered into the woods and have a hard fight. We took 119 prisoners and did good service. Our loss was one killed, 31 wounded, 14 missing. In my company one wounded three missing. Lay on the battlefield all night. The Lieut. Col. Pierson took the guiden [guidon], went in front of the regiment and said 'forward men!'".[60]

Death was the unifying experience for these men. But it was through training and discipline that many of them survived. Training and drill reinforced obedience to orders, instilled a sense of unit cohesion, taught soldiers to fire effectively, and developed the stamina to overcome fatigue.[61] This was not an amateur unit, and it is doubtful they could have performed as they did if it were not for intense training. After the disastrous battle of Second Bull Run, it became apparent that it was necessary to strip themselves of their known democratic rights and freedoms and adhere to the challenges brought on through military service. Through this, the number of casualties per campaign became far fewer, and battlefield success was improved.

[60] Josiah Jones. "Captain Josiah N. Jones War Memorandum," May 6, 1864. War Memorandum. New Hampshire Historical Society.

[61] Mark Weitz. "Drill, Training, and the Combat Performance of the Civil War Soldier: Dispelling the Myth of the Poor Soldier, Great Fighter." *Journal of Military History* 62, no. 2 (April 1998): 263–90.

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Chapter 3

Spies and Stuff: Espionage in the Civil War

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As the sunlight barely creeps over the horizon, the spy swiftly moves from shadow to shadow in hopes of avoiding being spotted as the enemy is near. Up the hill, he goes to look down upon the valley below. As the calm sea of blue troops starts to awaken and prepare for the march ahead, the spy tucks himself between two thick, scratchy bushes. Hidden from the world outside, he takes out his pencil and paper and starts to count the unit flags below. Spotting below, he notes the infantry units are breaking camp, the cavalrymen feeding their horses, and the preparing of the artillery to be dragged across the long and dusty trail ahead of them. The fires were out, and the troops had begun to move south in the Shenandoah Valley. Enough forces had started to march down the valley, and he had a good enough estimate in troop size and direction. So the spy withdrew himself carefully from his position as not to draw attention. At a rapid pace, he deliberately made his way down the hill to his awaiting horse. Dressed in civilian clothing as to not draw attention to himself, the Rebel spy trots his horse through a quiet Virginia town as to not look suspicious. Once on the outskirts of town, he canters his chestnut-colored mustang on the dirt roads of Virginia towards the camp of the Confederate Army. Stopped by a Confederate sentry a half mile outside of the Confederate encampment, he gives the sentry the password and trots into camp on his horse. In the encampment, he searches out the General of the Army of

Northern Virginia to pass on the vital information. Once he locates General Lee in his command tent, he passes on the strength of the troops that he had observed all that morning, along with their movements south in the Shenandoah Valley. Paid with a few Confederate dollars, and a meal of moldy bread and some bacon grease, the spy goes on his way in search of more intelligence that he can gather on the enemy, with hopes that he can one day bring this war to an end with Confederate independence won.[62]

The life of a spy was not like the movies. Wartime spies in the Civil War were less like James Bond or Sterling Archer, and more like regular civilians who had a knack for being inconspicuous in most places. This means being cunning enough to collect accurate information on the enemy and to be able to pass it on to the right people. The Civil War was a total war that was long and bloody. Because it was such a violent conflict, both sides needed any advantage they could get over their enemy. Such advantages included gathering intelligence, sabotaging, and other forms of espionage. Espionage on both sides contributed to the war's outcome through the collecting of information, hobnobbing with foreign people for support, sabotaging the enemy, and fighting using counter-intelligence.

As shown in the story above, collecting intelligence for both sides of the war effort was a painstaking process that proved crucial in providing a leg up on the enemy. It provided information on troop size and movements. Different methods were used to obtain said information efficiently. On the battlefield, the North used a more creative approach for collecting intelligence. This was accomplished through the use of gas-powered air balloons as a mean of aerial surveillance. A New Hampshire native, Thaddeus Lowe, created the first gas-powered air

[62] This scene is similar to the opening scene from the novel *Killer Angels*, by Michael Shaara.

balloon using a hydrogen gas generator.[63] After his test flight crashed in Confederate territory just a week after the firing on Fort Sumner, Lowe was captured by Confederate troops, and released back into Union territory after convincing the Confederate forces he was not a spy.[64] Upon his arrival back into Union territory, Thaddeus Lowe was summoned by President Lincoln. Lincoln wanted to explore the potential of Lowe's invention in collecting aerial reconnaissance and relaying crucial information. This led to a display of both the air balloon on the National Mall and the first air-to-ground telegraphs to be successfully sent. Upon proving that this technology worked, it was used to look at Confederate troop movements and convey them in real time. This tactic was used successfully in the Peninsula Campaign, early in the war. Though this program was shut down prematurely in the war due to the high cost to maintain a Balloon Corp, it still provided useful intelligence on their enemies' troop movement.[65]

Though the South did not have a competing Balloon Corp, they did have a lot of other tactics that were used efficiently in collecting information. One individual who proved to excel at intelligence gathering was Thomas Conrad. Conrad was a teacher at a boys' boarding school in Georgetown, Virginia, as well as a Methodist preacher. After being arrested for being a pro-confederate supporter, as well as attempting to gain military secrets from the War Department, Conrad was traded down South in a prisoner exchange early on in the war. In the South, Conrad worked for Jeb Stuart's cavalry, scouting troop positions as well as collecting intelligence. Conrad excelled at gathering information and scouting the enemy. He was so effective at scouting that he was promoted to spy. As a spy, Conrad established a network of spies in

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[63] "Thaddeus Sobieski Constantine Lowe," Civil War Trust, accessed February 5, 2018, https://www.civilwar.org/learn/biographies/thaddeus-sobieski-constantine-lowe.

[64] Eric Ethier, "Intelligence: The Secret War Within the War," *Civil War Times* 46, no. 2 (April 3, 2007): 15–17.

[65] "Thaddeus Sobieski Constantine Lowe."

Washington D.C. where he used newspapers, as well as Confederate sympathizers who had access to crucial information that would be swiftly passed on to Conrad who would deliver it directly to General Lee.[66] Not only was Conrad effective in organizing a network of informants, but he also was a capable field spy due to his background as a preacher. In the field, Conrad would dress as a preacher and listen to Union soldiers without being noticed or suspected of being a spy. Through doing this, he would provide advanced intel on Union troop movements. An example of this was when he offered intel on whether Union troops were going to raid off the Atlantic coast or link up with Grant and attack around the Richmond area. Once Conrad confirmed that Union troops were meeting with Grant's army then Conrad provided the information for General Lee to prepare for the massing troops coming towards the Richmond area.[67] These examples from the North and South war efforts offered a unique advantage over each other in specific battles. Thaddeus Lowe's unique ability to have a birds' eye view over a battle helped counter the Confederate actions in real time. Or Thomas Conrad's work as a spy providing critical information to Confederate Army. By providing the right information at critical times in a campaign, it can change the outcome of a battle which in turn could have changed the result of the war.

It was not just men who changed the tide of the Civil War. Women contributed a great deal to each side of the war and proved crucial in aiding the war effort. In the South, a woman who died trying to assist the Confederacy was Rose Greenhow. Greenhow's role in the Civil War was a complicated one. Rose Greenhow's first Civil War experience was a prisoner in her own home for several months as she was very vocal about her Southern sympathy. Upon her release

[66] Ernest B. Furgurson, "Teacher, Preacher, Soldier, Spy," *MHQ: Quarterly Journal of Military History* 25, no. 1 (October 2012): 82–86.

[67] Furgurson.

to the Confederacy in a prisoner exchange she sought her revenge against the Union. As a Southern civilian, Greenhow had many connections to the higher aristocracy of the South such as Jefferson Davis and John C. Calhoun.[68] Using her gender and her high status she was able to pass along intelligence reports onto senior ranking officials in the Confederate government. Using her inconspicuous position, Greenhow was able to pass information on Union troop movements successfully.Greenhow's most significant intelligence that she sent to Jefferson Davis was that of the Battle of First Bull Run,

> At twelve o'clock on the morning of the 16th of July, I dispatched a messenger to Manassas, who arrived there at eight o'clock that night… On the 17th I dispatched another missive to Manassas, for I had learned of the intention of the enemy to cut the Winchester railroad, so as to intercept [General Joseph] Johnston and prevent his reinforcing [General P.G.T.] Beauregard, who had comparatively but a small force under his command at Manassas… On Sunday (21st) the great battle of Manassas was fought… which ended in the total defeat and rout of the entire 'Grand Army.[69]

Greenhow was so successful at collecting this information that Jefferson Davis credited her for winning the Battle of First Bull Run. She continued to be useful in the war effort as a courier and a spy, and would often pass along information directly to Jefferson Davis.[70] Such information would have included morale reports, along with other essential battle details that summarize the tactics used in the battle on both sides. The risk of being a spy caught up to

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[68] Lizabeth Hardman, "Behind Enemy Lines: Women Who Spied," *History Magazine*, no. December/January 2010 (December 2010): 22–25.

[69] Hardman.

[70] Rose Greenhow, "Letter to Jefferson Davis, July 16, 1863," July 16, 1863, Special Collections, Duke University, https://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/greenhow/1863-07-16/1863-07-16.html.

Greenhow, as she was almost caught by Allan Pinkerton, a Union intelligence officer.[71] In woe of nearly being caught, Greenhow was sent to Europe by Jefferson Davis, to be an emissary for the South. While traveling through Europe, she managed to raise money and gain some support for the Confederacy from private entities.[72] After raising funds in Europe, Greenhow attempted to reenter the Confederacy to deliver the funds that she raised. Unfortunately, this led to her untimely death, when the ship she was on ran aground just off the coast of Virginia, and the rowboat used to escape the vessel capsized due to the rough waters. When she attempted to swim to shore, she drowned, as her dress was weighted down with gold that she was trying to smuggle into the Confederacy.[73] Missions such as this one kept the Confederate war effort going.

Rose Greenhow was not the only female spy for the Confederacy. A more famous spy for the Confederacy was Belle Boyd. Boyd's story started in Martinsburg, Virginia, in her hometown which in July of 1861 was occupied by Union forces.[74]Rumors had gone around that at Boyd's house, Belle Boyd had decorated her room with Confederate flags. Some impaired Union soldiers figured they would try to put a stop to this by breaking into the home and tearing up everything in the house in search of those flags. Upon finding nothing, the Union soldiers threaten to post the Union colors on Boyd's house. That sparked a heated argument that resulted in Boyd taking a pistol and shooting a Union soldier. The shooting led to a court case that resulted in a not guilty ruling on behalf of Belle Boyd, as the soldiers had broken in and

[71] Hardman, "Behind Enemy Lines: Women Who Spied."

[72] Rose Greenhow, "Letter to Alexander Boteler," February 17, 1864, Special Collections, Duke University, https://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/greenhow/1864-02-17/1864-02-17.html.

[73] "Rose O'Neal Greenhow Papers at Duke," accessed February 18, 2018, https://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/greenhow/#rose.

[74] Hardman, "Behind Enemy Lines: Women Who Spied."

threatened civilians. After the hearing, an armed guard was posted outside of the home to ensure no further trouble would come to the household. Boyd took advantage of this and became quite friendly with the Union soldiers, and found it was not challenging to get information out of the soldiers. After the collection of intelligence, she would send it via a trusted courier to Jeb Stuart, or another high ranking officer in the Confederate army.

After her run-in with the Union army, Isabelle "Belle" Boyd continued her work in espionage by being a courier. Her efforts were noticed after she provided vital information to General Stonewall Jackson during the first Valley Campaign, outside of Richmond. However, Boyd was not always a successful spy, as she was caught twice, each time landing her in the Old Capitol Prison, where she would fall ill and would be released. After being arrested and released a second time, Boyd would venture across the pond to England. While on her way to England her ship was stopped by a Union ship. The captain of that ship was persuaded by Boyd to let her go and to join the Confederate cause. She would eventually go on to marry the captain in August of 1864. While in England, she gained Confederate support through telling stories of her adventures. She would also go onto pursuing an acting career in England. At the end of the war, she would return to the United States and would continue to have a successful career as an actress.[75]

Southern Bells were not the only successful spies; northern women and Union sympathizers we were successful in the craft of espionage as well. A Union sympathizer named Elizabeth Van Lew who lived in Richmond, Virginia was a great example of Union espionage. Elizabeth Van Lew was a wealthy woman who had an option that was somewhat unpopular in

[75] Hardman.

the Confederacy because she was an abolitionist.[76] With her Quaker background, Van Lew detested slavery; it seemed natural to be against the Confederate cause as she viewed it as a war to keep slavery. Van Lew was so against slavery that she would use her wealth, buy slaves, and help them reconnect with their families. Often she would have to purchase whole families of slaves if needed. Her efforts in freeing slaves were not the only thing Van Lew did to protest to the Confederacy. She would also volunteer at the Confederate's prisoner of war prison, called Libby Point. While volunteering at the prison, Van Lew would collect information on Confederate troop movements, and pass them on to other Union agents in Richmond. Some of the people she freed from slavery were more than eager to repay the favor by becoming spies for her and listening in on private conversations and passing on vital information. The most famous example was that of Mary Bowser. Mary Bowser was a former slave who volunteered to work as the personal house servant to Jefferson Davis. Bowser was a well educated and brilliant woman who was able to pass on detailed information via memory and taking notes. She was an invaluable member of Elizabeth Van Lew's web of spies. Van Lew grew her spy ring to twelve members and became one of General Grant's most reliable spies in Richmond. After being the black sheep of Richmond with her pro-union sympathies, she was able to show her true colors in April of 1865 when Richmond fell. Van Lew showed her Union pride by being one of the first people to raise the Union colors above her house in Richmond. Following the war, Elizabeth Van Lew was named the Postmaster of Richmond by President Grant.[77]

Not all female spies were wealthy private citizens looking to aid their cause. Sarah Edmonds proves this in her crazy journey as a Union spy. Edmonds grew up in New Brunswick,

[76] Hardman.

[77] Hardman.

where she was abused by her father, as he wished that she had been born a boy.[78] To escape the abuse, she fled to Flint, Michigan, where she would crossdress to be a private named Frank Thompson in the Union army. Her unit was sent down South, where she would be a spy under General McClellan's staff. Private Thompson's first assignment was to go undercover as a black cook. To achieve this, Edmonds covered herself with silver nitrate and wore a wig. As a black cook named "Cuff," she would listen and collect information as she heard it. Returning from their assignment, they provided crucial information on the Confederate army. Seeing how successful she was with her first assignment, more assignments came, along with several other disguises and aliases. Some of her aliases included: a fat Irish peddler named Briget O'Shea; a black mammy and laundress; and young southern Kentucky man named Charles Mayberry. In 1863, Private Thompson's unit was sent to prepare for the Battle of Vicksburg. This was devastating for Edmond as she got malaria at Vicksburg due to the high disease rates. She could not get treated in a Union hospital because it would have given away her disguise as a male soldier. As a result, Edmonds decided to flee to Cairo, Illinois, where she would get healthy. Once healthy she took up the Union cause as a nurse in an army hospital in Washington, DC. After the war, she got married and had three sons. This gave her some happiness, but something still bothered her as she did not like Private Thompson's soldier record blemished with desertion. As this nagged at her, she petitioned the War Department to get Private Thompson's record fixed with an honorable discharge. Edmonds successfully petitioned the War Department to have an honorable discharge for Private Thompson. Along with the petition also came a veteran pension, which was not typical as Edmonds was a woman.[79]

[78] Hardman.

[79] Hardman.

Women were crucial to the Civil War on both sides. Motivated by patriotic duty, mistreatment, personal vendettas, or the want of revolution, these women performed duties that put their lives in danger, and some would end up losing their lives, like Rose Greenhow. Their contribution to the war effort was crucial for both sides. Greenhow helped win the first battle of the Civil War, an encounter that set the tone for much of the war. For Elizabeth Van Lew, her spy ring brought top secret information from inside of Richmond, including information from Jefferson Davis directly. This effort was invaluable in helping the Union win the Civil War. Women spies for the Confederacy had extra duties of gaining finances and support for their cause in Europe. This task of gaining support was unique to the Confederacy as the United States were already a well-backed and established country in the world's eyes. Though it was unknown to what the effects of Private Thompson or Sarah Edmond's work as a spy were, it can be assumed that her work was crucial in scouting Confederate troops or collecting information through eavesdropping using multiple personas, just as Joseph Conrad did for the Confederacy. The efforts put forth by these miraculous women to provide a leg up on the enemy proved critical and may have assisted in the winning of battles, and possibly shaping the outcome of the war.

These efforts of espionage did not go unchecked. In the Union government, there was a tremendous effort to counter Confederate espionage. The beginning of the Civil War was extremely challenging at first as it was a mixture of counter-espionage and counterinsurgency. As the country had never experienced war like this, there were the issues of legality and boundaries as everyone was at one point an American citizen.[80] In the Northwest of the Union (Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana) many issues arose at the beginning of the Civil War because not

[80] Stephen E. Towne, *Surveillance and Spies in the Civil War* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2015).

everyone supported the Union's cause to maintain the United States. There were secret organizations that were dedicated to the recruitment of Confederate soldiers, as well as smuggling rifles into the Confederacy, and sabotaging the Union. Such groups included the Knights of the Golden Circle and local Confederate militias that were formed with the unknowing aid of the U.S. government because they claimed they were joining the Union cause, but intelligence and local reports say otherwise.

Countering such efforts were challenging due to legal issues including the spying on of citizens, seizing the property of Rebels to deny the enemy, and arresting Confederate sympathizers in the North.[81] As there were no official laws put in place on the subject matter, State and Federal agencies had to use their discretion to determine what was legal or illegal. Such agencies include the U.S Marshals, who used their authority in the traditional sense of tracking down criminals and hunting down individuals who jumped bail. During the Civil War, they took on additional responsibilities including tracking down soldiers who deserted and intercepting telegrams to uncover suspension actions or conspiracies that might be brewing against the Union. Due to the high volume of telegrams that needed to be intercepted and processed, the U.S. Marshals had to hire extra personnel just to handle the high volume of "suspicious" telegraphs. Reports estimate out of the New York City telegraph office alone, over a quarter of a million telegrams were read and marked suspicious by the U.S. Marshals. [82]

Another effort of counter espionage was a formal request by the federal government that asked that on the state levels that more be done to combat enemy sabotage and counter any possible Confederate efforts to disturb the Union. This governmental request did not come with

[81] Towne.

[82] Towne.

any extra federal funding to help with the hiring of additional personnel. Some states like Kentucky decided to ignore this demand, as Kentucky's state attorney general did not feel it was fair to subject its police officers to additional responsibilities.[83] Unlike Kentucky, other states took this duty on with full force creating networks of authorities that would seek out Confederate sympathizers, Confederate spies, and groups that posed a threat to the Union. Most famously was Indiana's governor, Oliver Morton, who created a web of civilian informants. His informants would filter in any suspicious activity in any area. If multiple sources confirmed the information, he would pass it on to General Grant. An example of this type of civilian system was the capture of a Confederate spy named John C. Brian. Posing as a photographer in Michigan City, two of Morton's agents gained the spy's trust and found out his mission. Brian's mission was to recruit Confederate soldiers. Once caught, Morton passed on John Brian to the military officials where he was sent to Boston as a P.O.W. Another example of Morton's success was he gathered information that a bridge for a train that would carry freshly trained soldiers was going to be destroyed by members of the Knights of the Golden Circle. After passing on that information to Union General Grant, the bridge was placed under guard, where it remained intact. The importance of counter espionage was crucial in denying the enemy access to Union plans and secrets, as well as protecting against acts of sabotage that could have potentially disadvantaged Union forces.

Protecting Union secrets against the prying eyes of the Confederacy was critical in denying the enemy. Communication was essential in both wartime and civilian life. The use of the telegraph revolutionized this. These lines would send messages over distances in an expedient amount of time. The messages would be sent to operators using morse code. The

[83] Towne.

operator would write down these notes and would pass them along to either another operator at a different station if it is going further than their station or in a paper telegram if it is going to an individual in their jurisdiction. This system was utilized heavily during the Civil War. However, it was not the most secure system because it was relatively easy to tap into the telegraph lines, so it became essential to cipher the messages. This problem was solved when the first general superintendent of Western Union Telegraph Company (founded in 1856) created the solution.[84] Anson Stager had no training or interest in building ciphers for the Union at the beginning of the war. However, this changed when Stager was approached by the governor of Ohio to generate a cipher for him so he could communicate with the other governors of Indiana and Illinois without being intercepted by Confederate agents in the North. The cipher that Stager created for the Ohio governor was so successful that it became widely used for encrypting messages for the Union army. Throughout the Civil War, ten Stager ciphers were made, each one had a number one through twelve, leaving out eight and eleven. Each code was slightly different with words and transpositions, but they all followed a similar pattern. This method follows a simple route and transposition cipher; although simple in concept, it never was cracked by the Confederacy. The Confederacy tried to break the code through military outlets and resources, but this was not successful. In desperation the Confederate Army put the encrypted messages in most of the Southern newspapers in hopes that an ordinary citizen would be able to decode it. This effort failed and the cipher was never deciphered by the Confederacy.

With this cipher also came a new specialized field in the military, the United States Military Telegraph Corp. This entailed ciphering and decrypted messages sent via telegraph, all

[84] Kevin Romano, "The Stager Ciphers and the U.S. Military's First Cryptographic System," *Army Communicator* 27, no. 4 (Winter 2002): 56–59.

while keeping the codes and codebooks secret. This job was so secret that it caused Union field commanders frustration as they could not have their signaler send out the messages immediately because every message had to be encrypted due to the high-level secrecy. This top-secret Stager Cipher was used until the very end of the Civil War, where it was never to be used again in combat. Anson Stager would leave the war effort as a Brevet Brigadier General. He would then become the president of Western Electric, president of the Chicago Telephone Company, and the president of the Chicago Edison Company.[85]

Counter-espionage is as crucial as espionage. Being able to deny the enemy information takes away their opportunity to be prepared to for a battle or know where their enemy will strike next. Counter-espionage also allows one to know what the enemy is trying to do so people can prevent it just as Morton's web of spies was able to prevent the destruction of an essential railroad bridge. Protecting intelligence was just as critical as well stealing it, as shown with Anson Stager's cipher. Not only did the Confederacy have to spend time and resources attempting to crack codes, but since the Confederate army was unable to break the cipher, then that means that intelligence that was being protected is left safe, leaving the Confederacy disadvantaged.

