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Part I. Slavery and Resistance

Chapter 1.

Frances Beebe, "The Black Church: The Struggle for African-American Personhood and Freedom in Nineteenth-Century America"

In 1843, Karl Marx famously wrote, "Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people."[1] When Marx was making his observations about religion, African Americans had already begun to organize a vibrant Christian-based activist movement that crisscrossed the United States and flourished in direct conflict with powerful slave holders. The church enabled both freed and enslaved Blacks to create community that turned to activism which was for many a first in a legacy of slavery that spanned over 200 years in the American colonies. African American preachers entwined spirituality and personal freedom, creating the fusion that was central to Black revolutionary thought and action. Working with, and at times against white abolitionists, African Americans played a crucial role in the national politics of a country edging towards the Civil War, as the Black Church became the most potent setting for resistance. Henry Louis Gates reflected on Karl Marx and the possible dulling effects of religion, as did many others in the Black community over the past two centuries, "I do not believe that religion functioned in this simple fashion in the history of the Black people in this country…Karl Marx could not imagine

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[1] Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right,* trans. A. Jolin and J. O'Malley (Cambridge University Press [1843] 1970), 175.

the complexity of the Black Church, even if the Black Church could imagine him–could imagine those who lacked the tools to see beyond its surface levels of meaning."[2]

The *Black Church*, as it is often referred to, was not a singular organization but more accurately a grouping of at least seven traditions that included the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME), the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (AME Zion), the National Baptist Convention, USA (NBC), the National Baptist Convention of America (NBCA), the Progressive National Baptist Convention (PNBC), the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church (CME), and the Church of God in Christ (COGIC).[3] In his 2021 book, *The Black Church: This Is Our Story, This Is Our Song,* Henry Louis Gates, Jr. wrote of the preternatural power that the church held for enslaved people. The project of the Black Church began with the enslaved, finally having a place to actualize themselves, and continued as a powerful tool in which to advocate for freedom and equality,

> To be sure, this is no single Black Church, just as there is no single Black religion, but
> the traditions and faiths that fall under the umbrella of African-American religion,
> particularly Christianity, constitute two stories: one of a people defining themselves in
> the presence of a higher power and the other of their journey for freedom and equality in
> a land where itself – and even humanity – for so long was (and still is) denied them.[4]

The Black Church, as an idea, acknowledges the transcendent presence of Christianity in the lives of African Americans. The Church located a design for resistance that would at times lead to violence, while affirming the elemental sense of personhood for African Americans who

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[2] Henry Louis Gates Jr., *The Black Church: This Is Our Story, This Is Our Song* (S.L.: Penguin Books, 2021), xv-xvi.

[3] Gates, *The Black Church*, 9.

[4] Gates, *The Black Church,* 1.

had never been acknowledged by whites as more than chattel. The Black Church is viewed monolithically for this reason – that all of these denominations share racial affinity, community, and a body politic. The significance of this movement was illustrated by Kerran Sanger in her article about Black spirituals. In her work that referenced studies in sociology, psychology and anthropology, Sanger quoted Sidney Mintz and Richard Price to describe the accomplishment of the Black Church writ large, "These were not *communities* of people at first; and they could only become communities by processes of cultural exchange. What the slaves undeniably shared at the outset was their enslavement; all – or nearly all – else had to be *created by them*"[5] This idea of cultural fusion which created community in the Black Church is still debated by historians to this day.

Harvard sociologist Orlando Patterson wrote about the deprivation of community in the life of slaves in his 1982 book, *Slavery and Social Death*. Patterson described what enslaved Americans experienced in the setting of their captors, "slaves differed from other human beings in that they were not allowed freely to integrate the experience of their ancestors into their lives, to inform understanding of social reality with the inherited meanings of their forebears, or to anchor the living present in any conscious community of memory."[6] Strikingly, the Black Church provided a unique and powerful tool for enslaved Africans to lift themselves out of this "social death."

The Second Great Awakening was a protestant movement occurring primarily during the first half of the 19th century, which spread religion through revivals while it motivated social reform. As early as the 1790s, revivals began to surge in Kentucky and Tennessee as Methodists,

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[5] Kerran L. Sanger, "Slave Resistance and Rhetorical Self-Definition: Spirituals as a Strategy," *Western Journal of Communication* 59, no. 3 (September 1995): 182.

[6] V. P. Franklin, "Review: Slavery and Social Death," *The Journal of Negro History* 68, no. 1 (1983): 212.

Presbyterians and Baptists sent missionaries to the frontier areas where isolated people, particularly new immigrants to the United States, sought social interaction through community.[7] During this period, ministers preached a new and exciting philosophy of the moral free agency of every individual and his or her ability to choose between good and evil. This optimistic and aspirational world view and democratization of religion spurred a social reform era, largely managed by women, that emphasized morality, sobriety, thrift and hard work. In concert with these new ideals, churchgoers attended revivals that were very emotional, often inspiring "conversion" that featured charismatic preachers and lasted for days on end. The Second Great Awakening marked a distinct shift in American religion as Graham Warder noted, "This emphasis on human will and a more loving God would have a great impact on the course of American history in the nineteenth century."[8]

Janet Duitsman Cornelius wrote that it was the Southern slave missions of the early 1800s that created a necessary door for many enslaved African Americans to enter Christianity, and she emphasized the essential founding of community in that transformation. In her book, *Slave Missions and the Black Church*, Cornelius detailed how missions were fraught from their start in the 18th century. Missionaries were required to walk a fine line between securing religious freedom for slaves while also placating the Southern planters by purposefully reifying the patriarchal slave system with religious values. According to Cornelius, "missionaries could appease slaveowners with assurances about the value of religion for preserving safety and order."[9] While she acknowledged the complicated agenda for missions in the South, she

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[7] Graham Warder, "Religion in Nineteenth-Century America," Disability History Museum, http://www.disabilitymuseum.org/dhm/edu/essay.html. Accessed in May, 2022.

[8] Warder, "Religion in Nineteenth-Century America"

[9] Janet Duitsman Cornelius, *Slave Missions and the Black Church in the Antebellum South* (Columbia: University Of South Carolina Press, 1999), 2.

maintained that view that slave missions were a collaborative effort between both Black and white missionaries, and her book emphasized the interaction between the two, arguing that white missionaries opened the door for Black churches to form, while the African-American church changed the white church forever.[10] However, Sylvia Frey contended that the agenda of white Southern slaveholders played a much larger role in the religious conversion of slaves, as articulated in *Water From the Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age*. Frey argued that Southern slaveholders, who had created a hegemonic vehicle for economic prosperity through the use of Black slaves, alternately wrestled with the moral cost of their monstrous practice,

In the religiously inspired doctrine of mutual obligations, they [slaveholders] found a shield to protect themselves from the disturbing realities of slavery and to render tolerable their own participation in it. The restraining force of the principle of mutual obligations arose almost simultaneously with the doctrine of dominance, but on foundations laid by evangelical religion.[11]

Missions were formed when white missionaries would arrive and preach, eventually leading to the training of Black preachers, as the white preachers soon realized would be most beneficial. Various members of the congregation would lead prayers, but the lesson and sermon were conducted by a preacher, who usually would have been chosen by the community or by the white missionary preacher.[12] Cornelius noted that while some of these preachers were literate, many were not, and that did not in any way interfere with their ability to move their people with their charisma and power. Cornelius quoted a slave who spoke about a particular preacher in her

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[10] Cornelius, *Slave Missions*, 4.

[11] Sylvia R Frey, *Water from the Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992), 243.
[12] Cornelius, *Slave Missions,* 20-27.

mission, "He was comely…black as night, and he sure could read out of his hand." *Reading out of his hand* was apparently a reference to not being able to read from the book.[13]

Aspects of the slave mission and then the Black Church were uniquely African and were vital to resistance. As a result of the radical African nature of the emerging Black church, Kerran Sanger emphasized the need that slaves had for secrecy in their worship by the early antebellum period, after white church ranks had swelled with Black participants. Johns Hopkins University historian Michael P. Johnson wrote, "In Charleston, the number of whites in the church in 1817 is around three hundred and fifty, and the number of African Americans is about fifty-four hundred, a gigantic difference. So, on one hand it is a white church in its sort of umbrella, but it's a Black church in its membership, more than ten to one."[14]

Gates wrote of the explosion of Black participation in the Methodist Southern churches that was due to the church leadership declaring opposition to slavery in 1800.[15] So, while at first, church participation was sanctioned, white planters eventually removed the right to worship on many plantations after various slave revolts struck fear in the heart of slave owners.[16] Sylvia Frey again contrasted this observation with her own insight as to Southern white thinking about Black religious participation and how they shaped it to strengthen the institution of slavery,

In fact, evangelical Protestantism did not become the dominant religion until after the churches abandoned their support for antislavery. Although small slaveowners were members of Baptist and Methodist churches in substantial numbers, the slaveholding aristocracy did not embrace evangelical religion until southern evangelical churchmen succeeded in dispelling some of the

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[13] Cornelius, *Slave Missions,* 29.

[14] Gates, *The Black Church,* 46.
[15] Gates, *The Black Church,* 46.
[16] Cornelius, *Slave Missions,* 28.

phobias that had, for over a century, encumbered white attitudes toward the proselytization of slaves.[17]

By 1836, White planters were assured by the white evangelical Baptist Church in the South and the Methodist Church mission organization from the North, that Christianity was compatible with the master-slave relationship.[18] This came soon after the brutal rebellion led by Nat Turner that still terrified white Southern slaveholders. Christianization now only became possible when race replaced religion as a justification for enslavement. Frey noted, "Church leaders not only abandoned anti-slavery, but in their anxiety to mute white fears concerning the radicalizing effects of Christianity, they led in the formulation of the scriptural proslavery defense and thus did their part to strengthen the institution of slavery."[19] The Methodist Church had gone from supporting an anti-slavery position to supporting slavery in the span of just over 30 years. While this was occurring, freed Blacks in the North were feeling their exclusion and organizing their own churches.

With white planters realizing that church was a site for resistance, slaves were no longer free to worship, or if they could attend church, rules were often put in place that stamped out their independence to co-create the service, along with any sense of ease or even joy.[20] From this crackdown on church attendance and participation, many slaves began to covertly worship. Secret services were often set up in a wooded area, a berm by a river, or any other natural setting in which to take cover and dampen sound. Cornelius recounted stories of "hush harbors," which was a play on words, based on the white Baptist "brush arbor" camp meetings. Hush harbors

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[17] Frey, *Water from the Rock*, 244.

[18] Frey, *Water from the Rock,* 282.
[19] Frey, *Water from the Rock,* 283.
[20] Sanger, "Slave Resistance,"182.

were set up with sound-dampening features that also included cut pine limbs in piles, and even the use of large pans or pots into which slaves could shout, sing, and make noise in a contained manner.[21]

In his book about plantation architecture and lands, John Michael Vlach observed that slaves were performing radical acts of resistance when they utilized land they knew so well to have their secret services,

> If the slaves' sense of place was different from that of the slaveholders, the differences were likely to be manifested as much by thought as by deed, as much by speech as by physical act. Well before emancipation, slaves were laying claims to portions of the plantation landscape, even to spaces not specifically ceded to them.[22]
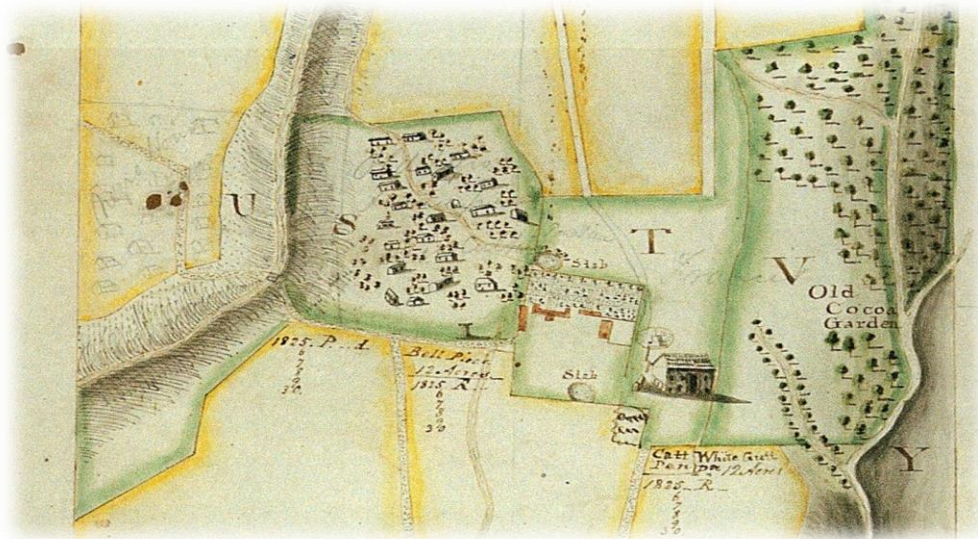
The Jessups Plantation plat, 1755[23]

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[21] Cornelius, *Slave Missions*, 9.

[22] Vlach, *Back of the Big House,* xi.

[23] John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 263.

Creating hush harbors on the land and practicing various types of rituals transformed these areas into solely Black spaces. In the above drawing of the Jessop Plantation, one can see that slaves had ample space as well as knowledge of appropriately secret areas for religious rituals. Using their claimed spaces that exist on the very site of their oppression, slaves combined their traditions from different parts of Africa, in effect, unifying their groupings as one people, which was clearly a deeply empowering action. Sanger observed, "In co-creating a cultural product and working to build something of beauty in the face of repression, slaves began to resist attempts by whites to limit contact and interaction among slaves."[24] Rituals included forms of dance, singing, and trance possession.

The call-and-response is a tradition that began among slaves and was carried into their churches. Sanger surmised that singing in this manner was talking to each other, which was often restricted on the plantation, but also, with themes about their own lives, hopes and dreams. Black preachers combined European language and imagery with African rhythm and movement that eventually influenced white Baptist preachers as well. The repetition of the last word, or an utterance of the first word of the next phrase and then repeated by the congregation, resembled a West African tradition. This pattern remained long after slave missions and hush harbors gave way to more formalized churches and became an important part of the Baptist tradition. Cornelius noted that while some whites were afraid of the power and drama of the Black preacher, many white preachers imitated this style in the South. And this may have started from white preachers acting as missionaries in Black churches, but then it continued in white

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[24] Sanger, "Slave Resistance," 182.

churches. Black preachers also borrowed the "bombastic fundamentalist content" from white preachers.[25]

Another form of ritual from Africa that was adapted for church was the use of the *ring shout*. The ring shout is a performance of people moving in a circle, shuffling and stamping feet, clapping hands and shouting or singing that finds it roots in parts of Africa and became an important aspect of some Black churches, and is still celebrated in parts of the South today.[26]

The ring shout, sometimes simply called, "shouting," would typically happen after the sermon in churches and in camp revivals of the antebellum period. This performance and celebration could last for hours with spontaneous lyrics and would often induce trances or people speaking in tongues. Some slaves used this bodily freedom to attempt escape and often the door was
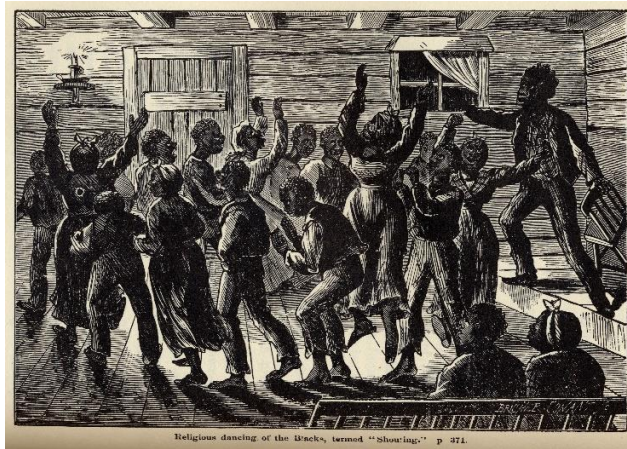
"Prayer Meeting, Georgia, 1872", Slavery Images: A Visual Record of the African Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Early African Diaspora, accessed April 18, 2022, http://www.slaveryimages.org/s/slaveryimages/item/1838[27]

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[25] Cornelius, *Slave Missions,* 39.

[26] Gates, *The Black Church,* 35.

[27] "Prayer Meeting, Georgia, 1872", *Slavery Images: A Visual Record of the African Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Early African Diaspora*.

guarded as a result.[28] These rituals were obviously threatening to white slaveholders and so began to be practiced in secret, giving enslaved people something outside of plantations, chains and discipline that bonded them together. The nature of having secret meetings and services that were infused with African ritual was a profound threat to slavery that was intentional and life-affirming for slaves.

Music in the Black Church embodied the synthesis of both Black and white cultures in America and formed a new basis for resistance. Kerran Sanger described psychological forms of white oppression that were so devastating that slaves used many methods to battle low self-esteem and hopelessness.[29] In keeping with this notion of resistance to negative labeling of Africans by white planters, Sanger claimed, "Slaves used the spirituals to reveal themselves to each other, and to provide an alternative definition of self that challenged white claims."[30] In the Southern states, slaves who readily embraced white missions also adopted their European hymns and harmonies, while white missionaries were deeply moved by the unique qualities of Black music, shaped by the slaves' African heritage.[31]

Gates explained how the slave spiritual was a unique form of music and expression that gave African slaves a quiet form of agency inside sanctioned church services, with expressions of sorrow, rage, justice, retribution, joy, hope and faith.[32] "In Africa, the elements of music – rhythm, tone, and dance – were the essence of spirituality, paths to reaching gods and spirits. As noted by Jon Michael Spencer, 'rhythm and the ability to adapt musically were aspects of the

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[28] Cornelius, *Slave Missions,* 35.

[29] Sanger, "Slave Resistance,"179-182.

[30] Sanger, "Slave Resistance,"179.
[31] Cornelius, *Slave Missions*, 10.

[32] Gates, *The Black Church,*70.

ingenious cultural attire enslaved Africans wore beneath their flesh to North America.'"[33] Songs such as "Blow Your Trumpet Gabriel," depicted the Devil in the form of an African conjurer, while others depicted the Israelites escape from slavery in Egypt such as, "Steal Away Jesus" with the lyrics, "steal away, steal away home/I ain't got long to stay here."[34] Affirming the struggle and their resistance to enslavement, slaves created and sang spiritual music as a form of rebellion, while revealing their longing and grief.

Indeed, singing was not just sanctioned, it was required by many slave-owners as a means to feel assured that slaves were happy and not interested in rebellion. Frederick Douglass observed, "Slaves are generally expected to sing as well as to work. A silent slave is not liked by masters or overseers. 'Make a noise, make a noise,'…are the words usually addressed to the slaves where there is silence amongst them."[35] Slaves, in turn, cleverly co-opted this command to sing or make noise, to access self-determination and resistance. While the use of any form of drumming was nearly universally forbidden in North American slavery, rhythm found its way back through ingenious substitutes that could not be suppressed, "spoons, tin buckets, ax blades, blades of hoes, oars, sticks, dry seed pods, or the bodily rhythms of hand-clapping, foot-stomping, body slapping."[36] Sanger argued that these rhythms in spiritual music was another unique form of self-expression for slaves, again, while they contained elements of African, American, and European music, slaves were doing the thing that slave owners insisted on, which was to sing and dance. In this form, slaves could define themselves and speak to each other about their own value and personhood.[37]

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[33] Gates, *The Black Church,* 8.

[34] Gates, *The Black Church,*71.
[35] Sanger, "Slave Resistance," 180.
[36] Cornelius, *Slave Missions*, 18.

[37] Sanger, "Slave Resistance," 181.

Contributions from both Africa and Europe were the source of the melodies for spirituals, but even when slaves used European tunes to create spirituals, they altered these tunes to conform to West African musical patterns, and with unique rhythms and motion, slaves added their own spirituals to their repertoire of European American hymns and harmonies.[38] In the antebellum period, with the Second Great Awakening in full swing, all-night camp meetings, which were religious revival-style celebrations, produced new music from the continuous singing and dancing. According to Cornelius, "while some of the songs came from hymnbooks, others were actually composed as they were being sung and seemed almost endless. Black spirituals also owe some of their characteristic style and phrasing to white American religious folk music that was developing from about 1780 to 1830." This music was often fiddle music, played for reels, marches, or jigs.[39]

A lined hymn or a "sperchul" provided the opening music for revivals. In "linin," also called "deaconin," an elder would sing two lines of a hymnbook song, perhaps one of Watt's hymns or an older one, which would be repeated by the group of worshippers in "walling cadences." Black worshippers lined songs as a slow initiation to more intense use of music and rhythm later in the service. When a spiritual began the meeting, it was usually joyous or prayerful and had a "community" theme. Such a spiritual might mention individual members present, "either by name – Sister Tilda, Brother Toney, etc. – or by description – the stranger over there in the corner – in effect including all in the experience of mutual exhortation and support." Spirituals were community songs, sorrow songs, or songs of protest, in which the singers were able to take others' suffering and work it into their songs.[40] Gates wrote, "The

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[38] Cornelius, *Slave Missions*, 18.
[39] Cornelius, *Slave Missions*, 20.
[40] Cornelius, *Slave Missions*, 19.

genius of Black sacred music was probably the very first cultural attribute that even racist slave-owners could if begrudgingly, attribute to African-Americans."[41]
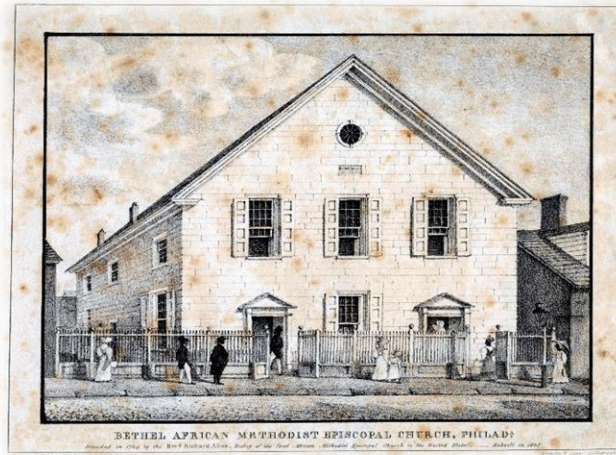
Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, LOC [42]

In the North, freed men and women were also creating Black churches while they worked tirelessly to end the institution of slavery. Inside this movement, there developed a tension between the middle-class freed and newly freed, illiterate Blacks. Many freed Blacks in the North believed strongly that European Enlightenment values must be pursued by Black Men, because the very notion of Black Manhood was challenged by slavery. Thus, as Jane Cervenak noted, "Such manhood, determined as coextensive with racial Enlightenment, is impossible if Black people remain enslaved."[43] This pursuit of enlightenment values that were consistent with white male society was at the heart of disputes between abolitionist white women and middle-

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[41] Gates, *The Black Church*, 5.
[42] Breton, William L. *Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church*, *Philadelphia.* Library of Congress.
[43] Sarah Jane Cervenak, "Gender, Class, and the Performance of a Black (Anti) Enlightenment: Resistances of David Walker and Sojourner Truth," *Palimpsest: A Journal on Women, Gender, and the Black International*, no1 (2012): 69.

class freed Blacks. Many abolitionist white women were also suffragists, and some believed that their right to vote should come before Black men were admitted to the franchise. Richard Allen and Absalom Jones were both born into slavery and would both ascend to that group of freed Black men.

Jones married his wife while enslaved and then purchased her freedom shortly after, while he could not afford to buy freedom for himself until 14 years later, in 1784. Allen also purchased his own freedom for $2000, at the age of 21, in 1781, after having earned the money from laboring in a brickyard. After freeing himself, Allen worked as a sawyer, chimney sweep, and wagon driver while studying to become a Methodist minister. Both men learned to read and write while enslaved, although neither had received any formal education. Moving north, Allen became a member of the mostly white St. George's Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, where racist segregation required their Black members to sit in a separate gallery. Allen met other freed slaves in this church including Jones, with whom he formed the *Free Africa Society* in 1787.[44] The society was a benevolent service organization for orphans, widows and sick members of the Black community in Philadelphia, and while they both left the society, this would be a framework for future organizing. With growing frustration after years of being denied full participation in the Philadelphia Episcopal Church, Allen and Jones left this church with a group of other black parishioners to strike out on their own. While the North was a site that many freed Blacks fled to, equality was not experienced in most aspects of life there, including churches that were so-called abolitionist.

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[44] Thomas E. Will, "Liberalism, Republicanism, and Philadelphia's Black Elite in the Early Republic: The Social Thought of Absalom Jones and Richard Allen," *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 69, no. 4 (2002): 561.

Allen was ordained as a Methodist minister in 1799 and began his own storefront church that same year on a piece of property he purchased in Philadelphia. This church was named the Mother Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1816, Jones, Allen and the new parishioners began organizing efforts to establish their own denomination, in which they were required to sue to attain a formal charter. With Reverend Allen as the first bishop, they attained the charter to form the African Methodist Episcopal Church. While this was not the first separate Black church in the United States, the formation of the AME was perhaps the beginning of the Black Church Movement, and the AME was and may still be the most important Black Church in the larger Black Church network. As Tomeiko Ashford Carter noted, "The formal segregation of northern Blacks from the Methodist church would have a lasting impact on the institutionalization of African-American religion."[45] This separation not only acknowledged the racism within the Northern churches who had claimed the mantel of abolition, but it also began the deeper separation of White and Black people in the work of gaining emancipation due to the difference in views. Black leaders, aligned with the Black Church, would begin to push for total and immediate emancipation instead of the slow half-measures advocated for by their White counterparts, that although differed from state to state, usually had some phasing out of slavery for existing slaves and newly born African Americans.

Members of this new AME Church reached out to freed Blacks around the northern states, and before the Civil War, churches were established in Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Washington, DC, Cincinnati, Chicago, Detroit, and surprisingly in the

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[45] Tomeiko Ashford Carter, "The Sentiment of the Christian Serial Novel: 'the Curse of Caste; or the Slave Bride' and the AME 'Christian Recorder,'" *African-American Review* 40, no. 4 (2006): 717.

southern states of Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, Louisiana, and South Carolina.[46] These new parishioners became members of a church whose mission was political, educational, social, and religious. While the most obvious stance for the AME was against slavery, the church also started schools and began initiatives that included a publishing arm called the *Book Concern* in 1848. They also purchased a newspaper, the *Christian Recorder*, in 1852. These efforts were grounded in social activism while promoting literacy and religion.[47]

Outside of the formal organization of the AME, Black activist preachers were integral to resistance in the antebellum period. In some contemporary interpretations, Sojourner Truth (born "Isabella Bomfree") has taken her place amongst many famous abolitionists and activists who came from the Black Church tradition, however, she struggled to gain that validation during her lifetime. Illiterate former slaves – particularly those who were female – posed a problem for the middle-class Black Male Enlightenment project, as men who espoused this movement saw illiteracy, or "un-Enlightenment" to be a form of slavery,

This assumption held by Walker and by leading statesmen and women connected to the reformist impulse in antislavery (Maria Stewart, Martin Delany, et al.) held profound implications for formally illiterate radicals such as Sojourner Truth. Truth's illiteracy, for many, tied her to slavery and with it, unEnlightenment; as a result, her rhetorical and bodily enactments of freedom were often reduced to a form of racialized, intellectual caricature. Even though Truth offered a philosophy of liberation, the racial, economic, and sexual logics of supposedly enlightened embodiment missed the profundity of her revolutionary movement.[48]

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[46] University Of North Carolina At Chapel Hill, and Library of Congress. National Digital Library Program. *The Church in the southern Black community*, 1925. [Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 2001] https://lccn.loc.gov/2002556031.

[47] Carter, "The Sentiment of the Christian Serial Novel," 718.

[48] Cervenak, "Gender, Class", 69.