The Civil War was a long and grueling war. On both sides of the war there was so much loss in human life. As in any war, both sides wanted to come out on top as the victor in as short of time as possible; the Civil War was no exception to this. In the Union and Confederacy, both sides had their own reason as to why they were fighting. For the Confederacy, it was to govern themselves as an independent nation, and for the Union, it was to preserve the United States as a

[85] Romano.

whole. Both sides wanted a swift victory, perhaps a single battle to decide the war. However, after the Battle of First Bull Run it was clear that this was not going to be the case. To make it a quicker war both sides looked for an advantage they could get and any disadvantage they could give. For both sides an advantage that was widely sought after was the advanced intelligence on their enemy. Whether it was done through spies, aerial surveillance, or taping telegraph lines, advanced intelligence helped to provide a leg up on an enemy who might have hoped for stealth or the element of surprise. Both sides knew their intelligence was a sought-after thing, so precautions were taken to protect their information, such as the use of ciphers to encrypt messages. There were many attempts at disadvantaging the enemy as to level the playing field or take away an advantage. This was shown when Confederate sympathizers attempted to blow a bridge holding a train full of Union soldiers. If they had succeeded a critical bridge would have been lost taking away a transportation advantage, as well a significant number of their enemy would have perished all in one attack. Luckily there was another protection measure in place that provided advanced warning to General Grant, so he would have an opportunity to defend that bridge against any saboteurs. This protection measure was a web of civilian informants who would report any and all pro-Confederate actions in the North. Based off this chess game of espionage and counter-espionage, it can be concluded that it did play a huge role in the Civil War as it helped to provide advantages in times of crucial need such as right before a battle or in the battle itself. These advantages helped to win battles and ultimately helped to win the Civil War.

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Chapter 4

John Wilkes Booth, Actor, Lover, Killer: Challenging the Conspiracy Theory behind the Assassination of President Abraham Lincoln

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John Wilkes Booth's name in history is etched next to men who all are forever categorized in the same group. The reasons being, their doing changed American history with one act of violence. Men like Lee Harvey Oswald, Leon Czolgosz and John Hinckley Jr., all have taken, or attempted to take the life of the President of the United States. All assassinations were motivated by different ideas, there is always an underlying theme of political disapproval by specific members of the public. Who see the government policies ruling over them as a direct insult to them personally. Men like Booth were driven by pride, and in most cases, believe what they are doing is what is best for the place they call home. Booth cherished being in the spotlight, in his later career as an actor, at home, in front of friends and in everyday life, Booth was the center of attention. He also adored literature and poetry, specifically, at an early age he read Byron's *Giaour,* a poem that gave Booth an idea of what the word hero means. It spoke of "an alienated man, inheriting his love of freedom, and fighting against all odds to save his homeland from tyranny and oppression."[86] Terms such as tyranny, justifying, death, and failure soon become common thoughts in the mind of John Wilkes Booth, and shape his future.

[86]Michael Kauffman, *American Brutus: John Wilkes Booth and the Lincoln Conspiracies*. New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2005, p. 87.

John Wilkes Booth's family, upbringing, radical roots, and failed career lead to the ideas to kill the President of the United States. Thus, welcoming the most popular and talked about conspiracy theory debates in America History. The idea behind the debate as to why Booth killed Lincoln is to identify the roots in which is the leading cause for the motivation. Many works conducted about Booth's life connect his motivation to the South, racial ideology, political ideals, family issues, career success/failure and his relationship with God. With multiple works dedicated to his possible motives, Booth's motivations boil down to his family/upbringing, feelings towards the institution of slavery and hate for Lincoln versus his love for his country.

The Civil War was over, General Robert Lee singed official documents to end the war between the North and the South in 1865, giving the North the victory. President Lincoln, pleased with the outcome returned to Washington to carry out further plans to better America. *Our American Cousin*, a play to be preformed at Ford Theatre in Washington seemed like a splendid way for the President to celebrate the Confederate defeat. When Lincoln entered the theatre in the presidential box, he was met with a standing ovation, when then he briefly acknowledged the crowds approval of his appearance. Accompanied by the First Lady, Mary Todd Lincoln and President Lincoln took their respective seats. The lights hit the stage and *Our American Cousin* was underway in the Ford Theatre in Washington in front of a sold out crowd. Act 2, lead role Harry Hawk had turned to follow his lady off stage when something startled him and sent the entire Ford Theatre into a standstill. Hawk heard a loud bang, "spinning around, he saw a commotion in the president's box. A man in black made a quick jerking movement, then stepped out of the shadows, his face glowing eerily from the stage lights below. The man stood there, wrapped in a veil of smoke, and hissed out the words "*Sic semper tyrannis!"*[87] The man

[87] Ibid., 7.

then jumped from the box, onto the stage below showing himself to the crowd, as he had his whole life, taking center stage with a knife in his hand, triumphantly shouting "The South shall be free!"[88] The people present in the Ford Theatre looked on in shock, was it an act? Was this a tragedy? The uncertainty surrounding Booth's shooting of the President was difficult for the people of the theatre to understand and process. It was a time of complete chaos, which later proved to be a reason why Booth was able to get away into the night, for the people had trouble comprehending what they had seen.

In history, the time table and plot of how John Wilkes Booth killed the president is what the general public is most familiar with. The reason behind the question of why John Wilkes Booth acted in such a manner is significant to the reason being the story being relevant 153 years later. Most are often taught in early childhood history lessons that Abraham Lincoln was assassinated in the Ford Theatre in Washington D.C by John Wilkes Booth. You may be asked to circle a multiple choice question as to what year this event took place. I am not here to relay the story of the plot, the event and the escape. The speculation circling the question as to what ideas swirled around the mind of Booth prior to the eventual pull of the trigger that day. To understand the mind of a so called mad man, you must first do what any psychologist would do. Being, to fully examine the persons childhood, roots, parents, and schooling. As professionals who study the mind, the early life, education, development, and early relationships with mother/father, birth place and family history all have a great impact on the later years of life. To begin, before John Wilkes Booth was even born, his name, along with his family history already had strong ties with the fight against tyranny and political distrust.

[88] Ibid., 7.

John's father Junius was a crucial figure in the life of John, not only because of the obvious father-son relationship, they shared the same career goal, John's life long dream was to become a famous actor, like his father. Going back two generations, Junius's father, Richard was deeply committed to the fight against tyranny, but was too busy with other obligations to get further involved. It is not shallow enough to acknowledge his pledge. "Junius Brutus Booth was named "Junius," a writer of political tracts who inspired generations of anti-monarchists, and for the Brutuses, who established, and later tried to save, the Roman republic. Algernon Sydney Booth was named for a man who died for conspiring to kill Charles II. In his declining years in America, when Richard was asked to name a grandson, he drew once more from political history. He named the child John Wilkes Booth."[89] Like Richard, Junius Booth's philosophical outlook was a family legacy. Friends of Junius referred to his as the greatest historian they had ever met. He spoke several languages and was also known to be called a freak by his peers, for good reason. His wife, Mary Ann, mother of John Wilkes even encountered Junius in the act of hanging himself. He was chaotic, to say the least, from the sources and stories told about his life. He was a true mad man, and even stories surfaced about him skipping incredibly important performances to only be later found in the woods, acting and playing alone. He even risked the life of his loving daughter Asia in a attempt to grant the wish of a local dying slave girl who wished to see Asia one last time. Junius came to America in search for a new start, his acting career had been overshadowed by fellow (and more popular) acting-mate, Edmund Kean.

In America, he finally gained the fame and success he had always wished for, settling in Maryland, where the Booth's would now call home. As Junius had lived as an outcast in London, so had the Booth's before him, instead of being outcasted in society because of a

[89] Ibid, 85.

mediocre acting career, the Booth's before Junius in London had been outcasts because of their political beliefs, almost all being radicals. "They claimed family connection to John Wilkes, "the agitator," whose story is one of unflinching hostility to the power of government. In the 1770s John Wilkes waged a fearless war against George III. He was expelled from Parliament three times, outlawed once, imprisoned twice, and exiled to Paris for more than three years."[90] After many tries, he was finally able to join back into his life of politics when the House of Commons allowed his return. His supporters soon made "Wilkes and Liberty!" their slogan. He was then elected the Mayor of London and used this power to set up his plans for American independence. "Prime Minister William Gladstone would later say that the name of John Wilkes "must be enrolled among the greatest champions of English Freedom."[91] John Wilkes Booth, named after John Wilkes was just another testament to the fact the Booth family kept a serious political agenda. Not to mention, John Wilkes Booth's father, carried that tradition into his life by befriending Sam Houston and Andrew Jackson. Houston being a crucial figure in politics when he secured the independence of Texas from Mexico, and of course Jackson, who was the 7th president of the United States. Jackson was known for his formation of the new Democratic party, which supported states rights and slavery extension into new western territories. Junius frequently met with the two men, even sharing letter about his political beliefs in letters to Jackson, supporting him.

It is clear to see, lightyears before John Wilkes Booth could think for his own, the family name, and political identity of his family are hard to ignore. The shaping of John Wilkes Booth's political ideas of his own can be easily traced through his father and ancestors. With that

[90] Ibid., 84.

[91] William Purdie Treloar, *Wilkes and the City*, (London: John Murray, 1917), 14.

thought kept in mind, when John was old enough to begin to educate himself in schooling, the proper arraignments by his father were made to insure his studies would focus on the correct materials, suited not for John, but through the beliefs in which the family felt fit. Young John had no say when he was enrolled in Bel Air Academy in Maryland, and then later to Milton Academy in Baltimore. The academic schedule, rigor, demand, and consistency required the utmost attention to keep up. The curriculum at Milton included the concentrated study of John Milton, the poet. "Milton was an ardent opponent of tyranny, and wrote "A Defense of the People of England" when his countrymen were criticized for executing their king. He argued that tyrannical rulers might justly be put to death.… It would be surprising, indeed, if Headmaster Lamb had left him out of the program."[92] Milton was not the only one Booth studied, John's sister Asia said his passion for reading men like with political lessons about tyranny came at a young age. His reading of these radical thinkers is a clear example of how John's political lessons applied to his later life.

The events that took place in his later life, in which Booth took the life of American president Lincoln, was not the only tragedy to happen that day, although it is the most well known. An attack on Secretary of State, William H. Seward also took place that day in 1865, not killing the man, but brutally mutilating his face. This attack was planned to be a murder, by a man named Lewis Payne, one of the men recruited by Booth to carryout his plot to change the political scene in America. This storyline is reproachful in remembering the roots in which Booth came from, and the turbulent world and fierce issue of slavery during Booth's youth. Seward came on the scene in American politics when Booth was still attending Milton, and his stance on slavery quickly became the backbone of the policy in the North. In March 1850,

[92] John Milton, "*The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*," (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1999), 83.

Seward noted his views on slavery as "radically wrong and essentially vicious. Slavery he said, was doomed. Though the Constitution was devoted "to union, justice, to defence, to welfare, and to liberty," there was a "higher law than the Constitution, which regulates our authority over the domain, and devotes it to the same noble purposes."[93] *A higher law*, that is spoken about was a new way to speak out against law, and the Constitution of the United States. For example, the Fugitive Slave Law was a law stating that runaway slaves, escaping to try to find freedom in the North, if found, must be returned to their masters. Men like Seward, and other men with alike ideals about slavery, sought to make change through law to help slaves secure and obtain freedom indefinitely. Whether or not Seward saw the implications of his actions at the time, his words became the rallying cry for anti-slavery patricians who put personal beliefs above the law and, for that matter, the Constitution. Men like Seward and Lincoln used the power they had obtained through free election to display personal beliefs above the law, and used this power to change the law and scorn parts of the Constitution. For Booth, in the early years of his life, was well aware of higher law, and also the direct violations Seward and Lincoln were committing.

Speaking upon the topic of higher law, there is something to be said about the connection between John Brown and John Wilkes Booth, two men who lived to see the unfolding of the Civil War first hand. Was John Wilkes Booth inspired by the abolitionist John Brown, in who Booth saw put to death six years before his killing of the president? Who knows? It seems crazy, because in reality, they had views that are complete opposites. Booth was a Southern white supremacist who loathed the idea of the possible freedom of black people. Brown, was an antislavery Northerner, who wanted Americas four million enslaved people to be emancipated immediately. Yet, there is an obvious major difference between the two men, Booth

[93] Michael Kauffman, p.87,88.

admired him. How could two men with polar opposite political views ever have admiration for one and other? This is a great issue that may shed a light in the understanding for Lincoln's assassination. Lincoln, Booth and Brown all had something that bound them together. ""Booth and Brown—and, surprisingly enough, Lincoln himself—were conjoined on a deep level by what in that era was called "the higher law." They were inclined to follow the dictates of the higher law— moral or religious principle— rather than human law."[94] When looking back on Booths murder of Lincoln, and comparing it to the act of John Brown and the higher laws lead to the questions surrounding the two acts to get confusing. Higher law is defined, at the time as a moral or religious principle that is believed to overrule secular constitutions and laws.So, the question being, when is violence in the name of higher law justified, not in law particularly, but by the public, is it good or bad? Can we determine weather it is good terrorism or bad terrorism. To men who believed in the fight to abolish slavery looked at John Brown as a hero. In the South, a white extremist who used violence not permitted by law to justify his own actions, and must pay the price for his actions, being death.

The similarities between Booth, Lincoln and Brown can be looked at in three ways, religious, social and political. All three men used a higher cause for the betterment of the nation to take up arms against a even greater social evil. Brown, considered himself as God's chosen man to end slavery. He invaded Harpers Ferry, in Virginia with a group of men in a bloody fight in hope to start a slave insurrection in the South, leading to the end of slavery. He believed he was a martyr, a man of God, chosen by him to carry out his duties. In the end, he was brought to trial for treason, and hung in front of thousands of Southern soldiers, a man among that crowd, John Wilkes Booth. Brown was known for his last moments on this earth to have a calm, cool

[94] Davis Reynolds, "*John Wilkes Booth and the Higher Law*," The Atlantic, April 12, 2015, https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/04/john-wilkes-booth-and-the-higher-law/385461/

and collected look on his face. Truly believing his use of higher law was justified by God, and his actions would not be counted as sin, for it was for the equality of all men and the greater good for mankind. For Booth, Brown was a bold and brave man. Though, he did not agree with his views, he willingly sacrificed himself for a higher moral idea. In contrast to Browns beliefs towards the idea of slavery and the South, Booth felt this same hatred pointing to Lincoln. He thought Lincoln was "a scheming, power-hungry politician." Lincoln, Booth said, was "made the tool of the North to Crush out, or try to crush out slavery", he was a "Sectional Candidate" intent on "overturning this blind Republic and making himself a king."[95] Which must be understood in retrospect to the Booth's family ideology about the feelings they had towards a tyrannical leader, embedded in Booth's mind since childhood.

Race played a role in all three lives of Lincoln, Booth and Brown. Lincoln and party set to end slavery, Brown, in an extreme act to stop the suffrage of blacks, his motive was clearly racially based. Booths feelings towards race, specifically African Americans on the other hand, was extreme. He clenched his fists over the fact that America gained its Independence from England for a reason, to become it's own nation in which they had freedom to abide by rules that were rooted in the idea of blacks being less superior to whites. Booth's racist terms are a perfect example of his hatred towards blacks, and how he believed slavery was the backbone of America. "Booth, who referred to black people as "monkeys," "apes," or "thick-skulled darkies," wrote that "this country was formed for the white not for the black man." To expand on the topic of Booth's racism, he attended a speech in which Lincoln called for suffrage for certain African Americans. This was news, because it was the first time a president had ever spoke publicly on the issue. Booth, after the speech, said, "that means nigger citizenship. Now, by God, I'll put hi

[95] Reynolds, "*John Wilkes Booth and the Higher Law,"* 2.

through. That is the last speech he will ever make." Privately, to some friendly folk, Booth confided in them and told them something "great and decisive" must be done."[96]

Three days after he said this, Booth killed Lincoln. His anger over Lincoln using higher law as a president, not only in the Civil War, through military measures, but also using his power to pass acts such as the Fugitive Slave Act, among others. Booth saw this as a direct violation of power, and he did what he did as he saw it, as a patriotic and religious duty to save his nation from the catastrophe of racial integration and a tyrannical political leader running the nation. He did what Brown had done, but in reverse. Booth, like his acting career thought he would be a true hero. He thought even, more grand than John Brown was worshiped by the North. He very well thought this act would make him a Southern hero for eternity. How can we say who is wrong? Brown or Booth? Brown fought for the abolition of slavery, while Booth fought against it. Who was more unpopular? You may say Booth, but, at this time in American history he was simply protecting his way of life, the only life he ever knew, which was built upon slavery. He used his racial and political frustration to fuel his act of violence. Brown saw himself at peace with god, for his deed was what he was put on earth to do, and, he truly believed this. "If Brown saw his violent deeds as God-directed, so did Booth, who scribbled in his pocket diary shortly before he was captured in a Virginia barn, "God simply made me the instrument of his punishment."[97] Booth's own religious beliefs compare to that of Brown, and it should be stated that the mention of "God" in his diary was mentioned over 50 times. The idea that Booth had in his head was that Abraham Lincoln was using his authority to rule over society and tarnish God's wishes. God's

[96] Ibid., Reynolds.

[97] Ibid., Reynolds.

wishes, which are stated in the bible, in which Booth read, that did have excerpts about slavery.

To understand the concept entirely, it is important to realize Lincoln also followed higher law. “Lincoln also advocated extreme violence in the name of higher ideals.” As the Civil War went on, after John Brown was no longer around, Lincoln “deemphasized law and precedent in pursuit of his goal of eradicating slavery. He used his presidential military powers to suspend habeas corpus and other civil liberties, and he directed his leading generals, Grant and Sherman, to pursue a brutal, scorched-earth strategy that some historians see as “total war.”[98] And he did so in the name of God.” Lincoln put “In God We Trust” on the national security of America. He pushed for the mention of God to be put in the Constitution of the United States. All three men clearly influenced by God, and higher law. All three men, incredibly different. But the use of higher law, by all three, allowed Brown to do what he did, Lincoln what he did and, Booth did what he did. The real question is, which use of higher law is right, and which is wrong? Lincoln used higher law to use his power to twist the laws of America in favor of anti-slavery movements. Brown used higher law to protest the right of slavery and his hatred of the South. Booth, seeing Lincoln as a tyrannical king, ruling with too much power, justifying his killing of the president with the belief behind the idea of higher law.

As the use of higher law, race and religion were all motivations for Booth to eventually kill Lincoln, it all came became clear in his writings and diaries. In a letter to his mother, a letter to the editors of the *National Intelligencer,* and a scribble from his diary on in the last moments of his life, Booth finally puts his feeling on paper. He writes to his mother, telling her his reasoning is justified by god, the cause of liberty and justice, and his love for his country.

[98] Ibid,. Reynolds.

Booth's letter to the newspaper in Washington is in a different tone. Booth speaks of his reasoning in a slightly different approach. Booth speaks of blunders by Lincoln, his hate for blacks, the constitution in reference to slavery, and his views on a deeper look into the oppression and cruelty America faces. He even compares himself to Brutus, the man who slew Caesar in ancient Rome for his menaced views on his duties as ruler. A diary entry he wrote in the last days of his life is vital to understand not only Booth's act of murder, but his feelings behind justifying his actions must be understood to know the type of man Booth was. The three sources speak about all of his motivations spoken in his own words. In history, people often put their own opinion on the event, person, or work they are interpreting. Leaving the three letters he wrote himself to interpret last is to prove his actions were rooted in racism, religion, honor, love for his country and his hate for tyrannical leaders like Lincoln through clear textual analysis of his words, phrases and writings.

The tone in which Booth writes to his mother, whom is one of the only women he seemed to truly love, is penned with a sense or apologetic rigor. To be clear about his love for his mother, he starts the letter with, "Heaven knows how dearly I love you. And may our kind father in Heaven (if only for the sake of my love) watch over, *comfort* & protect you, in my absence."[99] Booth mentions God, Heaven or prayer ten times in his wiring, confirming his love for God, and his justification for his further actions. He starts with apologies and then begins to give reasoning. It is clear in his note, he feels worthless, a coward and a bystander for his inactivity during the unfolding of the Civil War. Booth makes it clear he can no longer resit his demons. He must now fight for the South and share the suffrage his brothers have endured during the war. He claims it is unfair that he had never held an equal stake in the fight for human rights and

[99] John Wilkes Booth, "John Wilkes Booth, letters and diary entries," *Right or Wrong, God Judge Me,* Philadelphia, November 1864.

divine.[100] Booth refers to Lincoln as, "the most ruthless enemy, the world has even known."[101] With one last bold strike, Booth plans to change the world, and cut his life short for the greater cause. "I feel that I am right in the justness of my cause,"[102] Booth states as he signs off. The last message to his mother is heartfelt and moving, despite his intentions. Ones mother son relationship is special and is clear in his letter to his mother. Disregarding his further plans, Booth plans was crystal in his motive. His love for his family, country and hate for what America has become due to the war and Lincolns policies was too much for Booth to endure. He does not mention slavery once in his letter to his mother, for maybe Booth was to hope his mothers last thought of his son was that he was an American hero with the intent to make the world a better place. Not a racist.

Booth does not hold back on his feelings towards slavery in his letter to the editor of a Washington newspaper, it is the focus of his total address. Booth once again refers to past history. He mocks the people who go against his feelings, who call him wrong to hate tyranny and to love liberty and justice, to strike at wrong and oppression. He mentions that it has been apart of history, and the he can not let down the patriotic fathers who before him rebelled against oppression from the mother country. The American Revolution did nothing to abolish slavery in the South, it arguably strengthened it. The Constitution failed to mention slavery, or outlaw it, sparking the debate for the rights of blacks down the line. Booth was simply preserving what he saw as the perfect America, rooted in the power of white men. "This country was formed for the white, not the black man. And, looking upon African slavery from the same standpoint as the

[100] Ibid,.

[101] Ibid,.

[102] Ibid,.

noble framers of our constitution, I, for one, have never considered it one of the greatest blessings, both for themselves and us, that God ever bestowed upon a favored nation."[103] Once again, Booth connects himself to John Brown, a man who fought against the institution for his voice to be heard, even if it cost him his life. Booth mentions he was happy that he had a part in the killing of John Brown. For John Brown had committed a crime, and was brought to justice for his act. But, Booth cannot seem to understand in his letter to the Washington newspaper how his act differs from Browns. He had committed a crime against the laws of the United States, but now has since been made a god in the eyes of abolitionists, and now is the greatest virtue of the Republican party.[104] In interpreting his text, Booth sees his future act as the same as Browns. Brown represented the Republican party, abolitionists and the North, while Booth soon hoped to represent a fighter against tyranny, slavery and savior of the U.S constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

His once loved country is no longer, falling deeper and deeper into oppression, Booth writes, "her once bright red stripes look like bloody gashes on the face of heaven. I look now upon my early admiration of her glories as a dream. My love is for the South alone, and to her side I go penniless."[105] Once more, in an effort to be seen by the public as a hero, he refers to Caesar. "When Caesar had conquered the enemies of Rome and the power that was his menaced the liberties of the people, Brutus arose and slew him. The stroke of his dagger was guided by his love of Rome. It was the spirt and ambition of Caesar that Brutus stuck at."[106] Booth signs his

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[103] John Wilkes Booth, "John Wilkes Booth to the Editors of the *National Intelligencer," Washington Evening Star,* April 14, 1865.

[104] Ibid,.

[105] Ibid,.

[106] Ibid,.

letter with a final attempt to compare Brutus to himself and Lincoln to Caesar, although he never makes it clear, it is obvious to the reader. He wished to be considered a martyr for his gracious deed. He signs his valediction as, “I answer with Brutus: He who loves his country better than gold or life. John W. Booth.”[107] His country was taken away from him, and his hope for it to regain its beloved image in John’s mind began to seem like a dream rather than reality. The duty he carried out was not his choice, he reminded the reader, it was for his assistance to the South and his love for a crumbling America.