The aspects of caricature that Cervenak references above extend from the representations of her speech, the size and strength of her physical body, and her manner. Isabella Bomfree was different than the mainstream movement because she was a religious radical in her own right. Born into slavery in 1797 in the Dutch-speaking community of Hurley in Ulster County, New York, Isabella spent her childhood in a "cold, dark and damp cellar…on the eastern side of Roundout Creek."[49] Upon the death of slaveowner Charles Hardinbergh, her family, consisting of her parents James and Betsey, and brother Peter were separated, sending her to two more owners, John Neely, and then, John Dumont. She survived great cruelties with prayer, which she learned from her mother and claimed that if "she spoke out loud to God and asked Him for direction, He would always come to her rescue."[50]

After the State of New York emancipated slaves in 1826, Isabella left the Dumont home with her infant daughter against the intention of her owner but empowered by the voice of God, instructing her to set out on her own.[51] Isabella was forced to return to her owner, Dumont, for survival, as was the case with many newly freed slaves. Upon her return, she realized that Dumont had illegally sold her son to southern slaveholders. This began a legal fight in which she won the battle to recover her son. During the time of her legal battle and over the years, Isabella was said to have had phantasmatic encounters with Jesus that were "guiding every step and maneuver she would make," experiencing God's omnipotence, "with the breath of his mouth, a lamp is blown out so that no spark remains."[52] Isabella was conscious of a need to conceal this new and powerful relationship to God from the white people who surrounded her and so was

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[49] Nell Irvin Painter, *Sojourner Truth: A Life, A Symbol* (New York, NY: Norton, Ca., 2007), 11.

[50] Olive Gilbert and Frances W. Titus, *Narrative of Sojourner Truth: A Bondswoman of Olden Time, with a History of Her Labors and Correspondence Drawn from Her "Book of Life"* (Salem, N.H.: Ayer Co, 1990), XXII.

[51] Cervenak, "Gender, Class", 76.

[52] Gilbert, *Narrative of Sojourner Truth,* 72.

careful "not to be overheard," while she recounted the Lord's Prayer in Dutch, but also spoke with an unseen interlocutor. Precisely because of the need to subvert "colonial surveillance," while performing resistance, Bomfree was marked as an eccentric due to her religious radicalism.[53]

In contemporaneous writing Isabella was often referred to as a "Bondswoman" by those who wrote about her, well after she had won her freedom, which was a reflection on her patterns of speech, and because she was unlettered. She became well-known for hearing messages and taking guidance directly from God. When she left the Hudson Valley in 1928, she went to New York City and joined the AME Church, but unsurprisingly, did not find a home there, realizing that her true religious calling was to preach at camp revival meetings, working to help the poor and instructing reformed prostitutes. She joined a group called the "Kingdom" that was soon taken over by a cult figure, Robert Matthews, who called himself "Father Matthias." Her membership in the *Kingdom of Matthias* was very controversial due to rumors of sexual scandals, theft and murder. She very carefully extricated herself from that organization in 1843, and changed her name from Isabella to *Sojourner Truth*,[54] a reinvention, while traveling the countryside, preaching and "testifying that the hope was in her."[55]

Known by many for her feminism, working with women such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucy Stone, Sojourner Truth famously spoke at the Ohio Women's Convention in 1852 and reprised the speech for other conferences including New York in 1853.[56] While her speech which has become known as "Ain't I A Woman?" was translated in myriad versions from newspapers

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[53] Gilbert, *Narrative of Sojourner Truth,* 78.
[54] Margaret Washington, "'From Motives of Delicacy': Sexuality and Morality in the Narratives of Sojourner Truth and Harriet Jacobs." *The Journal of African-American History* 92, no. 1 (2007): 59.
[55] Cervenak, "Gender, Class", 79.

[56] Olive Gilbert and Frances W. Titus, *Narrative of Sojourner Truth*, xxxvii.

of the era to modern-day analysis, it is hard to ascertain what is closest to her original words. While patronizing and racist simplifications have changed her expressions and forms of speech, also at times inaccurately portraying her accent and manner of speech to be *southern*, her astute analysis of the differences between the treatment of Black and white women is an essential element of her activism and magnetism that many spoke of when recounting her speeches. This famous speech highlights her resistance and activism to end slavery and promote equal rights for all women during a time when many white feminists were interested only in their own suffrage.

David Walker was a different type of Christian activist than Sojourner Truth, as he was born free in Wilmington, North Carolina, to a free mother and enslaved father. Born in 1796, he grew-up as freed Black person in the South, finding that he still suffered from great inequity in a slave society. Walker sought to find a place where he could experience more freedom and express his activist leanings, arriving in Boston, Massachusetts in his twenties. While there, he joined the May Street Methodist Church, which was an independent Black Church that had recently been formed in 1818. While at the May Street Church, Walker found like-minded activists, joined the Black Masonic Order and in 1826, and founded the Massachusetts General Colored Association, which was an anti-slavery organization dedicated to an immediate end to slavery without condition. Walker was in very public disagreement over this point with many white abolitionists who advocated for the gradual phasing-out of slavery.[57]

Walker is most well-known for his revolutionary pamphlet, *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World*, that purposefully drew on the Puritan tradition of jeremiad and became one of the most important texts in the abolitionist movement. The jeremiad form was a sermon or other religious tract that accounted for suffering as penance of a great social evil or moral

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[57] Louis P Masur, *1831, Year of Eclipse* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2002), 28.

digression in society.[58] Walker referenced Christianity as practiced by white people for its

hypocrisy, but also in this style of jeremiad, "I have been for years troubling the pages of

historians to find out what our fathers have done to the white Christians of America to merit such

condign punishment as they have inflicted on them and do continue to inflict upon us their

children."[59]
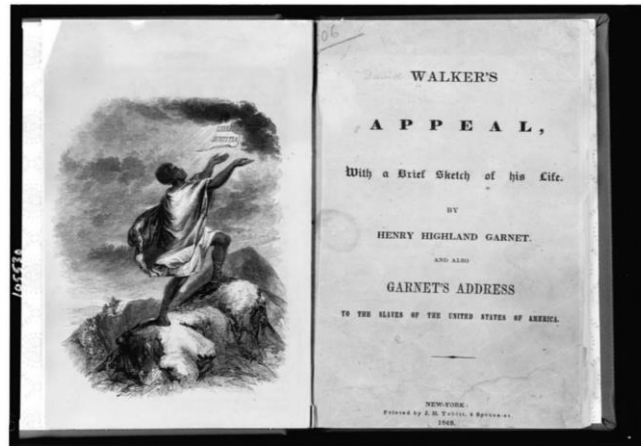
Walker's Appeal, ...to the colored citizens of the world.... Second edition by David Walker, 1830.
, . [No Date Recorded on Caption Card] Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/2005689000/ [60]

Walker began his incendiary appeal declaring that Black people were "the most

degraded, wretched, and abject set of beings that ever lived since the world began." His

sweeping proclamations about the condition of American slaves, asserting that they were worse

off than the ancient Israelites, and of any country in the modern world, amounted to a call to

arms as *Common Sense* had been for white revolutionary Colonists decades earlier. Walker

sought to activate slaves to rise up while freed Blacks would assist them in their need of

Enlightenment, "I call upon you to cast your eyes upon the wretchedness of your brethren, and to

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[58] Christopher Cameron, *To Plead Our Own Cause: African-Americans in Massachusetts and the Making of the Antislavery Movement* (Kent, Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 2014), 120.

[59] David Walker, "Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World," 1829, LOC, item #2005689000, 11.

[60] *Walker's Appeal, ...to the colored citizens of the world... Second edition by David Walker, 1830*., [No Date Recorded on Caption Card] Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/2005689000/.

do your utmost to enlighten them–go to work and enlighten your brethren!"[61] Beseeching his

brethren to strive for the ideals of the United States Constitution, even while their white

counterparts would not, Walker proclaimed to Americans, "Your DESTRUCTION is at hand!"[62]

As soon as the piece was published in the abolitionist newspaper *The Liberator*, calls

came from Southern leaders to suppress distribution of the pamphlet, which was making its way

to ports from Virginia to Louisiana. A bounty of $10,000 was placed on Walker's head, and calls

were made for the Mayor of Boston to arrest him. When Nat Turner's Rebellion occurred in

Southampton a year later, a connection was drawn by investigators to the Walker Appeal, but

that connection has never been proven. Walker died of suspicious circumstances in 1830.[63]

David Walker was from the grouping that would be described as Black middle-class due

to the fact that he could read and write, was an activist abolitionist, and he had been born free.

All of those things about David Walker did not account for his radicalism that was on the fringes

amongst those who would be listed by many historians as his peers. While David Walker did not

actually raise an axe or pull a trigger, he was clearly certain of the need for rebellion. As Janet

Duitsman Cornelius accurately observed,

> Christianity's liberating message is not always pacifying, of course. Denmark Vesey,
>
> David Walker, Nat Turner, and others used the language and beliefs of Christianity to
>
> strike in rebellion against slavery. Whether they rebelled or adjusted, blacks discovered
>
> ways of describing religious experiences that were liberating within the conditions under
>
> which they lived.[64]

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[61] David Walker, "Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World," 1829, LOC, item #2005689000, 4.
[62] Masur, *Year of Eclipse,* 28.

[63] Cameron, *To Plead Our Own Cause,* 125.
[64] Cornelius, *Slave Missions*, 21.

Anxiety over the *Appeal* by David Walker proved to be justified as only one year after his death, the country was rocked by a violent slave revolt organized by Nat Turner. Turner was a pivotal figure in slave resistance of the Antebellum period due to both the nature of his rebellion and his affiliation with the Black Church. Turner and a group of five other slaves went on a two-day killing spree that ended in the murder of some sixty-two people, including whole families with infant children. Newspapers reported wildly varying accounts of how many slaves were involved and how many white people were murdered as well as the origin of this attack that started, "without any cause or provocation."[65]

Despite many fictional accounts, newspapers reported that the Turner rebellion had begun within the structure of church and that the individuals involved "had come from a 'camp meeting,' a religious revival."[66] What was accurate is that Turner had, in fact, begun his congress with other conspirators in the organization of the church. As Sylvia Frey noted, "Black Churches were sometimes used for political and social purposes. Under powerful Black leaders such as Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey, and Nat Turner, some churches were used to launch rebellions."[67]

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[65] Masur, *Year of Eclipse,* 10.

[66] Masur, *Year of Eclipse*, 10.
[67] Frey, *Water from the Rock*, 320.
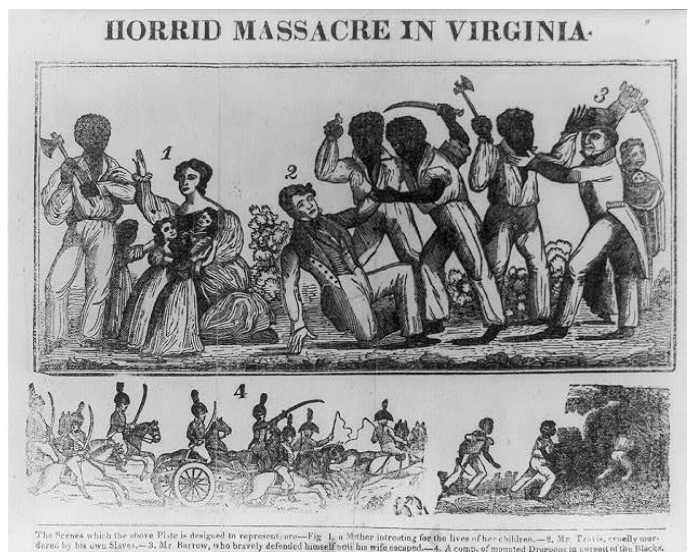
Horrid massacre in Virginia, 1831, Woodcut, https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/98510363/ [68]

The Confessions of Nat Turner, written by white journalist Thomas R. Gray, is a document written after interviewing Turner at length from his jail cell. This became an official document under seal, as it was meant to be read in front of the court of Southampton at Turner's trial for murder. The account has an introduction written by Gray and entitled, "To The Public," in which he alternately characterizes Turner as a coward for not resisting arrest, crazy, "a gloomy fanatic was revolving in the recesses of his own dark, bewildered, and overwrought mind..." and finally, suggests he is intellectually stunted, "It reads an awful, and it is hoped, a useful lesson as to the operations of a mind like his, endeavoring to grapple with things beyond its reach." Gray also stipulates that information contained within the document is mostly not altered or altered very little.[69]

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[68] *Horrid Massacre in Virginia,* Southampton County Virginia, 1831. Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/98510363/.

[69] Thomas R. Gray, "The confessions of Nat Turner, the leader of the late insurrection in Southampton," Va., 1.

Turner claimed that as a young boy, he told of events that had happened prior to his birth and learned to speak, read and write at a very early age and in a manner in which he was viewed as a prophet amongst his family and people he was enslaved with. Turner was deeply religious, and had a series of visions, the third of which told him to revolt,

> I heard a loud noise in the heavens, and the Spirit instantly appeared to me and said the Serpent was loosened, and Christ had laid down the yoke he had borne for the sins of men, and that I should take it on and fight against the Serpent for the time was fast approaching, when the first should be last and the last should be first...And by the signs in the heavens that it would make known to me when I should commence the great work, and until the first sign appeared I should conceal it from the knowledge of men; and on the appearance of the sign...I should arise and prepare myself and slay my enemies with their own weapons.[70]

After the February 1831 eclipse that was capturing the imagination of the country, Turner resolved to lead his revolt on July 4th, but then became ill and so, waited for another sign. This last sign came in the form of an atmospheric disturbance in August in which the sun appeared with a blue-green haze over it. A week later, on August 21st, Turner met with six men he worked with and waiting for dark, moved at 2 a.m. to begin a killing spree of mainly white families that would take the lives of approximately fifty-five people and last for two days while scores of other slaves joined the fight. On November 11, Turner was hanged and then skinned after being found guilty of the planning and murder. Fifty-five Black slaves were put to death in relation to

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[70] Gray, "The confessions of Nat Turner," 10.

the Turner verdict, and the subsequent panic and anger of white mobs claimed the lives of another 200 slaves that had nothing to do with the revolt. [71]

Turner's revolt was deeply connected to the Black Church, not just because of Turner's own religious devotion, but in a more widespread manner that implicated the larger cause of abolition and the radical faction of Black activists, "The role of Black Christianity in motivating our country's largest slave rebellion, Nat Turner's Rebellion in Southampton County, Virginia, is only the most dramatic example of the text of the King James Bible being called upon to justify the violent revolutionary overthrow of the slave regime."[72]

Nat Turner's Rebellion combined with organizing efforts in the Black Church led the Virginia General Assembly to take action by passing a law prohibiting slaves and free Blacks from gathering. This would inhibit African Americans to learn to read or write and further laws prevented any Black person to hold assemblies – aiming at churches in particular. In 1813, Baptist association had already attempted to control all Black Churches by putting them under white control, and now it was clearer than ever that the Black Church was a primary locus of activism which was producing results. These repressive efforts continued, culminating in a movement against plantation missions that aimed at extinguishing all African elements in the Black Church. Sylvia Frey wrote powerfully about the failure of these steps,

> By the time that happened, African-Americans had created a new historic community, its
> strong community spirit rooted in an encompassing kinship system, which affirmed
> various aspects of their African identity and culture. During the historical process of

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[71] Masur, *Year of Eclipse, 10-11.*

[72] Gates, The Black Church, xvi-xvii.

interaction between traditional and Christian cultures, African-Americans had been Christianized, but they had also "traditionalized" Christianity itself.[73]

In an historiographical review entitled, "The Visible Church: Historiography of African-American Religion Since Raboteau," Sylvia Frey pointed out that Religion "occupies an ambiguous place in the history of slave resistance."[74] She explained that the dual nature of church being both a potential site for submission to slave owners, and the locus of revolution, is at the heart of historiographical debates over the past sixty years. She delineated the major categories of analysis in studies of the Black Church, noting that Albert Raboteau's 1978 classic, *Slave Religion, "The Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South,* marked a significant turning point. The Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s lit the spark that led to a significant shift and increase in scholarship about the Black Church along with all Black Studies. Frey framed the three distinct phases of the study of African American Religion that began in the 1950s as *Survivals, Creolization,* and *Revisionism.*[75]

Anthropologist Melville J. Herskovits wrote *Myth of the Negro Past* in 1958, at a time in which anthropology dominated the study of African religion. Herskovits emphasized the notion of "survivals" in New World slave societies. While scholars from this period who looked at survivals largely believed that some continuous African culture survived in slavery, they also believed that some pieces of African culture were simply not present. Raboteau used a diasporic approach by looking at the Caribbean compared to North America and concluded that evidence of survivals was more present in the Caribbean. The survivals approached documented the influence of African ritual and religion on American religion and society.

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[73] Frey, *Water from the Rock,* 325.
[74] Sylvia Frey. 2008. "The Visible Church: Historiography of African-American Religion Since Raboteau," *Slavery and Abolition*, 29 (1): 99.
[75] Frey, "The Visible Church," 101.

Creolization, which was a later period of historiography, became dominant in the 1970s having been first articulated by Richard Price and Sidney Mintz, and remained dominant into the 1990s with the approach to the telling of African American history through the larger assimilation into mainstream history. According to Frey, "the 'creolization' model badly damaged, if it did not altogether destroy, the musty and until recently largely fruitless search for African 'survivals.'"[76]

Finally, John Thornton's 2012 book, *Africa and Africans*, critiqued creolization around the thesis that most elements of African religious culture were totally lost due to the distinctly separate cultures that were amalgamated in slavery, making it heterogeneous. He made the argument that cultures from West and West Central Africa were much more similar than proponents of creolization acknowledged. Revisionist arguments also view survivals and creolization as Eurocentric and America-centric. As a result, and most-recently, revisionist and neo-revisionist histories seek to place African-ness at the center, and Frey stressed that this newest phase can over-generalized.[77]

All told, Frey acknowledged a sea change in scholarship with the vast volume of work about the Black Church that exists today, "It is fair to conclude by noting that more sophisticated methodologies developed since the publication of Raboteau's *Slave Religion* have advanced the historiography to such a level that what was largely invisible about African-American influence in the making of the Atlantic religious universe is now increasingly visible."[78]

The current research that is included in this paper comes from a mixture of disciplines and approaches including the survivals and revisionist schools. Looking at African traditions of

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[76] Frey, "The Visible Church," 87.
[77] Frey, "The Visible Church," 100.
[78] Frey, "The Visible Church," 102.

dance, music and oratorial styles as well as African references to Christianity itself is insightful because it places African Americans at the center of their own story. Resistance as a way for enslaved people to free *themselves* is a frame that has not always been present in the historiography of the Black Church or of slavery writ large, but perhaps helps to redress the Euro-Centric histories of the past.

The creation of the Black Church was crucial to emancipation, due to the vibrant communities that sprung forth for the enslaved and freed Black populace, and through this essential foundation, the Church became the vehicle for philosophical, theoretical, and religious Black thought about what the nature of freedom is for all human beings. The culture that was inspired by and propelled through the Church would move abolition movements into more extreme forms of protest that forced whites in the United States to take notice. Prior to the Civil War and of equal importance, during Reconstruction, the Black Church became an organizational marvel, promoting literacy and eventually starting schools, including some of the American Black Colleges and Universities, as well as driving charitable food and clothing organizations for their poor, and helping Black businesses thrive. Parts of African American culture that were so vibrant and ever present in the Black Church transcended those spaces to establish important forms of Christian preaching and worship, and some of the most prolific American music forms.

The power of the Black Church could never be diminished once communities of African Americans were organized. In 1931, blues musician W.C. Handy opined, "I think these spirituals did more for our emancipation than all the guns of the Civil War."[79]

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[79] Gates, *The Black Church,* 69.

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Southampton: with the certificate, under seal of the court convened at Jerusalem, Nov. 5,

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and of the negroes brought before the court of Southampton, and there sentenced.

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Chapter 2.

Courtney Chouinard, "The Importance of the Slave Family: Agency and Resilience Against

Social Death

Antebellum American slavery was an evil institution. Enslaved persons were forced to

endure backbreaking labor, inhumane punishments, various forms of abuse, and much more at

the hands of their masters. African American slaves were consistently dehumanized by white

planters and stripped of all natural rights given to humans. Despite this unequal treatment, black

men and women created as much as a life for themselves as they could while held in bondage.

The element of life that proved most important to both slaves and their masters on the plantation

was family. The slave family was not only a survival mechanism against social death, but also a

form of identity, agency, and a vehicle for abolitionism in Antebellum America.

In his book *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South*, published in

1979, John Blassingame wrote, "In no class of American autobiographies is more stress laid

upon the importance of stable family life than in the autobiographies of former slaves."[80]

Multiple explanations can be given for this fact. Some former slaves have written about the

support of their families while held in bondage and how much the stable family impacted their

conditions for the better. Others recall the pain and suffering from losing a family member or

being separated through the interstate slave trade. Despite the reason, the slave family was a

critical aspect of the slave experience and is imperative for understanding the lifestyle of

enslaved people.

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[80]John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 172.

Figure 1: African American slave family or families in the quarters of the Dr. William F Gaines plantation in Virginia (1862)

George Harper, Houghton, *Family of Slaves at the Gaines' house,* 1862, photograph, 14 x 22 cm. (5.5 x 8.7 in.), Hanover County, Virginia https://www.loc.gov/resource/ds.05506/.

Family life on the plantation looked different from case to case. The extended family often held more importance in slavery than the traditional European nuclear family due to a lack of biological ties on the plantation. The community in the slave quarters typically considered themselves apart of a larger family network who supported one another. These community connections have historically been described as "fictive kinship". Fictive kinship is defined as, "a kinship based on social agreements such as friendship instead of adoption, blood, or marriage that creates a relationship like family".[81] Grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins, siblings, parents, and friends were all crucial to the familial system on the plantation.[82]

From the 16th to the 19th century, Africans accounted for nearly 80% of American immigrants.[83] During the Atlantic slave trade, male Africans were taken in disproportionate numbers compared to female Africans, statistically 2 to 1.[84] Naturally, the scarcity of women

[81]Bell, Kenton, "Fictive Kin Definition," Open Education Sociology Dictionary, accessed April 7, 2022, https://sociologydictionary.org/fictive-kin/.

Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), 454.

[83]Sweet, James H., 253.

[84]Sweet, 254.

proved difficult in the process of forming biological family networks. The lack of female company was a cultural shift from many of the polygamous, women dominant societies that many Africans had been forced to leave behind. New social formations, such as male-centered hunting groups, or hierarchal communities were created in place of a European nuclear family.[85]

Most plantations in the Antebellum South owned fewer than 10 slaves. A slave holder achieved "planter" status by owning more than 20 slaves and only 12% of masters retained this status. According to 1860's census data, 45% of plantations had between 20 and 30 slaves, compared to the 5% of plantations that had 100-500 slaves. The smaller plantations may have housed their slaves in an attic or a basement, somewhere separate from the white family in the big house. Most plantations had separate living areas for slaves known as the quarters, which ranged in size depending on the plantation.[86]

The slave quarters were where most of the socialization, culture, and personality of the enslaved was able to occur. When they were not doing forced labor in the fields or the planters house, the quarters were where they would be.[87] Men, women, and often children would work from sunrise to sunset on the plantation, but their day didn't end when they returned to the quarters. Once out of the eyes of the masters, the enslaved population created as much of a world of their own as they could manage. The quarters are where families formed and grew together.

Romance in the quarters is where the family began. In most cases, enslaved persons were able to choose their own partner and determine the pace of their romantic relationship. However, about one in ten marriages were forced arrangements by masters onto their slaves and masters

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[85]Sweet, 255

[86]John M. Vlach, "The Plantation Landscape," in American Architectural History: A Contemporary Reader, ed. Keith L. Eggener (New York, NY: Routledge, 2004), 101.

[87]Blassingame, 106.

always had the final say on who could wed.[88] These arranged marriages were typically created

with economic motives from the master. Economic motives ranged from finding a mate to please

Figure 2. A planter kissing an enslaved women and a scene parallel of a white man beating an enslaved
black man (1825)
Anonymous, Virginian Luxuries, ca. 1825, oil on canvas, 22.6 x 17.5 in., The Colonial Williamsburg
Foundation https://encyclopediavirginia.org/4334hpr-5f67bd142f9f5f6/

a single slave, to encourage reproduction, or to prevent slaves from meeting a partner on a

neighboring plantation. Marriage typically occurred in the mid-teenage years, but every

relationship and plantation varied.[89]

Marriage between slaves had no legal standing in Antebellum America. Despite this fact,

enslaved couples still performed marriage ceremonies and considered their commitment

spiritually binding.[90] Planters also understood that a marriage between two slaves, while not

[88]Blassingame, 165.
[89]Genovese, 464.
[90]Blassingame, 151.

official in the eyes of the law, was a serious bond. Masters often went to great lengths to plan marriage ceremonies for their slaves and encouraged stable and lasting unions between the couples. However, this was likely not a sincere gesture for the sake of their slaves but instead a form of social control on the plantation. Planters hoped that strong emotional ties between their slaves would increase morale in the quarters and create vulnerability within slaves who feared harm coming onto themselves or their loved ones. Marriage, like other aspects of family life on the plantation, gave benefits to both the slaves and to their master.[91]

Marriage between slaves was unfortunately another faction of life that the masters controlled. Husband and wife were unable to collaborate with one another on decisions within their marriage because masters held all the power in their relationship. He determined when and what they ate, where they lived, when they worked, what they wore, and so on. Henry Bibb recalls the acts of masters as such, "Licentious white men, can and do, enter at night or day the lodging places of slaves; break up the bonds of affection in families; destroy all their domestic and social union for life; and the laws of the country afford them no protection."[92] This constant interference from masters was a reminder, primarily to the husband, that they were powerless in their relationships. Honor was the most important value for white men in the antebellum South, and by holding total authority over a slave marriage masters ensured any possibility of honor for the black men was stripped away.[93]

Masters found far worse ways to undermine a marriage between their slaves and reinforce the vulnerability of their status. Blassingame wrote, "The most serious impediment to the man's acquisition of status in his family was his inability to protect his wife from the sexual

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[91]Genovese, 475.
[92]Henry Bibb, *Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Henry Bibb, an American Slave, Written by Himself* (University of North Carolina Press, 2018), 38.
[93]Blassingame, 172.

advances of whites and the physical abuse of his master." All too often slave women were sexually assaulted by white men on the plantation, and her husband could do nothing to protect her without accepting a death sentence for himself. Similarly, men and women had to witness their partners endure horrific punishment without being able to even speak in their defense.[94] Ex-slave Henry Bibb, when reflecting on these abuses, wrote, "a poor slave's wife can never be… true to her husband contrary to the will of her master. She can neither be virtuous, contrary to the will of her master. She dare not refuse to be reduced to a state of adultery at the will of her master."[95] Thus was the harsh reality of choosing to be wed under slavery on a plantation.

To gain the benefits of married life without witnessing the abuse of their loved ones, some slaves tried to arrange for interplantation marriages. These relationships also known as "broad" marriages were not ideal for the masters. Economically an interplantation marriage would benefit whoever owned the wife, as the husband would be the one to come and visit, leaving his plantation sometimes every night. If the pair were to have a child, the ownership of that child falls to the wife's master as well. However, if a master denied their slave an interplantation marriage the slave would be more likely to resist work or runaway to be with their partner. Conversely if a master approved a "broad" marriage they could grant or withhold visitation rights as incentive for high quality work output from their slaves.[96]

Interplantation marriages gave male slaves a small sense of independence from being able to travel outside of their own plantation to their wife's plantation. When an enslaved man visited his wife's plantation, he brought with him "news, habits, and attitudes from the outside".

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[94]Blassingame, 172-173, quote from 172.

[95]Bibb, 191-192.

[96] Blassingame, 164-165.

The possibility of rebellion or runaways increased with the spread of ideas and limited freedom derived from "broad" marriages. American historian Eugene Genovese articulates the interplay between slave agency and planter authority as such, "The slaves took advantage of their masters' economic interests and forced them to weigh the cost of forfeiting the capital gains inherent in slave children against the potential loses inherent in having demoralized or vengeful workers." Cases such as interplantation marriages highlight the complexities surrounding the slave family and decisions made by both masters and slaves on family matters.[97]

Marriage is only the beginning for many families, children are the next big step in building a family. Children were not only products of love, but also helpers in the quarters, and to masters, future laborers. Children are often protected from the brutality of slavery in their early years by their parents and masters alike. White female masters may have chosen to take care of children while their parents labored, even allowing those children to interact with their white children.[98] This was not the case for all, many children were cared for by elderly women in the quarters during the day, emphasizing the importance of kinship in the slave community.[99]

Having children in bondage was both a means of joy and suffering for mothers. Pregnant women were expected to continue work up until their delivery and return to work within weeks of birth. Mothers were not given sufficient time to bond with their children.[100] Booker T. Washington recounts his experience as a child in slavery, "My mother… had little time to give to the training of her children during the day. She snatched a few moments for our care in the early morning before her work began, and at night after the day's work was done."[101] Unfortunately,

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[97]Genovese, 472-473, quotes from 473.
[98]Blassingame, 184-185
[99]Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family from Slavery to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1985), 29.
[100]Blassingame, 179-181
[101]Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery* (Boston, 1928), 4.

child mortality rates were high as they often suffered neglect and malnutrition, despite the love parents held for their children.[102]

Masters viewed children as investments in the plantation economy. Children born in slavery automatically became the property of their mother's owner. Typically, children began working in the fields at the age of 10 and planters incentivized joining the labor force by offering additional food or clothing rations to children who worked.[103] In the field, children were shown the truth of their bound condition, and often were introduced to the brutality of slavery. Children watched their parents become submissive to the white man and saw their loved ones subject to punishment. Ex-slave Charles Ball saw his mother whipped at age 4, and still looks back with "painful vividness" on the moment. Masters used the vulnerable children of their plantations to manipulate and punish the slave community. White masters would treat black children kindly to obtain their trust and then use them as vessels of information from the quarters. Additionally, masters would build relationships with slave children to undermine the authority of their parents, gaining even more control over their lives.[104]

Despite the struggles in building familial relationships, there were benefits as well. Parents were able to provide hope to their children, instill cultural and moral values within them, and a loving escape from the loneliness of bondage. Ex-slaves discuss their parents with great love and respect. Charles Ball stated, "Poor as a slave is, and dependent at all times upon the arbitrary will of his master, or yet more fickle caprice of the overseer, his children look up to him in his little cabin, as their protector and supporter."[105] Within the family, slaves were able to find

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[102]Blassingame, 180
[103]Marie J. Schwartz, "Family Life in the Slave Quarters: Survival Strategies," *OAH Magazine of History* 15, no. 4 (2001): 36-41. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25163462
[104]Blassingame, 186-190.
[105]Charles Ball, *Slavery in the United States: A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Charles Ball* (Lewistown, Pa., 1836), 211.

love, support, and sympathy for their conditions to make their reality somewhat less horrific. Additionally, the family structure on the plantation proved powerful for slaves to prove their humanity and value to the white people looking in through gender rolls and morality.[106]

In resemblance to white family structure in antebellum America, black men and women upheld various duties and responsibilities in the home. Culturally, the gender roles and values of the slave family emulated those of the middle-class white family during the nineteenth century, which placed the home and the family in the center of everything. Domesticity and gender roles were meant to be followed by middle-class men and women to maintain a virtuous home. The slave family, despite its difficult conditions, managed to align and uphold these middle-class values in their home. Numerous sources have reported slave fathers going out hunting or fishing at the end of their workday to feed their family, of mothers coming home to clean, cook, and take care of her babies, and of the family to be the center of life on the plantation.[107] De Schweinitz notes:

Many formerly enslaved people portrayed freedom as a desirable state for the very reason that it allowed family members to enjoy fulfilling their domestic roles. For black men that meant protecting and providing for parents, siblings, a wife, and children while for black women that primarily meant nurturing their offspring.[108]

The desire and ability for a slave family to replicate the values of a middle-class white family was a direct assault against the pro-slavery argument which was rooted in paternalism.[109]

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[106]Blassingame, 191.
[107]Genovese, 486.
[108]Rebecca De Schweinitz, "'Loving Hearts' and 'Brave Ones': Slavery, Family, and the Problem of Freedom in Antebellum America'." *Slavery and Abolition* 41, no. 3 (September 2020): 489. https://doi.org/10.1080/0144039X.2020.1744264.
[109]De Schweinitz, 486-490.

Pro-slavery activists attempted to argue that a black father would be unable to support his family unless he was given a job, a home, and the necessities from their masters. Family success in slavery contests this notion and gives fuel to the abolitionist movement. Anti-slavery supporters detested many aspects of slavery, but nothing was believed to be more inhumane than the forced separation of families. Abolitionist novels such as *Uncle Toms Cabin* were incredibly popular in sharing the anti-slavery message based on family. While many pro-slavery supporters tried to undermine the importance of family on the plantation, the words of ex-slaves proved quite the opposite. De Schweinitz writes, "Black Americans experienced slavery as individuals, but more importantly, as fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, or other kin". The slave experience moved beyond individual salvation, "…ex-slaves' narratives express a sense of identity, slavery, and freedom founded on connections to others."[110] This element of group identity within the family played to the benefit of the masters. Slaves were far less likely to escape if their family was intact on the plantation. Even if slaves did escape, many risked their lives to return to their plantation and attempt to liberate their families. Many ex-slaves have described how little their freedom meant to them if their family was still held in bondage.

Countless hardships were faced by enslaved persons especially regarding their family. However ex-slave narratives are nearly unanimous in agreement that the separation of families was by far the worst and most psychologically damaging act. Separation could be sudden and unpredictable. If a master died, went bankrupt, decided to move, or simply wanted someone new, there was a high chance of sold separation for families. Masters also used the threat of separation to strike fear into their slaves and would use forced separation as a form of punishment. Enslaved persons were all too aware of this reality and were forced to live in fear every waking moment.

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[110]De Schweinitz, 485.

Family separation increased after Congress dismantled the Transatlantic Slave Trade in 1808. No longer could human property be stolen from Africa, instead they must be bred in North America. Thus came the creation of the interstate slave trade in the United States in 1808.[111] The domestic slave trade required slave traders to find slaves in the Upper South and sell them to the Lower cotton South. It is estimated that around one million black men, women, and children were sold into the Lower South from 1790 to 1865. From those million, about one half are believed to have been separated from their family, and one fourth of those million people were children.[112] Ex-slave William J. Anderson recalls seeing slaves who had been sold into the Lower South, he watched, "hundreds of slaves pass by for the Southern market, chained and handcuffed together by fifties—wives taken from husbands and husbands from wives, never to see each other again—small and large children separated from their parents."[113] Once a slave was sold into the Lower South it was very unlikely that they would ever again be reunited with their families.

Separation was inevitable for many families, and the enslaved were aware of that. Ex-slave Bethany Veney recalls that on her wedding day, "I did not want him to make us promise that we would always be true to each other, forsaking all others, as the white people do in their marriage service, because I knew that at any time our masters could compel us to break such a promise."[114] Removing the phrase "till death do us part" became common place in wedding

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[111]"Domestic Slave Trade." Equal Justice Initiative, November 11, 2019. https://eji.org/news/history-racial-injustice-domestic-slave-trade/.

[112]"Black Families Severed by Slavery," Equal Justice Initiative, September 21, 2020, https://eji.org/news/history-racial-injustice-black-families-severed-by-slavery/.

[113]William J. Anderson, *Life and Narrative of William J. Anderson: Twenty-Four Years a Slave, or, The Dark Deeds of American Slavery Revealed; Also, a Simple and Easy Plan to Abolish Slavery in the United States: Together with an Account of the Services of Colored Men in the Revolutionary War* (Chicago: Daily Tribune Book and Print. Office, 1857), 6.

[114]Bethany Veney and George H. Ellis, *The Narrative of Bethany Veney a Slave Woman.: With Introduction by Rev. Bishop Mallalieu, and Commendatory Notices from Rev. V.A. Cooper, Superintendent of Home for Little Wanderers, Boston, Mass., and Rev. Erastus Spaulding, Millbury Mass* (Worcester, MA, 1890), 18.

ceremonies. A painful reminder to slaves that their master primarily viewed them as property, not as husband and wife.[115] The reality of separation became clearer in the later periods of the antebellum era.

The domestic slave trade presented new fears to slaves and new forms of control to masters. The possibility of sale of their loved ones loomed constantly over the heads of the enslaved. Ex-slave Theodore Gross recalls that, "hunger or poor diet, or exposure to heat, or lashes—these are evils belonging to slavery, and which a slave soon forgets—but that which preys upon his mind is the thought that his wife and his children and nearest relatives may any
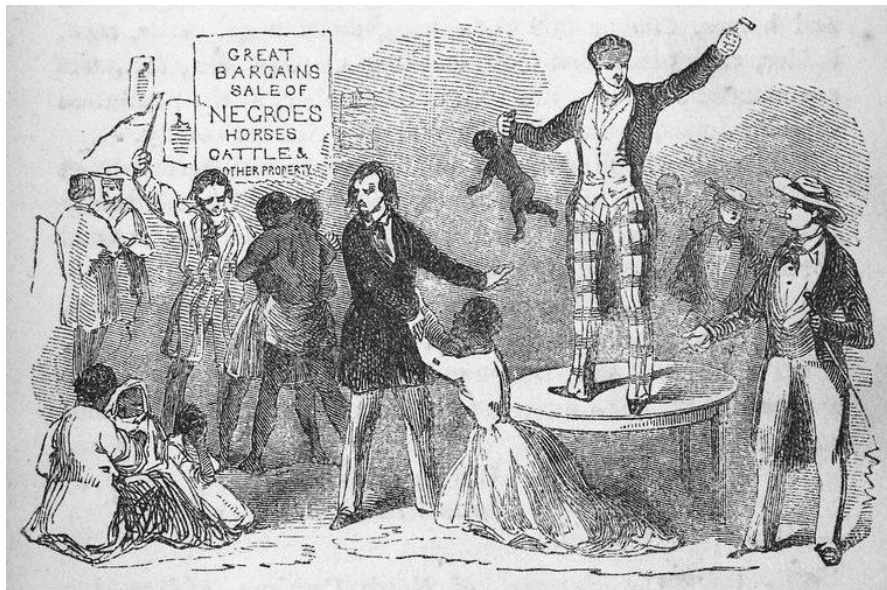
day or hour be sold and sent away"[116] Slave trading became a career and slave auctions became popular public spectacles.

Figure 3. "Husbands, Wives, and Families sold indiscriminately to different purchasers, are violently separated--probably never to meet again."

W. & F. Cash, *Husbands, Wives, and Families sold indiscriminately to different purchasers, are violently separated—probably never to meet again,* 1853, still image, New York Public Library Digital Collections, tps://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47da-75f0-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99

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[115]Jones, 34.
[116]Ripley C. Peter, *The Black Abolitionist Papers: Vol. I: The British Isles, 1830-1865* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 483.

Thousands of slave auctions took place all throughout America during the antebellum period. The buying and selling of enslaved persons was incredibly profitable. The largest slave-trading firm in the United States sold between 1,000 and 2,000 slaves every year. At the time of his death slave trader Isaac Franklin held the worth of $710,000 in 1846, which is valued at nearly $24 million present day.[117] Slave auctions provided the opportunity for planters to sell or buy their human laborers, whether it be an elderly woman, a middle-aged man, or a newborn infant. However not all slaves were valued equally, and traders were not concerned with keeping family members together.
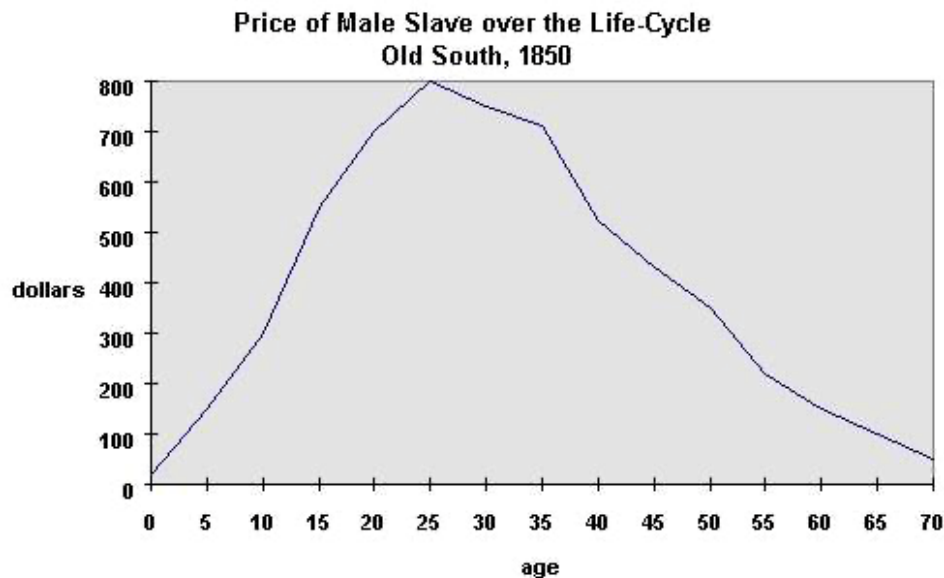
Figure 4. Graph showing the price of a male slave over the life cycle in the Old South (1850)

Jenny Bourne, "Slavery in the United States," EH.net, accessed April 16, 2022, https://eh.net/encyclopedia/slavery-in-the-united-states/.

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[117]Anne C. Bailey, "They Sold Human Beings Here," The New York Times (The New York Times, February 12, 2020), https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/02/12/magazine/1619-project-slave-auction-sites.html.

Economically, the specific traits of each prospective slave helped determine the cost of each slave. Gender, age, strength, attitudes, fertility, skills, and other factors were considered by buyers at slave auctions.[118] Former slave Isaac Johnson recalled his horrific experience of being sold, "I was asked if I had ever been whipped, or sick, or had had the toothache, and similar questions to all of which I answered".[119] All of this information gave auctioneers an idea of where to start the bids on human life. The above figure 4 shows the estimated price of a male slave as they age in the antebellum South. As a male reaches peak fitness and maturity, he is worth his highest value, and most likely to be purchased by a cotton planter in the Lower South.[120] These were the demographics that slave traders were interested in, which allowed them to ignore slave families and enforce separation. Despite separation being emotionally traumatizing for slaves, slave auctions and familiar separation became an unexpected vehicle into the abolitionist movement.

Stories of the slave block, ex-slave narratives, and abolitionist literature described the pain and suffering that came with losing a family member. In *Uncle Toms Cabin*, Harriet Beecher Stowe writes of George, a young boy who had been sold away from his family, "he laid awake whole nights and cried…it wasn't the hunger, it wasn't the whipping… No sir; it was for my mother and sisters – it was because I hadn't a friend to love me on earth".[121] Children and family were valued highly among the white-middle class and by revealing the nature of slavery to destroy those things, writers could sway public opinion towards abolitionism.

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[118]Jenny Bourne, "Slavery in the United States," EH.net, accessed April 16, 2022, https://eh.net/encyclopedia/slavery-in-the-united-states/.

[119]Isaac Johnson, *Slavery Days in Old Kentucky: A True Story of a Father Who Sold His Wife and Four Children, by One of His Children* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Library, 2018), 10.

[120]Bourne, "Slavery in the United States".

[121]Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Toms Cabin* (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1852).

Ex-slave Bethany Veney called out for empathy towards her condition in her narrative, she wrote, "My dear white lady, in your pleasant home made joyous by the tender love of husband and children all your own, you can never understand the slave mother's emotions as she clasps her new-born child and knows that a master's word can at any moment take it from her embrace."[122] Veney expressed how she would rather die with her child in her arms than watch her be ripped away. Ex-slave Rev. Peter Randolph cried, "O, mothers, who sit in your comfortable homes, surrounded by your happy children, think of the poor slave mother, robbed so cruelly of her all by a fate worse than death! O, think of her, pray for her, toil for her, ever; teach your blooming daughters to think with compassion of their far-off colored sisters, and train them up to be anti-slavery women!"[123] These narratives shared the anti-slavery message widely and forced free men and women to face the cruel reality of the institution. Separation not only worked toward abolitionism, but master interference with family networks encouraged slaves to rebel and escape their condition.

Family in slavery was incentive for slaves to comply with their master and obey their orders as to prevent harm or punishment from coming onto their loved ones. Masters often used a slave's family as leverage for efficient work or obedience, which kept slaves from choosing to escape. Ex-slave Lunsford Lane expressed that he viewed his experience as "comparatively light" in bondage solely because he was able to live with his wife and children.[124] Additionally, when a family was intact, it would be incredibly risky to try and escape as a group, driving many slaves to endure the torture to stay beside their loved ones. Freedom was worth nothing unless shared with the people they love, ex-slave narratives make clear that "liberty without loved ones

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[122]Veney, 26.
[123]Peter Randolph, *Sketches of Slave Life, or, Illustrations of the 'Peculiar Institution'* (Boston: Published for the author, 1855), 54.
[124]De Schweinitz, 487.

is incomplete".[125] For white men and women in the South, "personal identity was inseparable from familial and communal responsibilities".[126] This too was true for the personal identity of the enslaved. By selling families apart, masters undermined their own control, and fueled further resentment towards bondage in all who they betrayed.

Henry Box Brown wrote in his narrative that,

The first thing that occurred to me, after the cruel separation of my wife and children… was thoughts of freeing myself from slavery's iron yoke… I would endure it no longer… Those reasons which often deter the slave from attempting to escape, no longer existed… for my family were gone, and slavery now had no mitigating circumstances to lessen the bitterness of its cup of woe.[127]

Brown had accepted his place in slavery until the one thing in the world that mattered to him was torn away, he had nothing left to suffer for. Brown was not alone in his mindset. When ex-slave William Craft was separated from his siblings without the chance to say goodbye it "set his brain on fire" and encouraged him to escape and "crave power to avenge our wrongs!" In some cases, the mere possibility of eventual separation was enough to inspire an escape. For Ellen Craft, the prospect of her mothering a child only to be torn apart filled "her very soul with horror" and she determined she needed to escape.[128] While the desire for freedom was strong for most enslaved persons, those with a family intact faced barriers in attempting to escape, too afraid to risk separation upon being caught.

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[125]De Schweinitz, 489.
[126]De Schweinitz, 487.
[127]De Schweinitz, 488 quoting Henry Box Brown, Charles Stearns, and Maxwell Whiteman, *Narrative of Henry Box Brown: Who Escaped from Slavery Enclosed in a Box 3 Feet Long and 2 Wide* (Boston, MA: Brown & Stearns, 1849).
[128]De Schweinitz, 486 quoting Ellen Craft and William Craft, *Running a Thousand Miles for Freedom; or, the Escape of William and Ellen Craft from Slavery* (Utgivningsort okänd: Createspace Independent Publishing Platform, 2017).

Ex-slave Harriet Jacobs was taught by her grandmother to "Stand by your own children, and suffer with them till death. Nobody respects a mother who forsakes her children; and if you leave them, you will never have a happy moment."[129] Jacobs chose not to escape, a choice she made for her children, not only herself. Additionally, Henry Bibb describes his solo escape from slavery as "one of the most self-denying acts of my whole life"[130] and he only made the choice to run upon seeing his wife consistently abused by their master. Time and time again external factors such as abuse, separation, or rape pushed upon the enslaved by their masters determined their decision to flee. As is emphasized in several slave narratives, an attachment to family challenged what it meant to be free, explaining that "a man could not be truly free until all of his family were likewise free".[131] In slavery, family was the most important thing.

Despite having no legal existence, the family acted as an important survival mechanism for slaves. Until the late 20th century, historians considered the slave family a failure. Historians believed that slaves had no choice, or desire, when it came to forming a family in bondage. Historian Damian Pargas argues that past scholars have placed too much emphasis on what masters did to slaves and not enough on what slaves did for themselves, "as if enslaved people had been passive victims for over two and a half centuries."[132] Revisionist historians including Eugene Genovese, Herbert Gutman, and John Blassingame focus on slave agency, and what humans in bondage did for themselves. Revisionist writers describe slave culture and family as flourishing despite the barriers presented by the conditions of slavery. There is strong emphasis on the resiliency of slaves through relationships and comfort in one another, and that those

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[129]De Schweinitz, 492.
[130]De Schweinitz, 492 quoting Bibb.
[131]De Schweinitz, 493.
[132]Damian Alan Pargas, *The Quarters and the Fields: Slave Families in the Non-Cotton South* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2011), 3-12.

relationships were not due to the encouragement of slaveholders.[133] Conversely, economic

historians Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman believe that slave families were encouraged by

slaveholders with economic motives. A stable family offered better workers who were less likely

to escape and additionally simplified human organization in the fields and the quarters, all

benefitting the masters.[134] Both internal factors of slave agency and external factors from masters

impacted the creation of slave families, the distinction is between how much power each side

had.

External factors absolutely challenged the ability for humans in bondage to establish a

stable family. Economic, social, and legal factors consistently interfered with family structure

and relationships. However, this should not overshadow the incredible efforts of the enslaved to

create meaningful family connections. Slave agency is not synonymous to success, but any effort

toward a family under slavery's conditions was an intentional act of rebellion against the social

death of a slave. Building a family and community on the plantation was how "alienated

individuals persistently sought creative ways to stave off isolation and constitute themselves as

social beings."[135] Family ties within slavery did more than provide support for survival on the

plantation, slave agency shown through familial relationships worked as a vehicle for

abolitionism.

Family within slavery created barriers for slave rebellion and escape. Common political

thinking during the nineteenth century viewed freedom in terms of individuality.[136] As shown

through countless slave narratives, family was at the center of liberty, and freedom on their own

was not enough. Furthermore, "a courageous, honorable man might choose to remain in bondage

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[133]Pargas, 3-12.
[134]Pargas, 3-12.
[135]Sweet, 257.
[136]De Schweinitz, 493.

with beloved kin; intact family associations, an individual's communal identity, shaped the meaning of freedom."[137] Liberal republican thought, popular among middle-class Northerners, understood the value of family and resonated with the slave desire for familial stability. Moreover, community was highly valued in the South as well, challenging their own institution of slavery and their morals.[138]

By viewing family and liberty as related and competing values, white Americans could see black men and women as possessing middle-class ideologies. Seeing African Americans portraying middle-class gender roles and morality allowed some white citizens to newly understand slaves as worthy American citizens. These ideas made for successful abolitionist writings as well as opened the door for consumption of slave narratives, which further detail the immorality of the institution. Through natural desires of kinship, slaves created a culture all their own, as well as agency against their condition, rebelling from the inside.[139]

The slave family was anything but perfect, and maintaining a family was anything but easy. Slaveholders used the slave family to their benefit, using their love for each other against themselves. However, to give all the credit for the formation of families to the master would be misguided. Creating a loving community in bondage was a conscious choice made by the enslaved to rehumanize their lives. The creation of family in their condition was rebellion against the institution on its own. Not only was kinship an effective defense against the social death, but also an act of abolitionism. Slave agency was not recognized for stability of families, instead for the fact that any family existed under slavery at all, that was the success. Family may have looked different in bondage, but for slaves the love of their community defied social death,

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[137]De Schweinitz, 488.
[138]De Schweinitz, 493.
[139]De Schweinitz, 485.

provided a defense mechanism, and earned them freedom from their horrific conditions, all which can be viewed as rebellion against antebellum American slavery.

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Chapter 3.

Hannah Landry, "How Slave Rebellions Led to the Civil War"

Slave rebellions in the context of pre-Civil War America were Black Americans resisting their status as slaves, and in most contexts, violently rebelling with the hope of achieving their freedom in any way possible. Slavery played an undeniable role in causing the Civil War. The slaves rebelled due to their distaste for their condition. After the rebellion, harsh slave codes were put in place to stop the rebellions from repeating themselves. The slave codes, the paranoia of white southerners, and fear of a subsequent rebellion led to the Civil War. The morality over the treatment of slaves was the driving force in the North and the South beginning a civil war. The treatment of them as outlined in slave codes got perpetually stricter with every word spoken about a possible slave revolt. The southerners were paranoid that they would be at risk of being the victims of slave revolts so they attempted to suppress rebellions before they could even be thought of by the enslaved population. In the Antebellum south the lead-up to, and the aftermath of slave rebellions caused increased tensions that led to the Civil War.

The Stono Rebellion took place in September of 1739, near the Stono River in South Carolina. Throughout the summer tensions were building and they led to a slave by the name of Jemmy [name varies amongst varying sources, but he is most often referred to as Jemmy] who led a few others and gained participants during the day-long rebellion. Nearly a century later a preacher named Nat Turner led an insurrection in Southampton County in Virginia after he believed he received a clue from God in a blue moon signifying the time to rebel had arrived. So, on a Sunday in August of 1831, Turner and other conspirators gathered and launched an attack on white slave owners as the sun was rising on Monday morning. These rebellions are the most

notable revolts when analyzing the aftereffects, they had on Southern Society which led to the Civil War. Henry David Thoreau wrote about the need for revolution when you have been taken control stating, "In other words, when a sixth of the population of a nation which has undertaken to be the refuge of liberty are slaves, and a whole country is unjustly overrun and conquered by a foreign army, and subjected to military law, I think that it is not too soon for honest men to rebel and revolutionize[140]."

The lead-up to rebellions and the careful planning that went into executing them gives insight into why slave revolts would always happen, and why any attempts to stop them were futile. The Summer of 1739 in Charleston, South Carolina created an environment where a well-executed slave rebellion was almost inevitable[141]. This rebellion being in 1739 highlights those slaves would still have memories of freedom in Africa. They either still knew the possibilities outside of slavery or had relatives who could share with them the prospect of freedom. Slaves during this time were rarely born into slavery as the transatlantic slave trade was at its peak in the Americas during the 1700s, with the largest number of enslaved Africans coming over at this time. An average of 50,000 slaves were coming over each year and this shows that few slaves that took place in the Stono Rebellion would have spent their entire life in slavery[142]. This was a new experience for them, and they hoped to find a way to get back to their life before being forced into slavery.

The reasoning behind the slave at Stono starting an uprising is unclear and can only be inferred by looking back at the situations that led up to it. The narrative of the rebellions was

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[140] Henry David Thoreau, "Civil Disobedience," 1849, https://xroads.virginia.edu/~Hyper2/thoreau/civil.html.
[141] Mark M. Smith, "Remembering Mary, Shaping Revolt: Reconsidering the Stono Rebellion," *The Journal of Southern History* 67, no. 3 (2001): 513, https://doi.org/10.2307/3070016.
[142] Miller Joseph, "Transatlantic Slave Trade, The – Encyclopedia Virginia," Encyclopedia Virginia, August 10, 2021, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/transatlantic-slave-trade-the/.

controlled by the white slave owners, as any records, slaves may have kept were not preserved so their purpose for the revolt will forever be unclear. Strong, evidence-based hypotheses and logic give insight into their motivations[143]. An important factor when looking at why, and specifically who were the ones rebelling lies in the slaves being from the kingdom of Kongo. During the 18th century, Kongo was in a state of perpetual civil war, resulting in the capture and sale of many men. Many of these men would have military training and with changes in how the army was run to make them more trained in the use of firearms[144].

The Spanish destabilized the English colonies to regain the land they viewed as theirs due to The Treaty of Madrid in 1670[145]. Settlers in the South Carolina colony were nervous due to rising tensions between Britain and Spain, and a Spanish proclamation in 1733 that was promising freedom to slaves that could escape to St. Augustine in Spanish controlled Florida which was where the rebels at Stono were heading[146]. Spanish propaganda promising freedom was well received by the Congolese due to their literacy in Portuguese which is a sister language to Spanish. And from the first European contact, they began a literacy in the language, and in the seventeenth century, all archives and official documents in the Kongo were in Portuguese allowing for a general familiarity among everyday citizens[147]. Since many British colonists could not understand Spanish. Any messages put up could be guaranteed to be understood by slaves, and not by their masters, and slaves could bring that message back to the others on their plantation.

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[143] Smith, *Remembering Mary, Shaping Revolt: Reconsidering the Stono Rebellion*, 517.
[144] John K. Thornton, "African Dimensions of the Stono Rebellion," The American Historical Review 96, no. 4 (1991): 1103, https://doi.org/10.2307/2164997.
[145] Nic Butler, "Anglo-Spanish Hostility in Early South Carolina, 1670–1748," Charleston Time Machine, 2021.
[146] Bill of Rights Institute, "The Stono Rebellion," Bill of Rights Institute, accessed February 23, 2022, https://billofrightsinstitute.org/essays/the-stono-rebellion.
[147] Thornton, *African Dimensions of the Stono Rebellion*, 1107.