In one final attempt to justify his actions and glorify his deed of murder, Booth writes one last diary entry while on the run, hours before he died. On April 13th, Booth writes, "I struck boldly and not as the papers say. I walked with a firm step through a thousand of his friends, was stopped, but pushed on. A Col - was at his side. I shouted Sic semper before I fired. In jumping broke my leg. I passed all his pickets, rode sixty miles that night, with the bones of my leg tearing the flesh at every jump. I can never repent it, though we hated to kill: Our country owed all her troubles to him, and God simply made me the instrument of his punishment. The country is not what it was. This forced union is not what I have loved. I care not what becomes of me. I have no desire to out - live my country.”[108] It is clear Booth acted out of spike. For he was man seeing his world crumble before him. Before you critique him, understand fully the time period of John’s life. Slavery was normal throughout his life, the Civil War took that away. His family had schooled him in order to understand the full political consequence a tyrannical leader like Lincoln could do to a nation. His world, that he grew up in, and had much success in, seemed to be over for him. If like could not be lived the way John Wilkes Booth wanted to live, there was

[107] Ibid,.

[108] John Wilkes Booth. *From John Wilkes Booth Diary, April 14, 1865*. Diary. p.1, Illinois State Historical Society, 1979.

no life to live at all, making that notion clear in his writing of his life. A country at Civil War must be a hard idea to understand, not only as a kid, but also a young man. The political world and the ideas circulating about the abolition of slavery could have spooked John. In one last heroic act, John Wilkes Booth jumped off stage for the final time. His last time on stage was with a knife in his hand, screaming for what he believed in, the Southern cause. He was from the South, and he also saw the South crumble, leading him to make the most justifiable act he could imagine, the killing of the man he grew to loathe. His guilt from not fighting for the South may have lead him to do this, for he felt weak and out of touch with society due to his inactivity in the war. The best part of the debate behind why John Wilkes Booth killed President Lincoln, is that is will forever be debated, because theories will always form, but not a single soul in the world will ever know the exact reason why. That is what makes it so interesting.

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Chapter 5

Navigation Agency within Oppression

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The institution of American slavery bound many black men and women to systems of oppression that would last for hundreds of years. Through those restrictions, many black women found a sense of agency that would allow them to challenge the system. Living life as a person of color in the 19th century was already a setback in a racist, slaveholding society. However, the additional identity of womanhood added a whole new complexity to the opportunities and disadvantages one may have. Margaret Garner and Mary Elizabeth Bowser were two women who worked tirelessly towards challenging the system of slavery. These two spent their lives influencing women of color to take control of their own fate before and during the Civil War. The actions and contributions made by both Garner and Bowser through the confines of oppression ultimately helped propel the Northern victory in the Civil War.

One of the common narratives represented when depicting the life of the slave is the escape to freedom. This journey is often told through the lens of a male slave due to the fact that black men escaped slavery at a higher rate than black women. This could be due in part to the gender expectations and social hierarchy of 19th century America. This social structure was defined by racist and sexist ideals that combined to oppress women of color to a narrow way of

life. The enslavement of these women provided a limited view of the world, limiting them to their home and work. Historian, Stephanie Camp, attributed her theory of the "geography of containment" as to why black women were not seeking refuge at the same rate as their male counterparts. She claims that enslaved men had more opportunity to see a world outside of the home due to the roles they were able to possess within enslavement[109]. These masculine roles consisted of messenger work, transporting goods to the market, whereas women only had the opportunity to leave when they were personal servants and nurses.

One women who was subject to minimum mobility, Margaret Garner, was able to overcome the limitations presented by the "geography of containment"[110] theory. Garner was born a slave in Richwood, Kentucky in 1833. She lived with her four children under the ownership of Archibald Gaines. At the same time her partner, Simon Jr. lived on a neighboring farm a mile away under the rule of James Marshall. As Garner grew older she was faced with the difficult challenge of being both a slave and a mother. As slaves did not retain the right to marry, Garner's children would inevitably be deemed illegiment. This would cause her to not retain any maternal rights to her children.

On January 27th 1856, Garner was pregnant with her fifth child as she made an escape with her husband, four children, two other extended family members. As most slaves are not able to flee with their entire family, Margarets case stands out. She could not bear the thought of leaving behind her children in a life a slavery, thus she chose to wait until they could leave together. This choice, influenced by gendered expectations, was extremely risky. With the chances of being caught already extremely high, the addition of four children posed an extreme

[109] Nikki Taylor, *Driven Towards Madness.* (Athens, Ohio. 2016), 9.

[110] Ibid., 9.

risk. In addition, the Garners lived on a small farm with relatively high supervision and demand. Regardless of being pregnant, her limited knowledge of the land, and the added risk of children, Garner defied the odds by attempting an escape[111].

The Garners forged the details for their escape plan with the help of Simon Jr. During his time as a slave, he had the opportunity to travel for a year to work elsewhere. Accompanied by his owners son, Simon Jr. traveled to Cincinnati, Ohio multiple times to sell hogs. He then used this opportunity to obtain knowledge of the land and different navigation systems in the surrounding area. Eventually, Simon Jr. was granted permission by the owners son to see Margaret's family, the Kites, in Cincinnati. Simon Jr. visited with the Kites, one of whom had escaped slavery, to solidify his plan. This opportunity allowed Simon Jr. the ability to map out an unconventional escape. After a month of careful planning, the family fled to Ohio to meet with Margaret's cousin and seek refuge at an abolitionist Quaker house. Their plan was to then use the Underground Railroad to make their way to Canada[112].

The trip to Cincinnati was 16 miles, almost a day's worth of walking. Due to Margaret being pregnant and the limited time they had, alternative transportation had to be conducted. Simon Jr. took two horses from the Marshalls farm and tied them to a sleigh that would then carry the 8 person family one step closer to freedom[113]. That evening, the family waited until the slave owners had gone to sleep and made their escape. The frigid conditions of midwinter were not ideal for traveling 16 miles. At the same time, these temperatures provided the perfect deterrent for other travelers, creating a more safe and private route for the Garners as they made

[111] Ibid., 7-9.

[112] Ibid., 7-9.

[113] Ibid., 15.

their way to Ohio[114].

Ohio was the ideal area for the Garners to make a safe escape to Canada. Cincinnati had been a haven of anti-abolitionists since the early 19th century. By the 1840s, there was a large interconnected system of people working to assist runaway slaves seeking their freedom. With a large population of free black men and women, families such as Jane and Thomas Durom became recognized for their contributions in assisting people running away from their slave owners. Other men and women of color who helped the cause were William Casey, his two sons, and his daughter Sarah, as well as the Hall and Burgess family. These people, among many others, worked together to create coordinating the details of the escapes, meeting prospective fugitives, escorting to places of refuge in the north or west, hiding fugitives, providing food, medical care, and extra clothing. In addition to the black community fighting the institution of slavery, white abolitionists in the area also contributed to helping runaways seek refuge.[115]

Although the people of Ohio had a well-coordinated system, failure was inevitable every once in a while. Cincinnati was among one of the more racially diverse areas in a very racist America. The scattered and abundant abolitionist support benefited many, but the town was not anti-slavery in the slightest. The economy of Ohio fluctuate depending on their southern neighbors' perception of whether city business and politicians supported slavery or not. This prompted city leaders to tout anti-abolition sentiments, policies, and encourage anti-abolitionists "activism."[116] Garners plan was put to a stop before the family even left the Quaker household in Ohio. Marshal and Gains, arrived on the scene to capture the family and return them to a life of

[114] Ibid.,15-16

[115] Ibid., 60-62.

[116] Ibid., 61-62.

slavery. The threat of family separation and severe physical punishment for runaway slaves was enough to motivate the Garner family to keep fighting. Garner's husband, Simon Jr. grabbed a gun and began to hold off the police and Gains. As their battle for freedom waged on, Simon Jr. shot two guards with a revolver[117]. The family could not hold off their attackers forever and Garners was faced with a new problem: How could she avoid subjecting her children to a cruel life and perpetuating a system of slavery? The answer to this question was that of life and death. Margaret Garner could choose to take control over her life and her children's by killing all of them and herself.

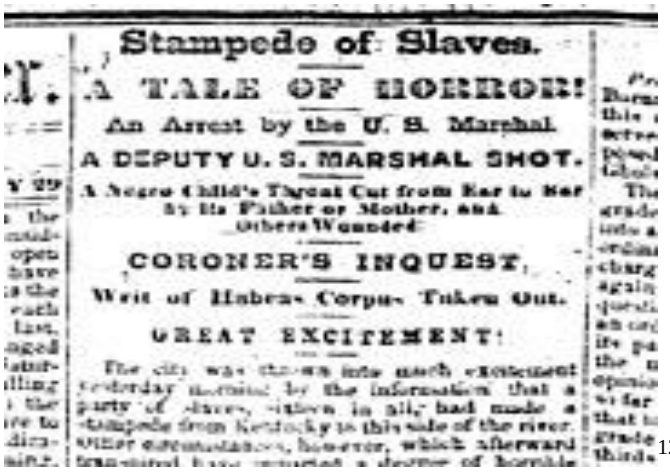
Garner understood that she could not continue to fight off Gains and that he would eventually capture them. So Garner made the most difficult decision any person could make, she chose to kill herself, her unborn child, and her four other kids. Grabbing a knife from the kitchen, Garner "cut the throat of her child, Mary. She then struck her other three children."[118] As she finished saving her children from a life of slavery, Gains and the Deputy Marshals breached the house. Margaret was then taken into custody for the murder of her children. She insisted that she had intended to kill herself as well, in order to save herself from a cruel life in slavery[119]. Only one of her children died from the ordeal, while the rest sustained serious injuries[120].

[117] Cincinnati Enquirer, "Stampede of Slaves!". (Cincinnati, Ohio. 1856).

[118] Mary Frederickson and Delores Walters, *Gendered Resistance : Women, Slavery, and the Legacy of Margaret Garner.* (Baltimore, University of Illinois press. 2013).

[119] Nikki Taylor, *Driven Towards Madness.* (Athens, Ohio. 2016).

[120] Cincinnati Enquirer, "Stampede of Slaves!". (Cincinnati, Ohio. 1856).



Stampede of Slaves.

A TALE OF HORROR!

An Arrest by the U. S. Marshal.

A DEPUTY U. S. MARSHAL SHOT.

A Negro Child's Throat Cut from Ear to Ear by its Father or Mother, and Others Wounded.

CORONER'S INQUEST.

Writ of Habeas Corpus Taken Out.

GREAT EXCITEMENT.

[121]

Pro-slavery, racist newspapers had gotten word of the bloody event and used it to push their anti-abolitionist agenda. Article such as "Stampede of Slaves: A Tale of Horror! … A Negro Child's Throat Cut from Ear to Ear" highlighted the atrocities committed by the slave women. Stating that "But a deed of horror had been consummated, for weltering in its blood, the throat being cut from ear to ear and the head almost severed from the body, upon the floor lay one of the children of the younger couple, a girl three years old, while in a back room, crouched beneath the bed, two more of the children, boys, of two and five years, were moaning, the one having received two gashes in its throat, the other a cut upon the head."[122] As the description of the event unfolds within the article, the author uses colorful and intense language to describe Garner and her actions. He goes on to say, "As the party entered the room the mother was seen wielding a heavy shovel, and before she could be secured she inflicted a heavy blow with it upon the face of the infant, which was lying upon the floor.[123]

[121] Ibid.

[122] Ibid.

[123] Ibid.

This depiction of both Margaret Garner and Simon Jr. is one that played into the racist fears of uncontrollable black men and women. Simon Jr.'s attempts at holding off the police where written in this article with just as much drama as Margaret's. The author states that Simon Jr shot off one officer's finger leaving it hanging by "merely a thread."[124] These negative portrayal of the Garner families escape, murder, and standoff rippled through the country.

One famous interpretation of the event was a painting from 1867 titled "The Modern Medea" by Thomas Satterwhite Noble. The artist reimagines the moment Garner is met face to face with the policy and her owner. The image portrays Gains and Marshall pointing to the murdered child at Garner's feet. She's positioned with her other two children clinging to her side in desperation and fear. The artist defines Garners expression as that of anger and rage[125]. Much like the pro-slavery news articles, this image and its portrayal of Garner and her actions reinforced a narrative of the angry, uncivilized, black woman.

 [126]

While many pro-slavery authors and artists peddled narratives that would empower their cause.

[124] Ibid.

[125]Thomas Nobel, *The Modern Medea*. (1867).

[126] Ibid,.

Some abolitionists had a different take on Garners decision to murder her children. Titles like "The Fugitive Slave Case. The First Day of the Trial of the Mother and her Children" were more common among anti-slavery news outlets. Highlighting slavery as the real monster as opposed to Margaret Garner. Authors Mary Frederickson and Delores Walter sum up the intentions of the pro-slavery news articles by stating that they considered "Margarets act of infanticide is evidence of black women's savagery, thus justifying slavery"[127].

These polarizing views sparked a dialogue on the trials and tribulations that faced black enslaved women. Garners decision to attempt to end the life of her children was one that would restore power back to herself. As a slave, Garner had no autonomy or agency whatsoever. She was nothing more than property for her owners to exploit in sexually and for labor. The trials she faced for killing her child soldiers that fact. Garner was tried on theft of property, not murder [128] Her child was an object that belonged to Archibald, and thus by her ending that life she stole her owners property. Ultimately, by trying Garner for theft rather than murder only solidified her impact more. Garner had effectively thrown off the whole economy of that farm by removing her family for a couple days. The loss of her son, although tragic for her and her family, the true legal and economic damage was done to Archibald. Garner was able to throw a kink into the small area of oppression by taken back her own bodily autonomy and familial relationships. The notoriety of Garners decision to commit infanticide portrays an image of courage and strength to those who face similar challenges.

While Margaret Garner was subject to a restricted worldview as a slave, others had strokes of luck that enabled more opportunity. Mary Elizabeth Bowser was one enslaved women

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[127] Mary Frederickson and Delores Walters, *Gendered Resistance : Women, Slavery, and the Legacy of Margaret Garner.* (Baltimore, University of Illinois press. 2013), 4.

[128] Ibid,. 4-7.

who had the ability to leave her work and home life to explore new opportunities. Bowser was born into slavery during 1839 in Richmond, Virginia. Her owner John Van Lew passed away around 1851, ultimately leaving the fate of his slaves to his family members. The Van Lew women used this opportunity to set the enslaved people on the plantation free.[129] pg 79.

Elizabeth Van Lew was one member of the family that had pursued a life of anti-slavery activism. In her journal she states "From the moment I knew right and wrong, it was my sad privilege to differ from the perceived opinions in my locality. This has left my life intensely sad and earnest… [I became] quick to resent what seemed wrong."[130] Although the Van Lew family were a group of wealthy, southern, slaveholders, they couldn't have been further from the mold of the expected slave owner. The Van Lew's treatment of their slaves differed from their neighbors. They had baptized Mary Elizabeth Bowser, as well as the rest of their slaves. The practice of baptizing ones slaves was highly uncommon during this time period. Following the baptism, the Van Lew's had sent Bowser to begin her education[131]. Following the death of the Van Lew patriarch, Elizabeth Van Lew had urged Bowser to continue further schooling in Philadelphia. As a result, Bowser pursued education and was later contacted again by Van Lew. However, at this point in time, Elizabeth Van Lew was working as an insurgent for the Union[132].

The Van Lew family had been teetering the pro-slavery/pro-abolitionist line during the 19th century. The family held black men and women enslaved for labor, while making amends through other behaviors. The Van Lew's believed that they could eradicate slavery through their

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[129] Ibid,. 79.

[130] Elizabeth Varon, *Southern lady, Yankee spy : the true story of Elizabeth Van Lew, a Union agent in the heart of the Confederacy, (Oxford University Press, 2003) 9.*

[131] Lois Leveen, Disunion Series: "A Black Spy in The Confederate White House". (New York Times, 2012).

[132] Mary Frederickson and Delores Walters, *Gendered Resistance : Women, Slavery, and the Legacy of Margaret Garner.* (Baltimore, University of Illinois press. 2013), 80.

own acts of kindness and charity. Elizabeth Van Lew had always known of the evils of slavery. However, it wasn't until rising conflicts between the North and South that drove her to the side of abolition.[133] Living in an area with over 6,000 enslaved African Americans and almost 2,000 freed, the culture of the Van Lew's area was comprised predominantly of slaves and slaveholders.[134]

With Van Lew's high status of a Virginian Elite, Bowser was able to become a servant in the Confederate White House. Mary Elizabeth Bowser, secured one of the closest positions near Jefferson Davis. In doing so, Bowser had to maintain a very docile appearance towards her oppressors. She had posed as an illiterate slave with little to offer other than her servitude. The expectations of black women during this time period solidified Bowsers fictional role as a slave and protected her real identity as an insurgent. Due to Bowsers close proximity to Jefferson Davis, she was able to gather information that would be pertinent to the Union winning the Civil War. Deceiving everyone around her, Bowser used her intelligence and photographic memory to relay information to Elizabeth Van Lew.[135]

Mary Elizabeth Bowsers life as a Union Insurgent was only possible as a result of the minimal early records of her life. Her marriage, exact birth date, emancipation, and schooling are nothing more than just an extremely small glimpse into the life that Bowser had lived[136]. Although this lack of biographical information does a disservice to historians attempting to research the life of Bowser, it ultimately benefited her during her time as an insurgent. Having

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[133] Elizabeth Varon, *Southern lady, Yankee spy : the true story of Elizabeth Van Lew, a Union agent in the heart of the Confederacy,* (Oxford University Press, 2003), 9.

[134]Ibid,. 12.

[135] Mary Frederickson and Delores Walters, *Gendered Resistance : Women, Slavery, and the Legacy of Margaret Garner.* (Baltimore, University of Illinois press. 2013), 79.

[136] Ibid., 80.

little traceable information about Bowser gave her the agency and ability to deceive her southern oppressors and obtain a fake life. Her duties were able to be carried out in secrecy as many perceived this well-educated, free women to be an enslaved, illiterate servant to Jefferson Davis .By exploiting the racist and sexist views of the time, Bowser was able to maintain her fictional identity.

Although Bowsers life of secrecy and as a black women caused the written, first hand records of her life to be far and few between. Despite this setback, many others recorded their experiences with her and that information has been preserved. In an excerpt from Van Lew's diary, she states that "When I open my eyes in the morning, I say to the servant, 'What news, Mary?' and my caterer never fails! Most generally our reliable news is gathered from negroes, and they certainly show wisdom, discretion and prudence which is wonderful.[137]" Bowsers ability to recall the information she has seen and heard from the Confederate president himself, served as an indispensable and critical tool Northern Espionage. In addition to delivering information to Van Lew, a baker named Thomas McNiven was also part of the messenger chain. In his retelling of the experiences he had with Bowser and Van Lew he states *"*Miss Van Lew was my best source. She had contacts everywhere. Her colored girl Mary [Elizabeth Bowser] was the best as she was working right in Davis' home and had a photographic mind. Everything she saw on the Rebel President's desk she could repeat word for word. Unlike most colored, she could read and write. She made the point of always coming out to my wagon when I made deliveries at the Davis' home to drop information…*"*[138] Through a network of spies and pro-union activists, Bowser was able to relay information that would eventually make it to the Union

[137] Lois Leveen, Disunion Series: "A Black Spy in The Confederate White House". (New York Times, 2012).

[138] Ibid.

army.

Bowser could only leak information for so long before the Confederacy would start to notice. Eventually, Jefferson Davis was made aware of a spy in the White House and Bowser had to make her escape. While keeping in mind that the details and evidence of Bowsers achievements remain foggy, it has been rumoured that her final plan was to blow up the Southern White House. Although Bowser was never able to single handedly thwart the efforts of the Confederacy, her role as an insurgent had impacted the confederates ability to maintain secrecy. Following her stint as a spy, it is speculated that Bowser continued her life by traveling, lecturing about her life, and teaching freed slaves. Her experiences after her spy endeavors are also sparsely recorded. However, one news articles titled "Lectured by a Colored Lady[139]", detailed the life of one Richmonia Richards. Many historians had unanimously come to the conclusion that this was Mary Elizabeth Bowser using a Pseudonym to carry on her life in the public eye.

Bowsers continued life as Richmonia Richards was simply just an extension of her work at an crusader against slavery and racism. In one of the only records of Bowsers personal words, she states "I felt that I had the advantage over the majority of my race both in Blood and Intelligence, and that it was my duty if possible to work where I am most needed."[140] Bowser had begun teaching freed men and women, young and old. She had a total of 70 students during the day to herself and around 100 sunday school student. She worked tirelessly to ensure a life of freedom for African Americans through her talents as a spy and educator. The advancements that Bowser made for the Union and people of color was by no means an easy endeavor. She states during her time as a teacher that "I am I hope willing to do what I can, but I fear that in the end it

[139] Ibid.

[140] Ibid.

will not prove much." This quote emphasizes the same mentality that had hindered many enslaved people. In addition, this quote highlights how Bowser had underestimated the incredible contributions she had made as a former spy.

Shortly before Bowser disappeared from historical context she expresses her most recent concerns "I wish there was some law here, or some protection. I know the southerners pretty well … having been in the service so long as a detective that I still find myself scrutinizing them closely. There is … that sinister expression about the eye, and the quiet but bitterly expressed feeling that I know portends evil … with a little whiskey in them, they dare do anything … Do not think I am frightened and laugh at my letter. Anyone that has spent 4 months in Richmond prison does not be so easily frightened."[141] Bowser's empowered attitude, lack of fear, and intelligence were the three ingredients necessary to make her insurgency as powerful and impactful as it was. However, these qualities would not have thrived if it wasn't for the assistance of Elizabeth Van Lew. Bowsers opportunity to change the course of the war and slavery was enabled by Van Lew's elitist status. Both of these women exploited the negative gendered and racists societal expectations of the South to successfully further the abolitionist cause and the North's position in the war.

The lives of Mary Elizabeth Bowser and Margaret Garner tell two unique narratives of agency and oppression. The course of Bowsers life gave her the ability to travel, learn, and be eventually be freed. Relying heavily on the social expectations of her gender and race, Bowser was able to infiltrate the confederacy. She delivered vast amounts of confidential information to aide the North in the Civil War. She is a story of determination, perseverance, and deception that resulted in freedom. Garner held these same qualities, fueling her decision to escape with her

[141] Ibid.

family. However, her story holds a more somber tone in its resolution. Committing infanticide on one child and a failed attempt at taking the lives of the other three is a decision that would normally be regarded as evil. However, Garners decisions were fueled with love, compassion, and an undying urge to be freed from oppression. To uphold these feelings the only true choice Garner could have made would be to take her family out of the world that enslaved them in hopes that death would be better. Despite being enslaved, Garner and Bowser were able to capitalize on the system that oppressed them for their own advantage. Through Garners highly publicized murder, she effectively gave enslaved women a last resort in destabilizing the institution of slavery on a microscale. While Bowsers much broader contribution targeted the South's ability to win the war and continue enslaving people of color. Margaret Garner and Mary Elizabeth Bowser were able to find agency within their own oppression and they used that to fight the South’s goal of maintaining and expanding slavery.