Slaves in the colonies had an increased amount of freedom due to their work being done according to a task system, which was when slaves were given tasks to complete on a farm or plantation and their time after that could be used doing whatever they chose to do[148]. This time was often used to create a unique slave culture with less oversight from the Europeans. Planters in South Carolina had plantations with a large number of slaves that outnumbered white settlers, with the large slave population there were a fear slaves would revolt and kill their masters[149]. In August of 1739, South Carolina passed the Security Act that required all white men to bring firearms with them to church on Sunday, or be fined, beginning September 29th. A literate slave would have read this in a paper and known that for a successful rebellion to happen it would have to take place before the act went into place[150]. This was the mitigate fear, by being ready if a revolt was to happen or if a slave escaped.

The month of July in 1739 led to a lot of change in South Carolina, which led to conditions perfect for a rebellion. South Carolina was dealing with a harsh epidemic of yellow fever, it closed schools for several weeks and the *South Carolina Gazette*. With nearly six people dying a day and many others sick, the chance of a successful rebellion increased as the summer went on[151]. In many of South Carolina's coastal towns, there were visits from a Spanish captain, a priest, and a slave who could speak perfect English. This was suspicious to South Carolinians at the time, and after the revolt, they believed the priest played a significant role leading up to and causing the rebellion due to the Kongolese slaves having a strong Catholic faith. It was a

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[148] Philip D. Morgan, "Work and Culture: The Task System and the World of Lowcountry Blacks, 1700 to 1880," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 39, no. 4 (1982): 564–99, https://doi.org/10.2307/1919004.
[149] Bill of Rights Institute, *The Stono Rebellion*.
[150] Smith, *Remembering Mary, Shaping Revolt: Reconsidering the Stono Rebellion*, 519-520.
[151] Smith, *Remembering Mary, Shaping Revolt: Reconsidering the Stono Rebellion*, 519.

belief that Spain had sent the Priest to promise freedom in St. Augustine and to cause an insurrection.

The Security Act was the catalyst that gave the push for rebellion, and a hard date when any form of revolt was likely to fail. The Act was first published on August 18th announcing that carrying a firearm to Church with you would begin to be enforced on Saturday, September 29th. The rebellion started on September 9th due to Christianity being a fundamental part of the Kongolese identity, and they would have remained committed to their faith while enslaved. The Catholic calendar would have been followed, and they would know the saints and their days, as well as have a catechetical [education]. An important figure in Kongo theology was the Virgin Mary, and her presence came from the sky as she had protective functions[152]. In an interview with a distant grandson, named George Cato, Jemmy who planned the insurrection said that in a story passed down through his family, Jemmy said, "We don't lak slavery. We start to jine de Spanish in Florida. We surrender but we not whipped yet and we is not converted[153]." This shows how the slaves did not 'surrender' their religion, meaning they continued to practice their faith. The weekend of the 8th-9th shows continued importance for the revolt happening at this specific time. In the Kongo, Saturdays were dedicated to The Virgin Mary, and Saturday the 8th was the day of Mary's nativity. Due to the timing lining up with the birth of an important figure representing the protection of people the slaves used that spirit to launch their attack during that weekend[154].

What was happening in the months before the Stono Rebellion showed that nothing in the months leading up to September 9th went unnoticed by the Kongolese slaves in South Carolina.

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[152] Smith, *Remembering Mary, Shaping Revolt: Reconsidering the Stono Rebellion*, 521, 524-525.
[153] George Cato, interview by Federal Writers' Project, 1937, A Family Account of the Stono Uprising, http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/becomingamer/peoples/text4/stonorebellion.pdf.
[154] Smith, *Remembering Mary, Shaping Revolt: Reconsidering the Stono Rebellion*, 527-528.

They saw the signs in the society around them and the one being placed for them and seized the opportunity to start an uprising and flee to freedom in Florida.

Nearly 91 years later, Nat Turner joined forces with a small group of slaves to plan his rebellion. The insurrection began the moment Turner was born, with the words of his parents stating he would serve a great purpose in his life. He grew up with religion around him, as his grandmother was very religious, and he was always with her. His master belonged to a church and brought over religious persons whom Turner witnessed them praying[155]. Religion became what Turner focused his mind on, and he was always taking in his surroundings and learning from them. He did not remember ever learning to read or write, as one day it just came to him and his knowledge of the world around him was expanding as he grew older.

Turner began focusing his life on religion and devoting his time to fasting and prayer. One day during prayer he heard a spirit speak to him saying, "Seek ye the kingdom of Heaven and all things shall be added unto you[156]." With continuous prayer for two years on the subject Turner had the revelation again, which led him to believe that he was fully ordained for a great purpose at the hands of God. As the years passed many events occurred that strengthened his belief in his purpose. He believed that he had too much sense to be raised and could not live the life of a slave, and when he arrived at an estate as a slave, he started to look for a great object to fulfill the purpose he was intended for. When he was placed over an overseer he ran away and stayed in the woods for thirty days. When he returned after that time, to the shock of those on the plantation, it was because a spirit had come to him and said his wishes would be fulfilled after he returned to his earthly master. The spirit said, "For he who knoweth his Master's will, and doeth

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155 Nat Turner, *The Confessions of Nat Turner, the Leader of the Late Insurrection in Southampton, Virginia*, ed. Thomas R. Gray (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Library: DocSouth ed, 2011), 18.
156 Turner, *The Confessions of Nat Turner, the Leader of the Late Insurrection in Southampton, Virginia*, 19.

it not, shall be beaten with many stripes, and thus, have I chastened you[157]." Turner was then criticized, as other slaves said with any sense, they would serve no master.

During this criticism, Turner had a vision of black and white spirits engaging in a battle and as the sun darkened, thunder was booming, and blood replaced the water in the streams. And a voice said to him that he was called to see that, and he must be the one to bear it. Years later, on May 12th, 1828, Turner heard a loud noise from the heavens, and a spirit came to him saying a serpent was loose and the time was fast approaching to fight against it. When Turner was asked if he regretted the choices he made, he said "And by signs in the heavens that it would make known to me when I should commence the great work—and until the first sign appeared, I should conceal it from the knowledge of men—And on the appearance of the sign, (the eclipse of the sun last February) I should arise and prepare myself, and slay my enemies with their own weapons[158]." He had been instructed at this time to reveal the plan he had been keeping and told it was time to revolt against his master using his weapons. At this time, he gathered with men he had great faith in, and they planned to begin their rebellion on the 4th of July, but Turner fell sick on the day, and the group waited until another sign came telling them to start again.

On Saturday night on the 20th of August in 1831, Turner and two others met to create a plan over dinner, and the following morning they met with four others. They agreed to start the rebellion at Turner's master house, Mr. Joseph Travis, whom he had been with for over a year, and Turner said he had no complaints about his treatment and was always given his master's full confidence. They started here to gather supplies, and before they launched the full-scale rebellion they wanted to gain enough physical force. This rebellion began that morning with one of the men taking an Axe to Travis's door and entering secretly to avoid suspicion.

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[157] Turner, *The Confessions of Nat Turner, the Leader of the Late Insurrection in Southampton, Virginia*, 20.
[158] Turner, *The Confessions of Nat Turner, the Leader of the Late Insurrection in Southampton, Virginia*, 21.

The Stono Rebellion broke out late on Sunday, September 9th and the Kongolese slaves gathered in a group of 20 led by a slave named Jemmy. They broke into Hutcherson's General store and took the gun powder and arms that were sold at the store. They were surprised by Mr. Bathurst and Mr. Gibbs at the store and the rebels killed both and left their heads on stakes before continuing knowing the rebellion had officially started[159]. On their march, they came upon Mr. Godfrey's plantation, and they raided the house and then burned it to the ground after killing Godfrey and his children. As the sun was rising, they passed a tavern, sat, and drank, and did not kill the owner due to his kindness to slaves. When they left, they searched for Mr. Rose hoping to kill him, and like many plantation owners were hidden by their slaves. Mr. Rose's slaves attempted to appease the rebels, but they gained supporters as they marched, they banged on drums and waved banners[160].

Leaving a trail of destruction behind, they had two drums banging and banners flying and crying out 'liberty' which led them to gain over 60 rebels. It was common for the army in the Kongo, to use banners, flags, or drums during battler and it was used during Stono to gain the attention of nearby slaves. The slaves were seen dancing as they rebelled; military dancing was so common in the Kongo that 'dancing a war dance' was the same as declaring war. It was common in African culture to dance to prepare for war, and in the early fifteenth century, soldiers would use dancing to quicken their reflexes[161]. The rebels were then discovered by Colonel Bull and some of his companions who were able to escape quickly enough to raise an alarm about the rebellion.

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[159] Bill of Rights Institute, *The Stono Rebellion*.
[160] Allen Daniel Candler et al., "An Account of the Negroe Insurrection in South Carolina," in *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*, vol. 22 (Atlanta: Franklin Printing and Publishing Co., n.d.), 232–36.
[161] Thornton, *African Dimensions of the Stono Rebellion*, 1112.

As the rebellion continued, their numbers continued to grow, and they reached numbers of around one hundred people as they were joined by other runaway slaves[162]. After their long day, they found a field and stopped to rest and celebrate their new freedom and wanted more slaves to gather with them. To get the attention of others they waved their banners, danced, sang, and beat their drums. A militia of white men descended on them to snuff the rebellion, giving the slaves no time to react, and a fight broke out[163]. During the fight, 14 slaves were killed and about 30 were able to escape into the countryside while some returned to their plantations to see if they would be killed or whipped and sent back to work[164]. An unidentified white official wrote an account about the very end of the rebellion where he wrote that not one slave was tortured, and they were all shot to be put to an easy death. He followed that up with a death count which he said was about 40 black people, and 20 white people[165].

Nat Turner's rebellion began with him and his co-conspirators raiding the plantation where Turner had spent the past few years of his life, intending to kill his master Mr. John Travis and the rest of his family. They climbed into the house through the windows and killed them with the hopes they were sleeping. Turner however could not give the death blow, and Travis awoke and called for his wife, and both died with a blow of an ax to their head[166]. Throughout the night Turner and his friends continued breaking into over 15 homes where they killed all the inhabitants with a strike to the head, or by shooting them. They traveled through the night and were able to stay on a silent march to keep their purpose quiet and no one disturbed them. As they killed the homeowners, they would search the house for weapons and money.

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[162] Bill of Rights Institute, *The Stono Rebellion*.
[163] Thornton, *African Dimensions of the Stono Rebellion*, 1102.
[164] Bill of Rights Institute, *The Stono Rebellion*.
[165] Daniel et al., *An Account of the Negroe Insurrection in South Carolina*, 232–36.
[166] Turner, *The Confessions of Nat Turner, the Leader of the Late Insurrection in Southampton, Virginia*, 22.

They gathered with the other slaves and when they reached numbers of about 60 people whom all had weapons began to head towards Mr. James Parker's gate on the road. Some of the slaves he had with him had family on that farm and they urged Turned to allow them to go and gather those people, and while he originally objected, he let them warn them. They did not return for some time, so he began to head towards the home, and when he returned, he was met by a party of white men who had followed the bloody trail and had killed those Turner had left at the gate[167]. When Turner discovered the white men, he ordered his men to halt and form and he saw some of the white men retreating. He ordered his men to fire on the men, and rush them and as they got closer, they fired some shots but ultimately retreated. As Turner and his men overtook them, they thought they had left for dead, but as they continued pursuing them, they joined up with another party of men who had retreated at the last battle and were reloading their guns. Turners' men began to panic with some of their bravest men being wounded they began to leave openings on the field allowing the white men to follow and shoot at them[168].

Turner feeling defeated after this encounter followed a private way and discovered about 20 men and then hoped to build up more men to go again. He went upon many houses and discovered no one they could kill as families had already fled the area. After this, they continued to gather numbers until they reached about 40 people, and he ordered some of his men to ride around and observe what was happening up ahead, and when they returned, they spooked some of the other men who retreated reducing Turner's numbers back down to 20. Once they reached a house, they discovered they went up firing a shot to know if the family was home, but they were immediately fired upon and they retreated leaving behind a few men. They went up to another home only to find a party of white men on which all others deserted the cause leaving only Nat

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[167] Turner, *The Confessions of Nat Turner, the Leader of the Late Insurrection in Southampton, Virginia*, 25.
[168] Turner, *The Confessions of Nat Turner, the Leader of the Late Insurrection in Southampton, Virginia*, 25.

and Jacob behind who concealed themselves in the woods until nighttime and he instructed his men to go find his friends and come back to their hiding place[169]. None of the men ever returned and Turner remained in his hiding place for two days, thus ending the insurrection and the beginning of Turner hiding from authorities.

After the Stono Rebellion ended, the slaves who returned to their masters were either killed or whipped and told to return to the fields to continue working. A manhunt began to find any slaves who had run away. The white owners recruited Native Americans to help track any runaways. Over the border, those in Georgia were put on alert for any runaways. Some slaves during the rebellion protected their masters and for that, they received gifts and clothing. Later that year the colonial assembly met and while discussing the insurrection they revised their slave codes with hopes of stopping future rebellions. Masters had to let slaves have Sunday off, and provide them with clothes and food, it also did not allow the sale of alcohol to them, banned educating slaves to read and write, and did not allow them to have drums[170]. They imposed a moratorium on slave imports[171]. The Stono Rebellion in the end revealed the tensions of slavery in the British Colonies that would continue through the founding of the United States until the brutal Civil War that took place over the tensions that the Northern and Southern United States had been disagreeing on since the signing of the declaration of the independence was signed.

To continue the control of the slave population the South Carolina legislator passed more slave codes on the 10th of May in 1740, eight months after the Stono Rebellion took place. The goals of these codes were the set conditions on how slaves were to be treated by their masters. The South Carolina Salve Code of 1740 No. 670 started by stating its purpose when saying, "so

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[169] Turner, *The Confessions of Nat Turner, the Leader of the Late Insurrection in Southampton, Virginia*, 26.
[170] Bill of Rights Institute, *The Stono Rebellion*.
[171] "Today in History - September 9," web page, Library of Congress, accessed April 8, 2022, https://www.loc.gov/item/today-in-history/september-09/.

that the slave may be kept in due subjection and obedience, and the owners and other persons having the care and government of slaves may be restrained from exercising too great rigour and cruelty over them, and that the public peace and order of this Province may be preserved[172]." The code starts off stating that all slaves and their offspring will forever remain slaves and that they are to remain the property of their owners. If they wish for freedom, they must apply to his majesty's justices and plead their case and accept the decision of the court. Part of this clause was also barring any slave from traveling out of their town or leaving the plantation they are on without a letter written by their master and any seen breaking this will be subjected to no more than 20 lashes. Another part of this code allowed any white person who sees a slave off a plantation without a white person and refuses to be searched it is lawful for the white person to apprehend and moderately correct that slave. It follows up by saying that if any slave is to strike them the slave is to be killed. A clause to this is that if any white person injures a slave who is on lawful duty, they are to pay forty shillings to their owner.

The code continues by allowing any justice of the peace with knowledge of any meeting of slaves to go and disperse them if their actions may threaten his Majesty's subject and they are to search for any arms, ammunition, or weapons and seize them. They are also to arrest any slave that is possibly guilty of any crime. It allows 2 justice and 1 freeholder, or 2 freeholders and 1 justice to form a quorum, and they can convict or acquit any slave if the case is not a capital one. If a slave willingly and maliciously sets fire to rice, corn, or other grains including any product manufactured in the province. If they destroy any tar, pitch, or tar. If they are to take a slave out of the province or maliciously administer poison to any person. If the above condition is met it would cause a slave to be put to death as a felon. If a slave is to kill a white person, unless they

[172] "Excerpts From South Carolina Slave Code Of 1740 No. 670 (1740)," *US History Scene* (blog), accessed March 7, 2022, https://ushistoryscene.com/article/excerpts-south-carolina-slave-code-1740-no-670-1740/.

are defending their master, or if they are to lead an insurrection or entice a slave to run away, they will suffer death.

Slaves are also banned from owning or storing any firearms or any other weapons unless they have been given a ticket to go hunt and kill food for their masters. They are not allowed to carry any weapons between sunset on Saturday to sunrise on Monday morning and if anyone is to see a slave holding a weapon, they are to seize the weapon. Anyone within the province is allowed to take and apprehend a runaway or fugitive slave and they are to send the slave to the care of the government. Slaves were also banned from selling or bartering any goods or provinces unless they are doing so for their master, and if they are found to be doing so, they will be publicly whipped. Slave owners were also barred from educating their slaves to read or write or be a scribe they will be fined one hundred pounds.

The codes also set expectations for slave owners on how they are to treat their slaves. They are required by the law to not allow any slave to work or labor on Sunday and if it is found they are they will forfeit 5 shillings per slave working. It also stated that if someone is to willingly murder their slave, they are to be charged 700 pounds and will not be able to hold a position or benefit from military service in the province. If they are to neglect or refuse clothes and food to their slaves any person on behalf of the slaves to complain to the justices.

The South Carolina Slave Codes of 1740 ends with the mentioning of those convicted during the Stono rebellion:

And *whereas,* several Negroes did lately rise in rebellion, and did commit many barbarous murders at Stono and other parts adjacent thereto; and *whereas,* in suppressing the said rebels, several of them were killed and others taken alive and executed; and as the exigence and danger the inhabitants at that time were in an exposed to, would not

admit of the formality of a legal trial of such rebellious Negroes, but for their own

security they said inhabitants were obliged to put such Negroes to immediate death[173]

Nat Turner concluded his rebellion when he realized that none of his men were joining

him, and believed those with him had betrayed him, Turner gathered provisions from his masters'

house, and he then dug a hole under a fence in the field and was able to hide there for six weeks.

He left only for a few minutes every night to get water from a nearby stream. After the six

weeks, he went and eavesdropped on houses but was not able to find any information as he was

too afraid to speak to any human. He would have been able to continue hiding in his hole if a dog

did not go into his hole and steal some meat he had, and when the dog went hunting a few days

later he led some slaves to the hole where Turner was. He begged for the slaves to continue

letting him hide, but they ran from him, and Turner knew he would be revealed he left his hiding

place and was pursued until a Mr. Phipps discovered him in another hole, and Turner to save his

life allowed them to take him to prison[174].

After the insurrection, the air in Virginia was filled with terror. Labor was halted, and

plantations were abandoned. Retaliation against slaves began fast, and around 120 slaves were

killed within 20 days. One individual bragged he killed over ten slaves. Volunteers' road from

plantation-to-plantation torturing slaves, they were burned, maimed, and killed, and anyone

subject to suspicion was shot on sight[175].

In the end, no slaves were killed during the insurrection, but 61 white people were and

following the insurrection 53 of them were captured and arraigned. 17 were convicted and

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[173] "Excerpts From South Carolina Slave Code Of 1740 No. 670 (1740)."

[174] Turner, *The Confessions of Nat Turner, the Leader of the Late Insurrection in Southampton, Virginia*, 26-27.
[175] John W. Cromwell, "The Aftermath of Nat Turner's Insurrection," *The Journal of Negro History* 5, no. 2 (1920): 208–34, 212, https://doi.org/10.2307/2713592.

executed, 12 were convicted and transported, ten got acquitted, seven were discharged and 4 were sent onto a higher court[176]. People would get home at night and board up their doors, and some completely abandoned their homes in favor of places with more protection.

In the 1831-32 meeting of the Virginia General Assembly gathered to amend laws about slavery that were passed on March 15th, 1832, which was seven months after Nat Turner's Rebellion in August of 1831. Not every legislator supported the amendments, but it passed in a 74-48 vote, those that opposed it got punishments for slaves lessened and some clauses struck. These laws applied to both slaves and freed black people in this time, so they severely restricted the rights of those that had been freed. The amendments started by stating that no black person could not form a meeting with other black persons for any purpose at any time of day, and if they are caught, they would be whipped and anyone that witnessed a meeting could gather them all and bring them to justice. It also barred any black person from acquiring their ownership unless it was through birth and any contract granting freedom was void, they also could not keep or carry firearms or related weapons and those convicted would be punished by a whip that did not exceed 39 lashes.

Slaves were also not permitted to sell or give any liquor within a mile's radius of a meeting with white or black people. If any black person was to assault a white person with the intent to kill them and be convicted, they would be killed. If a black person is seen to be producing writing about an insurrection, they would receive no more than 39 lashes and if it happens a second time they would be put to death. If a white person does the same, they would be fine no less than 100 dollars and no more than 1000 dollars. Any riots or unlawful gatherings of any free black people would be punished with stripes. If a white person or freed black person

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[176] Cromwell, "The Aftermath of Nat Turner's Insurrection," 214.

receives stolen goods from a slave, they would be punished the same as the slave who stole from them. Another act to further punish freed black people, was if they were to be convicted of a crime they would be tried and receive punishment as if they were a slave[177]. After Nat Turner's rebellion led many to question the treatment of slaves, which caused the Civil War.

Shortly after the rebellion the story of a man who brough up the idea that black people should be granted emancipation:

An Englishman, named Robinson, was engaged in selling books at Petersburg. An alarm being given, one night, that five hundred blacks were marching towards the town, he stood guard, with others, on the bridge. After the panic had a little subsided, he happened to remark, that "the blacks, as men, were entitled to their freedom, and ought to be emancipated." This led to great excitement, and he was warned to leave town. He took passage in the stage, but the stage was intercepted. He then fled to a friend's house; the house was broken open, and he was dragged forth. The civil authorities, being applied to, refused to interfere. The mob stripped him, gave him a great number of lashes, and sent him on foot, naked, under a hot sun, to Richmond, whence he with difficulty found a passage to New York.[178]

Slavery has always been a controversial subject throughout the history of the United States. The treatment of slaves as seen above shows that tensions were continuing to grow surrounding the morality of slavery. Robinson when speaking his thoughts in public brought up how slaves may benefit from emancipation, and because of this view, he was attacked by a mob

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[177] General Assembly, "An Act to Amend an Act Entitled, 'an Act Reducing into One the Several Acts Concerning Slaves, Free Negroes and Mulattoes, and for Other Purposes' (1832) – Encyclopedia Virginia," 2020, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/an-act-to-amend-an-act-entitled-an-act-reducing-into-one-the-several-acts-concerning-slaves-free-negroes-and-mulattoes-and-for-other-purposes-1832/.
[178] Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Travellers and Outlaws: Episodes in American History* (Forgotten Books, 2017), 303.

and stripped and forced to walk naked in the hot sun. The slave codes enacted by the Virginia legislator show how rules about slaves were getting harsher when compared to those enacted after the Stono Rebellion. The rules had harsher punishments for slave actions and did not give a structure for how slave owners were to treat their slaves. Tensions were rising in the South, especially in Virginia, which leads to the paranoia of the white people fearing the possibility of another bloody insurrection. If slaves did not rebel and show how much they detested the conditions they worked under the North, people in the South would not know that this practice was cruel and unusual and may have never begun a war with the hopes of eradicating the practice of slavery in the United States.

Rebellions across the country caused paranoia across the country, and as tensions were rising whether slavery was going to continue within the United States was hitting its peak in and out of the government. John Brown was born in Connecticut and grew up in an environment that violently opposed slavery, so he grew up supporting abolition from his very early years. He made two significant and violent protests against slavery. In 1856 he participated in the Pottawatomie raid within the Kansas Territory, which was a small and relatively unplanned raid where he and his men interrogated many men in retaliation for the killing of many free black people, the group eventually killed five of those men. This time Brown did not kill every settler he encountered as he believed some of them to have not threatened any free settler.

Almost four years after the Pottawatomie raid on the night of October 16th, 1859, Brown led a raid of 20 men to seize the United Stated weapons arsenal in Harpers Ferry, Virginia. His goal was to seize all the weapons and begin a guerrilla-style war against slavery[179]. He had his core group of white men, and he hoped that slaves in the area would join him, and they would

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[179] Paul Finkelman, "A Look Back at John Brown," National Archives, August 15, 2016, https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2011/spring/brown.html.

reach thousands of participants. The following day, after word of the raid, got out the United States Marines under the command of Robert E. Lee captured Brown, and with most of the raiders dead or wounded, they were defeated. After his capture his trial, where he was charged with treason, murder, and conspiring with slaves to rebel, he was sentenced to death on November 2nd.

Before his execution, Brown was able to write many letters that shaped him in the mind of many Northerners as a martyr for the cause to end slavery. Many of the northerners who were not committed to abolition saw his actions as violent. For many antislavery activists, they saw him as someone that would make the ending of slavery a reality, and a threat to the union. The south had the opposite reaction to him, they feared his tireless commitment to the ending of slavery, and they saw him as the greatest threat to the continuation of slavery. They had convinced themselves that slaves were content with their condition and only feared sporadic violence, but brown showed them a reality where they could be armed and led by white men to threaten their white society.[180]

Many papers reported on John Brown's raid and the Richmond Enquirer wrote a strong piece that captures how the south viewed the raid at Harper's Ferry:

The Harper's Ferry invasion has advanced the cause of Disunion, more than any other event that has happened since the formation of the Government; it has rallied to that standard men who formerly looked upon it with horror; it has revived, with ten fold strength the desire of a Southern Confederacy. The, heretofore, most determined friends of the Union may now be heard saying, "if under the form of a Confederacy, our peace is disturbed, our State invaded, its peaceful citizens cruelly murdered, and all the horrors of

[180] Paul Finkelman, "A Look Back at John Brown," 2016.

servile war forced upon us, by those who should be our warmest friends; if the form of a Confederacy is observed, but its spirit violated, *and the people of the North sustain the outrage,* then let disunion come[181]."

John Brown's raid acted at the culmination of all past slave rebellions to act as the final catalyst needed to crack the union into two regions, one for and one against continuing the long tradition of slavery in the United States. The fear of the rebellions and the fear as the North's distaste grew for slavery and the goal of emancipating the slaves heightened as each day passed. The South had to do whatever possible to maintain slavery and the only way was to break away from the union and attempt to form their own country. This breakaway led to the Civil War being fought because of slave rebellions.

Slave rebellions play an undeniably important role in causing the Civil War. They showed the white population that slaves were not content with their situation and always hoped for a life outside of slavery. The Stono Rebellion and Nat Turner's Rebellion brought to light the similarities of slave rebellions. They highlight how the actions during and immediately following them led to the paranoia of white southerners fearing more slave rebellions would take place. As John Brown's raid ended it brought the greatest fear of the reality that the enslavement of black people could end.

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[181] "The Harper's Ferry Invasion as Party Capital.," *Richmond Enquirer*, 1859, https://scholarexchange.furman.edu/secession-editorials/all/editorials/279.

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Chapter 4.

Kathleen McDonough, "The Underground Railroad: Black and White"

In their desperate struggle to escape, slaves accessed the Underground Railroad, as one of many tools to free themselves. Historical accounts of the Underground Railroad have typically centered around the conductors, as the risk-takers and heroes in the battle to end slavery. This narrative undervalues or omits the stories of African slaves and is therefore inaccurate. The runaway slaves would use hiding spots created by runaway slaves of the past, with the help of white and black abolitionists, churches, and other slaves themselves. These historians typically give credit to the white abolitionists as the ones serving as the conductors and station masters. In reality, the African Americans freed themselves. The Underground Railroad was just one of many tools they utilized. They did the work, but they also needed help from white abolitionists such as Thomas Garret. The research in this paper will show just how racially intertwined the Underground Railroad actually was in helping to free the slaves.

The Underground Railroad was a system of passageways for the enslaved to run away to freedom. In the beginning, it started out with slaves running away and having to help themselves. Next, the conductors slowly started to join, both white and black. It then led to station masters. Dr. Bryan Walls writes,

> "tracks" (routes fixed by abolitionist sympathizers); "stations" or "depots" (hiding places); "conductors" (guides on the Underground Railroad); "agents" (sympathizers who helped the slaves connect to the Railroad); "station masters" (those who hid slaves in their homes); "passengers," "cargo," "fleece," or "freight" (escaped slaves); "tickets" (indicated that slaves were traveling on the Railroad); "stockholders" (financial

supporters who donated to the Railroad); "Freedom Trails" (the routes of the Railroad); "terminal," "heaven," or "Promised Land" (Canada and the northern free states)[182]

The article defines some of the codes. "Stations" were hiding places, "passengers" or "cargo" were the escaped slaves, and "station masters" hid the escaped slaves in their homes. A "conductor" was the person or guide who helped the runaway slaves by hiding them and transporting them up North or to Canada. Activist and author Henrietta Buckmaster writes about the stations, saying that the "railroad" was made up of perfectly placed stations that were not too far from each other. The stations could be accessed at night, which is when many traveled, to avoid being caught during the day. Some stations were haylofts or corn cribs. The men and women who were willing to hide the runaway slaves would also offer them food and clothes.[183]
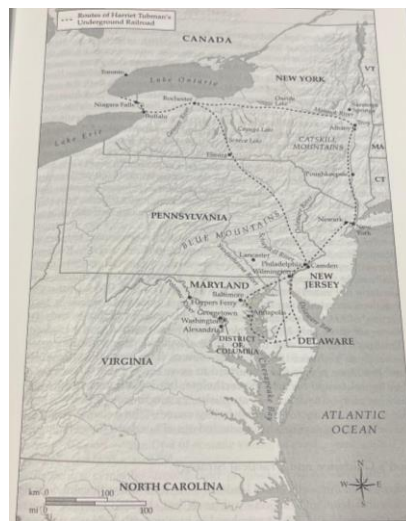
Figure 1: Map of the routes that Harriet Tubman used to bring fugitive slaves to Freedom. (1849-1860)[184]

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[182] Dr. Bryan Walls, "Underground Railroad Terminology"

[183] Henrietta Buckmaster, "The Underground Railroad" *The North American Review,* 246, no. 1 (1938): 142, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25115012.

[184] Eric Foner, *Gateway to Freedom: The Hidden History of The Underground Railroad* (New York/ London, W.W. Norton & Company 2015).

For many of the runaway slaves, their goal was to reach Canada. It was very hard for the laws and slave catchers to reach them up there. Also, in Buckmaster's article, she states that although many were now free and safe, many were not used to working and living on their own. Many times, this led to disease and poverty. But luckily, many Canadians were willing to help them adapt to the cultural, social, and economic changes the runaway slaves had to go through.[185]

When the runaway slaves would reach Canada, they were faced with even more obstacles. One was the extreme weather. Most of these people were not used to the cold, especially the snow. Another obstacle was the fact that many of these slaves did not have skills other than what they were forced to do which, in most cases, was fieldwork. This made it difficult for them to find work that was needed to generate an income. These two obstacles led many of the slaves to illness and poverty. But, in many cases, the Canadians offered these runaway slaves places to live, and jobs and even helped them adapt to the Canadian lifestyle.

The conductors, (usually abolitionists, who were helping the runaway slaves escape), would contact each other through the mail. They did this to let other conductors know to be expecting "packages", which was one term they would use to describe the runaways. Lois E. Horton, states, "Secret communications within the network adopted a code derived from the latest technology-the railroad-calling operatives conductors and stationmasters, and referred to people escaping from slavery as packages."[186] This secret language was necessary for areas like

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[185] Buckmaster,147.

[186] Lois E. Horton, *Harriet Tubman and the Fight for Freedom: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston, Bedford/St. Martin's, 2013), 12.

Pennsylvania and Ohio. This secret language appeared in a letter written by J. Bigelow, Esquire, who was writing to a man named William Still. Still was one of the most famous conductors of the Underground Railroad. Still states, "It is for the conveyance of *only one* SMALL package, but it has been discovered since that the removal cannot be safely effected without taking *two larger* packages with it. I understand that the *three* are to be brought to this city and stored in safety, as soon as the forwarding merchant in Philadelphia says he is ready to send on."[187] The man writing to Still is trying to make sure that this trip will, and can, happen, ensuring the safe passage of these slaves from one conductor to another. In Still's book, there are many more letters just like this one, where one conductor is ensuring safe passages for slaves to another conductor.

The slaves risked much by escaping from the South, usually from the border states like Maryland and Delaware. They always had the fear of being sold to the South, where they might never hear from or see their family again. Another possibility was that they might run away and go back for them later. If the slaves were to be captured while escaping, they faced dangerous consequences. They could face horrific punishments by their captor or their master, such as whipping, amputation of their toes (so they will not be able to run away), being forced to wear a collar with bells, imprisonment, or even worse, being sold to the slaveholders who lived in states further down South than the border states.[188] Harriet Tubman, better known as "Moses," was one of the most famous conductors on the railroad; but she had been a slave and had run away. In Horton's book, she states, "while she was in slavery, every time she saw a white man, she was afraid of 'being carried away in a chain-gang.' tied together with others and, arched off to

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[187] William Still, *The Underground Railroad* (Chicago, Johnson Publishing Company & Inc, 1970), 22 & 23.

[188] Horton, 13.

slavery in the lower South, just like her sisters had been."[189] Harriet spent her time as a slave in

fear of being sold, away from her family, as were two of her sisters. It was later said she possibly

had more siblings that were sold before she was born. That fear lived in many of the enslaved

people and is what drove many up North to freedom. As is shown in the book, it would be easier

to get in contact with family in the Northern states to be free than to be sold to a state in the deep

South. Harriet Tubman's story is well known which is why there is so much information on her,

but many times, slaves' stories are lost in history.

Finding records of the slaves' stories of their escapes is quite hard because it was illegal

to help or keep records of helping slaves. Still wrote many pieces, using the real-life stories of

these slaves, putting these pieces in narrative form. One of the more famous stories told today is

about Henry Box Brown, whose story crossed paths with Still. In Still's book, it states,

> Ordinary modes of travel he concluded might prove disastrous to his hopes; he, therefore,
>
> hit upon an invention altogether, which was to have himself boxed up and forwarded to
>
> Philadelphia direct by express…His resources with regard to food and water consisted of
>
> the following: One bladder of water and a few small biscuits. His mechanical implement
>
> to meet the death-struggle for fresh sir, all told, was one large gimlet.[190]

Brown knew that escaping from Virginia would be extremely hard, and many modes of transport

used by other slaves to escape would not suit him. His best option was express shipping himself,

in a box, to Philadelphia. Brown gave himself barely enough food and water for the trip. During

the transport, for some of the ride, he was on his head. A man named J. M. McKim was tasked

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[189] Horton, 7.

[190] Still, 67 & 68.

with engineering this whole mission and he, with the help of one of the drivers of the shipping company, got Brown to Philadelphia. When the box arrived, McKim thought for sure that Brown was dead. But in fact, he was okay, other than being drenched. This man felt that escaping in a box was safer than remaining a slave in Virginia.

Another famous man who kept records of the slave stories he came across was Sydney Howard Gay, who had an office in New York City. Eric Foner lists Gay's writing of the stories of the slaves, shared with him by Harriet Tubman. This includes stories like the one about James Morris. Foner states, "his owner, Ann McCourt, as 'a heel of woman...one meal a day for 8 years…Sold 3 times and threaten to be sold a fourth…Struck 4 hundred lashes by overseer chopped cross the head with a stick, made to stand out in the cold 4 hours for punishment without shoes on."[191] James Morris was physically abused to the point where escaping slavery was a matter of life or death for him. He was given only one meal every day for eight years and would be beaten repeatedly. Escaping slavery was not a choice made easily. The slaves knew that escaping was putting everything on the line, but some just could not take the physical abuse anymore. Other examples include the stories of Franklin Wilson and John Haywood. "Franklin Wilson, who escaped from Smyrna, Delaware, had 'plenty of scars' from whipping by his owner, a physician. John Haywood related how his brother had been shot dead by the owner after physically resisting a whipping, and another slave was hanged after being discovered 'playing soldier…with a parcel of other boys in the woods."[192] In these cases, the slaves were beaten or even shot dead or hung because of "disobedience," such as a boy playing with other boys or

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[191] Foner, 198.

[192] Foner, 198.

resisting a beating. In all these cases, the enslaved could no longer handle dealing with the mistreating and killings, so they chose to escape.

Family played a major role in deciding whether or not to escape. Slaves had to choose to either stay with their family, leave without them, or leave with some and try to go back for the rest of their family later. Often when slaves would escape in groups, most of them were related to each other. Foner states, "When slaves escaped in groups, these frequently included relatives-husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, even as in one case of eleven women or married couples and one man in Gay's records, small children.[193] Most of the rescues Tubman made were for slaves in groups who shared family ties. But as said earlier, many of the escapees had to make the harsh decision of leaving and cutting ties with their family members. In some instances, their loved ones would escape and, if successful, they would meet up with them later, somewhere up North. An example of this was a slave named Elizabeth Harris and her husband James Harris. Foner states, "arrived at Gay's office from Delaware in December 1856, was the wife of James Harris, a fugitive who passed through the city a month earlier…Still received a letter, that the couple would remain there, working for an abolitionist family."[194] James had escaped a month earlier and he had passed through Gay's office. A month later in December, Elizabeth arrived looking for her husband. Gay aided her and sent her on away. Still had gotten a letter from an abolitionist family that the couple would be working for them in Auburn.

Another way the role of the family helped slaves escape was by having them marry a free man or woman. Foner writes, "A few fugitives, like Frederick Douglass before them, had free

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[193] Foner, 200.

[194] Foner, 200.

spouses or fiancés, who could readily join them on free soil or had already traveled there."[195]

Frederick Douglass, one of the most famous slaves, had married a woman who was free and met up with her when he escaped. Although stories like these existed, many times, slaves were not happy with picking up and leaving the South without their loved ones. During those times, one of the relatives would escape and, if successful, would find a job with their newfound freedom. They would work until they could make enough money to get their family transported up North. In Charles Carter's case, he had told Gay that he would do anything to get his wife and four children up North in any way he could.[196] Foner also shares the story of Otho Taylor, who escaped with his wife and children and arrived safely in Canada. Foner states, "He turned up again at Gay's office the following September, and earned about $80, and then returned to bring away his parents, and brother and sister, but failed. They had been promised their freedom and preferred to remain till the time was up."[197] In this case, Taylor was not successful. His family members were not going, even though their master was promising their freedom. They chose to go when their time was up. Not every trip like Otho Taylor's was unsuccessful, but many were. In each case, they all had to leave, whether because of physical abuse or the desire to be free. While each one of them knew that leaving did not always mean successfully becoming independent, the hope of trying was worth the effort.

There were thousands of conductors all throughout the country, from way deep down South, all the way up North to Canada, and even out West. Buckmaster stated, "The 'conductors' of the Railroad- the field agents who penetrated the deep south and whispered that miraculous

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[195] Foner, 203.

[196] Foner, 203.

[197] Foner, 203.

word 'freedom' into the slave's ear-were selected for daring and resourcefulness."[198] Buckmaster said that these "conductors" were the ones down South working the "field" (the country), whispering freedom as they were there to help slaves leave slavery. Buckmaster also lists some of those conductors, such as John Hansen. The article states, "Hansen was an outspoken advocate of slavery, and obliviously his livelihood depended on trade with the big houses. It occurred to nobody to link him with the escape of several slaves sometime between his recurring visits."[199] John Hansen was a well-known advocate for slavery. Through his work, he would make his way from house to house, trading in the South. His role was so perfect that no one would ever suspect him of being an abolitionist/conductor. Buckmaster writes he would receive letters in the mail, such as this one. "Yet had his mail been opened, his peddler's business would have seemed complex indeed. 'Dear Sir, by tomorrow's mail you will receive two volumes of Irrepressible Conflict, bound in black. After perusal, please forward and oblige."[200] The letters would inform him of receiving a runaway slave to which he would then need to forward that slave along to the next station. People like this were the perfect undercover conductors.

Lots of conductors, Buckmaster said, were put in positions and jobs where they could adapt to Southern life but be there to be conductors. "Late 1820s and 1830s, added many sympathizers to the antislavery cause, and a dynamic grassroots organization began by…William Lloyd Garrison after 1830 increased the number of people who might aid runaways.[201] Horton makes it clear that the Underground Railroad was founded on free Black communities, but they did start to need help in the 1830s when the system required more support and aid. This is where

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[198] Buckmaster, 143.

[199] Buckmaster 143 & 144.

[200] Buckmaster 143 & 144.

[201] Horton, 13.

people like abolitionists Thomas Garret, William Lloyd Garrison, and antislavery office clerks Still played a role. These were three of the most important conductors/station masters to join the railroad.

Also, another important conductor was originally herself a slave. Harriet Tubman was famously known for escaping from slavery, then going back and freeing many more on the Underground Railroad. Tubman was born in 1822. She did not decide to run to freedom until 1849, so she spent a lot of her life as a slave. At the time of her escape, she was married to a man named John Tubman and she lived on a plantation in Maryland. She decided she had to run because when her master, Edward Brodess, died, there were rumors that members of her family were going to be sold to slave traders. She had previously lost two sisters to the same instance and Tubman's family had no idea if they were alive or not. Tubman and her two younger brothers Ben and Henry left but eventually returned. She knew she could not stay so a few days later, Tubman ran again. This time, with the help of Quakers in Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania, she was able to make it to Philadelphia. From there, she found work as a domestic cook and servant where she saved money. Staying in Philadelphia was dangerous, due to being so close to border states, where slave catchers were wandering looking for runaways. But it was a risk she took to be close enough to her family to stay in contact. [202]

[202] Horton, 6.
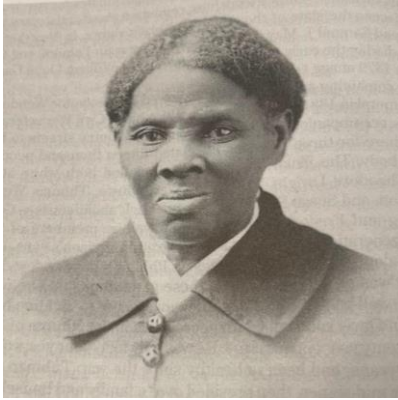
Figure 2. Famous Fugitive Slave and Underground Conductor, Harriet Tubman (1886).[203]

Harriet Tubman is also famous under a different name, "Moses." In 1851, Tubman had

gone back for her husband, only to find out that he had married another woman and refused to go

back to her. Since she was already down in Maryland, she then turned to her family to try and get

them out of bondage. Tubman believed that God had called on her to become a conductor.

Horton states, "Later she reported that God had called her to embark on a career as an

Underground Railroad conductor. At first, she demurred, she said, but God assured her that he

had chosen her for this work." [204] Tubman is famous for the fact that she believed God had given

her the task of freeing slaves. She was not the only one who believed that. In 1860, a former

fugitive slave who became an abolitionist, William Wells Brown, interviewed slaves that

Tubman had helped. He asked them if they were afraid of getting caught, and one man answered

him "no." Horton states, "'O. no. Moses is got de charm.' Whites couldn't catch her, the man

insisted, because she was 'born wid de charm.' Blending Christianity's belief in the power of the

Holy Spirit with traditional African beliefs in charms, or protective/sacred objects. That the Lord

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[203] Horton, Photograph, 82.

[204] Horton, 20.

had given her the power, and her daring close escapes."[205] This man said that the reason she never got caught, and the fact that he was not afraid to get caught, was because she had this "charm" about her that God himself gave her. She had these visions of where and when to go, and they all believed that it was God himself directing them. Because of this, and how famous she became during the 1850s, the risk to herself and those she was helping increased. Horton writes, "Nevertheless, her legend grew, and as she told her stories in parlors and at antislavery meetings- which she often did to raise money for the antislavery cause-she became renowned for never losing anyone she conducted out of bondage."[206] Tubman's name grew, and her legend of becoming "Moses" allowed her to save as many slaves as she could, bringing them to freedom. She overcame every danger thrown at her and never lost anyone.

The amount of people she saved varies, depending on the source. But according to Horton's book, it states, "Bradford estimated that Tubman made nineteen trips and rescued more than three hundred people. Tubman herself remembered about eleven troops from Canada, and Garrett believed that she rescued between sixty and eighty people…Kate Larson put the number that Tubman personally rescued at about seventy, with about fifty more instructed."[207] From those three sources, Tubman, in her twelve years of service on the Underground Railroad, saved around sixty to eighty people on about a dozen trips into the South. Overall, Tubman was an extremely valuable conductor on the railroad due to the connections she made, the number of slaves she saved, and the amount of money she raised to help the railroad. Whether God was really speaking to her or not, she managed to help a lot on the Underground Railroad.

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[205] Horton, 24.

[206] Horton, 24.

[207] Horton, 27.

One of the most famous abolitionists, Frederick Douglass, was himself a slave at one point. At first, he was known as Frederick Bailey. When he was nineteen, he had tried to escape but got himself arrested and returned to his master. Two years later he had a new plan and this time it worked. According to Foner, "Assistance of Anna Murray, a free black woman he planned to marry…provided the money for a rail ticket, and Bailey borrowed papers for a retired black sailor identifying him as a free man. Dressed in nautical attire, he boarded a train, hoping to reach New York City."[208] Douglass met a woman named Anna Murray who was a freed Black woman whom he was going to marry. Murray gave Douglass money for a train ticket, and then he was able to borrow papers from a retired black sailor. To ride a train at this time as African American, the person would need to have documentation on them stating they were free. Douglass took the train up to New York City where he freed himself. Douglass was directed to the home of David Ruggles who started as the secretary of the New York Committee of Vigilance, who then at the time Douglass came, was the leader of a network that consisted of tons of connections to activists in Philadelphia, Baltimore, upstate New York and New England. Ruggles took Douglass into his home, where he was advised to change his name, so it went from Frederick Bailey to Frederick Johnson. According to Foner, "Ruggles gave him his first introduction to antislavery activities and mailed a letter to Anna Murray, urging her to come to New York at once. A few days later the couple married in Ruggle's parlor."[209] Ruggles got Douglass's fiancé to him and married them. Douglass and his wife did not stay in New York City, Ruggles advised them to head to New Bedford, Massachusetts, and gave them five dollars which led them to another black abolitionist. After living there for a few months, Douglass

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[208] Foner, 1.

[209] Foner, 3.

decided that there were too many families with the last name Johnston, so he finally changed his name to the more famous one, Frederick Douglass.
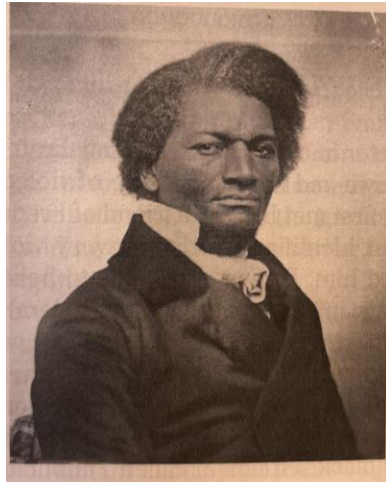
Douglass became a predominant conductor on the Underground railroad as many slaves would stop at his place in New York before making their way up to Canada. In Horton's book, he writes, "In Philadelphia Tubman added her niece Kessiah and her family to the group, and by the time they arrived at Frederick Douglass's home… they numbered eleven including Tubman, the largest party…had ever sheltered." [211] The trip Tubman was meant to bring her husband back to the North, turned into her bringing her family instead. On their way to Canada, they had stopped at Douglass's house. This ended up being the biggest party he had ever hidden at his house. There were eleven of Tubman's family members there, including herself. Another important time when Douglass participated as a conductor was in September of 1851. In Christiana, Pennsylvania, a group of seventy to a hundred and fifty African Americans had ambushed a group of slave hunters where Edward Gorsuch, a slaveholder from Maryland was

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[210] Horton, Photograph, 41.

[211] Horton, 20.

killed. Douglass had encountered three of the leaders of the ambushers, one was William Parker who knew Douglass when they were both enslaved in Maryland. Douglass brought them to his home, fed them, and gave them clothing before he drove them to a boat landing on the Lake of Ontario. There, they met a Black man who worked there who put Parker and the other two leaders on a British boat that was headed for Canada.[212]

Another thing Frederick Douglass became famous for was being a spokesman after he fled slavery. He wrote and published his first book, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave,* in 1845. As Douglass delivered his speeches, many believed that he was an imposter and that his stories of when he was a slave were fake. When his book was published, he started to get validation for his stories. But now this endangered him. According to the journal article, "Autobiographies of Frederick Douglass," James Matlack writes, "Douglass proved that he was not a fake. But the validation of his tales of former bondage opened a direct threat of recapture. Once identifying himself, he lost the anonymity which was essential to a fugitive slave."[213] The only thing that kept fugitive runways safe was keeping their identity hidden. Douglass left for England after his publication where he ended up becoming a free man. Supporters raised the money needed to buy his freedom from his owner, which was seven hundred, and ten dollars and ninety-six cents. The irony is that the very document that put his life at risk is what helped him gain support, and the money he needed to become free. Also, publishing this book was Douglass's way of telling the true story. He told how being a fugitive slave did not mean a white abolitionist rescued or helped you. In Maclack's article, he writes, "It was an attempt to throw off patronizing manipulation by white abolitionists. The Act of putting

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[212] Horton, 20-21.

[213] James Matlack, "Autobiographies of Frederick Douglass," *Phylon (1960-)* 40, no. 1 (1979): 16. https://doi.org/10.2307/274419

his life in print must be seen as an assertion of independence from the prescribed routines of his white sponsors."[214] The book was Douglass's way of asserting his independence. Backing that up Malack wrote further, "Douglass' white sponsors did not want him to analyze present conditions or try to shape future actions. They were to be interpretations and prophets-in short, the leaders- and he was merely the showcase specimen of a fugitive slave."[215] When Douglass gave his speeches, from his point of view, he was the showcase. He was not supposed to create change, he was just supposed to give the people the opportunity to hear the story of slavery from someone who was himself a slave.

A man known for working with Tubman was abolitionist William Still. Still was one of the best-known stationmasters on the Underground Railroad. His family background was rough, as his father, Levin Steel, had bought his freedom in 1807, and moved up North. His mother, Sidney, had also been a slave, who tried to escape once with all four of her kids but was only able to successfully escape with her two daughters months later, leaving her two sons in slavery. They had changed their name from Steel to Still and had William, and even though he was born in New Jersey, technically he was born a slave as his mother was a runaway slave.

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[214] Matlack, 17.

[215] Matlack, 17.

Figure 4. The famous conductor on the Underground Railroad along with the director of the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee, William Still (the 1850s).[216]

In 1838, Philadelphia abolitionists decided to create and organize a vigilance committee that would be there to help any fugitive slaves that came into the city and across their paths. Larry Gara states that the committee had four members. Each of these members had the right and authority to attend to every case they came across where it would involve their help. To do that they needed to raise the necessary funds and while doing so, keep a record of everything they did. This included the receipts of how much everything cost, and where they had to go to help. Still got appointed the Chairman of the committee.[217] As the committee started to grow, they easily gained the confidence of the fugitive runaways. The committee helped find the fugitives a place to stay which usually was within the colored population of Philadelphia.[218] As the chairman of the committee, one of Still's duties was to question the fugitive slaves that crossed his path. Still had to ask the fugitives for their name, their master's names, the experience of their

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[216] Foner, Photograph, 143.

[217] Larry Gara, "William Still and the Underground Railroad," A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies 28, no. 1, (1961): 34, http://www.jstor.org/stable/27770004.

[218] Matlack, 35.

escape, where they came from, and how bad their life as a slave was.[219] As said earlier in the paper, Still took his job a step further and took many of the fugitives' stories and turned them into a book, in narrative form. In 1872, after hiding his work he published them. He published not to brag about what he had done, he wanted to show the efforts that were actually made by the fugitives themselves and how many gained freedom through all the dangers that existed for slaves during the 1850s. Still dedicated his book to the heroic fugitives and their befrienders but he made it clear that the slave's stories were more important which is why almost all of the eight-hundred pages that are in his book are about the slave stories and the back of the book are a few pages about some of the conductors, black and white.[220] Still let the stories of the fugitives be the main actors of the story as they should have been. In 1884, Still attended a meeting with other abolitionists where he told all the other abolitionists that he did the record keeping the way he did because it mattered, it was interesting, and it helped his family.[221]

A man that worked with Tubman, Douglass, and Still was Thomas Garrest, a white abolitionist and stationmaster, Thomas Garret. He was born to Quaker parents that lived in Upper Darby, Delaware County, Pennsylvania.

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[219] Matlack, 37.

[220] Still, vi & vii.

[221] Matlack, 37.

THOMAS GARRETT,
Station Master
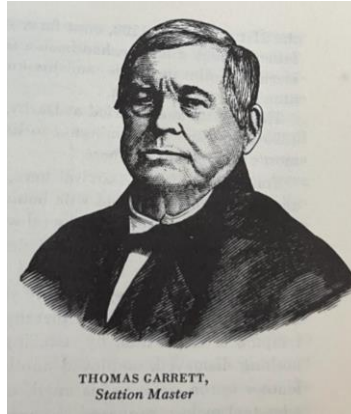
Figure 5. Famous stationmaster of the Underground Railroad, Thomas Garret (1850s)[222]

At the beginning of his career, Garret was an iron merchant in the city of Wilmington, Delaware. Shortly after he started working, he claimed that he heard a voice within him, telling him that his work must be to help and defend fugitive slaves. From there, he assisted and aided any fugitive that came across his path seeking freedom. His house became a refuge to fugitive slaves, even for Tubman. Horton writes, "The group made its way to Thomas Garret's house in Wilmington, Delaware. On December 28, Garret forwarded them to Philadelphia, sending a letter to alert the antislavery office to their impending arrival."[223] When Tubman was rescuing her family, she stopped at Garret's house, on her route back to Canada. She was one of the many that passed by. Horton writes, "By his own count Garret helped 2,700 people escape from slavery. He spent most of his savings on fines for these efforts but always stood ready to help freedom seekers."[224] Garret's assistance is similar to what many white abolitionists contributed to the Underground Railroad. Garret became a famous stationmaster, but he mainly helped by aiding with money. White abolitionists usually brought money when they contributed to the

[222] Still, photograph, 647.

[223] Horton, 30.

[224] Horton, 21.

railroad. Garret saved many and, as the 1850s passed, he was faced with many fines. This was due to the passing of the Fugitive Slave Law in 1850. Many other white abolitionists faced similar fines, due to this law.

The Fugitive Slave Law made running away on the Underground Railroad harder and more dangerous. It also made helping and hiding the runaway slaves more dangerous for the conductors. Northern states such as Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania passed laws that had giving legal rights to those who were accused of being a fugitive. This sometimes included having a lawyer, trial by jury, forbidding state officials to be used in capturing these slaves, and the ability to testify for their defense. This law favored the slaveholder's ideals, as it tried to ensure that the runaway slaves would be returned to their owners. Horton states, "Making it an administrative process in the hands of commissioners, with no trial required-and requiring a $1,000 fine, and six months in jail for anyone helping…same penalties for bystanders who refused to aid authorities trying to capture a fugitive."[225] This law goes against what those Northern states had put in place. It also banned these fugitives from speaking in their defense. Slave catching became a business. According to Horton, "Bystander provision effectively enlisted everyone in the slave-catching business…prohibited accused from speaking in their own defense…paid federal officials $5 if the captive was found to be free and $10 if he or she was found to be a slave."[226] Officials were being paid off to find these African Americans, and determine if they were either free or guilty of being runaway slaves. If they were found to be a slave, then the official made more money. Abolitionists were against this law and the effects it created.

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[225] Horton, 19.

[226] Horton, 19.

This created a business of slave catchers heading up North, targeting and kidnapping free African Americans, bringing them down South to make money. Horton states, "biased that it would encourage the kidnapping of free African Americans, exacerbating the problem presented by slave catchers...seeking…quick money by capturing fugitives and kidnapping free blacks."[227] Horton writes that these slave catchers are running around the border states and the Northern states looking to make money quickly by trying to capture fugitives and sometimes freeing blacks. When these free African Americans were kidnapped or the fugitive slaves were captured, most times their rates were to be freed and not be sent back to a plantation. Horton states, "Once arrested, a fugitive's chances of escape or release were poor; nearly 90 percent of those arrested were re-enslaved… more important… Railroad to prevent an arrest in the first place."[228] In ninety percent of the arrests that had taken place, those fugitives were re-enslaved. The Fugitive Slave Act allowed the motives of the white, southern plantations to win, most of the time.