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Chapter 6

Rebelling Against Rebellion: Southern White Women during the Civil War

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http://civilwarproject.kscopen.org/

When the Civil War started, everything changed for the Union and the fledgling Confederacy. According to Stephanie McCurry, "The American Civil War tore like an earthquake through the foundation of Southern life. The impact registered in every domain, from the high reaches of the central state and its military command to the most intimate recesses of the household."[142] Amongst the biggest changes were women's newfound role in the Confederacy. Prior to the Civil War, white southern women had zero authority in their lives, and all power rested with the white southern men. One southern woman claims that women went from "…being queens in social life (to)… after the war, in many instances, (being) mere domestic drudges."[143] What happened to these southern belles was that they had to participate in the war effort to secure an independent Confederacy. No longer could they be regulated exclusively to a domestic sphere in which their husbands had total authority. Instead they had to maintain the home front. This goes completely against the values of the old South because men were

[142] Stephanie McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning*: *Power and Politics in the Civil War South*. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2010. *eBook Collection EBSCOhost*, EBSCO*host)*, 133.

[143]Drew Gilpin Faust. *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press 1996), 250.

supposed to be in charge of every aspect of life, and the women were supposed to remain subordinated in all affairs. However, in order to fight the Civil War the South had to betray its values, and women had to play crucial roles on the home front such as running plantations, and providing for their families, especially if they did not own slaves.

The realization that the Civil War was destroying traditional roles for women was horrifying to the Old South. One Confederate soldier even claims in 1863, "what is worse, yes even than death itself, the Mothers, Wives & daughters of these men [Confederate soldiers] have become strangers to virture and female modesty—which is the greatest ornament of the sex…"[144] It did not matter that by 1863 there were already one hundred thousand casualties or more, compared to the danger of Southern women losing their "virture." What the women thought about these issues varied based on class and personal circumstances. For example, many women wished, "If I was only a man! I don't know a woman here who does not groan over her misfortune in being clothed in petticoats; why cant we fight as well as the men?"[145] The biggest changes to the old South, besides the fact that slavery ended after the Civil War, came along the lines of gender, and the new roles for women were based on their class status.

For white southern women of the upper and middle classes, one of the most demanding changes involved running and maintaining plantations. Prior to the Civil War, the white man was always in charge of his black slaves, and would make sure that the slaves were planting, harvesting, and maintaining the plantation. The black slaves were expected to be permanently subordinated to their white male masters. One of the most important words in the phrase "white male masters" is the word "male." Southern women were considered to be females, and only

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[144] "The Civil War Letters of Daniel O'Leary," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 77 (Summer 1979), 168.

[145] Faust, 221.

males were considered to be in charge of slaves prior to the Civil War. The Civil War forced women to make crucial decisions about their husband's human property. One of the biggest problems for slave-owning white woman was that slaves would not do their jobs. One slave-owner, Lizzie Neblett claimed in a letter to her husband that, "the Negros are doing nothing… But ours are not doing that job alone. Nearly all the negroes around here are at it, some of them are getting so high in anticipation of their glorious freedom by the Yankees I suppose…"[146] She wrote this letter in August of 1863, a month after the battles of Gettysburg and Vicksburg, and after the Emancipation Proclamation was announced at the beginning of the year. Slaves saw the Union, especially after the Emancipation Proclamation, as an army of liberty. White women were expected to manage their husband's slaves in the already hostile environment of slavery.

For the first time, southern women finally had to confront slavery head-on. It is not like Southern women were unaware that slavery existed, but they now actually had to be the ones to control their slaves by any means necessary. Lizzie Neblett decided to take on the role of slave-owner and used it to gain submissiveness from her restless slaves. However, she struggled with whipping slaves because 'It has got to be such a disagreeable matter with me to whip… and then only a few cuts—I am too trouble in mind to get stirred up enough to whip."[147] The biggest problem was not Lizzie's physical limitations but her reluctance to harm. Gender norms had taught Lizzie to always act with restraint, and whipping requires anything but restraint. Basically, "Violence was the ultimate foundation of power in the slave south, but gender prescriptions carefully barred white women… from purposeful exercise of physical dominance."[148] Using

[146] Faust, 66.

[147] Faust, 69.

[148] Faust, 70.

force and coercion on slaves was a man's job, and he was expected to do it in a paternal fashion, while his wife stayed out of such sordid matters. With the Civil War however, if the South wanted to maintain the institution of slavery, it had no choice but to allow its women to become slave-owners. Many found themselves unsuited to the task due to the strain the Civil War had put on the Confederacy.

Let alone being able or expected to maintain the institution of slavery, many of these new slave-owning women were unable to provide the basics for themselves as the Civil War progressed. Lizzie Neblett was an exception because, "Many women who feared experiences like Lizzie's hired out or sold their slaves rather than attempting to manage the troublesome property themselves."[149] The idea of dealing with slavery was too horrid to even imagine, even if it was just until the end of the Civil War. It would be wrong to conclude that southern white slave-owning women did this out of the good of their own hearts. Many southern women did this to turn a profit from their black slaves, and just simply did not want to deal with slavery so directly. Femininity in the Confederacy relied on not being expected to do anything by oneself, especially if one was married to a slave-owner.

Lizzie Neblett was not the only woman born into a slave-owning household. Another woman named Sarah Ann Poss Pringle got to miss her chance to own slaves herself because of the Civil War. Sarah Pringle probably thought she would get marry a slave-owner once she became an adult, but the Civil War started when she was fifteen. Pringle would most likely become the wife of a slave-owner, had the Civil War been won for the Confederacy. She claims that, "I (Pringle) was born ten miles east of Meridian on the 25th, day of September 1845. The

[149] Faust, 70-71.

first that I remember about my childhood was my mother and my old black mammy."[150] Pringle might have gotten to be a slaveholder herself over her "mammy" for a few years during the Civil War, but that is not made clear in her interview. She sees this black woman as a "mammy" and not as a slave because it makes her childhood and teenage years easier to rationalize. Even though Pringle knows deep down that her "mammy" was a black slave, it does not matter to Pringle. Interestingly enough, Pringle only wants to discuss slavery when it involves Union soldiers disrupting plantations. Pringle tells the story of Union soldiers destroying her neighbor's farm, and she said "[t]here was nothing the slaves could do about it, much as they too would feel the loss, they were forced to stand by and see the feather beds ripped open in the soldiers search for money and the provisions taken."[151] By Pringle's account, slaves were simply bystanders in her life, and thus had no control over the course of the war. While it is true that slaves could not decide which plantations would be destroyed during the course of the war, Pringle fails to realize that a planation being destroyed affects a slave-owner and a slave differently. During her interview, Pringle spends most of the time not discussing slavery, but rather the hardships that she faced during and after the war.

Pringle seems intent on not mentioning the destruction of slavery. She also does not mention the cotton plantations that dominated Confederate Mississippi, and the rest of the Confederacy. Instead she focuses only on basic necessities by saying that, "The Yankee soldiers ruined our flour mills when they burned our gins and we had nothing left to grind our corn with, then we had to use stones to crush it like the Indians did. We had no coffee during the blockade

[150] Sarah A. Pringle. "Interview with Sarah Ann Poss Pringle White Pioneer Marlin, Texas." Interview by Effie Cowan. *Library of Congress.* February, 1941, 1.

[151] Pringle, 2.

of the Southern ports so we learned to parch potato peelings, okra and corn and use them for substitutes."[152] What this means is that Pringle chooses only to talk about the parts of her life that makes slavery look decent or at the very least benign, and not about the more brutal aspects of slavery. Absent from her interview is any mention of the uglier aspects of slavery such as whipping for example, and she also does not talk about the end of the institution of slavery. Instead she just jumps into what happened after the war, and about her moving to Texas at the age of twenty. Pringle's lack of discussion about slavery is typical for someone born into the slaveholding class.

Some slave-holding elite women made more of an impact on during the Civil War. Ellen House was one of them. Ellen House was more active than most women of the slave-owning class in helping further the cause of the Confederacy. In 1863, "She worked with others in Knoxville to collect blankets and other goods for prisoners of war, visited prisoners in the hospital, and brazenly spoke her mind to Union officers."[153] Ellen House like Pringle was a teenager during the Civil War, but unlike House Pringle is willing to be far more active to further the Confederate cause. Ellen House eventually overstepped herself, and was forced to leave Knoxville after directly insulting a Union officer.[154] House's story though tells a lot about how serious some Confederate women could believe in the Confederate Cause, even if their domestic sphere limited them in southern society. Believing in the Confederacy was one thing, but actually living up to its ideals was another, especially when it came to slave management, in which they turned out to be poor masters. The reason why Confederate women were terrible at being masters

[152] Pringle, 2.

[153] Victoria, Ott E. *Confederate Daughters: Coming of Age during the Civil War, 35.*

[154] Ott, 35.

is because most Confederate women were terrified by their slaves. They had to manage plantations while their husbands and sons were off fighting the Civil War, and they did not know how to control slaves. Mary Bell was a perfect example of this.

Mary Bell was typical of smaller slave-owning white women, and Bell faced extreme difficulties in getting slaves to recognize herself as their new master. Former slaves saw the husband as the legitimate slave-owner, not the woman. In the case of Bell, she found out that it was even more difficult to manage hired slaves. Bell had two slaves named Tom and Lucy and, "Tom had been discovered stealing meat as well as poisoning her brother-in-law's dog. Liza disappeared for days at a time, and Mary chafed with frustration at the inability to control her workers."[155] Because Tom and Liza did not see Mary Bell as their master, this meant that they were not really hers to control. Thus followed that if the master was not around, then the slaves were free to be more rebellious, and that made Bell's job of managing slaves all the more difficult. Bell thought to herself that if she bought the two slaves, along with the entire family, she could then assert her dominance over Tom and Liza. This proved to be an impossible task, because she ended up buying free black people.

Trying to manage a slave who had been formerly a free black person was even more difficult than trying to manage a person who had been a slave their entire life. Lucy Bell found that out the hard way when she purchased Patsy, who used to be a free black woman, along with her daughter Rosa. As it turned out, "Patsy had proven to be in poor health, plagued by fits that would make her, 'a burden on our hands as long as she lives.'"[156] Buying Patsy and Rosa further highlighted Bell's illegitimate claim to slave ownership, at least in the eyes of her hired slaves.

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[155] Faust, 71.

[156] Faust, 72.

Thus Bell would find that she could not effectively manage her slave property. However as Neblett has already proven, and Pringle's reluctance to discuss the issue of slavery has shown, Bell's experience of poor slave management has been proven to be typical. There were several reasons why white women made to be poor slave-owners, and it is not because of their gender, although they themselves certainly thought that of themselves at times. The reason why Confederate women were poor masters was because they terrified of what the slaves might do to themselves in the form of retribution.

Slave-holding white women feared slavery was for the same reasons that their husbands feared slaves. Confederates were terrified at the idea of a "slave insurrection" or a "domestic insurrection." In South Carolina's succession address the document states that, "Indeed, no people ever expect to preserve its rights and liberties, unless these be in its own custody. To plunder and oppress, where plunder and oppression can be practiced with impunity, seems to be the natural order of things."[157] This worked all well and good for the South when their male population was around to oppress the slave population, however once the Civil War started the burden was shifted to their wives. The wives were not happy, and they complained that "Where there are so many Negroes upon places as upon ours…. It is quite necessary that there should be men who can and will controle them, especially at this time"'.[158] However as Neblett's, and Bell's experiences showed them, there were no men to control the slaves. It had to be white women, because otherwise the entire point of white dominating over black would be destroyed. Confederate women reluctance to have a stronger hand in slavery helped to bring about the destruction of slavery.

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[157] "Address of South Carolina to Slaveholding States: Convention of South Carolina." *TeachingAmericanHistory.org,* December 25th, 1860, 1.

[158] Faust, 56.

Most southern women never truly wanted to be slave-owners. Whatever other roles were thrust upon them during the Civil War, slavery was the least desirable of their newfound responsibilities. This was not just men speaking about women, the women said it themselves. One planter "[f]aced with the prospect of being left with sixty slaves (asked)… 'Do you think… that this woman's hand can keep them in check?"'[159] Minus the argument over men being seen as traditionally stronger than women, there was another reason Confederate women argued that they could not manage their slave population. Southern women were ridiculously dependent on their slaves to do even simpler house chores such as preparing breakfast. Even late into the war, one South Carolinian named Charlotte Ravenel had to find a slave to do cooking and, "she wrote tellingly in March 1865, 'and (that) we are all ladies again.'[160] As dependent as some white southern women were on slaves to do even simple household chores, these women soon discovered that the men would not be coming home as quickly as they would like. The Confederate men would fight for four years, and suffer hundreds of thousands of casualties, meaning that for many women the effects of being a slave-owner was going to become permanent, or at least until the Confederacy lost the war. This meant that these women now had to decide what to do with their human property before the Union won the Civil War and ended slavery in the South.

At the end of the day, most women decided to just sell off their human property to someone else. They did this even though it was atypical, "within the context of everyday life in the Confederacy, (for) most women slaveholders confronted neither murderous revolutionaries nor

[159] Faust 56.

[160] Faust, 77.

unfailingly loyal retainers…"[161] What southern women faced were a shortage of necessities. It was not as bad for the slave-owning women, but smaller slave-owning women still ran into quite some difficulties, and "[f]inding someone else to assume responsibility for feeding slaves was often almost as important as securing cash income for their sale or rent."[162] The reason why the South was facing food shortages, besides the fact they were being blockaded and attacked by the North, was because of the South's heavy reliance on cotton, and their failure to shift their economy from cash-crop to foodstuffs. Thus, the slave-owning women were hit hard by the Civil War due to lack of food, ant the same can be said of non-slaving owning women. In fact, not every woman in the South was married to someone who was a slave-owner. In fact, slave-owning women would have been in the minority, as white southern women who were non slave-owners were actually a majority. Because owning slaves made someone at the very least upper middle or upper class, not owning slaves made a white southern woman lower class, and part of the majority of non-slave-owners.

White lower class southern women faced even greater hardships than slave-owning women. They had no slaves to rely on, so they had to rely on themselves. While the Richmond Bread riot is typically cited as a key example of Confederate women showing political autonomy, and it was, the Richmond Bread Riot was not the first food riot. The first of the food riots that took place in the Confederacy actually occurred in Atlanta, Georgia. Their protest was not specifically about bread, but rather it was about the price of meat. On March 18th, 1863 when "the tall woman" (her name is not known) asked about bacon she was "told it was $1.10 a pound, (and) she protested, declaring the "impossibility of females in their condition" paying such prices

[161] Faust, 62.

[162] Faust, 71.

for the necessaries of life."[163] Atlanta then set a trend. These women were not going to ask politely if they could not get a reasonable price. In fact, "when he (the shop owner) refused to budge on price, the woman immediately drew a long navy pistol from her bosom and, holding the owner at bay, ordered the women to help themselves. They left the shop when they were done…"[164] This "riot" in Atlanta was very small in scale, and only fifteen to twenty women participated. Nonetheless, the lower-class women in Atlanta had started a class-based riot that would continue to grow throughout the Confederacy.

The Atlanta bread rioters deserve all the credit for inspiring the later bread riots, especially the one in Richmond. What happened after the bread riot was that the mayor and the city of Atlanta were horrified after the riot, and it was derided as illegal. This was hardly relevant because none of the women were charged, thus making these charges of it being illegal just plain old noise. What happened was that more aid started being given to the citizens of Atlanta and, "The fund was "the result," one editor plainly admitted, of the recent women's raid in this city." "It is the duty of all men at home to look into the wants of these families," another editor put it…"[165] The only men at home to look after these women were government officials, and they were doing a terrible job at doing that. Women looked after themselves in Atlanta on March 18th, 1863, and they did it without the use of slaves unlike Neblett and Bell. In standing up for themselves, Atlanta's lower-class women started the trend that would evolve into the Richmond Bread Riots.

[163] McCurry, 181.

[164] McCurry, 181.

[165] McCurry, 181.

One of the key instigators of the bread riot was one Mary Jackson. Unlike the other women mentioned previously, Jackson was not a slave-owner, but she did have connections throughout Virginia. Despite the fact that the riot was not going to start until April 2nd, "recruiting apparently began around March 22 when Mary Jackson began telling people in the market that "there was to be a meeting of the women in relation to the high prices."'[166] Being able to organize that effectively demonstrated that this was not a spontaneous event, but rather that Mary Jackson was an effective and efficient organizer. Jackson was also a proficient planner, and she had a preliminary meeting on April 1st, the day before the Richmond Bread riot and "The object of the meeting, she told the court was to organize to demand goods of the merchants at government prices; and if they were not given, the stores were to be broken open and goods taken by force."[167] The key word there in the previous quote is the word "given." This showed that the women were clearly not interested in negotiating for a higher price, it was either free food freely given, or free food freely taken. Mary Jackson would demonstrate to the Confederacy that the lower-class white women had the power to stand up for themselves.

The Richmond Bread Riots in 1863 were excellent proof of Jackson's ability as a speaker and organizer, as the riot showed that lower-class women were much more capable of doing what they had to do, unlike their reluctant upper and middle class counterparts. When one naïve witness asked if the riot was because there was a cause to celebrate, a young woman said that, 'There is. We celebrate our right to live. We are starving. As soon as enough of us get together we are going to the bakeries and each of us will take a loaf of bread. That is little enough for the

[166] McCurry, 187.

[167] McCurry, 187.

government to give us after it has taken all our men.'[168] These lower class women rioting in the streets of Richmond show how much the Old South's values had fallen apart well before the Civil War ended. White southern women were always expected to show restraint even if they were not part of the middle or upper class, and yet these women did the exact opposite, and rioted in the streets with weapons.

The Richmond Bread Riots were far larger than the Atlanta riot. Lower-class white women had only one thoughts on their minds during the Richmond Bread Riots, and that was to secure food for themselves and their families. The rioters, "…marched through Cary Street and Main, visiting the stores of the speculators and emptying them of their contents. Governor Letcher sent the mayor to read the Riot Act, and as this had no effect he threatened to fire on the crowd."[169] Threatening guns on the crowd did little to nothing, as these women and their children were going to starve to death anyways if they did not get their hands on enough food. It also helped that these women were not afraid of violence themselves as they were, "armed with navy revolvers, pistols, repeaters, bowie knives, and hatchets, and carried out at least twelve violent attacks (there are rumors of more) on stores, government warehouses, army convoys, railroad depots, salt-works, and granaries."[170] These women were not like Lizzie Neblett, who had some options even as the quality of her life degraded. Rioters in Richmond were out of options already in 1863; it was now or never, and they were willing to disregard their new president, Jefferson Davis, in order to save themselves and their families. Rioting does not help the Confederate war effort or secession, nor does it help uphold traditional gender norms in the South, but that's because what mattered most to these women during the Richmond Bread Riots was finding food

[168] Sara Rice Pryor, *Reminiscences of Peace and War* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1904), 237.

[169] Pryor, 237.

[170] McCurry, 178.

to feed themselves and their children. Southern women of lesser means also had to directly confront the hardships of the war more so than the upper class counterparts.

When poor Confederate woman rioted they threw themselves into a political debate. To these woman, most of them would agree that they needed to win the war and that secession was a good thing. However at the same time, lower-class Confederate women had very strong complaints about the Confederate government that was not providing them with the means to sustain a living. What becomes clear is that, "…the riots come into focus as one highly public expression of soldiers' wives' mass politics of subsistence: the means by which, in written protest and direct action, poor white women registered, contested, and reshaped the insupportable demands of the wartime state."[171] Thus the Confederate government had to recognize what these women were doing, even if it was only for a brief moment. Unfortunately for Confederate women, it would be two more years before the war ended. But that does not mean that their protests were not important.

The riots and protests gave lower-class Confederate women a voice in the political discourse of the Confederacy. These women did something that made Atlanta's riot look puny, as there were roughly five thousand of them rioting in the streets. What happened after the Richmond Bread riots was that, "…they (the Confederate government) were forced to divert food supplies from the army to starving soldiers' families on the home front, and the state governors were forced to undertake such a profound overhaul of the way they provided relief that it amounted to a complete rewriting of Confederate welfare policy."[172] Policy at home was being determined by Confederate men, who feared the response they were receiving from their

[171] McCurry, 179.

[172] McCurry, 180.

Confederate women. The connection could not be more clear-cut, and it meant women had the power to shape their world into the way they wanted it. It also meant that what happened in Atlanta was translated to a national scale, with relief going to women across the Confederacy. This moment was also defined by the fall of Vicksburg and the defeat at Gettysburg because, "Jefferson Davis acknowledged that the war had entered a new stage that would test the fortitude of the people and not just the armies. This was now a civilian war."[173] It would be easy to write off the Richmond Bread Riots as an obscure political moment, seeming women would not gain the right to vote until 1920 for example. However, just as riots occurred before the Richmond Bread Riots, riots continued after the one in Richmond.

What both upper and lower class Southern White women had in common was that their entire world had changed. To quote Lucy Bell, "I am getting tired of having to rise these cold mornings."[174] Bell was complaining not only about getting up early, but having to make her own breakfast too! Prior to the Civil War, both classes were expected to be submissive to their husbands, and to only have a severely limited domestic role in their homes. They were not expected to have to worry about cooking if they were upper class, something that differed from their lower class components. However regardless of class, due to wartime demands, the Confederacy had no choice but to force its women to take on new roles such as being a slave-owner, or simply being in charge of the household. While the changes on the Confederate home-front were gendered now to be female, it was a reluctant change for the Confederacy as a whole. It should also be mentioned that Confederate women were not necessarily the best role models that should be celebrated, rather their stories should be told.

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[173] McCurry, 180.

[174] Faust, 72.

Take for example Sarah Pringle, who ends her narrative by discussing life after the Civil War. She brings up the fact that the KKK was organized during a time when former Confederate government officials were barred from being allowed to vote, but the black man was allowed to vote. Pringle's thoughts about the KKK is that, "I can tell you this that it certianly did help to make it safer for the white women. When a negro had been insulting they soon learned that he was to give an account to the Klan."[175] Pringle is also dismissive of anything that the KKK might have done wrong. She claims that, "I never knew of the Klan doing unjust things until long after the reconstruction times, when unprincipled people hid behind the name of the Klan. I do know that the way was made much better for us after the Klan began to operate."[176] In other words, black people were once again subordinated to white people. It did not matter anymore that slavery had to be abolished, as long as the old system remained in place that made formerly upper class women like Sarah Pringle satisfied.

Newfound roles for Confederate women were not a blessing. Confederate women did not have the same experience such as the women who participated in the women's suffrage movement, nor the abolitionist movement which freed so many other women, and men as well. These new found roles were brought upon women as part of war time necessity. These necessities were caused by the prolongation of a long and bloody war. The idea was for white women to return to their roles as subordinates to their husband, and to men in general once the Civil War had been won for the South. That did not happen, and women could not just return to the way things were before the Civil War, because many of them had lost husbands and sons during the fighting, and the dream of an independent Confederacy was now gone. Now they had

[175] Pringle, 4.