Conductors had to figure out ways to work around the increasing danger of helping these slaves run away. For example, focusing on the free black population in Baltimore. After the law was passed, this group represented one of the most important resources for the fugitive slaves, when they tried to escape from Maryland and Virginia. This group of 25,000 free Black African Americans owned and maintained two banks, fifteen churches and schools, and thirty aid societies.[229] Having resources like this increased fugitive slaves' chances of finding the safety and escaping up North.

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[227] Horton, 19.

[228] Horton, 20.

[229] Horton, 19.

In 1890, Professor Wilbur H. Siebert, at Ohio State University, started researching the Underground Railroad. Siebert contacted as many surviving abolitionists as he could and questioned them on their recollections of the railroad. He did tons of interviews, looked through old local newspapers, and even started to retrace the routes that fugitive slaves had taken. From the 1890s up until the year he died, in 1951, he published as much as he could on the railroad. Siebert's final general history of the railroad stated that it was not a formal institution with members and officers. Siebert believed that the Underground Railroad was a highly organized system that used thousands of northern agents, along with a complex network of stations that eventually lead to Canada. Siebert, by name, identified more than three thousand, two hundred and eleven "agents." Nearly all of them were white abolitionists. Foner writes that the problem with Siebert's breakdown of the Underground Railroad is that Siebert tended to ignore responses to the questions he asked if they did not fit his image of the Underground Railroad. Foner gives an example of a man from Massachusetts that Siebert ignored. "Massachusetts abolitionist who emphasized the ad hoc nature of the response to the arrival of fugitives and noted, 'We had no regular route and no regular station.'" Siebert ignored replies like this one if it made his theory of the Underground Railroad inaccurate. This included the idea that it was highly organized and that the stations were well known and never moved.[230]

Siebert's theory went unchallenged until 1961 when Larry Gara published his book, *The Liberty Line*. With this book, Gara critiqued Siebert's theory of the Underground Railroad. Foner stated that Gara scolded Siebert, for accepting and further creating the romanticized memories of abolitionists from that time. Gara writes that Siebert lumped individuals together. He put those who would help a fugitive every so often, and those individuals who spent their energy and time

[230] Foner, 12-13.

helping fugitive slaves escape to freedom. Gara goes further to write that past historians have

been giving legitimacy to the legend that many white abolitionists were trying to create. They

were risking their lives, out of the goodness of their hearts, at the expense of helping these

fugitive slaves. Gara does agree that there were some individuals like William Still who helped.

But his theory is that many slaves had escaped, almost always on their own and rarely ever got

help from abolitionists, until they had actually reached the North.[231] Foner argues that both

historians are right, but also wrong at the same time. Foner writes that based on the findings of

recent studies, the Underground Railroad was not a highly organized system with clearly marked

routes and stations (like Siebert stated it was). Instead, it was an interlocking system of local

networks. Vigilance committees would thrive, fall and then a few years come back again.[232]

Foner states, "The 'underground railroad' should be understood not as a single entity but as an

umbrella term for local groups that employed numerous methods to assist fugitives, some public

and entirely legal, some flagrant violations of the law."[233] Foner's argument of the Underground

Railroad is that it is not one body, but rather hundreds of local groups that worked to assist

fugitive slaves, whether it was legal or not.

     The Underground Railroad would not exist, or be as successful as it was, were it not for

the support from black communities from the North and South, freed or enslaved. Before the

creation of organized networks, individual slaves and free blacks were the ones offering hiding

places or assisting escapes in the South. In the North, many names are lost to history. But black

men and women were offering help. For example, in New York City, hotel employees told many

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[231] Foner, 13-14.

[232] Foner, 15.

[233] Foner, 15.

slaves that when their master brought them here, they were now legally free, or men that worked on ships hid slaves on the boats at Southern ports and brought them up North. Free blacks were the main creators of and participants in the vigilance committees. Each of them was created locally, like the one Still helped created in Philadelphia. White abolitionists came in at a time when the local committees started working with other abolitionists, making it an interracial system. Foner writes that in the 1830 interracial abolition movement, sympathetic white abolitionists started offering their help, which consisted of legal, monetary, and material to the fugitive slaves and the committees. Foner is stating that this time is a rare occasion in antebellum America, where there is interracial cooperation and linking the lower-class blacks of the vigilance committees and their typically upper-class white allies.[234]

It is clear that the idea of white abolitionists being the only "heroes" of the Underground Railroad is untrue. People like William Still, Harriet Tubman, David Ruggles, and Frederick Douglass prove that theory wrong. Each source used in this paper has the backing to prove that the Underground Railroad was an interracial, complicated system of stations and abolitionists. Overall, the real heroes were the slaves themselves. These fugitives ran away from slavery, knowing that there was a chance of recapture or death, maybe even leaving family behind. But the idea of staying a slave was not worth it to them. History has proven that these are the stories that are being erased, but they are the most important. That is why having someone like Still, who published hundreds of his stories, is so important. He was someone who understood that, conductors, both white and black, did help many fugitives escape. But without the slaves' determination and drive for freedom, there would have never been an Underground Railroad in

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[234] Foner, 18-19.

the first place. This is what Foner, Horton, Ruggles, Still, and Douglass highlight in their writings.

The Underground Railroad was a system of routes taken by slaves running away to the North, in an effort to gain their freedom. Canada became the ideal dream place to go because once the fugitive slave crossed that boundary line, freedom became their new life. The journey for those slaves was not easy. The fugitives had to deal with slave hunters tracking them down. They had to find their way up North through unmarked routes, and if they made it, they then had to figure out how to support themselves financially. Most times, they found their way to freedom on their own. But sometimes, they did need help, whether from conductors, stationmasters, or other slaves themselves. Historians in the past have glorified the work of the white abolitionist because that is how many wanted the history of the Underground Railroad to be remembered. White abolitionists did help and impact the outcomes of many runaways, but they were not the main reason. The reason that so many slaves were able to run away on the Underground Railroad was because of their own determination for freedom along with the black communities whether that was other slaves or freed African Americans. The Underground Railroad worked because of self-determination and the mix of help that came with it.

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Part II. Great (Dead) White Men

Chapter 5.

Dominic M. Lynch, "The Forgotten President: A Look into The Confederacy's First and Only President, Jefferson Davis"

Throughout the history of the American Presidency, especially within the past forty years, every American President and candidate has had a spotlight into their life. This includes their background, who they are as people, their values, their family and so much more. Yet, there was one president that has had his life overlooked, even though he was never President of the United States. Jefferson Davis was the first and only President of the Confederate States of America. Jefferson Davis was a crucial factor in the Confederacy. Davis was not only well educated but also had a vast political background, was a Senator that would then go on to lead the Confederacy. Davis faced multiple challenges as he was trying to lead this brand-new government while fighting a Civil War for the freedom, he believed the South deserved. The impact of Davis on the Confederate South has long been overlooked by historians.

Jefferson Davis had a humble upbringing. According to William J. Cooper Jr., the Boyd Professor of History at Louisiana State University, "Jefferson Davis was born on June 3, 1808, in Christian County, Kentucky. Located in the west-central section of the state and bordering Tennessee, Christian County at that time was a sparsely settled part of the western frontier."[235]

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[235] William J Cooper, *Jefferson Davis, American* (New York: Vintage Books, 2001), 27.

Cooper continued by talking about Samuel Davis, Jefferson's dad. Cooper mentions the basis of Jefferson's education being established by a Roman Catholic Church in Kentucky. Jefferson Davis ended up attending St. Thomas College in Washington County, Kentucky. One thing to keep in mind is that this is not a college by today's definition. This school was very similar to a prep school rather than a college. During Davis's time at St. Thomas College, his family had moved from Kentucky to Mississippi. Davis would then move on to college as an undergrad at Transylvania University where he was successful. Unfortunately, during his time at Transylvania University, Davis's father passed away. Cooper says it was a terrible blow. "[Y]ou must imagine." he explained to his sister-in-law Susannah. "I cannot describe the shock my feelings sustained, at that sad intelligence." Jefferson respected and loved his father and Samuel Davis's recent and growing financial problems had troubled his youngest child."[236] Davis's childhood was very simple and after his father passed away, he was encouraged to continue his education. After Davis graduated from Transylvania University, he then decided to go to West Point and this is where he gained his expansive military knowledge and eventually became a general and military leader.

Historian and former Professor of History at Virginia Tech, William C. Davis, notes something very unique about Jefferson Davis regarding his interest in West Point. He says

Before he got there, Jefferson Davis never desired to attend the military academy. When he did go, it was chiefly to please his brother Joseph, and then only for a year's trial. He amply demonstrated in his record of offenses that he resented substantial authority and could not yet control his own spirit of independence. When caught and questioned about

[236] Cooper, 27.

his conduct, he never admitted to actual wrongdoing but rather rationalized his behavior and resorted to fine points or technicalities to exonerate himself.[237]

Davis's disinterest in West Point makes sense when his academic accomplishments, as well as his behavior that was exhibited at West Point, are considered.

Cooper continued to discuss Davis's experience at West Point by saying, "Jefferson Davis initially encountered West Point when he took the entrance examination. His appointment did not guarantee admission, but only the right to be examined for admission."[238] This eventually led to a problem for Davis because he was not able to go to West Point until September and Cooper mentions that the reasons for his tardiness were never revealed. Even though he was still granted admission to West Point, classes had already begun by the time he had arrived in September of 1824. Davis would eventually be approved to still attend West Point. Cooper then continued to talk about Davis's time at West Point and he mentions that "on three occasions Jefferson's risk-taking jeopardized his survival at West Point. Any of them could have gotten him shipped home, and one did result in his arraignment before a court-martial. Another led to a serious inquiry. All of them involved alcohol, either the quest for it or the drinking of it, or both."[239] Cooper also talks about how Davis passed at West Point but without distinction. This means that Davis was not at the top of his class and class rank determined which branch of the army someone was put into. Davis graduated 23rd out of 33 students so he was placed in the infantry. Davis decided to go to a nationally recognized military academy and did not care about classes. Davis was much more focused on drinking, partying, and getting into trouble than doing

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[237] William C Davis, *Jefferson Davis: The Man and His Hour* (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1996) 37-38.
[238] Cooper, 29.
[239] Cooper, 33.

well in classes. Many historians credit Davis for his West Point education even though he almost failed and almost got kicked out. It is interesting to note that Davis did not excel at West Point, yet most historians regarded him as a successful military commander during the Civil War. Davis notes from his book

> West Point was a test of, and training ground for, character. It changed men or helped them to find themselves. It changed Davis. "The four years I remained at [W]est Point made me a different creature from that which nature had designed me to be," he told a sister less than a year after graduating. Just what he felt nature had intended him to be, he could not say yet, but for better or for worse, now he was convinced that West Point had made him into a soldier."[240]

After Davis was on the verge of being kicked out, he barely graduates from West Point. He was appointed as brevet second lieutenant in the infantry. He was then sent to the Infantry School of Practice at Jefferson Barracks in Missouri.[241] Davis would then go on to lead troops during the Mexican American War.

After Davis continued to serve in Missouri, he falls in love with President Zachary Taylor's daughter, Sarah Knox Taylor. According to Davis, Jefferson Davis would end up resigning from his post as lieutenant just a few months before he married Sarah.[242] Davis and Taylor would only be married for a few weeks as she would pass away shortly after their marriage. According to the National Park Service, "By 1836 Davis was a plantation owner, and in the 1840s he owned over 70 slaves. He became involved in local Mississippi politics in the

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[240] Davis, 37-38.
[241] Cooper, 39-40.
[242] Davis 69-70.

early 1830s but made a name for himself fighting in the Mexican American War."[243] After the

Mexican American War, Davis returned to his home state which was Mississippi. When it comes

to slaves, Cooper adds

> Not surprisingly, Davis's slave force consisted chiefly of young people. As a beginning
>
> planter, he would logically want to obtain youthful slaves, who would presumably have a
>
> long work career before them. In 1840. He had an exceptionally balanced sex ratio,
>
> twenty-one men and eighteen women. Although the record is silent on the familial
>
> relationships among these slaves, the substantial number of children coupled with an
>
> almost exact sexual division in the next two age categories suggest slave families. This
>
> possibility could also mean that the natural increase provided a superb way for
>
> slavemaster Davis to expand his slave population.[244]

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[243] Boston National Historical Park and National Park Service, "The Anti-Secessionist Jefferson Davis - Boston National Historical Park (U.S. National Park Service)," www.nps.gov, September 2015, https://www.nps.gov/bost/the-anti-secessionist-jefferson-davis.htm#:~:text=He%20graduated%20from%20West%20Point.
[244] Cooper, 78-79.

Even though Davis did not purchase many more slaves. This quote shows that he was more than happy to grow his slave population for his plantation.

An image of a group of Jefferson Davis's former slaves. [245]

Before Jefferson Davis became the President of the Confederate States of America, he was involved in local and state politics first. Davis started his political career in 1845. The Democrat, Davis was elected to the United States House of Representatives. Davis had served in the House of Representatives until he went to fight in the Mexican American War in 1846. After the war, he was a Senator for the state of Mississippi. After that, he served as the Secretary of War under President Franklin Pierce. Before the war, Davis had served in the House of Representatives. Davis returned from the Mexican American War and was appointed to the Senate by then Mississippi Governor, Alexander G. Brown. Davis was appointed because the Senator that originally held that seat had passed away in May of 1847. Davis temporarily took

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[245] Louisiana Digital Library, *Former Slaves of Jefferson Davis*, 1863, *Https://Louisianadigitallibrary.org/Islandora/Object/Tahil-Aaw%3A769*, 1863.

the seat in December of that same year. In January of 1848, the Mississippi state legislature

voted to keep Davis in the seat for the remainder of the term. At first, there was a lot of backlash

from local politicians as well as the public about giving Davis the senate seat. During Davis' first

tenure in office, he was involved in many things including the South trying to gain more land for

the expansion of slavery. It is said that Davis, even though being a novice was confident and

involved on the Senate floor. Got involved with many other Senators. This is not the last time

Davis would represent Mississippi in the Senate. Davis initially served from 1847 to 1851. After

serving as Secretary of War under President Pierce, Davis would return to the Senate from 1857

to 1861.[246] This section of Davis' career is important because this is the point in his life where he

is starting to be noticed. It is also mentioned that Davis was starting to become known as a

Senator, he was active in the Senate and fought for what he believed in. Davis starts to set a base

for his political career when he serves his first partial term. To again prove that Davis was

becoming known, he was becoming known by the Presidents of the United States at the time,

eventually leading him to become the Secretary of War.

Jefferson Davis served as the Secretary of War under President Franklin Pierce from

1853 to 1857. Before Davis would become Secretary of War, he had served in the Senate. In

1846, Davis resigned from his seat in the House of Representatives, and he was a colonel for

Mexican American War. Davis commanded the First Mississippi Volunteers. Davis had helped

win the Battle of Buena Vista in early 1847 and he was praised in the South. The South regarded

Davis as a national hero. Davis would return to Mississippi after the war and was appointed to

the Senate. Davis became the chairman of the Military Affairs Committee in the Senate.

President Franklin Pierce made him Secretary of War in 1853. Davis enlarged the army,

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[246] William E Dodd, *Jefferson Davis* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1966) 93-104.

strengthened coastal defenses, and directed three surveys for railroads to the Pacific.[247] When looking at Davis's time as Secretary of War, there was not anything that stood out or made him an exceptional Secretary of War. Davis had one massive downside during his time as Secretary of War and this would also be an issue during his time as the President of the Confederacy as well. Davis tended to have the mentality of being better than all of the other people he worked with. Davis tended to degrade not have any patience for his generals during the Civil War. He had the same behavior while Secretary of War. Cooper adds to this by saying "Many came to feel that Davis allowed his authority and power to get the better of him, aided by the widely held perception that he could do no wrong in Pierce's eyes. Albert Brown would exclaim that it was "hardly possible for Davis and myself to be friends." He condemned the secretary's imperious manner, declaring that Davis tried to play the "big man me and little man you" all the time."[248] The complaints about Davis became more and more common and they had come from everywhere. Davis knew that he controlled the lives of thousands of people while he was Secretary of War. When there was something Davis wanted to be done, he did it. Davis did not care about the opinions of the people he worked with. Davis did it his way or nobody's way and never considered others' feelings.

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[247] Hudson Strode, "Jefferson Davis | Biography, Facts, & Quotes," in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, December 2, 2018, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Jefferson-Davis.
[248] Davis, 235.
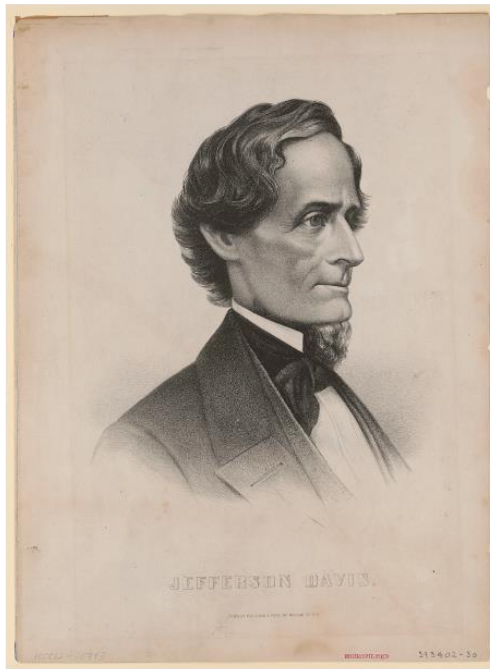
Jefferson Davis around the time he had served as the Secretary of War.[249]

When much of the South decided to secede from the United States, they decided they not only needed a leader but a central government. The formation of the central government of the Confederacy was remarkably similar to the federal government of the United States. When the government for the South was created, the Articles of Confederation were referenced and used. Even though the capital would eventually end up in Richmond, Virginia, the government conventions started in Montgomery, Alabama. During the convention, the South decided to bring back old laws of the United States but change them so they favor the beliefs and values of the South. Very similar to the Articles of Confederation, it was established that states would have more rights and there would be a less democratic administration. There were also laws established that allowed all types of enslavement to be forever legal. This law especially was

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[249] Currier & Ives, *Jefferson Davis*, 1856, *Https://Www.loc.gov/Item/2002707656/, 1856.*

important for Davis as he owned slaves throughout his entire life after he became a plantation owner.

After the new government was established, it was time to elect a leader. This person would become the first President of the Confederate States of America. Discussions continued in Montgomery for who the people would nominate and elect as their president. The election took place among the delegates in Montgomery. There was a list of candidates created which included Jefferson Davis and Alexander H. Stephens. When discussions first began, a portion of the convention had opposition to Davis being elected. However, there was opposition to Davis being President even before the convention in Montgomery. Eventually, after many debates and conversations, the former Secretary of War was elected President of the Confederacy in February of 1861. Just months after Abraham Lincoln's election. Initially, Stephens was the front runner for the Presidency, but he became the Vice President of the Confederate States of America after Davis was elected President. Davis was inaugurated as the first president at the temporary capital of Montgomery, Alabama.[250] The capital of the Confederacy would eventually move to Richmond, Virginia once the state seceded from the Union.

According to Woodworth, at the outbreak of the Civil War, few men in America seemed to be better prepared for the role of commander in chief than Jefferson Davis. He could boast of a West Point education and regular army experience. He had commanded both regulars and volunteers, the latter in combat. He had held both administrative and political positions in the government. By contrast, Abraham Lincoln had no military training and hardly any military experience. Nor had he served in any administrative post before the Presidency.[251] Davis was not

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[250] Dodd, 219-222.
[251] Steven E Woodworth, *Jefferson Davis and His Generals: The Failure of Confederate Command in the West.* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1992) 305.

perfect, there were issues in his presidency. He was the first president of a brand-new country, founded on radical ideas and forming beliefs they felt would be best for their people. Davis was a firm believer in the expansion of slavery and believed the best way to do that was to break the United States apart. One of the most important details of Davis' background is his education. Davis was educated at West Point, which means he was very well trained and had a strong military background in battlefield combat. A strong military background would become critical in many ways. One of the ways Davis' military background became apparent was under President Franklin Pierce. Under Pierce, Davis served as the Secretary of War. Davis' military background is very important to him because it influenced everything Davis did. His knowledge helped him on the battlefield during the Civil War even though the South ended up losing. Although Davis had a great background doesn't mean it was always used efficiently or to his benefit. Woodworth points out that Davis was very qualified for the position of President of the Confederacy. When looking at Lincoln and Davis side by side just off credentials alone, Davis had more to his name. On the other hand, when looking at accomplishments and traits as leaders, Lincoln beats Davis. The big difference that defines Lincoln versus Davis is how they functioned in the office of President. Lincoln learned and evolved while surrounding himself with great knowledgeable people to mentor him, while Davis made all his close friends and relatives his advisors and didn't seem to evolve as the war went on. Davis also tended to have a mentality of his way or the highway and that caused a lot of tension among the leadership of the Confederacy.
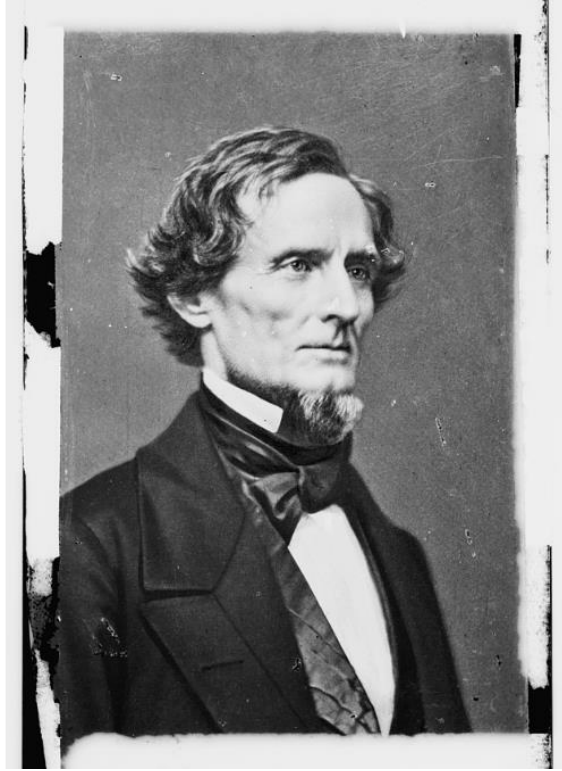
This photo of Jefferson Davis was taken between 1855 and 1860 which is right before the start of his presidency. This is the closest Davis ever got to a Presidential Portrait.[252]

Jefferson Davis as Commander in Chief of the Confederate States of America faced a monumental task when he entered the office of President. Even though Davis had held previous political offices, this doesn't mean that his short presidency did have its fair share of issues. One of the first major problems of Davis' presidency was his friends and relationships. When Davis became President of the Confederacy, he had many friendships and relationships already with many people in the South. Even though having friends and many people you trust by your side is important, Davis decided to have too many of them be appointed to positions in his government. Davis tended to rely on his friends too much and that caused him to fail to exercise good judgment and decisive leadership which can be a challenge when you are President of a brand-

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[252] Brady-Handy Photograph Collection, *Jefferson Davis*, 1855, *Https://Www.loc.gov/Item/2017895893/, 1855*.

new republic. These relationships caused Davis to make more decisions based on personal feelings and that got in the way of his political decisions. According to Woodworth, His preparation was excellent, and his determination and diligence exemplary. Yet if he lacked the final measure of greatness that would have propelled him into the ranks of history's most renowned figures, it was probably that he could not see the faults of his friends and that he lacked adequate ability to handle pressure and-most important-take decisive action.[253] Davis also had a hard time reacting quickly to major battles and events. Davis had little issues that all added up to make his presidency a challenge.

During Davis's time as President of the Confederacy, one of the major downfalls he had was he was very controlling and as mentioned earlier had his way or the highway mentality. This caused a lot of issues with his generals as well as the governors in the South. Going into the Civil War, Davis had decided to use a strategy that was similar to the one George Washington used during the Revolution. While Davis had attempted this strategy, one of the major things that had stopped him was the governors and congressmen of the Confederacy. There was a massive demand from the governors and congressmen of the Confederacy for Davis to "defend every portion of the Confederacy from penetration by "Lincoln's abolition hordes." Thus in 1861, small armies were dispersed around the Confederate perimeter along the Arkansas-Missouri border, at several points on the Gulf and Atlantic coasts, and more. Historians have criticized this "cordon defense" for dispersing manpower so thinly that Union forces were certain to break through somewhere, as they did at several points in 1862."[254] One important thing to note is that this push did not only come from governors and congressmen, but it also came from the public

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[253] Woodworth, 306-307.
[254] James M McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003) 337.

too. These disputes between Davis and the Confederate South caused a lot of problems in the long run when Davis was trying to take control of his chaotic country.

Another thing that caused Davis tension during his time as President was his generals. Davis tended to pick his friends over the most qualified people for the position. Davis's generals tended to be friends over anything. Davis did not prioritize experience and knowledge, and this ended up causing issues and frustrations. Woodworth gives a great example of Davis's frustrations with Joseph E. Johnston. He says "Davis's choice for commander of this huge area was not as prudent. Joseph E. Johnston may have been – as Davis and nearly everyone else, North or South, supposed – an intelligent and skillful officer, but he certainly lacked the qualities to make a great general and, in any case, considered Davis's new system unworkable."[255] Woodworth would then continue to mention that after Johnston fails on the battlefield, Davis is outraged and is ready to replace him in a heartbeat. This was a constant theme throughout the war. Davis would choose friends for generals and after they didn't perform well, they were constantly replaced. This created a military for the confederacy that was inefficient and constantly changing.

During Davis's time as President of the Confederacy, there were many laws passed that caused a lot of controversies and debate. One of the laws that caused the biggest tension was regarding captured African American Union soldiers. The law stated that captured African American Union soldiers could be executed in the South. McPherson mentions that even before any enforcement of this law, the South would sometimes execute African American soldiers and their officers. Even before the official adoption of African American enlistment by the Union, it

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[255] Woodworth, 184-185.

is said that there were premature efforts along this line in occupied Louisiana and South

Carolina.[256] On August 21, 1862, this official statement came from the Confederate army

headquarters, "a general order that such "crimes and outrages" required "retaliation" in the form

of "execution as a felon" of any officer of black troops who was captured."[257] When it came to

Davis and this order, he fully supported it. Davis not only was willing to execute Union soldiers

in the South, but he also wanted to prove a point. McPherson says, "President Davis approved

their "summary execution" as an "example" to discourage the arming of slaves."[258] Davis

believed that white people would always be superior and this shows how much he believed that.

    After the Civil War, Davis would eventually end up at his plantation where he would

spend the rest of his life. After the death of Davis, just like many prominent figures in history,

memorials and statues started to pop up around the southern United States. Jefferson Davis

ended up having dozens and dozens of memorials and statues built, as well as schools named

after him as well as other national landmarks. Davis even has counties in the south that are

named after him. Davis had many monuments across the country ranging from Atlanta, Georgia

to the University of Texas, to New Orleans. Many of the monuments have been removed or

destroyed. One example of one monument that is no longer around is a statue of Jefferson Davis

at the University of Texas Austin. Wikipedia says " In May 2015, the student government at

the University of Texas at Austin voted almost unanimously to remove a statue of Jefferson

Davis that had been erected on the campus South Mall. Beginning shortly after the Charleston

church shooting of 2015, "Black Lives Matter" had been written repeatedly in bold red letters on

the base of the Davis statue. Previous messages had included "Davis must fall" and "Liberate

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[256] McPherson, 566.
[257] McPherson, 566.
[258] McPherson, 566.