[176] Pringle, 4.

to face the demands of a victorious north, and carpetbaggers speculating on southern property and land. The realization that the Confederacy was gone forever fed into the failures of Reconstruction. After a white man started randomly shooting towards black people at Pringle's new home of Madisonville, Texas, the black people fled town and "[t]hen the white men went ahead and had their vote [in 1873]. I remember that we were so uneasy about my brothers when they did not return that night, we were afraid there had been some trouble, but when day break came they returned and said they had to stay to celebrate the victory at the polls."[177] Pringle knew that normality had been restored. White southern women after the war had to lead their own lives as independent women, and had no choice but to adapt to the post-Civil War era in newfound roles, whether they wanted them or not, because Confederate women gaining new roles during the Civil War was not a civil rights movement.

[177] Pringle, 5.

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Chapter 7

Women of the Union

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The American Civil War is widely viewed as an important turning point in our nation's history. If someone had been able to tell the Founders how the nation would look a century after the signing of the Declaration of Independence the Founders would not have believed them, and as Shelby Foote puts in in Ken Burns' Civil War documentary "To understand the United States in the twentieth century, you need to understand the Civil War." Not only did the Civil War change nineteenth century perceptions of states' rights and abolish the institution of slavery, but it also changed American culture in striking and unforeseen ways. Probably the most provocative and underappreciated change that stemmed from the Civil War was the evolving ideas around the role of women in society. Prior to the Civil War, women were relegated to the domestic sphere and charged with child rearing. Out of necessity in support of the war effort to reunify the country, Union women stepped out of the domestic sphere into the public sphere. This new level of civic duty and community involvement led women to change how they self-identify, and these new perceptions of self set the stage for the later Women's Suffrage Movement in the early twentieth century. Some examples of women's contributions to the war effort were: establishing societies in charge of organizing fundraising campaigns to aid Union troops, taking on wage earning jobs to support themselves and their families, establishing

themselves as capable nurses and professionals in the previously male dominated medical field, and acting as guides and spies for their country. Furthermore, many of the big names in the women's suffrage movement of the early twentieth century "cut their teeth" in political and civic engagement during the Civil War Era.

To fully appreciate the contributions and diligent work of these "Daughters of the Union" one must first discuss the society and cultural climate these remarkable women came from. During the early decades of the American Republic, well before the term "Antebellum" was coined, women's place in society was squarely in the home. Women were considered to be under the protection of their father until they wed in which case they were considered to be under their husband's protection in a social construct called Coverture.[178] Similarly, women were not considered to have independent political thought or agency from their father, husband, or male relatives. The reality of women's place in the social order of the Early republic period is far different than what the conventional history tells. Women in this period had very little freedom save for deciding who they married, and even in marriage wealthy women benefitted the most from courtship.[179] Wealthy brides' handsome dowries would attract even more wealthy and powerful suiters. Furthermore, the idea of the "Republican Mother" that emerged after the revolution establish women as nurturing figures who did not need to be intellectual, but that they encourage their sons and husbands to be virtuous and intelligent.[180] In the early nineteenth century it was considered absurd to suggest that women should have the right to vote, and men widely considered the task of examining political discourse and thought too exhausting for their

[178] Linda Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press,1980), 137.

[179] Ibid. 142.

[180] Ibid. 285.

wives, sisters, and daughters. Women's jobs were to tend home and hearth as well as to produce and raise children. This vein of thought is referred to as "the Cult of Domesticity" today. Due to the Cult of Domesticity it was not socially acceptable for a woman to hold certain jobs, which pigeon-holed young women into occupations as seamstresses, weavers, and thread makers, among other things.[181] Of course, women were expected to leave their jobs to raise children and tend their households after their wedding day thanks to the same vein of thinking. However, when Lincoln called for volunteers to squash the rebellion in the South in 1861, the men who answered the call to action left their mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters in charge of maintaining the home front.

When the men of the Union left to fight in preservation of their nation, they left their mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters in charge of their farms and accounts. In her book *Daughters of the Union* Nina Silber explains that men heading off to war were concerned about their female relations' ability to manage day-to-day affairs without them. Silber says they even though many Union women had never had to negotiate contracts or manage their household affairs, they were very quick studies, and many learned to thrive in a man's world.[182] Mary Carpenter shows how women were able to take care of their money. Carpenter sent portions of her paycheck home to her sister, sometimes as much as $50. Furthermore, in several of her letters home Carpenter requests for her sister to purchase certain items with the portion of her check she sends home, because it was less expensive in New Hampshire than in D.C.[183] this is

[181] Silber, Nina. *Daughters of the Union: Northern Women Fight the Civil War*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2005. 44.

[182] Ibid. 46

[183] Mary Carpenter Letters, Cheshire County Historical Society Archives. Keene, New Hampshire.

clear evidence of women possessing a keen sense for personal finance which was unimaginable in the Early Republic period.

Along with managing their own affairs women began to step out of the home because they felt compelled to do everything they could to support their men and their country in the war effort. Ladies' societies began forming where women would sew clothing and uniforms for soldiers among other things.[184] These societies were part of an emerging trend in the nineteenth century connected to the theological thought that emerged from the Second Great Awakening and the post revolution idea of the "Republican Mother". The ideas of the Second Great Awakening broke from traditional ideas around religion focusing on God's mercy and Jesus' message of love. Along with that women were seen as kinder and gentler then their male counterparts. The idea of the "Republican Mother" lent them the status as nurturing guides and the ideas of the Second Great Awakening lifted women to moral authorities. During her time as a nurse, Mary Carpenter, a nurse from Keene, New Hampshire, wrote in a letter home that she was able to "persuade [a Union drummer boy] to join the sons of temperance" (a group devoted to abstinence from alcohol) displaying her impulse to reform and uphold moral standards.[185] Mary Carpenter was not unique but rather a product of the popular culture she grew up in, and the Union had many more women like her.

This idea that women were naturally moral guides led to the formation of many women's aid societies in the early nineteenth century devoted to evangelizing and helping reform "fallen women", but their reach was limited because the woman's role was still seen as strictly

[184] Ibid. 47.

[185] Mary Carpenter Letters, Cheshire County Historical Society Archives. Keene, New Hampshire .

domestic.[186] It was in this tradition that women in the north came together forming aid societies to work towards supporting the Union's military and political goals in any way they could from the home front.[187] As the conflict continued, aid societies would hold banquets and galas to raise funds for the Union war effort. Though men held the top leadership positions in these societies women made up the bulk of the volunteers and employees who organized and set up fundraisers.[188] These groups would also collect, produce, and distribute supplies such as socks, bandages, and coats for Union troops. Mary Carpenter wrote home about a woman from an aid society donated six dollars to her hospital ward in D.C.[189]; a small sum but probably a portion of a much larger amount of money distributed across several wards or hospitals.

Women also formed the U.S. Sanitary Commission which was devoted to improving the health and sanitation conditions of the Army Hospitals. The U.S. Sanitary Commission was run under the war department during the Civil War but was never an official subsidiary branch of the federal government. With the help of Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, a prominent female doctor, and the Women's Central Association of Relief (WCAR) female nurses were interviewed and trained for positions in Army Hospitals. Dorothea Dix, superintendent of women nurses, held nurses to a very high standard. To even be considered for a nursing position, women had to be between the ages of 30 and 40, they had to follow a strict dress code and they had to provide a written

[186] Ibid.15.

[187] Ibid. 162.

[188] Henry Bellows, "A Letter to the Women of the Northwest, Assembled at the Fair at Chicago, for the Benefit of the U.S. Sanitary Commission."

[189]Mary Carpenter Letters, Cheshire County Historical Society Archives. Keene, New Hampshire.

reference to their character at their interview.[190] Ladies of the Sanitary Commission traveled between army hospitals checking on the conditions wounded soldiers were living in and took account of anything these hospitals were lacking so they could procure what recovering soldiers needed. Henry Bellows, a leader in the US Sanitary Commission, commended the women of the North West in a letter to that branch of the commission, for all their hard work and dedication in raising funds for the war effort. Bellows states that these women were able to raise $25,000, a sizable sum for the nineteenth century, through fundraisers and benefit banquets.[191]

Bellows' disposition shows the changing ideas surrounding women's role in society. Women were gaining a voice during the Civil War and men in charge knew they had to work closely with their female colleagues. Furthermore, women were challenging men's right to exist in both domestic and public spheres by pushing for greater recognition along with self-determination.[192] Due to the scope of the war and the scope of the Union war relief effort, women were critical in enlisting and involving more women in the "centralized system of home front relief".[193] Though men held the top management positions and ran aid societies, like the US Sanitary Commission, women were doing the bulk of the work and thus were able to build their own command structures. With these structures in place women were able to push back against their male superiors' patriarchal ideas.[194] Dorthea Dix gained the moniker of "Dragon Dix"

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[190] Judith Giesberg, *Civil War Sisterhood: The U.S. Sanitary Commission and Women's Politics in Transition* (Boston, Massachusetts: North Eastern University Press, 2000) 42

[191] Henry Bellows, "A Letter to the Women of the Northwest, Assembled at the Fair at Chicago, for the Benefit of the U.S. Sanitary Commission."

[192]Judith Giesberg, *Civil War Sisterhood: The U.S. Sanitary Commission and Women's Politics in Transition*. (Boston, Massachusetts: North Eastern University Press, 2000)

[193] Ibid. 151.

[194] Ibid. 151

thanks to her political acumen and pugnacious temperament in the face of male authority. Bellows is quoted with saying that the work of women in aiding the war effort would not be left out of the history of the United States[195], however Bellows was quite wrong with his assessment. The history of these remarkable women is generally over looked in favor of battles and generals in the history of the American Civil War.

Some women on both sides of the conflict took a more direct part in the war. Both Union and Confederate armies have stories of women leaving home and dressing as men to enlist. Often these women would go completely unnoticed among the ranks of men thanks to their disguises and would only be discovered due to being send to a hospital for treatment of injuries. These women were the exception rather then the rule. However, women were widely accepted as valuable guides for both sides of the Civil War. Alvira Smith and Elizabeth Van Lew were southern women with northern sympathies and the information on troop movements, conditions, and size were invaluable to Union Generals.[196]

Possibly the most drastic shift in societal norms around women that stemmed from the Civil War was the wide acceptance of women in nursing. As strange as it may sound today, with the present female dominance in nursing, prior to the out break of the Civil War men held the bulk of nursing positions in the country.[197] Due to the call for men to serve in combat roles it became necessary for women to replace them as nurses. Serving as nurses opened women to new vistas; they were able to leave home to work in army hospitals and were completely independent

[195] Henry Bellows, "A Letter to the Women of the Northwest, Assembled at the Fair at Chicago, for the Benefit of the U.S. Sanitary Commission."

[196] Gary Gallagher and Joan Waugh, *The American War: A History of the Civil War Era*. Flip Learning, 2015.

[197] Ibid. 155.

from male familial authorities along with being surrounded by other independent women. For the first time in American history women were able to travel the country without a man at their side. Mary Carpenter wrote home about her experience working as a nurse. Along with recounting her daily routine writing medication lists, distributing medications, and nursing wounded soldiers, Carpenter wrote about how she and her fellow nurses would stroll around Washington D.C. on their off time between shifts.[198] These were women out on the town, exploring the nation's capital, unaccompanied. Giesberg suggests that women who worked as nurses had very much in common with male soldiers.[199] Both groups were away from home getting the opportunity to see more of their nation and gaining new perspectives than previous generations had, and they shared the burden of being first hand witness to the atrocities and carnage of war. Both soldiers and the nurses who cared for them found it difficult to readjust back into their civilian lives after seeing what they had seen and doing the extraordinary thigs they did. Nurses were able to gain some recognition from superiors for their service during the war and longed to receive that same recognition after they returned home.[200]

As stated above, women returning home from service as nurses or from aid society work after the Civil War faced similar challenges that veteran soldiers did. Chiefly these women had difficulty returning, or rather relegating themselves, to their past domestic lives.[201] After having so much independence and personal liberty during the war, many felt unfulfilled without work, and longed to put their labors towards a higher calling like they had during their time nursing or

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[198] Mary Carpenter Letters, Cheshire County Historical Society Archives. Keene, New Hampshire .

[199] Judith Giesberg, *Civil War Sisterhood: The U.S. Sanitary Commission and Women's Politics in Transition*. (Boston, Massachusetts: North Eastern University Press, 2000).

[200] Ibid. 133.

[201] Ibid. 135.

fundraising. Many women, whose branch of Aid Society had not closed already, looked to the future and sought out ways to diversify and expand their aid work. One such idea for diversifying aid society relief was to assist veterans returning home from the front to reintegrate into society.[202] Aid societies had built networks across the country and the women who ran branches were eager to use these networks to raise a grassroot support programs for returning Veterans. Women were gearing up to tackle this new problem facing the nation while their male colleagues were content to "close shop", and return home considering their work in aiding the Union war effort as a job well done after the surrender at Appomattox. Giesberg explains that many women joined other organizations to lend aid to Veterans and Freedmen and thus were able to keep some branches of aid societies open for several months to a year after the close of the Civil War.[203] Geisberg talks about Mary Livermore, who traveled to cities like New York and Chicago to lend aid to the wives of veterans and war widows. She would raise money or procure food to give to these women in need.[204] It is evident that American women, even after the war, were still motivated to do as much good as they could across the nation, and their service during the war gave them the experience to continue to push for social change.

Giesberg asserts that "the commission served as a training ground for women… who would build careers on the organizational acumen and political savvy they perfected during the war."[205] During the post war years and into the twentieth century the young women who had worked in aid societies began forming other groups dedicated to solving the social problems

[202] Ibid.136.

[203] Ibid.136.

[204] Ibid. 140.

[205] Ibid. 154.

assailing the country. The Women's Christian Temperance Union or WCTU was formed completely independently of men and was a driving force in the temperance movement. The WCTU and labor unions allied themselves to create political interest groups to push for progressive reforms.[206] Political cartoons depicted women in temperance groups as crusading knights lending classical imagery to their "noble cause". During the Gilded Age, women were able to use the networks and ply the lessons they learned in the war time era to coordinate national efforts and make political changes. Geisberg says that compared to the antebellum period "instead of waiting for their male contemporaries… wartime women leaders moved on their own initiatives".[207]

When discussing the American Civil War historians tend to focus on the big players. Names like Lincoln, Lee, and Grant are constantly thrown around in the discourse. Though these individuals are extremely important there is a whole list of other characters who were vital in the war effort and frequently go unmentioned and unappreciated; the women of the Civil War. Dix should be mentioned for her tireless work fighting for improved hospital conditions. Women like Mary Carpenter should be discussed too because of their valiant work breaking gender norms and taking care of wounded soldiers. These women showed how strong and important women could be and that they were capable of doing everything their male contemporaries could. The truth flies in direct contradiction to the popular notion of Civil War women sitting idle waiting for their husband to return from war. In reality the war gave women the opportunity to find their voice and build a network to work together to make social change. Lousia Lee Schuyler,

[206] Ibid. 154.

[207] Ibid. 168.

Blackwell's successor as head of the WCAR is quoted saying, "The work of the Sanitary Commission was a great educator to the women of the day."[208]

These women were tempered in the crucible of war and emerged on the other side strong, independent, and looking for worthy causes to espouse themselves with. The legacy of these Civil War women is seen throughout the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era in the social reforms and movements that came out of those decades, and also in the modern feminist movement which has its origin in the suffrage movement. In short, though they are often omitted from history books, these remarkable women were able to make social changes that were wide reaching and that we still feel the effects of today.

[208] Ibid. 52.

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Chapter 8

Through the Lens of the Civil War

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Introduction:

Historians who study the bloodiest war in American history are often drawn to main topics. They contemplate on the military strategies and important battles that swung the tide of the war back and forth from the Confederacy to the Union. All of these subjects are very important and had a hand in what caused the Civil War to end. There is one technological development in that time that had a tremendous amount of significance in ending the war, which is photography. Throughout the war there were people with antebellum cameras that, for the first time, could capture images in no time at all and more accurately compared to a painting. In prior American wars people are remembered through portraits. These images were often romanticized and backed by the bias of whoever was creating them. That is not the case when it came to the use of cameras and the photos. Images could not be manipulated and had an air of reality. It opened doors for the business of photography, because it was never used during any war before this. Men such as Matthew Brady and Alexander Gardner pursued this market with everything they had, and it changed the way Americans looked at their nation. Brutalities such as dead bodies, slavery, and the divided nation were all now showing up on people's doorstep. Photography was a flourishing business, and there were no limits on what you could do. It

contained the power to change the outcome of a very important war in the history of the United States of America. "Photographs are the popular historicism of an era; they confer nothing less the reality itself. [209]" Ultimately, "The Lens of the Civil War" argues that photography assisted in ending the Civil War through provoking emotional effects on the northern home front.

The Conception of the Camera:

Although cameras were invented before the Civil War they were not what they soon would be. The first type of camera mechanism that was developed by Nicéphore Niépce was the camera obscura and took the first ever photograph in 1827.[210] This device sparked production and advancement of one of the greatest and most important inventions to ever grace the Earth. This camera took very long to actually capture the image and Niépce's apprentice Louis Daguerre went out to fix that and make it more of a reasonable tool to use. He saw the potential that this machine had and improved the camera obscura to the best of his abilities and came out with an easier to use camera. This was called the daguerreotype, where the shutter was greatly reduced and made it easier to produce a physical image. The daguerreotype was responsible for almost all the images produced throughout the war and even before then[211]. Stereographs were also advancements in how the viewer could actually perceive photos. What a stereograph did was put two images side by side with a little more landscape or of a different angle. When viewing through a stereoscope, it became a three dimensional image. This was very useful and popular in that time because seeing pictures was different and not well known. To see these pictures in a three dimensional setting put the viewer in the photograph and brought a very

[209] Trachtenberg, Alan. *Albums of War: On Reading Civil War Photographs*. (Berkley: University of Califronia Press, 1985), 1.
[210] A Brief History of Cameras: (Photography Basics, September 14, 2014), 8.

personal approach. This had a great effect on the people looking at these stereographs and was just another reason that photography had the impact it did. When people see something for the first time it has a greater effect on them than when they see something for the hundredth time. So, when they saw relevant pictures they had more of a connection to them. The way that people not just in the war, but on the home front, saw these had a drastic response which fueled the success of the Union in the Civil War.

Furthermore, before the era of photography began, people rarely knew of any other place than where they lived. Photography opened up a huge spectrum into people's lives. They could see a variety of things they never saw before from across the world, and they could gaze upon in their own living room. However not every picture from this time was so appealing, because it was the start of the bloodiest battle in American history till this day. With technological advances in weaponry and growing population of America, there was a lot of bloodshed on that battlefield and before photography they could only read about such travesties. But then on August 17, 1861 reports from the *New York Times* said that Matthew Brady, an entrepreneur and not a photographer by any means, was coming back from the battlefield with a series of photographs. Later, Brady said, "that he just felt like he had to go, and that a spirit in his feet said go and then he went[212]." These photographs were extremely awaited and many reports had said that it would open up a new door to how people will be able to perceive such events. "How they were able to look at the scenes of dead bodies and be calm enough to set up their equipment and try to portray reality, there is an unsung heroism there," said Alan Trachtenberg, retired professor of American history at Yale University. "It takes guts to do that."[213]

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[212] Ted Wimmer, The All-Seeing Eye: (*New York Times*, July 25, 2011), 8.

[213] Eric Niiler, How Civil War Photography Changed War: (Seeker, 2012), 9

Not to mention they were also special in the way they could put one in a mindset of actually being in that place at that time. Brady was said to have very poor eyesight and was more affiliated in producing technology that would benefit his photographers, these include men such as Timothy O'Sullivan and Alexander Gardner. He would go on to produce traveling dark rooms so that these field photographers could capture and produce the best and rawest images possible[214]. What this did was create more emotion than reading about it in the daily paper. So the fact that it could do this to people will play an important role in how the home front will in the future support the war effort.

Alexander Gardner was also an important figure in producing Civil War photography. He started as an assistant to Mathew Brady, and went out to all the battles to capture photos for Brady's company. After feeling that he could do the same as Brady, who actually did not do much fieldwork himself, started his own business in the photographic enterprises that was emerging. He did just that and took some of the most famous photographs in the war including portraits of some of the most famous people of that time such as Abraham Lincoln.

[214] Wimmer, 7.

The Photographs:

For many people seeing photographs was already a new concept and what these photographers were capturing contained disturbing content. Photos of dead bodies with gruesome wounds gave people a deeper connection because they could

Stereograph of dead in a ditch, Antietam

feel as if they had been on the field of battle. Seeing these photographs stuck with people for a very long time. Oliver Wendell Holmes Sr. said it best, when he referred to these sights of the battlefield as "terrible mementoes[215]" that he had to lock away in some "secret drawer.[216]" Pictures had tremendous power that could create emotions and a sense of rawness that paintings could not. For instance, one would most likely not be horrified or traumatized by a painting

[215] Trachtenberg, 9.

[216] Trachtenberg, 9.

because it was not real people could often fantasize and paint anything. That is why one photo had the power to cause passionate reactions throughout the Union.

The most important and impactful images of that time were not always that of battles and war, but also of certain people, such as slaves. The people of the Union thought they were very familiar with idea of slave brutality until one photo was passed around and changed many people's thoughts about slavery.

A slave scarred from whippings, Baton Rouge, 1863

The man pictured above is Gordan, or Whipped Peter, and was arguably one of the most famous photographs from that time period[217]. Most Union folk had never even stepped foot on a

[217] Klein, 1.

plantation, and did not know how brutal the slave business was. This opened people's eyes and sparked a reaction throughout the home front. Not to mention this was a real gold mind for abolitionist and the cause of the war. "It's one of the first photographs to show a slave who clearly had been beaten badly," says Frank Goodyear, co-director of the Bowdoin College Museum of Art, who has long studied the picture. "It suggests that the Southern idea that slavery was a benign institution was in fact a lie."[218] Even today that photo is still shocking and shows how brutal slavery was. One could only imagine just seeing and hearing this for the first time and realizing how humans were being treated like this on your own soil. It sparked a lot of support for war and showed how images can instigate reactions and the power behind photos. This photo is just another example of how photography sparked emotions on the home front to support the war.

Impact on War:

Photography had a great impact as well because it war was being seen for the first time ever on a daily basis. What people were seeing was not pleasing at all. Most of these photographs were produced in mass forms and the citizens of the Union were very interested to see what was next. Seeing corpses cover the ground, a whipped slave, or a painful amputation kept the people informed. They were provoked by the photographs, which were always great objects to spark the fire of war throughout the Union because they were not winning the war for a long time and needed all the morale it could get. The women and children did all they could on the home front to help the Union to victory. Women went to work in factories and started

[218] Christopher Klein, This Viral Photo Changed America — in 1863:(Boston Globe, 2018), 3.

organizations to help out the war effort. Abolitionism was rising throughout the Civil War due to the new realization of the brutality of the south on their slaves and how immoral they were. "Mr. Brady has done something to bring home to us the terrible reality and earnestness of war. If he has not brought bodies and laid them in our dooryards and along the streets, he has done something very like it," wrote the *New York Times* on Oct. 20, 1862 about Brady's New York exhibit just a month after the bloody Battle of Antietam.[219]

Photography also allowed families back home to have keepsakes of their fathers and brothers, while they were away. Having a picture of your loved one while they were out at war was a big deal emotionally. People thought the war was going to be a quick and painless one and the soldiers did not plan on being away for a long period. That was not the case and having a picture eased their minds because they never knew when the war would end.