U.T." The University of Texas officials convened a task force to determine whether to honor the students' petition for removal of the statue. Acting on the strong recommendation of the task force, UT's President Gregory Fenves announced on August 13, 2015, that the statue would be relocated to serve as an educational exhibit in the university's Dolph Briscoe Center for American History museum. The statue was removed on August 30, 2015."[259] Not only have monuments been taken down or destroyed, but schools named after Davis have also mostly changed their name and many states have tried to move away from recognizing Davis regularly. Some states in the south still celebrate Davis. For example, his home state of Kentucky still has a Washington monument-style structure at the birthplace of Jefferson Davis, and it can still be visited currently. Even though most of the monuments have either been destroyed, moved, or taken down, some states still praise Davis as a national hero, even though he had no hesitation to tear the country apart for the expansion of slavery.

The impact that Jefferson Davis had on the Confederate South tended to be overlooked by historians. The purpose of this paper was to show the importance and critical role that Davis played in the South. Jefferson Davis had a long life with so many different experiences, he is generally overlooked when it comes to the Civil War. Davis played a significant role in the South because he was the person that defined what the South was fighting for. The Confederate States of America chose him to lead the country. Throughout his life, Davis had supported many things that have been considered morally wrong including the expansion of slavery and having no hesitation in breaking apart the United States of America. It was very interesting looking at many different historians' perspectives of Jefferson Davis. All these historians came from vast

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[259] Wikipedia, "List of Memorials to Jefferson Davis," Wikipedia, December 28, 2020, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_memorials_to_Jefferson_Davis.

backgrounds and perspectives. It has been made clear by all historians that the impact of Davis on the Confederate South was crucial. Each historian takes the time to break down the various events in Davis's life and how they impacted him. Jefferson Davis's values were not ideal by any modern standard but the effect that he had on the Confederate South is still valued by many. It is a good thing that Davis and his generals were defeated because who knows what the United States and the Confederate States of America would look like if the outcome of the Civil War had been different.

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Chapter 6.

Sayre Cronin, "What If Lincoln Lived?"

"The probability that we may fall in the struggle ought not to deter us from the support of a cause we believe to be just; it shall not deter me."[260] This was the attitude Lincoln held with throughout his political career, all the way up to when he died. The type of leader that Lincoln would have been, if that were one more moderate, or one quite radical, would have made an impact on all of history. Lincoln would have been able to flesh out and hopefully implement his plan for Reconstruction which could have been better than Andrew Johnson's. The major areas of economics and politics in not only the South, but the rest of the nation as well could have looked much different than we know them to have become. There is the question though of whether it would have been better than what history shows that should be discussed here. Lastly, to put this whole what-if scenario into context, the so-called winners and losers of the Reconstruction period we know should be addressed. If Lincoln had lived, he would have made Reconstruction more of a revolutionary era than it came to be

There are several historiographical debates that this paper engages with. The question of what type of leader would Lincoln have been, is one that many historians have tried to answer. Some would say that he would have fallen back onto the idea of colonization that he once proposed just before the Civil War. Colonization being the widespread movement of people of color to Africa, even if they were born in America. While this is one answer, others would say that he would have been one of a kind for his time and push for equal rights for all people of color. Historians have also argued over why Reconstruction failed. Some would put all the blame

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[260] Abraham Lincoln, Speech to the Sub-Treasury, December 26, 1839, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln Volume 1,* ed. Roy P. Basler (Springfield, Illinois: University of Michigan, 2001), 178.

on Johnson and how he handled it. Some would point out that simply Lincoln dying doomed

Reconstruction to fail. Others would even blame the South for the failure of Reconstruction. This

would also mean that the discussion of the course on Reconstruction is also being entered.

Lastly, Lincoln's role in all of history is something that historians argue over. While some think

that he was one of the greatest presidents to serve, others would argue that he could have done

more.

Counterfactual arguments must be addressed when discussing any what-if situation in

history. When it comes to these counterfactual arguments, there are the good ones, that are based

on facts and can rely on other assumptions. Then there are bad ones, that only use imagination

when looking into the what-if scenario. The Civil War itself is a historical event that is targeted

with counterfactual arguments quite often. When it comes to crafting a counterfactual argument,

one must make sure they keep their imagination disciplined so as not to stray too far away from

facts and into imagination.[261] According to Rutgers University philosophy professor, Martin

Bunzl, "Counterfactual inferences are only as good as the assumptions that one makes about the

background conditions" (Bunzl 2004, 849). In the right conditions, counterfactual arguments can

be used as a tool for learning. It is important to note that when making a counterfactual

argument, you also need to make sure that rational thinking is a central part of the argument.

Sometimes certain events simply come down to luck, and this must be realized that there could

be an infinite number of different outcomes if there was no luck at all.[262] With all this in mind, it

also helps immensely to try and build from previous historical arguments to base the

counterfactual argument. As Bunzl builds on a quote from Willard Quine, "We are like sailors

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[261] Martin Bunzl, *Counterfactual History: A User's Guide*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004), 848.
[262] Bunzl, *Counterfactual History,* 857.

who must rebuild our ship at sea... counterfactual judgements are only possible when we do just that" (Bunzl 2004, 858). All of this comes together to create counterfactual arguments all throughout history that have helped better understand certain events and shape their memory. Now that the topic of counterfactual arguments has been discussed, what type of leader Lincoln would have been needs to be determined.

The argument has been made that Lincoln would have come to be a very progressive president that would have fought for civil rights for people of color. One historical writer of African-America history, Mary Frances Berry has come to agree with this stance. Berry, through her research, has come to believe that Lincoln, even if he did not believe in full equality, that he would have believed that people of color should have the same rights given by the Declaration of Independence.[263] After looking through all the documents that Berry did, she concluded that Lincoln was trying to appear as though he was only trying to end slavery or at least contain it so he could gain the presidency.[264] This was an act that would ultimately work, since he won the presidency in both elections. By the end of the document, Berry says that while Lincoln may not have been the most progressive of the time, he was the most progressive that could be president at the time.[265] This would mean that he was the only hope for the people of color to be able to gain anything close to equal rights at the time. This shows that through Lincoln's own works he was going to at least fight for what he thought was right. Pre-war Lincoln may have even been a man that only wanted to stop the spread of slavery, but by the end of the war he had become one of the leading figures of civil rights, even if it was not exactly out in the open. In the time before his death and the end of the Civil War, Lincoln proved that he was going to make a large push to

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[263] Mary Frances Berry, *Lincoln and Civil Rights for Blacks,* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1980), 50.
[264] Berry, *Lincoln and Civil Rights for Blacks,* 54.
[265] Berry, *Lincoln and Civil Rights for Blacks,* 57.

set things in motion towards civil rights far before they happened in the history that we know. While Berry took the approach of looking at Lincoln's works in general, other historians have decided to look at colonization specifically.

Phillip Shaw Paludan, history professor and a leading authority of Lincoln's life, went against what most historians would do. Paludan looked at what Lincoln's real thoughts could have been about colonization. Colonization as we know was an attempt to move people of color in the United States back to Africa. Some would think that he meant exactly what he wrote or said, others would think that it was all a ruse. This second group says that Lincoln used colonization as a political cover to hide what he really wanted to do, which was at the very least freedom of the enslaved at the time.[266] This was a similar tactic that many presidents have used, hide a radical idea behind something that most of society can agree with. Lincoln was pushing for the idea that if colonization would even happen, that it must be voluntary for anyone involved. Lincoln was also always pushing that this entire process be gradual in nature if it were to happen. Lincoln would always pair the two ideas freedom and colonization together, and most people just thought that he was pushing to get the people of color out, while still really pushing for freedom.[267] While using the same tool as many other presidents, Lincoln managed to disguise something so radical behind something that could have been so horrible. This made most people think that he was just trying to move people out to make a "pure" America but was doing quite the opposite. Paludan makes a vastly different argument from most other historians that think Lincoln was ahead of his time, but he also swats down another opinion of Lincoln at the same

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[266] Philip Shaw Paludan, *Lincoln and Colonization: Policy or Propaganda?* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 24.

[267] Paludan, *Lincoln and Colonization,* 32.

time. Most historians would say that colonization proved that Lincoln was racist, but this would certainly make it seem that he was just trying to hide the fact he was pushing for equality and freedom. Not everyone thinks that Lincoln was ahead of his time though, some believed he was still a racist.

Eric Foner, a widely renowned Civil War historian, argues that Lincoln was an individual that clung onto colonization for as long as he could. In response to historians such as Paludan, Foner says, "One problem with this explanation is that Lincoln's advocacy of colonization not only predated his presidency but his emergence as an anti-slavery politician" (Foner 2008, 137). Foner is arguing that Lincoln only dropped colonization once he started to shift towards full anti-slavery. Back in the Lincoln-Douglas debates, Lincoln was for including men of color in the "men" in the Declaration of Independence. What was not for though, was including them in political and social equality. In 1854, Lincoln began to start to question his stance on colonization a little. He began to realize that executing colonization would be more difficult than most expected.[268] It should be noted that Lincoln did not wish any harm on people of color like others of the time. Lincoln himself employed several women of color to work in his home. On the other hand, though, Lincoln did not support politically active men of color, when asked to sign a petition to try and appeal Black laws.[269] Later in Lincoln's career, once he became president, he started to assign people to find land that the U.S could buy to use for colonization. Even in office, early on, Lincoln still held that even after people of color would be free, they would not be equal. Lincoln also refused to decide as to if the concept of racism was right or wrong, good, or bad. Once the elections of 1862 came around and there was no talk of

[268] Eric Foner, *Our Lincoln: New Perspectives on Lincoln and His World, "*Lincoln and Colonization", (N.P: W.W Norton, 2009), 145.
[269] Foner, *Our Lincoln, "Lincoln* and Colonization ", 147.

colonization in congress, Lincoln seemed to drop it.[270] This would seemingly be the key point where Lincoln finally dropped the idea of colonization. Here though, even Foner thinks that Lincoln started to shift towards more progressive thinking. The Emancipation Proclamation would be the truly defining moment where this began. Even shortly before Lincoln's assassination, he was starting to push for men of color who served in the Union army to be granted some civil rights.[271]

According to Foner, Lincoln was starting to become a more progressive thinker. This further starts to prove that Lincoln was becoming a man that was far ahead of his time before he died. Looking at what all Foner, Paludan, and Berry have to say, it can be stated that Lincoln was on the path towards fighting for at the very least partial social and civic equality for men of color. Even though Foner says that Lincoln was clinging onto colonization for as long as possible, he did also mention that Lincoln came around to the idea of moving forward more progressively. Lincoln eventually dropped the idea of colonization, even if when and how is still contested. Some think he never really believed in the idea; some think only once he started to draft the Emancipation Proclamation did, he genuinely believed what he was writing. According to all three of these historians, Lincoln was going to be a leader that was working towards the goal of making the U.S better for people of color. This was as we know though, something that we never got to witness due to his untimely death in 1865. He was able to have some impact though, as he was able to set his Reconstruction plan into place.

Lincoln's Reconstruction plan was something that he was able to put out before he was killed. The ten percent plan outlines both his plan for bringing the South back into the Union and

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[270] Foner, *Our Lincoln,* "Lincoln and Colonization ", 159.
[271] Foner, *Our Lincoln,* "Lincoln and Colonization ", 166.

how give people of color both freedom and potentially the right to vote. Lincoln stated that the

rebellious states and anyone that helped then committed treason and would be treated as such.

The immediate consequences on the rebellious states would be the seizure of their land and

enslaved peoples. Lincoln made the only way back into the Union an oath to the Constitution of

the United States. The governments that would be put in place in the South would have to be

republican in nature at the start at least. The plan for the recently freed people would be to give

them an education and an improvement to living conditions.[272] It should also be noted that

Lincoln did not think this was the only plan that could work, but simply the one that they had at

the time, and he would entertain a better plan if someone could give him one. The idea that he

believed this was not the only solution could imply that he would be willing to improve on this

plan if given the time. In this plan Lincoln had the people of color in mind and wanted to help

them get to a point where they can live off themselves. This plan is then contrasted by what

Johnson would put in place after Lincoln's death.

Andrew Johnson's plan for Reconstruction varied quite a bit from what Lincoln had

intended to do. Johnson was going to hand out amnesty and pardons to individuals who were

involved in the rebellion. All Johnson was asking of the southern rebels was to respect the

national government and swear to uphold the general good. In something that was completely

opposed to what Lincoln said was that anyone participating in or helping with the rebellion was

allowed to come back into the Union.[273] Johnson also had no real plans to make the South give

men of color the right to vote. What Johnson did do was put in place governors in the rebel states

that would at least ratify the thirteenth amendment. He held the full belief that if the United

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[272] Abraham Lincoln, Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction, December 8, 1863.
[273] Andrew Johnson, Full Pardon and Amnesty to all Persons Engaged in the Late Rebellion, December 25, 1868.

States gave people of color the rights of citizenship, that the rights of white people would somehow be impacted negatively. He had no plans to make significant changes to the South, he was content to let them return to a remarkably comparable situation they were in before the Civil War. Lastly, he was against everything that the radical Republicans were trying to do and vetoed nearly all legislation that they suggested.[274] All of this would come together to create a plan and mindset that was more focused on trying to bring the United States back together, but not actually try and fix the problems that the nation faced. Now that both plans have been outlined, it is time to compare them and try to determine which was better on paper.

On paper, Lincoln's plan works better for more people. This would be since Johnson was only focusing on what was right for white people and no one else. Lincoln was at least trying to set the recently freed people up for success and independence, which was agreed to be what they all wanted. Lincoln also does more to punish the South for committing to rebellion, whereas Johnson just lets them in with a meager mild reprimand at most. They did both want the South to make a commitment to the United States and the Constitution to make sure that another civil war could be avoided. Also, to note that Lincoln was seemingly open minded to changes to his plan. This is starkly contrasted by Johnson who was openly against most opinions on what he was doing. On paper, Lincoln does much more for people of color than Johnson does, since he only made the South ratify the thirteenth amendment and nothing else. Lincoln was trying to get them educated and able to work on their own without help. Lincoln was trying to remake the South, where Johnson was trying to bring them back and leave them to do what they already were doing. Johnson would even go on to suggest the idea of colonization in response to Douglass

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[274] Eric Foner, "Reconstruction: America 's Unfinished Revolution "ed. Henry Commager and Richard Morris (New York, NY: Harper Collins Publishers Inc, 2014), 121-126

bringing the problems in the South to his attention.[275] This all comes together to show that while Lincoln's plan may not have been the best, it certainly showed more promise than Johnson's did.

Lincoln had many plans that he wished to implement to push forward the American economy. One of Lincoln's main points was to start building up the American West. He would in part do this by building the transcontinental railroad. This would bring jobs at least for a brief time to many Americans willing to work on building it. The transcontinental railroad itself would then also help Lincoln toward another goal of breaking down regional economic differences.[276] Lincoln believed that uniting all Americans in a national economy would help everyone not only prosper, but also be able to have more economic mobility. This was another crucial factor for Lincoln. He very much believed that people of lower classes should be able to make their way up in the classes. Lincoln even argued that America could not sustain itself if there were few at the top with most of the money, and a substantial portion under them with less money.[277] This was something that Lincoln was quite worried about since at this time in Europe class-based fights and arguments were starting to surface. In response Lincoln wanted to use proactive polices that would give more opportunities to people of lower class. There was even a tax reform that made three percent of income earned taxed and lower-class individuals did not have to pay this tax.[278] This was something that would later be removed once Lincoln died. On top of this to try and give even more opportunities to lower class people, Lincoln and his administration pushed for better education for more labor-intensive jobs. One argument that could be made against all this is that Lincoln himself was not entirely to credit for all of this. Lincoln appointed his secretary of

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[275] James Oakes," The Radical and the Republican: Fredrick Douglass, Abraham Lincoln, and the Triumph of Antislavery Politics," (New York, NY: W.W Norton, 2008), 82.

[276] Robert D. Hormats, "Abraham Lincoln and the Global Economy, "*Harvard Business Review,* August 2003, https://hbr.org/2003/08/abraham-lincoln-and-the-global-economy .

[277] Hormats, "Lincoln and the Global Economy".

[278] Hormats, "Lincoln and the Global Economy".

the treasury to carry out these requests. The catch here though is that Lincoln agreed with virtually all mandates and philosophies as the secretary.

These changes were quite radical for the time. Most of these changes are still argued over today and how to handle them, yet Lincoln and his administration were able to push them through with a resounding majority in the legislature. Lincoln was really trying to set America up to prosper following the dark times of the Civil War. Lincoln was not even trying to leave the rebellious states behind either, once they got brought back into the Union, they would be able to participate in the new economy and help bolster it. With the plan that Lincoln had in place the North would no longer be the only area booming in a modern economy. With the help of the South and its agriculture there could have been an even greater economic boom for the nation. Again, most of the changes that Lincoln either suggested or even implemented are radical even for the standards of today's thinking. There are an endless number of possibilities that could have happened to America if Lincoln had lived in terms of where the economy could have gone. This all further proves that Lincoln was pushing for Reconstruction to be a time of immense change for the nation. The economy was not the only area Lincoln was looking to make strides in though, he also planned to make impactful changes to unite the nation politically.

For anything political that Lincoln had planned, he intended to fight to get voting rights for at least men of color. He already started by arguing that since the members of the Union army that were people of color fought in the war, that they should in fact gain the right to vote. If Lincoln Second Inaugural Address is to be believed, this surely would have been the case. "Let us strive to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds..."[279] The work they were in

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[279] Abraham Lincoln, Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address, 1865, (New York, NY: James Miller, 1865).

was making sure that people of color were able to be brought up from the position they were in during enslavement. Lincoln did also want to bring the rebellious states back into the United States, but he wanted to do it in a manner that would make sure that still fit within doing what was going to leave people of color in a good position to participate in the American Dream that brought Lincoln into the presidency. This can also be supported by Lincoln's words in the Conkling letter where he fully defends his sentiments from the Emancipation Proclamation. He uses terminology that most people, not even full-blown antislavery politicians almost have to agree with. With both men of color and white men fighting for their lives in the Civil War, Lincoln argues that they should be treated the same due to this, at the very least in terms of respect. Due to Lincoln's ideals towards the end of his life, it could also be argued that he may have sided with some of what the radical Republicans wanted to do during Reconstruction. Which would have given people of color chunks of land in the South with a chance to further their own interests. As well, people of color would have an equal chance when participating in politics to have a word.[280] Lincoln's political thoughts for the nation could have led to a better-looking America, at least for people of color, which was the group that was reeling the hardest during the Reconstruction that became history.

Reconstruction was a time that could have been far more revolutionary than it ended up being. There was failure due to a lack of working together between Andrew Johnson and the radical Republicans. There was also a rift starting to form within the Republican party that would hinder what the radicals wanted to do. Obviously, with Lincoln's death Andrew Johnson took his place as president. With radicals arguing that voting should be a right, there were other Republicans that said it was still a privilege. With Johnson bringing the South back in without

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[280] Eric Foner," Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution", 121-126

much consequence, him and other moderate Republicans believed that the South would fall in line and follow what people in the North were doing. This mindset would come to blow up in their faces since people of color would then face horrible punishment from former enslavers. Johnson early on in his presidency would veto any form of legislation that came out of the radical Republicans.[281] The most important of these is the Civil Rights bill that was proposed. This would all be followed by indecision from Johnson, especially when considering what to do about the horrors that were happening in the South. The men of color that did participate in politics in the South were not able to get anything done under the harsh conditions put in place by the powerful ruling class. Everything they did would eventually be silenced and controlled by that same ruling class. Johnson would go on to take out radicals from offices of power and replace them with far more moderate Republicans.[282] Everything would eventually come together to make it that Reconstruction was a failure to people of color and the radical Republicans that tried to support them.

Considering everything that Lincoln wanted to do for the economy and seeing what happened, everything that was done was a complete failure. Not only was the South not able to change from an agricultural focused economy, they also did not have any shift in the class structure that was in place. There were still rich white people that were using poor people of color to do the work for them. While the South did take a serious hit because of the Civil War, they still managed to come back on the back of sharecropping. While the former enslavers did come to have to break up their land so that they were no longer massive plantations, they still held power through tenet farming. They would hire poor people of color for cheap labor to work

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[281] Eric Foner," Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution", 121-126
[282] Eric Foner," Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution", 133.

the fields. The workers would get a cut from what the field produced, while the owners still got the largest portion of the profits. The Civil War proved to be a moment of slowing down the economy of the United States as a whole and part of this was due to the destruction of the South during it. This slowing down would force the ruling class to almost have to give the people of color they were employing the low wages they did.[283] Combine this with the lack of effort to support the people of color by taking that land from the ruling class and giving to them to work themselves, this put people of color into a deep economic hole that was already deep enough considering their starting point. This economic period marked a time where the rich kept getting richer and the poor kept getting poorer. Not even the poor white people could even find any real movement in the economy. This all vastly contrasted to what Lincoln wanted to do. Lincoln was trying to unite the American economy to work together in a way it never done before, and this simply did not happen. Also, the lower classes were not given any chance to move up, another sign that goes against exactly what Lincoln wanted or had planned. While the completion of the transcontinental railroad would eventually lead to the boom in the West, not much else would come from what Lincoln had in store for the economy since most of what he was able to put in place before his death was replaced by other legislation that outright stopped it. To further prove the point of how each leader was handling things, looking at things from Fredrick Douglass's point of view may offer some more insight.

Fredrick Douglass got to interact with both Lincoln and Johnson. Lincoln was someone that Douglass initially held no respect for, he thought he was only supporting people of color to gain support. Once Lincoln proved he was in full support of supporting people of color and

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[283] Roger Ransom," Economics of the Civil War", *Economic History Association*, August 24, 2001, https://eh.net/encyclopedia/the-economics-of-the-civil-war/

helping them get out from under enslavement and the vast atrocities that came with it, Douglass truly respected Lincoln. This respect would soon lead to a friendship between the two that would last up to Lincoln's death. Douglass would even go on to write a speech about his dear friend. In this speech he went on to talk about how each negative that could be seen in Lincoln's early years as a politician were, "based on 'partial and imperfect glimpses' of Lincoln."[284] This not only proves that Douglass respected Lincoln, but also goes on to also prove that Lincoln may not have every truly supported the idea of colonization. By the end of the speech, Douglass was saying that Lincoln, in comparison to any other white American of the time, was a radical by all means.[285] All of this can show that Douglass really supported Lincoln and believes that he would have been a great leader that could have helped people of color even more than he already did. This is starkly contrasted with how he interacted with Johnson.

Johnson and Douglass were constantly at odds with each other. Douglass formed a committee to try and convince Johnson that people of color needed the right to vote to further help themselves. This meeting was one that went very poorly. Even with Douglass mentioning the recent Black codes coming into place putting the ruling white class back in control of people of color, Johnson believed that Reconstruction had run its course and was satisfied with the results by the end of 1865.[286] This whole conversation Johnson allowed Douglass to speak very little and would interrupt him once he strongly disagreed. The meeting became one big rant where Johnson talked about how people of color were starting to look down upon poor white people and how people of color make the nation worse for poor whites. Johnson went even as far as to suggest that people of color should leave the U.S in ways very similar to the old plan of

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[284] James Oakes," The Radical and the Republican", 87.
[285] James Oakes," The Radical and the Republican", 88.
[286] James Oakes," The Radical and the Republican", 81.

colonization. This one meeting very much summed up how Douglass and Johnson interacted. Douglass tried and tried to break through to Johnson, but he was not listening. Johnson was too focused on what was right for white people. This very much always put them at odds which never allowed them to become anything close to friends. The relationship between these two would also sum up how Reconstruction failed. Johnson's lack of willingness to hear people of color out and their arguments as to why they should be treated like any other white person.

People since the assassination of Lincoln have had different opinions on what Lincoln would have really done if he lived. Matthew Norman wrote an article that explains each side very well. There have come to be two main factions with a group in the middle that is a mix of the two. The first of the three is the side that thinks Lincoln would have brought the South back into the Union with minimal problems for the South. The other side thinks that Lincoln was really trying to push for voting rights for men of color at the very least. The group in the middle believed that he would give the people of color the justice they deserve and be generous to the South.[287]

Shortly following the death of Lincoln people of the time jumped at the opportunity to speak for the recently deceased. The group that thinks Lincoln would help the South was led by Jefferson Davis.[288] He took the stance that Lincoln understood the South and would help them quickly get back into the United States. Ward Hill Lamon would agree with Davis and even included that Lincoln may have opposed the radical republicans.[289] Gideon Wells would take this one step further and said that both Lincoln and Johnson's plans were remarkably similar and

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[287] Matthew Norman, *Had Mr. Lincoln Lived: Alternate Histories, Reconstruction, Race, and Memory,* (Champaign: University of Illinois, 2017), 44.
[288] Norman, *Had Mr. Lincoln Lived,* 45.

[289] Norman, *Had Mr. Lincoln Lived,* 46.

only failed due to the radical republicans.[290] Alexander Stevens would also come to side with his

fellow confederate and wrote the emancipation proclamation off as only a war tactic. [291] These

views would then lead to the main memory being that Lincoln was not the one to blame and

certainly would have helped the South come back in a speedy fashion. These people managed to

overshadow the people of color entirely and made people think that Lincoln's death was worse

for the rebellious South than anyone else. This whole mindset would also come to hurt

Reconstruction and help ensure its failure. These were not the only people talking about what

Lincoln would have done though, there were people that tried to argue the importance of Lincoln

for people of color.

The other side believed that Lincoln was a true ally of people of color. The head

individual of this group was Frederick Douglass. At first, Douglass truly thought that Lincoln

had the people of color's best interest in mind when going into Reconstruction.[292] The Chicago

tribune would come to side with Douglass and thought Lincoln would help the people of color

and tried to discredit Lamon.[293] Isaac N. Arnold believed that Lincoln was above the prejudice of

color and would fight for the education of people of color.[294] Carl Schurz and Edward

McPherson both concluded that Johnson's plan was a perversion of Lincoln's and that he failed

the people of color in the South by leaving them to be abused by former masters.[295] These were

the people trying to get people to understand what they thought Lincoln really wanted to do. This

group also had more people that were closer to Lincoln than the other side, which should in

theory give them more credit when considering which should be believed. This is the group of

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[290] Norman, "*Had Mr. Lincoln Lived,* 51.
[291] Matthew Norman, "*Had Mr. Lincoln Lived:" Alternate Histories, Reconstruction, Race, and Memory,* 55
[292] Norman, *Had Mr. Lincoln Lived,* 45.
[293] Norman, *Had Mr. Lincoln Lived,* 47.
[294] Norman, *Had Mr. Lincoln Lived,* 47.
[295] Norman, *Had Mr. Lincoln Lived,* 53.

people that would come to see Reconstruction as a true failure to not only the people of color,

but also the United States as a whole. There were some though that have come to see there is a

space in the middle of these two groups that may explain things a little more clearly.

The middle group was a mix of the other two. They thought Lincoln would have done

right by people of color, but also help the South. The first to emerge from this group was

William O. Stoddard, and he believed that Lincoln would do anything to get people of color the

right to vote. At the same time, he also thought that Lincoln would have removed troops from the

South as soon as possible. [296] John G. Nicolay and John Hay were able to get access to some of

Lincoln's documents and they came to conclusion that justice for people of color and generosity

for white people was going to be Lincoln's plan moving forward.[297] Lastly there was W.E.B Du

Bois, who thought Lincoln had evolved his ideas of people of color but would not be able to get

any of his polices through congress due to the radical nature of them.[298] While this group does

not fit into either side fully, they still held onto the idea that Lincoln wanted to help the people of

color get to a spot where they could live alone. They said that Lincoln would fight to get people

of color to be if not fully equal close, while at the same time getting the rebellious South back

into the United States in a hasty manner. This could be what was closest to what Lincoln wanted.

Overall, Reconstruction came to fail due to Lincoln dying. Lincoln could have become a

true ally of the civil rights movement way before the twentieth century and help get people of

color the right to vote. Lincoln's plan for Reconstruction, while flawed, was one that was far

better than Johnson's since it still held the South accountable, while helping people of color.