Conclusion:

In conclusion, photography had a great impact on the home front thus causing the end of the Civil War. People of the Union were not familiar with the idea of a Civil War, and photography did what no other painting could do and gave them a real life visual. The photos also provoked abolitionism by bringing to the public eye photos of harsh slave brutality which was not a common sight or thought for Union folks. Photography brought places thousands of miles away to the doorstep and broadened their minds to a much bigger concept of what their nation really was. Although there is not much one can point to and say that was done because of photography. Photographs aided the war effort because for the first time people could visualize a major military conflict.

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[219] Niiler, 9.

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Chapter 9

The Christian Civil War: A Study on Religion's Role Leading up to and during the American Civil War

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Writing about religion in the Civil War is not groundbreaking. Numerous scholars and historians have taken part in the literary debates of religion's' role in American society from the periods of antebellum through to reconstruction. Two significant contributors are historians Richard Carwardine and Harry Stout. Both have written on the religious aspects of the Civil War, but with differing approaches. Harry Stout adopts the outlook that religion during the Civil War became warlike and was a devastating disease that had been perverted and was allowed to spread like wildfire. Richard Carwardine sees religion differently. In his writings about president Lincoln's religion, Carwardine sees the benefits of religion and how Lincoln uses religion as a tool to unite the North. These two viewpoints are rather difficult to merge. However if you take Carwardine's thesis that Lincoln used religion as a tool, and incorporate Stouts position that religion corrupted people then an interesting scenario arises.

The Civil War of the 1860s was inherently theatrical. The nature of many movements and uprisings during this time were highly exaggerated and dramatized. Abolitionism had its leaders who took to their pedestals and their stages to play up the fervor behind their cause. With ranting monologues in newspapers and constant public appeals as their weapons, abolitionists built up the tension within New England hoping to coerce, cajole and capture the citizen's support. Peace activists also took on their own share of soliloquies. They tried their utmost to turn the public

opinion against, what they demanded, was an unjust and immoral war. During this time, the after-effects of the religious reconstruction several decades prior were still being felt. The Second Great Awakening had shifted the spotlight of moral acceptability onto a belief system that encouraged and supported the act of abolishing slavery. But while many took hold of these new beliefs, just as many turned their backs on them. Religion in New England became divided over these differences in the communities. These religious divisions in the Northeast were so strong that they played a crucial role in unnecessarily prolonging the Civil War.

Richard Carwardine writes about Abraham Lincoln's experiences in Springfield Illinois. "Springfields' First Presbyterian Church" was full of "conservatives with the strongest ties to the South, while the antislavery origins of the Second Presbyterian Church reflected the more radical outlook of settlers from New England and its diaspora."[220] The conflicts were no longer big and broad but narrow and disparate. Neighbors would have vastly different outlooks on the world. These would then be supported and furthered by their churches. Churches and their religions have a fluidity within them that can allow for changes in their role in society throughout history. Religion is ever evolving in order to keep pace with the rest of the world. After religious influence lost its supreme hold on the world, it has needed to adapt to maintain influence. Previously, wars were fought between Catholics and Protestants. Down the years this was at the heart of much of the conflict. However in the 1800's further disintegration would occur and strip the conflict down to its roots. Issues, viewpoints, and sides, no longer depended on your overarching denomination, but to the ministry that you attended, and where it came from. New churches under the same denomination would preach far different sermons on a Sunday morning.

[220] Richard Carwardine, *Lincoln's Religion* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2008), 232.

During the early 1800s in the Northern United States, religion was undergoing a new revolution, what is referred to as the Second Great Awakening. The values of society would be shaped and re-molded by the Protestant upper class that had benefited from the recent market revolution.[221] By the 1830s the religious revival led by Charles Finney had created a new religious outlook focused on eliminating the pain and suffering that had been present in Christianity. Elizabeth Clark writes, "Only by understanding changing cultural and religious conceptions of the nature of pain, the value of suffering, and the duty of compassion can we understand how, by the later nineteenth century….the idea that to be free of physical coercion and deliberately inflicted pain was an essential human right"[222] Clark defines the religious revival as the turning point for the abolitionist cause stating that "The revival of passionate antislavery organization in the early 1830s followed directly on the heels of the great wave of revivalism inaugurated by Charles Finney in the 1820s."[223] With the surge of abolitionism rooted firmly in religious arguments, churches would take on a more prominent role in society.

The core role of the church in society has changed very little compared to the numerous changes in beliefs. A church provides guidance; it is a place to rest and reconcile the outside world with your inner faith. Ministers, pastors, preachers and the religiously ordained are meant as spiritual advisors and as members of the community that can help individuals with their struggles and woes. Churches act as the foundation and safety net for society's precarious moral compass.

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[221] Paul E. Johnson, *Religious Reform as a form of social control*, in *Major Problems in American History, Volume 1: To 1877*, (Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2012) 275-85.

[222] Elizabeth B. Clark, *Religion, Cruelty, and Sympathy in Antebellum America*, in *Major Problems in the Early Republic, 1787-1848* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 2008), 164.

[223] Elizabeth B. Clark, 167.

In a sermon delivered in 1865 at the funeral of Rev. Levi Leonard of Dublin New Hampshire, it is clear just exactly how important a religious figure was to a community. This sermon covers the span of Rev. Leonard's life and his settling in Dublin, NH. The presiding Rev. J.C. Learned gave accounts such as, "Dr. Leonard has been preeminently on of the people", and that when seeking his counsel "no one came away without valuable suggestions." Most memorably he states, "Each felt him so much a personal friend, that there was no fear of favoritism"[224] It is clear that the importance of Leonard's presence in the community is deeply felt by all. Rev. Leonard was a kind man who was ingrained in his community, and invested in its well being. Rev. Leonard is a perfect example of how important the religious figure was during the time of religions rising influence.

During the 1860s, religion had much greater influence over American society. As historian Harry Stout writes in the introduction to his book *Upon the Altar of the Nation*, "The voices of clergymen in thousands of churches…would become especially meaningful as critics or cheerleaders of the war."[225] Churches would still play their usual role of providing their congregations with moral guidance and counsel. However, because this war was a war of ideas, it would insist upon "a moral campaign to establish the justness of a resort to arms. Abstract political arguments would not suffice. They would have to be augmented by the moral and spiritual arguments."[226] However, historian Robert Abzug brings forth that there were cracks in the religious foundation of society. "In the atmosphere of creeping indeterminacy, civil war broke out within the presbyterian church, a war between those who wished to gird up the old

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[224] Rev. J.C. Learned, *A Discourse delivered at the funeral of Rev. Levi W. Leonard D.D.* (Thomas J. Whiteem, 1865), 6-7.

[225] Harry S. Stout, *Upon the Altar of the Nation* (New York, Penguin Group, 2006), xvii.

[226] Harry S. Stout, xvii.

lines of denominational and theological distinction and those, predominantly young men and women who felt betrayed by the old church."[227] Abzug was of course referring to a time before the civil war began, however this division in the religious community was unlikely to have been resolved by this time. This would indicate the church was holding a new responsibility, with almost no experience of how to manage such a feat, while simultaneously standing on a shaky foundation. Stout writes that with the exception of a few, the clergy of the North failed to process what the implications of a war would truly mean. How, by avoiding the discourse, there was a decided lack of preparedness for what was to come. He follows by stating that this "appears to be an important clue to the savage ferocity of fighting that would follow."[228]

When Lincoln took over the presidency, he had established himself as a man of the people, especially when it came to religion. Lincoln was never forthright about his own religious affiliation, thus he could claim to represent more than just those of his own personal church as he did against his political opponents prior to his presidency. However historians such as Richard Carwardine say that "Lincoln's own faith - to the extent that it is possible to discern it - was cut from a different cloth from that of the mainstream Protestants."[229] While Lincoln may not have been openly devout, he certainly knew how to play up the part that religion had in politics. "Lincoln's pre war political experience in Illinois left him in no doubt to the significance of religion in electoral politics and the capacity of churches to mobilize opinion beyond their walls."[230] Lincoln was aware that the population of churchgoers was drastically increasing

[227] Robert Abzug, *Northern Revivalism* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 2008),160.

[228] Harry S. Stout, xvii.

[229] Richard Carwardine, 226.

[230] Richard Carwardine, 232.

during the Second Great Awakening, and when he was elected into the presidency, he would use religion as a tool to his advantage. Throughout his presidency, Lincoln would set himself up as a national preacher, with the entirety of the Union as his congregation.[231]

Starting at the beginning of his presidential campaign and into the start of the war, Lincoln was ambiguous about the issue of slavery and held no favor with the abolitionist movement. This position would garner him other allies, however. "The American Peace Society was originally hopeful that the secession would occur without violence, but once shots were exchanged the society threw its support behind the federal government."[232] According to the American Peace Society, who were strict advocates of peace, the South had committed crimes against the nation. Because the South was not an independent nation, the Union could not declare war. Therefore any violence used to suppress these "criminals" would be justified by the law, allowing the American Peace Society to freely support the government. Valarie Ziegler writes, "The battlefields of the nations were, then, not occasions of war but scenes of a crime horrendous in its scope...it is, not strictly war, but a legitimate effort by government for the enforcement of its laws...If a million men were mustered to put down by force this climax of all offences, it would still be in form."[233] The American Peace Society was all in favor of the return to peace, and it would seem that they were willing to engage in violence to help restore it.

In opposition to the American Peace Society, there had split off a second group of activists. The New England Non-Resistant Society were considered by the American Peace

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[231] Richard Carwardine

[232] Valarie H. Ziegler, *Antebellum Peace Activists and the Religion of the Republic* (The Mennonite Quarterly Review, 1991), 154-5.

[233] Valarie H. Ziegler, 155.

Society to be "entirely foreign to the cause of peace."[234] This society was comprised of abolitionist radicals who were in complete opposition to government of any sort, while the American Peace Society were "genteel Christians deeply respectful of government who sought merely to outlaw offensive wars."[235] The approach of the New England Non-Resistant Society was to target the society as a whole as opposed to the government. They believed that being a constant presence in the ear of the public would bring about greater change than attempting to influence and alter the political realm. This was a philosophy explained as being akin to a gadfly flying around and annoying people until they were brought to action. The Non-Resistants were convinced that they could help to abolish slavery peacefully by confronting the American people with its sinful reality.[236]

For all of the disagreements between the two societies, they were both highly suspicious of the Southern culture and both identified the immorality, and sin of slavery within. Thus when war came, they were both firmly planted in the Northern camp. The American Peace Society was fully committed to the punishment of the Southern states for their crime of secession, but ultimately wanted their return to the union. The Non-Resistants however, backed the conflict because they were convinced that the war would be the vehicle for the abolition of slavery. When war came, both the American Peace Society and Non-Resistants surprisingly became supporters and advocates for the Union, not because they finally came to an agreement, but because they both saw ways that they could benefit.

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[234] "Tenth Annual Report of the American Peace Society," (The Advocate of Peace II, June 1838), 9, quoted in Valarie H. Ziegler, *Antebellum Peace Activists and the Religion of the Republic* (The Mennonite Quarterly Review, 1991), 151.

[235] Valarie H. Ziegler, 142.

[236] Valarie H. Ziegler.

In a war, there is nothing more crucial than a nation's' ability to sustain a sense of nationalism in the face of the enormous loss of life.[237] Few institutions hold such sway over the masses and President Lincoln was aware that "none could match the power of the millions of evangelical Protestants who constituted the country's most formidable religious grouping."[238] As such, Lincoln needed to maintain a working relationship with the leaders of every major faith, and did so by the appointment of chaplains in the military. It was crucial to the war effort that the nation remain in support of their government and the war itself.

In repayment, the clergy are said to have "stoked the fires of self righteous hatred and resolve by denigrating the [South] and promoting the virtues of their 'just cause'."[239] It became common place to hear a clergyman condemn the rebellious southerners during a Sunday sermon, and many took on the job of pacifying the people's impatience and used their position to "place [Lincoln] within the divine community."[240] They did such a marvelous job at inspiring a sense of national pride that Stout writes, "As the Civil War progressed into increasingly eroded moral ground, something transformative simultaneously took place that would render the war *the* defining phenomenon in American history. Patriotism itself became sacralized to the point that it enjoyed coequal or even superior status to conventional denominational faiths."[241] Religion held one of the most powerful positions in American society, and with that power came those who would wield it, and for the duration of the war the churches were fully behind the war effort. Many clergymen made such an impact on their communities by inspiring a sense of patriotism

[237] Richard Carwardine.

[238] Richard Carwardine, 244.

[239] Harry S. Stout, 53.

[240] Richard Carwardine, 245.

[241] Harry S. Stout, xviii.

that had not been felt even during the Revolutionary War. Carwardine writes that "Together, Lincoln's cultivation of loyalist religious constituencies and their reciprocal confidence in him contributed signally to the larger mobilization of nationalist sentiment"[242]

Sermons such as that given by William White on the anniversary of the firing on Fort Sumter, included rhetoric such as "the lord hath opened his armory."[243] This language gave the impression that God was on their side, and to a society that looked to religion for answers and justification this was uplifting and inspiring. In Rev. James Freeman Clarkes' sermon almost a year later, he remembers the sentiments of his congregation after receiving the news of Sumter. "I did not know I had any patriotism. I did not know that I cared anything for the old flag. I did not know I felt so about the Union. Thank God, that I can care so much for anything."[244] After almost two full years since the beginning of America's bloodiest war, these sentiments were most likely in short supply, Clarke was most likely attempting to remind his congregation. Yet as the war dragged on, federal failures on the front lines and increased pressures on the homefront made it difficult to keep the peace. Riots were the response of Northern society to impositions on their lives such as the creation and enforcement of the draft.[245] With the war having taken its toll, it was growing harder for those feelings of patriotism to resurface. It was time for a change.

The end of war is almost always welcome, and this was the dream for several groups in the North. Chief among them sat the Peace Democrats and the Perfectionists. Similar to the dealings between Non-Resistants and the American Peace Society, these two groups were

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[242] Richard Carwardine, 246.

[243] William Orne White, *Our Struggle Righteous in the Sight of God: A Sermon preached in the church of the Keene Congregational Society* (G. & G.H. Tilden, 1862), 5.

[244] James Freeman Clarke, *Discourse on the Aspects of the War*, (Walker, Wise and Company, 1863), 7.

[245] Ushistory.org, *The Northern Homefront* (U.S. History Online Textbook, 2018).

political enemies. They had similar overarching goals but that is where the similarities end. Peace Democrats, or more commonly known as Copperheads, were pro-slavery southern sympathizers. They had, during the course of the war, rebuked war policies and insisted that the hostilities end. As an end goal, Peace Democrats wanted the reunification of the southern states, and a return to pre-war policy.

On the other hand, a large majority of the Perfectionists were active in the abolition and anti slavery movements. They were concerned with a return to peace, but they were in favor of bringing about the end of slavery. Long time abolitionist, nonresistant and Perfectionist, Joshua Blanchard wrote a proposal that would "not only end this war but would also provide a safe haven for runaway slaves in the northern Union, ultimately making it extremely difficult if not impossible for slave owners to keep slaves in the southern Union"[246] His proposal was written only a year after the war had begun, displaying just how urgent the return of peace was. It is clear by Blanchard's proposal that the Perfectionists were willing to overlook the immediate extinction of slavery, however they were determined that it would never rear its ugly head in the North.

In the spring of 1862 Lincoln had also felt the pressure to end the war. His options for this desired outcome seemed to be either surrender, or make peace with the Confederacy.With surrender being quickly discounted, on March 6th, Lincoln proposed to congress "a gradual emancipation and compensation for slave owners."[247] This was met however, with immense criticism from one individual in particular. A leader of the Non-Resistant Society, an abolitionist,

[246] Thomas F. Curran, *Pacifists, Peace Democrats and the Politics of Perfection in the Civil War Era* (Journal of Church and State, 1996), 492.

[247] Harry S. Stout, 122.

and both the editor and co-founder of the prominent national newspaper, *The Liberator*, William Lloyd Garrison. After Lincoln's report to Congress, Garrison, who had previously supported Lincoln through the war,[248] "issued unrelenting criticism"[249] through *the Liberator*. In addition, some of the most prominent responses to Union defeats at the front lines came from abolitionists, who saw in the defeats, "divine confirmation of the moral inadequacy of preserving the Union as a sufficient justification for war."[250]

Putting aside the political pressures, Lincoln also faced another challenge to ending the war. When the clergymen had fueled the fires in its citizens, Stout writes that "would soon prove to be a very nasty surprise,[as they] found that the citizens were more bloodthirsty than their military counterparts"[251] The boulder that Lincoln and his congregational counterparts had nudged down the hill, was now headed back in their direction. It was crucial that it be redirected, and quickly. The public had been set out for blood and if they were denied what they had been told for years was God sanctioned justice, they could very easily turn on their own government just as Lincoln was starting to experience.

With citizens unwilling to accept peace with the South, and political allies and opponents closing in, Lincoln made the necessary redirection of the war effort. On January 1st, 1863, Lincoln delivered the Emancipation Proclamation. This was the new objective and rallying point

[248] Valarie H. Ziegler.

[249] Harry S. Stout, 122.

[250] Harry S. Stout, 82.

[251] Harry S. Stout, 53.

for the troops and the homefront. “What began as a political war was transformed, in effect into a moral crusade with religious foundations.”[252]

Clergymen would learn to tone back their rhetoric and begin to explore questioning the morality and assuredness that had dominated over the previous years. Rev. Clarke discusses in his sermon, the exceptional nature of our nation as opposed to condemning that of the South. A focus shifts to questioning whether we are, as a nation, worthy of victory. Clarke also goes on to provide his congregation with an example of how their focus should be turned towards themselves and their worthiness of God’s approval. He is quoted saying,

> “Only last week I was getting some contributions for the freed negroes in the South-west, who are in great want, and suffering for clothes and provisions now; and I was asked to come to one business place, and each of the partners handed me, without a word, fifty dollars, so that I went away with a generous contribution to the fund given at that one place without my asking for it.”[253]

Rev. Clarke has placed an emphasis on returning to the values of generosity, selflessness and individual worthiness. The goal of the war is still clear in his message, the abolition of slavery, however violence must no longer be the focus point.

In a similar sentiment, *the Liberator* reprinted the sermon of Thomas Vickers to Meadville Theology School. The sermon dealt with the idea of a just war.

> “Tell me not of victories over Southern rebels! I am sick at heart over these victories. I would to Heaven that they had conquered the rebellious North, - rebellious against the law of God. The North is not yet worthy of victory - *not morally ready for it*. And I pray

[252] Harry S. Stout, 82.

[253] James Freeman Clarke, 11.

> that God may not withhold his hand, that disaster on disaster may come upon us, until we are ready, nay anxious, to do the right."[254]

By addressing students about this subject matter, Vickers is preparing the new wave of clergymen to deal with the after effects of this moral upheaval the North has experienced. It is vital that in response to the violent sentiment of years previous, calmer thoughts and values replace them.

By the summer of 1865 the war is over. The North has won, slavery has been abolished and relative peace has been restored, but at what cost? Four years and over 750,000 deaths,[255] and the countless lives that have suffered indirectly. Historians have played around with the ideas of responsibility and where to lay blame. While it isn't clear to me who is responsible for the eruption of conflict, there is a strong case to be made for the religious institutions of the North to be held accountable for the prolonged nature of the war. Had the clergymen not stoked the fire so hot as to promote a thirst for blood in the citizens, or had they curtailed their efforts sooner, allowing for possible negotiations and perhaps an end to the conflict with eventual emancipation. However the religious divisions of the North, including the Non-Resistants, the American Peace Society, the Perfectionists and the denominational congregations themselves, were responsible for the ferocity throughout the Civil War, and then again for its continuation. We do have them to thank for the end of slavery and the returning of the southern states to the Union, but again, was the cost worth it when options were available?

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[254] Harry S. Stout, 122.

[255] Gary W. Gallagher and Joan Waugh, *The American War: A History of the Civil War Era* (Flip Learning, 2015), 1.

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Chapter 10

Baseball: From Muskets to Bats

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The Civil War was the costliest war in American history. It was a struggle for the future of America, especially about slavery and national unity. However, it also did something that is often overlooked. Baseball was among one of the things accomplished by the "Second American Revolution". Baseball is the sport in America often referred to as "America's game," or the "National Pastime." This is assumed to be a game that was created by someone a very long time ago. The common myth is that Abner Doubleday, a soldier in the Civil War, was the one to do so. However, that does not hold true. The game of baseball was a game collaboratively invented, improved upon, and added to over many years, as well as many generations. The Civil War was an event that brought many people to a common goal. Men came from different areas, different heritage, and from differing class-status. With a game like baseball, these men played it in the Civil War without thinking about what anyone's background was, but solely were trying to win the game. Baseball, in result of being played during the Civil War, was spread widely throughout the nation. People who had experienced the game of baseball brought it back to their homes, their communities, and expanded upon the game, which was commonly referred to as the "New York" game. The Civil War was the culminating event that made baseball America's "National pastime".

Before the Civil War:

Prior to the Civil War, baseball was a local game. According to historian Jules Tygiel, "The half-decade before the 1860 elections witnessed the clear elevation of the modern version of baseball in the consciousness of the influential mid-Atlantic states and, to a great extent, the nation as well. From the 1830s through the late 1850s Americans played an assortment of ball and bat games. Each city and region boasted its own variation."[256]

Tygiel was an important sports historian, and according to another sports historian, he "helped to legitimize sports history among historians and to show non-historians how sports can illuminate the past." [257] His work was not entirely on the Civil War, but with one point of view, he was proving that at the brink of the Civil War, the game of baseball was somewhat widespread. There was not a solid game of baseball created yet; only different variations of it to different cities and towns.

Tygiel also writes on the type of game that was popularized before and during the Civil War. This sort of game was the 'mainstream' game, and was a new game, so this was the accustomed style of baseball played early on.

The form that [baseball] assumed was the 'Knickerbocker' or 'New York' variation on townball. Both nineteenth-century commentators and some recent historians attributed the triumph of the New York game in the 1850s to its uncannily intuitive adherence to the American 'temperament' or 'character'. In 1866 Charles A. Peverelly called it "a game which is peculiarly

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[256] Jules Tygiel, *Past Time*, (New York, Oxford University Press, 2000), 5.

[257] Robert Cherny, "In Memoriam: Jules Tygiel," American Historical Association, https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/november-2008/in-memoriam-jules-tygiel

suited to the American temperament and disposition", a sentiment echoed in the Spirit of the Times in 1867, which hailed it as "the pastime which best suits the temperament of our people." Twenty years later Mark Twain invested baseball as "The very symbol, the outward and visible expression of the drive and push and rush and struggle of the raging, tearing booming nineteenth century"[258]

Tygiel, in saying this, promoted the fact that the game of baseball wasn't particularly known nationwide during the 1850s; that this game was special to New York and those who knew it well. As far as the game does go, it was growing large quickly, stirring up some questions as to how to record games as well as evaluating those who did play the game.

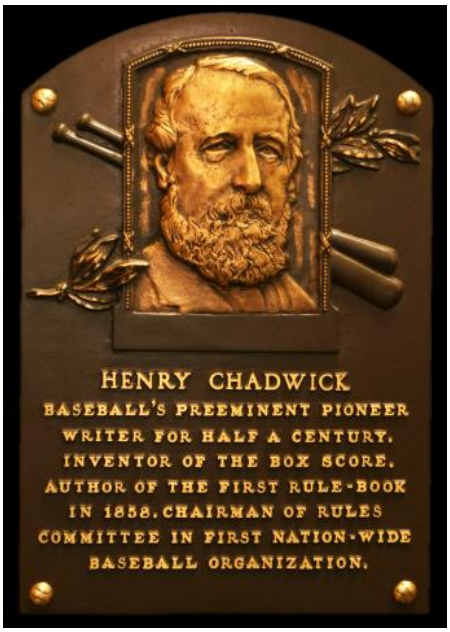
From the beginnings of baseball and its rules, statistics were next to be added to the growing game of baseball, and one person to put emphasis on this was Henry Chadwick. Chadwick was an English immigrant that came to America in the 1840s. He was very familiar with the game of cricket, the rules in which go with it, and how they track score for teams, and statistics for players individually. Chadwick is mostly known for how he brought statistics into the game of baseball. He used very familiar terms from cricket, such as 'score' and 'hit' and so on, and so forth. According to Thomas Rice, Chadwick had created "'the simplest, most easily learned and most expressive of all the systems of short-hand ever intended'"[259]

Chadwick's impact on baseball, with scores as well as individual statistics, would change the game forever. He would take into consideration almost every pitch that was thrown in a baseball game, not just the final score of the game in the newspaper, "The issues raised in Chadwick's 1859 box score – how to adapt cricket measurements to baseball and the creation of

[258] Tygiel, 8-9.

[259] Quoted in Tygiel, 23.

a moral economy of baseball – would shape the evolution of baseball statistics"[260] The use of statistics were a huge step, and the overall picture of the game was seen similarly by many historians.



Henry Chadwick; first statistics keeper in baseball history.[261]

Although there is an extensive history of the Civil War dealing with statistics, it does not relate to baseball. With that being said, the Civil War is often overlooked for contributing to the game of baseball, but glorified for the ending of slavery in America. Authors, such as Benjamin Rader, briefly brush on the significance of the Civil War and baseball,

Finally, the Civil War (1861-65) helped ensure the dominance of the New York version of baseball. Many clubs folded as their members made their way off to war, but at the same time, by bringing together massive numbers of young men in military units, the war replicated

[260] Tygiel, 24.

[261] N/A, *Henry Chadwick* Baseball Hall of Fame, https://baseballhall.org/hall-of-famers/chadwick-henry.

conditions similar to those that existed among them in the cities. Seeking to escape boredom and establish an identity in an all-male milieu, soldiers and sailors frequently turned to boxing, running, wrestling, shooting-at-the-mark, and baseball matches. The troops played both previously arranged and pick-up games; they played both inside and outside the camp grounds[262]

Baseball was, and still is, a big part of lives all around the United States, and that sort of home love for the game started during the Civil War. Rader lastly highlights the main point/how the game of baseball was affected by the Civil War. "Although baseball in organized forms had existed only for two decades or so, the baseball fraternity was able to make a convincing case by the end of the Civil War that its game should be labeled as the national game"[263] As for how the game of baseball was before the Civil War, with the origins of it, as well as statistics coming to it and the significance of the 'New York' game, baseball was growing, and it would 'fire' into the Civil War.

Rader mentions this version of baseball called the 'New York Game', and this shows that this sort of type of baseball was very well-known since it has reached two different authors, who may have different backgrounds. This game was spreading faster than it would've been imagined by these historians, as well as people just like Chadwick, and then war struck in the middle of this viral spread of baseball.

During the Civil War:

To refer to the game of baseball during the Civil War itself, some historians go deep into it, and find out how the game was being used and seen in the battlefield, specifically George

[262] Benjamin Rader, *Baseball: A History of America's Game* (Champaign, IL; University of Illinois Press, 2003), 17.

[263] Rader, 18

Kirsch. Kirsch is currently a professor of history at Manhattan College in Bronx, New York. It's quite ironic that he is teaching history at one of the most commemorated locations of baseball history in America; the Bronx has been home to the New York Yankees for a bit more than a century.

Kirsch is a sports historian. He has published many pieces of sports history, mainly around the game of baseball. He took a close look at how baseball was played during actually war-time in the Civil War, as he states in his argument/introduction. "This book serves a double purpose. First, it presents a narrative and analysis of the growth and transformation of baseball in the United States during the Civil War. Second, it examines the relationship between the sport [baseball] and American nationalism during that tumultuous time"[264]

Kirsch goes back in time a tad before diving into the Civil War to give his argument some back story in a way. He discusses the Abner Doubleday myth, as well as discuss the significance, again, of Henry Chadwick and statistics in baseball. Kirsch also discusses how the media/newspapers would report on hearing of baseball being played during wartime.

[264] George Kirsch, *Baseball in Blue and Grey: The National Pastime during the Civil War* (Princeton, NJ; Princeton University Press, 2003), ix.

Mythically the 'creator' of baseball in the early 1800s in Cooperstown, New York.[265]

"In January 1862 the *Clipper* emphasized both the short and long term benefits of athletics in army camps. It reported: 'Many officers who never before took a 'hand in' at any of our out-door games, are now among the leading spirits in the conduct of such matters; and the influence exerted thereby is spreading throughout the entire army.'"[266]

This sort of thing was common to hear about during and after the Civil War. Men who were once shy and were fearful of losing their lives on a day-to-day basis became emphatic with the game of baseball, embraced it deeply, and that sort of passion for the game distracted them

[265] "Abner Doubleday," Accessed April 22, 2018, http://www.u-s-history.com/pages/h2064.html.

[266] Kirsch, 29

from reality for a little while, and made their lives a little more tolerable and those men around them.

In 1994, there was a documentary made by the nation-known film maker Ken Burns. His group created a series called *Baseball*, and in this film was a certain passage from a soldier that was too good not to include. "Virginia, April 3, 1862: it is astonishing how indifferent a person can become a danger. Report of musketry is heard but little distance from us. Over there, on the other side of the road, most of our company playing bat-ball. And perhaps in less than a half-hour, they may be called to play a ball game of a more serious nature." – Frederick Fairfax, 5th Ohio Infantry."[267]

Although it cannot be confirmed nor denied if this was true or false, as of this moment, it is claimed to be true. With shots being fired around them, they continued to play the game, and would eventually have to turn in their bats for their muskets to enter battle. Often, these soldiers would hear gunfire nearby, but simply did not care; they were invested in the game they were playing, and did not want to stop. That type of action today would be considered an 'Murican act.

As for actually playing baseball during the Civil War, there are few accounts and pictures of such happening; but based on the few primary sources, and for those soldiers who played the game before the war started, is where baseball was prevalent during the Civil War. Kirsch also wrote on this.

"It is not surprising to find that the towns and cities most infected with the baseball fever of the period from 1857 to 1861 also produced the regiments that were most active on campground ball fields. Men who had joined baseball associations before the war were

[267] Ken Burns, *Baseball*, Mini-Series, Documentary (PBS,1994).

accustomed to wearing club uniforms as they took on the role of athlete. When they joined the army they adopted a martial life and clothing. Then when they competed in baseball matches they played both roles."[268]

As he writes, it was the men that were involved in baseball before the Civil War began than brought the game to the campgrounds and battle stations throughout the Civil War. It may have been a factor in if those who knew of the game of baseball did not go to fight, that the game of baseball may have been impacted by the lack of involvement/spreading of baseball. Although they passed time with different activities and such, people who played baseball brought that into the camps, into the prisons, and into almost every day life of these soldiers. These men would then go on to spread the game on to different camps and different sections of the war effort. As this story is being told, this was a brand new game to these every day, common, and 'normal' people. It was physical, and it had a common objective to the war they were in: to win. This turned some of these soldiers into legitimate players that would go on and professionalize this game of baseball, as Kirsch writes.

"When the Fourteenth Regiment returned to Brooklyn in June 1864 a comrade in arms from the Thirteenth Regiment wrote to the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*: 'Among the returned heroes of our gallant Fourteenth are some well known ball players, who, while devoted to the use of more deadly weapons, have not forgotten the use of bat or ball, as the many games played by them during their three years service will prove.' He proposed an 'amalgamated match' between the two regiments to inaugurate a new ball ground in Coney Island." [269]

[268] Kirsch, 35-36.

[269] Kirsch, 38-39.

To input on what Kirsch is saying, this reunion was just a small example of many that may have occurred for baseball matches. With this sort of example in New York, it was only known because it occurred in Brooklyn, the epicenter of baseball at the time. As for many different soldiers going home from the war, there were plenty of other examples of this sort of thing occurring, where families watched, as well as work colleagues or other friends. It would spark interest into kids to show their friends, or to other people of the community to show their co-workers and/or families. The spread of this game was incredibly influenced by the Civil War.

These soldiers, did in fact, go home (shocker!), but they didn't just carry the weight of the war on their shoulders. They brought back an activity for their neighbors, their communities, and their families. Ben Rader mentions this in his writings. "Veterans of both armies returned home after the war, bringing with them the game that many had encountered for the first time in their camps. Doubtless few Southerners saw the sport as an antidote for their traditional 'listlessness and love of indolent pleasures,' as Northerner Henry Chadwick did, but they did take to the game's excitement"[270]

As the Civil War did end, everyone went home, to their families, back to their jobs, back to their farms, and so on and so forth. This was a different type of war, however; these soldiers did have something to bring back home besides war stories. They had a new game to share, and in a way, to unite certain people together through the joy of competition.

After the Civil War:

As far as how baseball was seen after the Civil War, the MLB compiled some interesting charts with dealing with the history of baseball clubs and teams formed throughout

[270] Rader, 18.

the last century and a half of American history. On their website, they have an entire list of established baseball clubs mainly in the mid-to-late 1800s. I will paraphrase the information that is given on the list. According to mlb.com, up to the year 1862, there were 236 baseball clubs formed.[271] The reason I chose 1862 was because that was somewhat in the middle of the Civil War. This number shows that the impact of baseball in America was in the amount of 236 different baseball clubs.

As for the years from 1863-1875, the number of clubs that were established were 740.[272] The impact of baseball after a short 10 years after the Civil War occurred shows how the game of baseball was seen to be spreading around the United States. Although it is not as significant of a number as expected, the locations are something else to consider.

According to mlb.com, the clubs up to 1862 are mainly found in NY State, as well as some skewed clubs in Ohio, and Texas[273]. Massachusetts and Connecticut, bordering New York, are also seen to have a good number of clubs up to 1862. As for 1863-1875, that tells a different story. Michigan, Iowa, Georgia, Colorado, Illinois, Maryland, and many more are shown to have many baseball clubs.[274] That shows that baseball was occurring greatly in these states, and the spread was happening.

Also, to show the effect the game of baseball had in New Hampshire, according to mlb.com, it is seen that three baseball clubs were established up to 1862[275]. Also according to

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[271] N/A, *Earliest Baseball Clubs*, http://mlb.mlb.com/memorylab/spread_of_baseball/earliest_clubs.jsp

[272] N/A, *Earliest Baseball Clubs*.

[273] N/A, *Earliest Baseball Clubs.*

[274] N/A, *Earliest Baseball Clubs*.

[275] N/A, *Earliest Baseball Clubs.*

mlb.com, nine more clubs were made between the years of 1863-1875, including two clubs from Keene and Swanzey![276]

As well as these clubs in New Hampshire, there was also something else that occurred a little while later in New Hampshire relating to baseball. In Plymouth, New Hampshire, there was a major sporting goods store created in a delayed fashion to the Civil War. The game of baseball grew rapidly after the Civil War, and it eventually reached to a place that wasn't the typical 'place' for baseball to occur.

"Founded by locals Jason Draper and John Maynard in 1881, D&M transformed virtually overnight from a deerskin glove maker to a thriving sporting goods manufacturer. According to McCormack, it was a visit here in the mid-1880s by Arthur "Doc" Irwin, the shortstop for the Providence Grays, that led Draper and Maynard to help design the first gloves, padding included, dedicated solely to the playing of baseball. Irwin wanted something to protect his catching hand, and Draper and Maynard delivered it."[277]

Kevin Dupont is a reporter for the Boston Globe; he has been doing this sort of research for many years. "Kevin Paul Dupont reported on all manner of sports topics the past 40 years, since first becoming a staff writer in 1977 for the then Boston Herald American. Since joining the Globe's sports staff fulltime in 1985, he's been a beat writer (Bruins, Red Sox), feature writer…"[278]

In the certain story he wrote about with Plymouth, Draper and Maynard, to me, was a slow response to the baseball fever in America. "Plymouth today is known almost exclusively as

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[276] N/A, *Earliest Baseball Clubs*.

[277] Kevin Dupont "Back in the Day, Plymouth, N.H., Was the Hub of Sporting Goods", (Boston, MA, The Boston Globe, 2016).

[278] Kevin Dupont, "- The Boston Globe," BostonGlobe.com, Accessed April 24, 2018. https://www.bostonglobe.com/staff/dupont.

a college town at the edge of the White Mountains, but for some five decades, spanning the 19th and 20th centuries, it was home to the Draper & Maynard Company, ranked among the largest sporting goods makers in the country."[279] With this being said, this company went from a glove making company, to a sporting goods store immediately. The influence of baseball was catching up to New Hampshire, and for a business to make the decision to go to sports sales instead of a consistent business in glove making says a lot.

Reminiscences of the Nineteenth Massachusetts Regiment by John G.B. Adams, written in 1899, was a blog/memoir that was written by a man in the Nineteenth Regiment of Massachusetts during the Civil War. It main talked about the war experience, as it was a hard time for soldiers to go through, who may have faced death one day or the next. However, even these soldiers didn't want to die without having a bit of fun before hand.

"While in camp at Falmouth the base ball fever broke out. It was the old[-]fashioned game, where a man running the bases must be hit by the ball to be declared out. It started with the men, then the officers began to play, and finally the 19th [Massachusetts Regiment] challenged the 7th Michigan [Regiment] to play for sixty dollars a side."[280]

The Civil War was a game changer for the game of baseball. It didn't matter where you were; as long as you had a group of willing men to play the game, a wooden bat, and a cork baseball, there was no reason to not have a game, even if the players didn't come from the same 'neck of the woods.'

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[279] Dupont.

[280] John G.B. Adams, *Reminiscences of the Nineteenth Massachusetts Regiment,* (Boston, MA, Wright and Potter Printing company, 1899), 60-61.

While there was more to write about on this certain game, the in-depth details about this game, and remembering the rules and how much money was bet on the game, clearly shows that this individual, John G.B. Adams, that baseball was quite the thing to talk about, reflecting on how the Civil War was for that regiment specifically.

Class Status and Baseball:

With dealing with status during the Civil War and baseball, it was mainly how social classes and baseball were associated with making ball clubs and playing. The evidence Goldstein produces is mainly that it did not certainly belong to a specific class, but it was rather a combination of all the working classes playing with and against different class people.

"The baseball fraternity, then, was something of a mixture of classes, neither exclusively a middle-class nor a working-class sport. That is not to say that the fraternity was a democratic melting pot, in which men from all walks of life could rub off their class distinctions in competition on the diamond."[281]

Just like America itself, the game of baseball did not judge the players/members of the fraternity by how much you made every week, but what your impact was on the field. Players that played after the Civil War were in a similar situation; a good mix of professions that played the game.

"Roughly one in five club members during this time [1855-1870] belonged to a highly ranked occupation (a profession or a 'high white collar' position); about a third were skilled craftsman; while a little less than half (between 44 and 48 percent) were 'low white collar or proprietors.' There were so few unskilled workers that their significance lay mainly in their

[281] Warren Goldstein, *Playing for Keeps: A History of Early Baseball*, (Ithaca, NY; Cornell University Press, 1989), 26.

scarcity. In any given year, between 75 and 80 percent of the baseball fraternity could be found in occupations running from journeymen and clerks to master craftsmen and small shopkeepers."[282]

This sort of thing would occur more often than not after the Civil War. Players who proved they were solid players would move on to the professional level, and there forth spread the game even more than many anticipated it would. There were other groups that also wanted to participate in this game of baseball, but before they were to invest and participate in such a sport, they must learn firstly how to live freely, as people, not property.

African American's and Baseball:

As for African Americans, there were men before Jackie Robinson that pushed for these people to show they could play this game just like anyone else can. George Kirsch looks into the formation of some African-American leagues in-depth.

"White and Octavius V. Catto were mulatto members of the Pythians who became leaders of Philadelphia's black community during the Reconstruction era… In 1867 the Pythians chose Catto as the field captain of their first nine for their first full season of interclub matches. Twenty-eight years old, he was viewed as a smart field general and strong player who worked with White [secretary of the club] to expand the club's schedule, recruit talented athletes, and fight for acceptance by the white baseball fraternity."[283]

There was a famous match that took played in Philadelphia that saw the Pythians lose to the all-white team, but for them to make that step forward was a big step in getting African

[282] Goldstein, 24-25.

[283] Kirsch, 124.

American's into the game of baseball. This game will be also a step forward to bring white and black players together.

"Although white and black baseball players generally got along well, there was still much resistance among the white fraternity to the recognition of equality inherent in interracial competition. This opposition was overcome to some degree in Philadelphia in September 1869, thanks to the efforts of Col. Thomas Fitzgerald, a former president of the Athletics and editor of a local newspaper, the City Item. According to Wilkes' Spirit, while the Athletics 'would have naught to do with the dusky votaries of the bat and ball,' Fitzgerald did manage to arrange a match between the Olympics of Philadelphia and the Pythians [who prepared for the historic encounter by recruiting outsiders from New Jersey],"[284]

This was recognized by some white players, and some were not to shamed to play with African-Americans, as Kirsch writes.

"While African-Americans constituted only a small percentage of the total population of the centers of early American baseball, several of them enthusiastically adopted the new game. There is evidence that links their earliest participation in the sport to the issue of greater opportunity for blacks in American society. On July 4, 1859 Joshua Giddings, a white antislavery Republican Congressman, played in a game with African-Americans."[285]

This historical act by Giddings was one of significance. The reason it is quite notable is because it was not after nor during the Civil War, but just before it occurred. This man did not care about their skin color, but how good they were at the game. This would affect many players moving forward, allowing figures like Jackie Robinson to do what he famously did.

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[284] Kirsch, 126.

[285] Kirsch, 82.

Baseball Clubs and Leagues:

Sometimes, sacrifices were needed to be made for the betterment of certain things in life. Tygiel covers the fact that some men gave up money, as well as their status, to make the game of baseball succeed.

"Few Americans in the early 1910s were more renowned or celebrated than a quartet of former baseball players who had come to symbolize not only the national pastime but also the contours of the American Dream. Charles Comiskey, Connie Mack, and Clark Griffith, each an owner of an American League franchise, and John McGraw, who had left the ownership ranks for the more financially rewarding position of manager of the New York Giants, epitomized the promise of the nation. Sons of immigrants or dirt-poor southern farm folk, they now reigned as men of substantial prestige and wealth. Skilled baseball players who had achieved stardom on the field and played prominent roles in player rebellions against ownership exploitation, they had risen through the ranks and become first managers and then owners. Each had played a key role in the ambitious creation of the American League in 1901, and each had reaped handsome rewards for his foresight."[286]

These men did a lot more than they thought they would have. In today's game of baseball, the American League is one half of the MLB organization, and has been held to legitimacy for more than one hundred years.

[286] Tygiel, 35.

The rest of history is proof of the game of baseball prevailing to become where it is today. Thanks to men such as Henry Chadwick, this simple game of base, base-ball, bat-ball, and the many different versions of the 'New York' game, were widespread. To the men who showed others in their specific regiments or units, bringing the game to the camps and prisons, were the ones who made it so the game was seen by many in the Civil War.

To the men who went home and challenged others to play, effecting and influencing those who spectated, to show others what this new sort of game was, they were helpers of this amazing game. To the soldiers who came from diverse areas of the United States, as well as the southern states, which was once the Confederacy, they are responsible for sharing this game with their states, towns, and families. Men, like Joshua Giddings, and Octavius V. Catto, were those responsible for bringing diverse people together in the game of baseball. These men, along with many non-commended advocates of baseball to be played with blacks and whites, allowed Jackie Robinson to infiltrate the white leagues and to prove that black players are just as good as whites, if not better. The men who gave up their highly-ranked positions to create the American League. With all of this in mind, the Civil War was the culminating event that made baseball the "National pastime". The game was seen in nearly every state after the Civil War, and with primary sources of men speaking of the game, it shows that these men would not converse or gamble to pass time, but to play the game that was the activity that Past time. Without the Civil War, change would not have been seen to be a possibility, but with this event that freed all slaves, there was potential that anything could happen in America's future.

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Chapter 11

The Power of Race in the Bluegrass: Memory of the Civil War

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The memory of the Civil War in the United States depends on location. Stories, sympathies, and memories will differ greatly based upon the place they are told about the conflict. In the state of Kentucky, Civil War memory is unique and complicated. Men from Kentucky fought for the Union and the Confederacy during the war. Men from the same family fought for different sides. Kentucky was even represented in both the Union and Confederate Governments.[287]However, soldiers from the Bluegrass State represented the Union at much higher rates in comparison to the Confederacy. Despite a very large Union representation during the Civil War, domestic politics, white supremacist terrorism, and the myth of the "Lost Cause" successfully being used within the media enabled a pro-Confederate memory to become stronger as the war became remembered.

When looking at Kentucky specifically in Civil War memory, it is important to note certain statistics, to provide a sense of where the state stood in the conflict. As Anne Marshall notes in her essay "Civil War Memory in Eastern Kentucky is "Predominately White" The Confederate Flag in Unionist Appalachia" featured in the book *Reconstructing Appalachia*, men

[287] Garry Adelman, and Mary Woodside. "Civil War Kentucky." *Hallowed Ground Magazine*, 2010.

from Kentucky fought for the Union at a ratio of four to one compared the Confederacy.[288] The rough estimates are 125,000 men fought for the Union, which included 25,000 freed African Americans starting in 1864. In contrast, 25,000 to 40,000 men fought for the Confederacy.[289]

It is evident that Kentucky was represented by the Union in terms of soldiers at much higher rates than the Confederacy during the Civil War, but the numbers of monuments and memorials installed in the state in the years following the conflict provides a different picture. From 1861 to 1935, there were 55 Confederate monuments installed throughout cities and towns in Kentucky, and there were seven Union monuments installed. That ratio, which is just above ten percent of monuments honoring Union soldiers, has an intense difference to the ratio of Union and Confederate soldiers from the Bluegrass State whom fought during the Civil War.[290] Looking at those statistics, it is important to analyze what factors in post-Civil War Kentucky contributed to a strong Confederate memory. Historian Anne Marshall provides insight as to what created this memory in Kentucky in her book *Creating a Confederate Kentucky: The Lost Cause and Civil War Memory in a Border State.*

When addressing the difficulties that a pro-Union memory within Kentucky faced, Marshall writes, "Union memory in Kentucky became too closely associated with emancipation and African American progress for white Unionists to accept it as their own".[291] Essentially, Marshall argues that the emancipation of African Americans was problematic, and highly

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[288] Brent, Joseph. "Civil War Monuments in Kentucky 1861-1935." (Kentucky Heritage Council, January 8, 1997).

[289] Adelman, Woodside.

[290] Brent.

[291] Anne Marshall, *Creating a Confederate Kentucky: The Lost Cause & Civil War Memory in a Border State*, (University of North Carolina Press. 2013), 5.

contested by white Kentuckians. She adds, White Unionists in Kentucky did not politically agree with the legislation that created more African American freedoms, such as the Thirteenth Amendment. This made a pro-Union memory difficult to accept as their own. African Americans also effectively utilized the Union victory of the war to further their goals politically. With that taking place, white Kentuckians whom sided with the Union during the war had a hard time honoring the past that was now associated with African American advancement within society.[292]As African American advancement was a clear product of Union victory, the memory of these advancements were often intentionally forgotten, which can be seen from the African American training center for soldiers in Civil War era Kentucky, Camp Nelson.

Historian Stephen McBride argues that Union victory was difficult to celebrate for Kentuckians given these results of the Civil War. In his essay "Camp Nelson and Kentucky's Civil War Memory" McBride discusses how the very existence of the camp was systematically repressed by Kentuckian political leaders following the Civil War, because clearly it was a sign of emancipation, and African American influence on Union victory. Nelson also mentions how white leadership within Kentucky during the Civil War was only interested in preserving the Union, and not the advancement of rights for enslaved African Americans. Therefore, in 1862 when emancipation became a goal of the war, and later when African Americans were given the opportunity to enlist for the Union Army, many white Kentuckian Unionists felt betrayed by the Lincoln Administration.[293] Political disapproval of the Lincoln Administration seemed to

[292] Marshall, 93.

[293] Stephen W. McBride "Camp Nelson and Kentucky's Civil War Memory." *Historical Archaeology* 47, no. 3 (2013): 71.

continue growing as the Civil War ran its course, which alienated many white Unionists from the party.

In the essay by J. Michael Rhyne titled "A 'Murderous Affair in Lincoln County': Politics, Violence, and Memory in a Civil War Era Kentucky Community", Rhyne mentions the domestic political tension that built towards the Lincoln Administration. Rhyne argues that federal confiscation acts towards Confederates, which were aimed at depriving Confederates of their property and slaves, as well as the enlistment opportunities for enslaved African Americans, pushed away many Unionists in Kentucky from the Lincoln Administration. As a result, as the war ended, many Kentuckians whom sided with the Union during the conflict were anxious to accept "former Confederates and known southern sympathizers as their political allies".[294] As Union loyalty was diminishing because of federal policies, conservative Democratic newspapers in Kentucky following the Civil War had a stronger political presence than Republican competitors who were known for Unionist ties.

As Anne Marshall discusses, Kentucky Confederates following the Civil War were effective in creating large historical organizations and periodicals. Memoirs with Confederate sympathies were more frequent, and monuments memorializing Confederate soldiers were also more abundant than those honoring Union soldiers. In relation to their Confederate counterparts, Marshall argues that Unionists were more limited in their efforts to honor their dead in the memory of the Civil War. The members of the Grand Army Republic, the Union's primary Veterans Organization, were often challenged by the fact that African American's played a large role in Union victory. As a result, comradery towards being a part of the Union was difficult for

[294] J. Michael Rhyne, "A 'Murderous Affair in Lincoln County': Politics, Violence, and Memory in a Civil War Era Kentucky Community." *American Nineteenth Century History* 7, no. 3 (2006): 340-341.

those Veterans. Additionally, remembering the war and honoring the dead became a challenge for White Kentuckians who fought in blue.[295] With Confederate sympathizers effectively organizing, and Unionist's being challenged by the racial and political implications of Union victory, a pro-Confederate memory began to dominate the domestic landscape of Kentucky.

In 1895, 30 years after the Civil War, Henry Patterson, who was an influential newspaper editor in the state, and an ex-Confederate, had a speech for the opening of the Grand Army Republic encampment in Louisville. Patterson's speech contained what appeared to be clear falsehoods. When referring to the speech, Anne Marshall notes some quotes from Patterson. She writes "You came, and we resisted you," he said of the Kentucky wartime response to men in blue; "you come and we greet you; for times change and men change with them".[296] The irony of Patterson saying "we resisted you" is that the Union greatly out-numbered the Confederacy in terms of soldiers represented in Kentucky. Taking place in 1895, the Civil War was only 30 years prior, with several people still alive who lived through it. Marshall continues later in her book, "By 1895, Kentucky was a former Confederate State in the eyes of the nation".[297] The domestic political arena in Kentucky is only one aspect of what created a pro-Confederate memory within Kentucky. The white supremacist violence that ensued in the years following the Civil War also contributed to pro-Confederate sympathies.

When depicting the time from 1865 to the 1890's within Kentucky, and its violent chaos, Anne Marshall writes:

[295] Marshall, 90.

[296] Marshall, 1.

[297] Marshall, 110.

"This lawlessness, however, could not be laid at the feet of the federal government or of liberated African Americans… Rather, the fault rested with the native whites whose loosely organized campaigns of intimidation, shooting, burning, ransacking, and lynching blanketed the commonwealth in an atmosphere of terror and disorder for decades… the incidents of bloodshed, which surfaced across the state like angry boils, were largely a product of white Kentuckians' efforts to restore as much of the prewar social and racial order as possible."[298]

White public understanding of prewar racial and social order had a profound impact on postwar society within Kentucky. With legislation being passed at the federal level that created opportunities for African Americans, as Marshall mentions, a violent response ensued towards African Americans and Unionist sympathizers.

The murder of James Bridgewater, a former Union Major, is an example of how white supremacist groups would terrorize Union sympathizers within the state. Bridgewater, who operated for the Home Guardsmen, a Unionist group in Kentucky which combatted Kentuckian guerillas and southern sympathizers, developed enemies for his actions against Confederates. In 1867, he was murdered by the "Crab Orchard Gang", a conservative vigilante group. His death represents just one of the many cases of violent acts committed by white supremacist terrorist groups which directly correlated with the struggle for state power politically. In addition to his death, pro-Confederate newspaper editors, who were conservative Democrats, successfully out maneuvered Unionist editors in shaping the popular idea that Bridgewater was a convict, and deserved to be killed. The myth of Bridgewater being an outlaw and a terrorizer of Lincoln County has survived through the generations in Kentucky for over a hundred years.[299] J. Michael

[298] Marshall, 56.

[299] Rhyne, 337-338.

Rhyne argues that Bridgewater justified all his actions towards southern sympathizers with one belief firmly engrained within him, which was "flag and country", and that his legacy of being an outlaw was a myth developed by conservative Democratic media in the years following the Civil War.[300] The memory in which conservative Democrats portrayed upon Bridgewater dominated his legacy. This was also only one case of the politically charged violence occurring within the state in the post-Civil War era.

In the years following the Civil War, Kentucky became the only state that was formerly outside of the Confederacy that provided any type of significant encampment for the white supremacist terrorist group, the Ku Klux Klan.[301] This shows that despite being a formerly Union state, the social and racial dynamics within the state provided an environment in which the group could organize in significant numbers. In 1872, The Ku Klux Klan lynched Samuel Hawkins, who was a political organizer from central Kentucky, and his entire family. Hawkins was working on registering African American voters.[302] The environment in which Unionists were operating within Kentucky was violent and hostile. The murders of Hawkins and Bridgewater show what type of legitimate danger people were in as a result of challenging Confederate-sympathizers both legally and politically. Newly freed African Americans were also living within an intensely dangerous environment.

In the years following the Civil War, "regulator" groups, who were essentially white supremacists looking to restore the pre-war social hierarchy, and the Ku Klux Klan, terrorized newly freed African Americans and their white employers. These groups often killed freedmen,

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[300] Rhyne, 342.

[301] Marshall, 58.

[302] Marshall, 63.

and raided work places to the effect of shutting down business operation. In 1871, in eastern Kentucky, several white workers were replaced by African Americans because they would often work for cheaper wages. In response, the Red River Iron Works company was repetitively raided by the Ku Klux Klan and over 400 African Americans were displaced from the area.[303] Being displaced was not the only danger that faced newly freedmen.

In Kentucky, 353 people were lynched in the years following the Civil War, in the years 1865 to 1874, 117 lynchings occurred. Anne Marshall argues that a large contributor to this massive number of killings was the effort of white Kentuckians to re-establish social order that was challenged by federal legislation. The responsibilities of the legal system were not always exercised in the prosecutions of black men during this time. In 1866, a black man was shot to death for "making a fight", and after being arrested by authorities, he was not given the right to a trial and instead was murdered according to "Lynch law".[304]

Due to large amounts of violence, often conducted by white supremacist groups, the African American population in the state decreased by 7% from 1860 to 1870.[305] In 1874, when referring to Kentucky, the *New York Times* wrote a piece that reads "From no State in the South to-day come such frequent and continuous reports of brutal murders and whippings by Ku Klux Klan and other secret organizations".[306] The emergence of white supremacist violence shaped the political and social dynamics of Kentucky in the years following the war, and created a pro-

[303] Marshall, 59.

[304] Marshall, 60.

[305] Marshall, 60.

[306] *New York Times.* 1874, quoted in "Marshall, *Creating a Confederate Kentucky: The Lost Cause & Civil War Memory in a Border State*. (The University of North Carolina Press, 2010) 59."

Confederate memory by threatening pro-Unionist media, and political influences. While violence played a profound role in shaping Civil War memory in Kentucky, the powerful myth of the "Lost Cause" which was used throughout the South in politics, media, and culture, played an influential role in creating a pro-Confederate memory as well.

The "Lost Cause" was a myth that developed in the South that argued that the Civil War destroyed a superior society only because the North had larger numbers compared to the South. This myth helped white Southerners find meaning for the conflict after their eventual defeat. Andrew Slap argues in the book *Reconstructing Appalachia: The Civil War's Aftermath*, that the "Lost Cause" was a myth that kept the South politically united, while also helping with the economic and social adjustments that developed in post-Civil War Appalachia. Slap also argues that the "Lost Cause" myth commonly described slavery as a "benevolent" institution that was just one aspect of a superior society.[307] While discussing how the "Lost Cause" contributed to Civil War memory Anne Marshall writes, "The Lost Cause version of Civil War history contended that southerners waged a war to preserve their way of life and to protect states' rights, and though that valiant and heroic effort failed, it was their duty to vindicate heroes of the conflict, both dead and alive."[308]

As this myth gained popularity in the Kentucky, the Union cause, often closely tied to African American emancipation, provided a scenario where white Unionists had less to be proud of.[309] Evidence of the power of the "Lost Cause" in Kentucky was seen nationally in the years following the war as white voting tendencies in Kentucky gained national attention.

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[307] Andrew Slap, *Reconstructing Appalachia The Civil War's Aftermath*. (The University Press of Kentucky, 2010), 25-26.

[308] Marshall, 84.

[309] Marshall, 82.

Conservative Democratic politics, which embraced the myth, created a popular movement in Kentucky and many whites started to embrace southern sympathies while also believing the Union cause was wrong.[310]

As the myth of the "Lost Cause" gained popularity, and politically unified much of the South, organizations such as the Ladies Memorial and Monument Association of Lexington, United Daughters of the Confederacy, and The Confederate Burial Memorial Association all contributed to Confederate memorial installments within Kentucky. While the federal government was responsible for burying Union soldiers, Confederate families and sympathizers had to independently fund to bury their dead. Obviously, both Union and Confederate sympathizers mourned, but Confederates, with the myth of the "Lost Cause" being a popular ideology, became the face of memorial culture in the Bluegrass State.[311] As Unionists struggled to organize due to the political implications that were associated with Union victory, southern sympathizers, alienated Unionists, and ex-Confederates found common ground with the "Lost Cause" being a unifier. Perhaps this explains why 55 Confederate monuments were installed in Kentucky from 1865 to 1935, while only 7 Union monuments were created.

Stephen McBride, in his essay about Camp Nelson, also discusses how the myth of the "Lost Cause" influenced the memory, or lack thereof, on Camp Nelson, the African American training center in Jessamine County, Kentucky. Nelson argues that Lost Cause revisionists saw the story of Camp Nelson, a symbol of African American freedom, as well as a symbol of African American contribution of Union victory, as a threat to the myth. In result, as previously mentioned, the existence of the camp was repressed. With the recent reemergence of Camp

[310] Marshall, 34.

[311] Marshall, 84.

Nelson as a historical and educational site, Nelson argues that the "Lost Cause" narrative is directly challenged because the Camp provides a side to the Civil War story, which is rich in heroic acts by African Americans and their families escaping enslavement to fight for the Union, which was silenced until recently.[312]

Domestic politics, white supremacist terrorism, and the myth of the "Lost Cause" all contributed to a pro-Confederate memory in Kentucky in the years following the Civil War. As white Kentuckians disapproved of federal policies, they found common ground and southern sympathy with the unifying ideology of the "Lost Cause". Meanwhile, in a chaotic environment, Unionists, and African Americans struggled to achieve significant political, and societal influence, partly due to the white supremacist terrorism bestowed upon them in the years following the Civil War. As a result, conservative Democratic politics, engulfed in a "Lost Cause" ideology, dominated at the state level. While ex-Union soldiers struggled with the political implications of victory, ex-Confederates, and southern sympathizers gained political influence through violence, the "Lost Cause", and public opinions on racial hierarchy. With these factors all contributing to Civil War memory in Kentucky, only certain parts of the overall story took place as the common narrative.

[312] Nelson, 71.

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Chapter 12

Memorial Day: An American Tradition of Forgetting

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There does not seem to be any event in United States history more defining than the Civil War. The impact of this conflict can still be felt to this day in the form of historiographic debates among historians and in the rallies or protests held in the name of Civil War memory by the public. Any mention of the Civil War will be met with different reactions depending on where one finds themselves in the country, but what is for certain is that the reaction will be strong one, likely fueled by emotion. Collective memory of the Civil War is tricky subject, and not for any reason such as lack of evidence or unclear sources as one might suspect. Rather, despite the origins of the conflict being fairly cut and dry, as most scholars will state the war was fought over the issue of slavery, the war doesn't appear as simple in the eyes of the people. Many will claim that the war was fought over state rights or that the south was rebelling against a tyrannical federal government. Any number of reasons can be given, and they all have one thing in common, slavery and issues involving race have been completely stripped from the narrative.

The question then becomes how this narrative came to be. Memory of historic events is never an accident, memory is always actively constructed and those who are responsible for the construction of memory usually have very specific reasons for their actions. Simply put, shortly after the Civil War United States leaders immediately went about creating their own narratives about the conflict. They created a narrative that completely axed the issue of slavery and the

rights of African Americans. United States leaders were able to easily accomplish this by taking advantage of the public's mass grief over the tragic losses of the war. By playing on the American people's strongest emotions prominent figures were able to directly control the construction of Civil War memory.

In order to understand why memory of the Civil War became so crucial to American history, one has to understand what made the conflict stand out from other trails in the young nation's brief existence. What about the Civil War made it so worth acknowledging with a celebration such as Memorial Day? Simply put, it was the sheer number of lives that the war affected. The Civil War took the lives of 1.2 million Americans. What this meant was that essentially everyone within a community had in some way been directly impacted by the war. The loss of a single soldier on the field could mean the loss of a brother, father or husband, and this collective grief was felt throughout communities in both the north and the south.[313] In previous conflicts a town may have loss a handful of men from the community, but the mass casualties of the Civil War left some areas of the United States with a vastly decreased male population, with a community of loved ones left behind to reconcile with the situation. There were individual mourning practices that were commonly observed during this time, usually to do with the lengths of time devoted to mourning and the attire one wore while doing so, but individuals were not sure how to cope on a more communal scale.[314] Some organizations formed and depending on where a town was located different practices would be observed, but the common tribute was a day set aside to lay flowers on the graves of fallen soldiers.

[313] Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf).

[314] Ibid.

Such practices did not immediately turn into the Memorial Day that is observed today however, it took time to form and the origins of the celebration are not at all what many people would suspect, which speaks to how much of American history has already been overshadowed and forgotten. The very first Memorial Day-like celebration took place in Charleston, South Carolina on May 1st of 1865. Union troops had just liberated the town and sustained heavy losses while doing so. The Whites of the town had completely evacuated and as a colored regiment of the Union army marched through the streets they sang and celebrated the Union victory. The streets of Charleston would be filled with Black people celebrating their newfound freedom for days to come.[315] The newly freed Black people in Charleston took notice that a race track near the town had been used as a makeshift POW camp for Union troops, and that many of them had died in the camps horrible conditions. To show their gratitude for the soldiers who had aided them in achieving freedom from slavery they decided to bury the dead of the race track prison and hold a memorial service in their honor on May 1st. The celebration included speeches, parades, music and of course, the decoration of graves with flowers.[316] More than anything, this service served as a celebration honoring the troops sacrifice towards ending the institution of slavery. This celebration would go on to inspire later Memorial Day practices in the future, but the African American roots and anti-slavery message of the holiday would quickly be forgotten in favor of other practices.

Memorial Day, or as it was first called, Decoration Day, would go on to become an official US holiday shortly after the war. Though it was celebrated differently and with different intentions depending on where in the country it was being celebrated. In the north the

[315] David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press).

[316] Ibid.

celebrations stuck to the original intentions of the holiday for a time. It was a day to honor the troops who had fought and given their lives to rid the United States of the institution of slavery. In the south however, the intentions of the day were a little different. In order to cope with the loss of the war, the south would hold decoration days that honored heroic Confederate soldiers and generals that gave their lives to defend the rights and honor of the south. Slavery and the oppression of Black people was omitted from the southern memory.[317] So in the south the construction of an alternate Civil War memory had already begun, and the north would stray from its original intentions in time. Pretty soon, the entire reason the war was fought in the first place would give way to a message of reconciliation and acceptance.

The key to this shift in memory was the country's desire to repair things after the war. Everyone had lost so much during the conflict that many wanted to either move on or attribute some kind of meaning to the all of the suffering that war had caused.[318] This explains the public's desire to have Memorial Day services in the first place, but it also describes their desire to quickly bury the hatchet of their grievances that had caused the war in the first place. The south wasn't acknowledging slavery as a root cause of the war and so in order to move on the north would sweep that issue under the rug as well. Over time the reasons for Memorial Day celebrations would shift, as people began to justify either side's actions during the war in various ways. To this end, certain influential figures would go a long way towards altering the public's memory of the war. Some of these figures were even Civil War veterans such as Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.

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[317] Ibid.

[318] Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf).

Oliver Holmes, Jr. fought for the Union during the war, serving as an officer from 1861 to 1864. He distinguished himself multiple times during various battles and missions during his tour of duty, and he often sustained many wounds in battle. He had entered the war as a young man seeking to fight for his country and deal with rebel south. His intentions centered around moral issues with slavery as an institution. As time went on however and he experienced the horrors of war, he began to see things a little differently. He formed bonds with his brothers in arms and began to place a good deal of value one what he described as his soldierly honor.[319] This experience would go on to shape how he viewed the war and those who fought in it years later, and it would not be stretch to say that his experience perhaps mirrored that of other Civil War veterans, granting more ammunition towards the subtle movement to alter Civil War memory.

Holmes, Jr.'s new outlook on the war can been most clearly in his famous Memorial Day speech that he gave in Keene, NH on May 30th, 1884, just about two decades after the end of the war. Within this decently long speech Holmes, Jr. brings up the topic of slavery once, in which he says that the institution of slavery was supposed to come to an end. A grand majority of the speech however is dedicated to the new view of Civil War memory. Holmes, Jr. states that all troops who fought in the war ought to be honored on Memorial Day, no matter which side they fought for. His reasoning being that every single soldier was fighting for what he believed to be right, and there was honor to be found in that.[320] What this narrative sets up is the idea that the south didn't do anything wrong, that in the end they fought for what they thought was right, so they were in the end, justified in their actions. It is also important to note that slavery was only

[319] Mark De Wolfe Howe, *Touched With Fire: Civil War Letters and Diary of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. 1861-1864* (New York, NY: Da Capo Press).

[320] " Decoration Day in Keene" (New Hampshire: New Hampshire Sentinel, June 4, 1884).

brought up once in this speech of his, which is symbolic for how little the country was talking about the true cause of the war at this time.

At the end of the day however, this is just the view of one man. What is more important is how this speech was received by the public, as that will give the biggest clue as to how well accepted this warped view of Civil War memory had become by 1884. By examining some context clues within the paper that covered this speech at the time, the public's response becomes clear. Holmes, Jr.'s speech was mentioned in an article from the New Hampshire Sentinel, the state newspaper in 1884. The story about Holmes, Jr.'s speech was printed un the June 4th edition of the paper, alongside many other articles detailing the Decoration Day celebrations of various other New Hampshire towns. In an article titled" Decoration Day in Keene" a brief description of Keene's Decoration Day celebration is given, and the rest of the article's space goes to providing Holmes, Jr.'s speech verbatim.[321] What is important to note is that no other Memorial Day speech is given this kind of treatment anywhere else in the paper. Other speeches are mentioned but none of them are provided in their entirety like Holmes, Jr.'s speech. The author of the article presents the entirety of the speech because they believed that everyone should get to experience it even if they weren't at the celebration. This is very solid evidence that the speech was very well received publicly, and that Holmes Jr.'s new narrative of the Civil War that paints the south in a much more accepting light was a popular one that had taken root.

Another interesting aspect to note about Keene's Decoration Day in 1884 is that Holmes, Jr. gave his speech in the center of town by the city's Civil War memorial.[322] The memorial is a statue of a union soldier with a plaque that reads, "Keene will cherish in perpetual honor the

[321] "Decoration Day in Keene" (New Hampshire: New Hampshire Sentinel, June 4, 1884).

[322] Ibid.

memory of her sons who fought for liberty and the integrity of the republic, 1861-1865. The honor of the heroic dead is the inspiration of posterity." This statue was built shortly after the Civil War to honor the union troops who fought and died in the war. What is important to note here is what the plaque says that the troops fought for, it states that is was for the liberty and the integrity of the republic. Slavery is not directly mentioned here, only liberty is, and liberty is a vague term at best. It could be said that his is referring to the end of slavery, but then why not just have the plaque read that? Nowadays liberty here is most likely read as just one of those words that one associates with American patriotism. Even at the construction of this statue, which would go on to serve as the centerpiece of future Memorial Day services, slavery is not mentioned at all. Combine that with powerful speeches given by the likes of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. and it is no wonder that Civil War memory ended up the way it did.

Memorial Day is celebration that honors fallen soldiers through remembering the sacrifices that they made, and yet despite it being a holiday focused on remembrance, so much has been forgotten. Civil War memory is in the current state it is because the public has been made to forget what the war that started it all was truly fought over. From the African American roots of the celebration to the outright denial that the south truly did anything wrong during the war the memory of this conflict in completely unrecognizable. The Civil War was one of the most defining conflicts of United States history, and the fact that there is so much debate over its causes and effects is something that is leading to even greater conflict today. If time were taken each Memorial Day to not only remember the soldiers who fought in the countries wars, but to remember what those wars were fought over and why, then perhaps people would begin to see just how much has been lost over the years. A lot has been forgotten over time, but what has been forgotten can be always be remembered again.

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