Lincoln's plans for the economy could have brought America somewhere we could never

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[296] Norman, *Had Mr. Lincoln Lived,* 51.
[297] Norman, *Had Mr. Lincoln Lived,* 52.
[298] Norman, *Had Mr. Lincoln Lived,* 64.

imagine and helped all social classes benefit. Lincoln's political plans once again, could have brought people of color into the conversation and help make a more representative government than what we got. Even according to Fredrick Douglass, Lincoln was a man that was going to try and do what was right by people of color all across the nation. If Lincoln had lived, he could have brought about a utopia like state for the United States, just like the radical Republicans hoped for.

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December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight.

Washington D.C, 1868. Pdf. https://www.loc.gov/item/rbpe.23602600/.

Part III. Winning a War

Chapter 7. Kiernan A. Alati, "Civil War Political Cartoons: An Editorial Commentary on the Civil War"

The American Civil War is mostly remembered and taught through the lens of political decisions and battlefield victories as if the only people who mattered were the men elected to office and those chosen to lead the armies of the North and South.[299] While other historians have focused more of their research of the Civil War centered around political documents and interactions or war tactics the importance of popular opinion contributing to the war effort. While these factors were not unimportant by any means, something that is must be recognized is the importance of American civilians and the impact their opinions for or against the war had. An underappreciated topic of study, particularly in the area of measuring civilian opinion of the war, is the political cartoons of the Civil War era. The voice and opinions of civilians during the American Civil War expressed through political cartoons are the best and most underappreciated tool when measuring public opinion, which was extremely important in solidifying Northern victory and the outcome of the war.

Many historians often focus heavily on the violence of the war and the political decisions that brought the war to an eventual end. This is not a bad thing; however, this does paint a picture of the war excluding the importance of public opinion and political commentary by civilians who were the ones facing most of the repercussions and struggles. This lack of civilian commentary available in popular Civil War Historiography leaves gaps in the story of the Civil

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[299] For an example of this traditional view look to James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

War. Political cartoons were able to fill those gaps and get to the heart of an issue. Cartoons

during the Civil War allowed civilians and cartoonists to express a feeling, report on news, and

even change a nation's group thought, all with very few words while still being widely

understandable to the masses. Communication technology during this time was constantly

changing and evolving, making it the first modern war in more ways than just one. As the

technology and communication evolved so did the society and culture around the war.

"Dividing the National Map." Published in 1860 ridiculed the chaos that many believed the election of 1860 to be.[300]

The culture around the war itself shows the connection that the Union shared with its people that

the Confederacy lacked, trust inspired by Northern leadership was met with class divides written

into law by Confederate Governments. These two distinct ideologies around the conflict made

way for each side of the war to react differently, making way for political cartoons and

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[300] "Dividing the National Map." United States, 1860. [Cincinnati?: s.n] Photograph. From Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Online Catalog. https://www.loc.gov/item/2008661606/. (accessed March 28, 2022)

commentary in the North over the South. President Abraham Lincoln himself fought and argued for years to depict the Civil War as a moral conflict, that he and his fellow Americans had a duty to protect the spirit of the nation against the Confederacy.

> "This is essentially a People's contest. On the side of the Union, it is a struggle for maintaining in the world, that form, and substance of government, whose leading object is, to elevate the condition of men -- to lift artificial weights from all shoulders -- to clear the paths of laudable pursuit for all -- to afford all, an unfettered start, and a fair chance, in the race of life."[301]

For the Union the war was a struggle was shared by all Americans equally, and all Americans could have their voice heard.
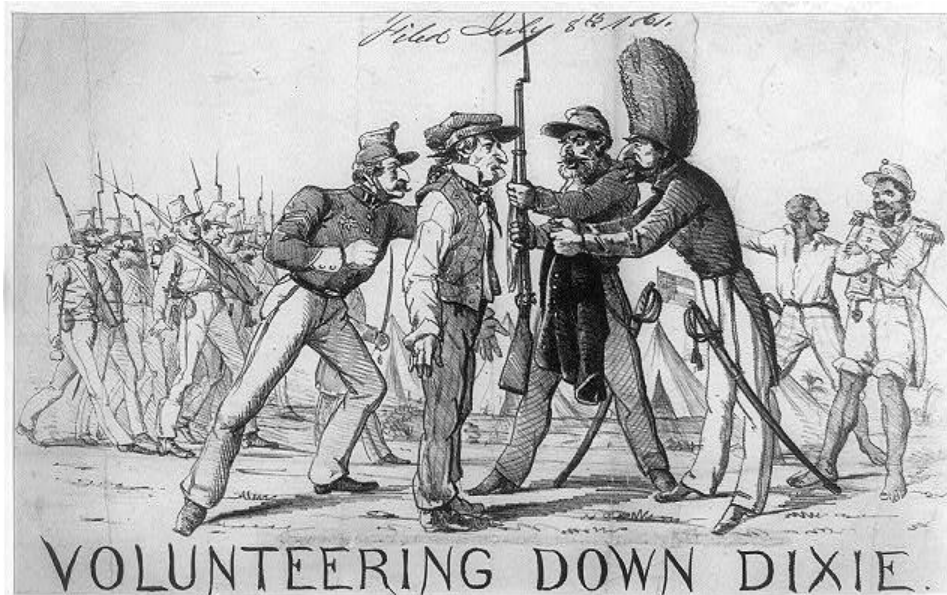
"Volunteering Down Dixie" Published in 1861 pokes fun at the disconnect between the Confederacy and its people. [302]

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[301] Lincoln, Abraham. *Abraham Lincoln papers*: Series 1. 1861 Message to Congress, July 4, 1861.

[302] Ehrgott & Forbriger. "Volunteering down Dixie." , 1861. [Cincinnati: Ehrgott & Forbriger] Photograph. From Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Online Catalog. https://www.loc.gov/item/2008661632/. (accessed March 28, 2022)

Counter to this was the attitude held by Southern lawmakers. Drafts were instated to continue to send troops to protect the Sothern culture of enslavement, protecting the livelihood and profit of the slave owning planter class with the lives of the non-slave owning working class. This is even better portrayed when provisions were put in place to exempt men from the draft if they owned more than 20 slaves, fundamentally giving the rich a means to escape the war while still benefitting from the struggles and lives lost on their behalf.[303] The attitude that Union and Confederate leadership had around the Civil War was what created the culture each side experienced. The North at its core was more communicative and unified, whereas the leaders of the South continued to have others do the hard dangerous work for them, not giving any chance for their people to be heard.

The importance of political cartoons during the Civil War cannot be overstated, and neither can the most important names in political cartoons of this era. Artists were respected throughout the Union as icons, coming from diverse backgrounds bringing in various identities along with their art that made each unique and memorable. With the popularity and fame political cartoonists artists gained throughout the Civil War, their influence over the civilian population was something that politicians of the time struggled to achieve.

Independent from political leadership, organizations and newspapers gave some of the most important artists of Civil War history their starts. *Harper's Weekly* hired many of the most notable artists of the Civil War like Thomas Nast.[304] Many of these artists emigrated from

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[303] Sacher, John M. "'Twenty-Negro,' or Overseer Law: A Reconsideration." *Journal of the Civil War Era 7*, no. 2 (2017): 269–92. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26070517.

[304] Thomas Nast St. Hill, *Thomas Nast: Cartoons and Illustrations* (New York: Dover Publications, 1974), 1.

Europe into the North giving the Union an edge when it came to the production of political cartoons as skills and styles brought over from Europe were very prevalent in early American political cartoons. Cartoons from the North tended to have a common theme of pride and heroism in the Union effort, much of the Northern iconography even seemed to imply that the Union was saving the Confederacy from itself, or at least the evil men that led the rebellion.[305] Firms like Currier & Ives published works from artists throughout the war and became names recognized in every household for their cartoons and commentary.[306] Artist from Europe brought the culture of political cartoons and public discourse with them across the Atlantic. The artist gained fame and power in their own right, coming from various backgrounds but all coming to the States and using their position as both artists and Americans to change the outcome of the war.

Thomas Nast, born in Germany, is hailed by many as the father of American political cartoons and his work in cartooning set the stage for many cartoonists to follow. In the book *Thomas Nast: Cartoons and Illustrations,* both a collection of Nast's work as well as a simplistic biography written by his grandson of the same name, Nast is recognized as one of the most influential and important artists of the American Civil War.

There is little question that Thomas Nast was, above all, a master caricaturist...

Yet he also met Allan Nevins' and Frank Wetinkampf's three requirements for a good cartoonist: "Wit and humor; truth, at least one side of the truth; and moral purpose" (A Century of Political Cartoons, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941)... he

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[305] Edward J. Blum, "'The First Secessionist Was Satan' Secession and the Religious Politics of Evil in Civil War America," *Civil War History* 60, no. 3 (September 2014): 234–69, https://doi.org/10.1353/cwh.2014.0056.

[306] Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Currier & Ives." Encyclopedia Britannica, February 19, 2020. https://www.britannica.com/topic/Currier-and-Ives.

was, in this grandson's opinion, a great man not only because he happened to be a distinguished cartoonist and caricaturist. He could not have been so eminent in his field had he not, first of all, been such a great American.[307]

Additionally, the culture in the North focused its advancements on industry and communication, where the South aimed much of its growth on agriculture, specifically cotton. Though this is most often highlighted in their use of railroads, weapons, or technology what cannot be left out was how the North was able to create things like newspapers and editorials. Cities most well known for their political cartoon production like New York and Cincinnati were located in the North where their technology was utilized to spread ideas and newspapers throughout the Union. Through these mediums is where political cartoons gained traction and influence throughout the Union. Magazines like *Harper's Weekly* became a place for civilians and well-known artists to express their opinions on topics of the war for everyone to see. Civil War historian Emory M. Thomas has even noted the discrepancy between Southern and Northern cartoons. "The North had more numerous and more broadly circulated illustrated newspapers than did the South from the beginning, and because the United States ultimately won the war, illustrations produced in the North have had a higher survival rate."[308] Even now it is still a struggle to find quality examples of Southern cartoons due to their low numbers as well as the failure of the papers they were published in.

The use of cartoons as propaganda was not always just to boost morale or express public opinion, they were also important factors in generating consistent support and building the army's numbers throughout the North. Once again notable names like Thomas Nast were leaders

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[307] Thomas Nast St. Hill, *Thomas Nast: Cartoons and Illustrations* (New York: Dover Publication, 1974), v.

[308] Kristen Smith. *The Lines Are Drawn: Political cartoons of the Civil War*. (Athens Georgia: Hill Street Press: 1999.), XII

in this area for their use of cartoons as political tools. The impact these images had reached such an extent that President Lincoln himself referred to Nast as the "best recruiting sergeant."[309] and General Grant remarked that, at age twenty-five, Nast had done "As much as any one man to preserve the Union and bring the war to an end."[310] One of the greatest advantages that the Union had over the Confederacy was the use of political cartoons to impact or sway the opinion of their civilian population for more support for the war rather than continuing the war effort without the support of the common folk who were sending troops and taxes to invade a nation that many had trouble believing even posed a threat to the United States.

While often times cartoons focused on abstract ideas of the war as a whole it was not uncommon for a cartoon to be focused on a particular topic, weather that be a single battle, or just an individual person. Anything could make a good cartoon as long as the public was interested in the topic, recent wins, hard losses, famous generals, or political announcements from either side of the war all were all things that were often pushed to the forefront of the civilian group mind. Political cartoons were by civilians to communicate with one another as well as with those in charge, additionally political cartoons were also used as a means to sway political and wartime opinion for or against different topics. Cartoons were used as propaganda to change how the civilian population feels one way or another.

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[309] Nast (1974), 5.

[310] Nast (1974), 5.

| "South Carolina's 'Ultimatum'" Published by *Currier & Ives* in 1861.[311] |

Even before the outbreak of violence, civilian commentary on the secession crisis was prevalent. As shown above, many felt like the secession of the Southern States would be all by suicide for them, empty threats that would only hurt those who left the Union. This idea continued for many years afterwards, pointing out the foolishness of the South for believing that that secession would lead to anything but their own defeat and destruction. This school of thought was popular throughout the war and inspired much of the political and editorial humor that made cartoons so popular and prevalent during the Civil War. Allowing civilians to express and share their thoughts in this way spread ideas throughout the Union without the intervention from Northern leadership.

[311] Currier & Ives. *South Carolina's "Ultimatum"*. South Carolina Fort Sumter United States Charleston, 1861. [New York: Published by Currier & Ives, 152 Nassau St. N.Y] Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/2003674566/.

GENERAL SCOTT.
THE HERCULES OF THE UNION,
SLAYING THE GREAT DRAGON OF SECESSION.

"The Hercules of the Union slaying the great dragon of secession" was published in 1861 near the beginning of the war when the Union's exact reasoning for the war was still solidifying.[312]

When focused on certain people cartoons were able to more or less change the reality about someone's life and image to show them more favorably, like in the Northern cartoon *The Hercules of the Union, slaying the great dragon of secession.* In this cartoon, General Winfield Scott is depicted as the ancient hero, Hercules, slaying the many-headed dragon of the South, emblematic of the monstrous Confederate states. On one side is Scott, beating off the monster with a great club labeled "Liberty and Union." The hydra's seven heads, each depict a prominent Southern leader with their neck labeled a crime they are to have committed. Included are Robert

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[312] Currier & Ives. "The Hercules of the Union slaying the great dragon of secession." https://www.loc.gov/item/2003674572/.

Toombs and his crime of hatred and blasphemy, Alexander Stephens and his sin of lying,

Jefferson Davis labeled with piracy, army commander P. G. T. Beauregard with perjury, United

States general David E. Twiggs who turned over nineteen federal army posts to Texas in

February of 1861 and was labeled with the crime of treason, South Carolina governor Francis W.

Pickens who was accused of extortion, and lastly James Buchanan who was labeled with

robbery.

Images like this displayed the Union's belief about the leaders of the Confederacy as well

as their faith and admiration in their military leadership. The leaders of the Confederacy were

widely understood as treasonous and criminal, devolving from people and forming into

something new and monstrous. On the other hand people like Scott were depicted as legendary

heroes in the eyes of the Union for fighting off the monster of secession while leaders of the

South were seen as smaller aspects, all part of the main issue. This idolization and worship of

Union icons were tools use to gain civilian support for the war effort while also sending a

message to the South that the power and mission of the North was something to revere.

As striking and mythic this depiction of the Union leadership is, it fails to show the truth

about General Scott, an aging and overweight man unable to mount a horse on his own. Rather

than show the true state of the Union leader the cartoonist went for a more metaphorical

depiction of the general as a hero, fighting off the monster of secession. Painting Scott in this

light does better to show what he meant to the North rather than what he was truly like. Just as

propaganda is used today, Civil War cartoonists bent truths and reality in favor of powerful ideas

that would send messages to readers, both Union and Confederate. Just as powerful as the many

battles or hundreds of acts and declarations put in place by politicians, cartoons like this help

show the biggest enemy in the eyes of the Union was the idea of secession itself while also

allowing historians to see the way the Union presented itself.

“Compromise With The South.” (Left) published in 1864, shows Davis and the South as a threat to the Union and all that the States stood for. It shows him as a man that would stand on the graves of the fallen Union soldiers.[313] In comparison, "As women and children." (Right) published in 1865 ridicules Davis as the end of the war and Union victory draws closer and closer.[314]

When it came to the use of political cartoons as a means of offense rather than

commentary it was not uncommon for a Northern cartoon to detail the perceived incompetence

or evil of the Confederacy, highlighting the cruelty of Southern leaders and the foolishness of

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[313] Thomas, Nast. *Compromise with the South - Dedicated to the Chicago Convention / Th. Nast.* , 1864. Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/2002723256/.

[314] “Jeff. Davis! ‘As women and children.’” / Scattergood, eng. United States, 1865. [Philadephia [Sic]: 304 Chestnut Street,] Photograph. From Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Online Catalog. https://www.loc.gov/item/2009633724/

Southern society. At various points throughout the war, Confederate President Jefferson Davis was presented in different ways, sometimes as a cruel and twisted man who would not stop until he subjugated the Union and others as a coward and a fool that had to flee the Union armies dressed as a woman to escape due punishment.
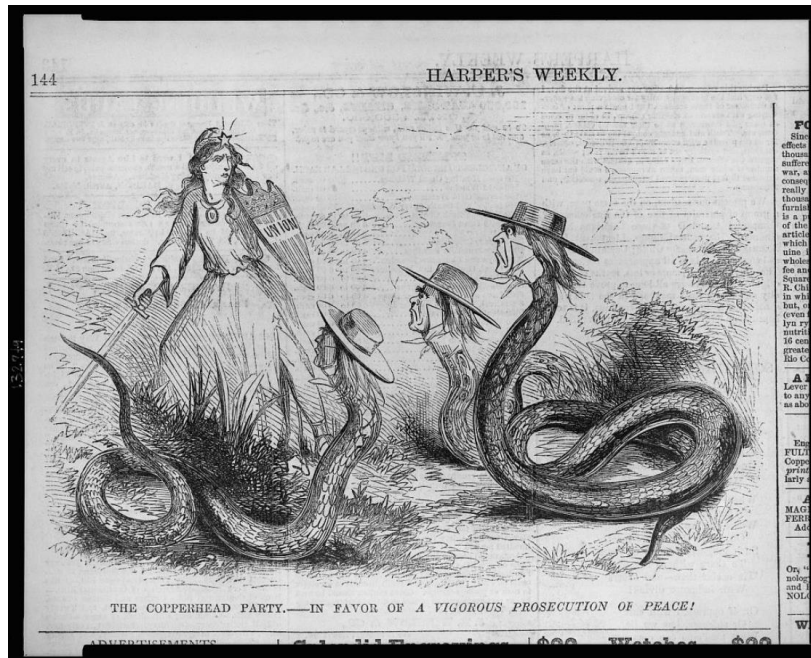
During the more difficult times for the Union, cartoons showed the Confederate President as a cruel and powerful figure that would shatter the Union and mock the fallen Union soldiers who sacrificed themselves for the war. The dark themes of a broken Union and an evil Davis were common in political cartoons when the Union was struggling in the war, as those ideas spread rapidly through the frightened masses of Northern civilians Things changed towards the end of the war and with the Union closing on victory, these depictions of David shifted in turn, no longer painted as a cruel and dangerous man but almost as a joke. One story of the war that gained lots of attention from Union civilians was of Davis, who had been seen wearing his wife's heavy coat to protect himself from the cold of the morning Union Soldiers came for him. This began the rumor and belief that Jefferson Davis hid from his fate by hiding as a woman, dressed in his wife's clothes. In response many cartoons were created throughout the North depicting Jefferson as a coward, hiding from his own fate behind women's clothing, a laughable ending for a man that was meant to lead the honorable and powerful South. Both of these depictions of Davis were equally as real to Northerners based on how the civilians understood him at different points in the war. The two cartoons of Davis shown above are only a year apart but the climate of the war and civilian opinion change just as quickly as the tides of battles. Cartoonists used these opinions to their advantage, turning commonly shared beliefs into either icons of fear that the Union had a duty to stop or a punchline that a victorious North could laugh at.

A FAMILY QUARREL.

"A Family Quarrel" Published by *Brady's National Photographic Portrait Galleries* 1861[315]

While some cartoons were attacks or praises of particular figures or groups made famous by the war some were used as a means of national damage control. The Family Quarrel memory of the Civil War was not started suddenly when the last Confederate troops laid down their arms, it had basis and origins in the war itself. Cartoons such as the one depicted above that came out very early in the conflict made the Civil War out to be an argument between a married couple, something that could be talked out and eventually smoothed over. Issues of slavery and violence are shown in the background, but the main stage is given to the idea of a squabble between family, not a war between to differing moralities. Though this style of Civil War memory and history is flawed in its depiction of motives and conflicts, the family squabble methodology does need to be acknowledged as an important and not uncommon belief by civilians.

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[315] Tenniel, John "A Family Quarrel." Illustration. *Brady's National Photographic Portrait Galleries, Broadway and Tenth Street, New York* 1861. From Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Online Catalog. https://www.loc.gov/item/2010647790/. (accessed May 2, 2022).

THE COPPERHEAD PARTY.——IN FAVOR OF *A VIGOROUS PROSECUTION OF PEACE!*

"The Copperhead Party - In Favor of a Vigorous Prosecution of Peace!" Published in *Harper's Weekly* attacks Copperheads in the North.[316]

Beyond cartoons that advocated for the war between the Union and the Confederacy or downplayed the war to better protect the spirit and ideals of the nation other cartoons were used to target groups of descent on the home front. Northern cartoons would often target groups like copperheads, Northerners who were anti-war, who believed the Union should let the Confederacy be. These cartoons were ways of showing these groups that their ideology was not accepted by the masses of the Union, even implying that they were not just unpatriotic but a risk to liberty itself. "The Copperhead Party - In Favor of a Vigorous Prosecution of Peace!" depicted above shows this idea perfectly, demonstrating that the thoughts and ideas of the Copperheads of the North were not welcome in the Union, that they were threats to the American spirit and soul.

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[316] "The Copperhead Party - In Favor of a Vigorous Prosecution of Peace!" Illustration. *Harper's Weekly,* February 28, 1863. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Online Catalog. https://www.loc.gov/item/2003663007/

These cartoons are signs of civilian opinion during the war, the everyday Northerner protesting

the ideals of the typically powerful and influential Copperhead politicians of the North.

"Master Abraham Lincoln gets a new toy." Published by *The Southern Illustrated News* in 1863 ridicules Union political and military leadership as childish and a game.[317]

Opposing the Union was the Confederacy, priding itself on its traditional set of morals

and way of life. Centering themselves around agriculture and tradition shut many doors to

modernization in the South, not only keeping them at a disadvantage on the battlefield but on the

home front too. Communication between those in power in the Confederate ranks and the

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[317] *Master Abraham Lincoln gets a new toy*. , 1863. Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/cph29421/.

civilian population was difficult, oftentimes civilians were just expected to accept with the actions of the Confederate leadership. Southern cartoons and the papers they were published in are, still to this day, much less common than those created in the North during this time as the technological and cultural shift in the North was more aimed at preserving their cartoons on top of their victory making the art historical artifacts.

MASKS AND FACES.

King Abraham before and after issuing the EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.
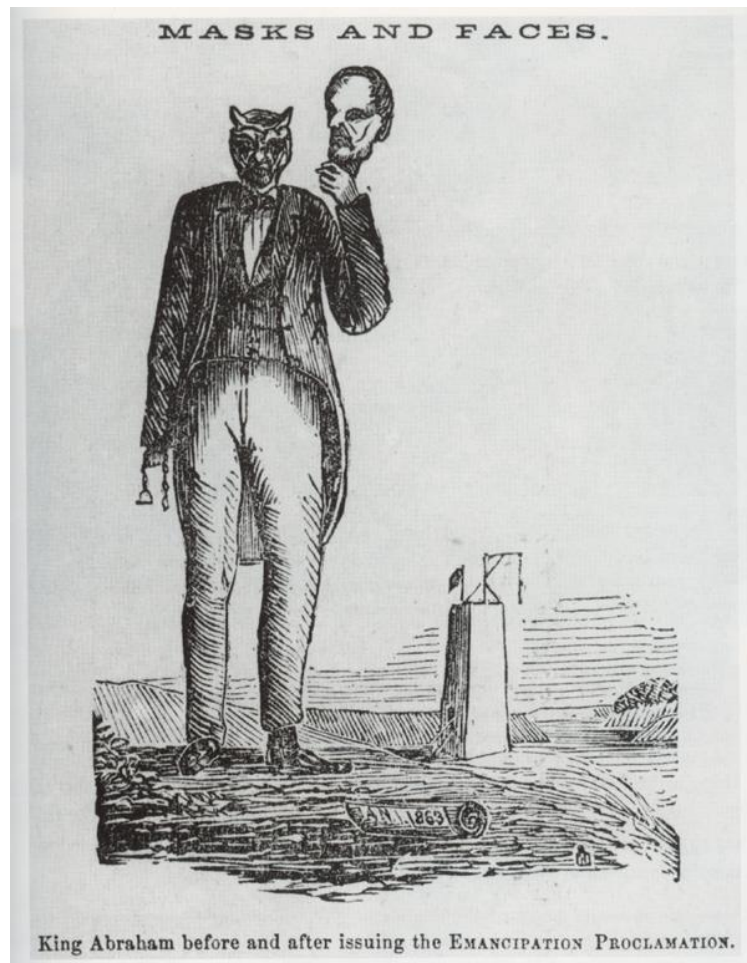
"Masks and Faces." Published by *The Southern Illustrated News* in 1862, shows a more religious based approach by the South attacking President Lincoln after the Emancipation Proclamation. [318]

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[318] "Masks and Faces." *Southern Illustrated News,* November 8, 1862. https://www.battlefields.org/learn/primary-sources/king-abraham-and-after-issuing-emancipation-proclamation. (Accessed May 2, 2022)

When it comes to the topic of the relatively few southern cartoons, they often had radically different themes than the North, oftentimes taking an unwilling hero role as the South believed they had to protect their culture of honor and way of life from the invading Union who, many in the believed, sought to subjugate them. Other ideas commonly found in cartoons were about how foolish and idiotic the North was, their failure as a military force as well as a failure when held to the standards of Southern honor. Other cartoons attacked Lincoln directly, the cartoon shown above "Mask and Faces" in particular depicts the president as the Devil, reviling himself only after doing the most evil and heinous act of freeing the slaves and turning the war into a war against slavery. The idea of the tyrannical North was popular as shown in the cartoon above, published in *The Southern Illustrated News,* one of the few papers distributed in the South during the Civil War. These cartoons, however rare, can be seen as an outline and a cultural starting point for much of Southern Civil War memory to be built off, the morals and ideals perpetuated by the lost cause and family squabble mentalities started their formation during this era with the help of cartoons and civilian expression.

Though the Civil War has long been over, research about this era of American history is still prevalent today. Though most of the study and memory of the Civil War centers around the politics and battles of the time, the power of civilian opinion must not be overlooked. For years this subject has been left out of the debate on the most important factors of Civil War America, but this was a war between two peoples just as much as it was between two armies. Leaving out civilians and their voice in the war only teaches that the common men and women of the United States had no power or opinion during the war, a vehemently untrue belief.

By modernizing and using political cartoons as a medium for civilian expression the North was able to better communicate with their civilian population and understand how the war

was impacting the people of the Union. When compared to the more agricultural-focused and economically divided Confederacy, the Union had a stronger path of communication with their population through political cartoons and were able to better govern them as a result. Though measuring and quantifying public opinion can be difficult and must be done without any exact science, through political cartoons the importance of civilian thought and reaction to events throughout the war can be seen. Additionally, by looking into the culture around Civil War political cartoons and the culture of the nation themselves historians how much civilian opinion mattered when determining the events of the conflict as well as the final outcome of the war.

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Chapter 8.

Bailey Buchan, "The Environment and The Civil War: The Unspoken Contributor"

Scholars tend to focus on the political and military sides of the Civil War, however, in recent years, there has been a new way of looking at why certain events happened. Factors like weather patterns, harvest, disease, and animals come together to explain the environmental impact of history. Environmental history can explain why events happened the way they did. Disease in cities, drought causing food shortages, animal deaths, weather patterns, and the terrain all affected the outcome of the Civil War, especially in the South. While the North had their issues with the environment, the South is where the major issues came into play. Much of the war happened in the South, so the issues that arise during wartime happened in the South. Agriculture, weather, and disease were unseen contributors to the Civil War which played a tremendous role in the loss of the South.

Historians like James McPherson have overlooked the importance of how the environment had on the outcome of events. With a major war in the United States, scholars first look at the political and military side of history with McPherson's book titled *Battle Cry of Freedom.* McPherson focuses military and political reasoning on what caused the Civil War and the strategies behind the war[319]. The environment was a more recent study to explain the way events happened in the Civil War. Environmental history is the study of human interaction with the natural world, and it goes both ways. Historian Lisa M. Brandy summarized the historiography debate that this paper would like to enter. In her book*, War Upon the Land,* she

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[319] James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press,1988).

explained how in her book she will " use the war as a window through which we can better see a critical element in the nation's environment history: that is, how nineteenth-century Americans perceived their natural environment and their place in it"[320] Brandy is looking into the military strategies and how that plays into effect with nature. I am looking further into nature having agency over the Civil War. as Linda Nash explains, " It is worth considering how our stories might be different if human beings appeared not as the motor of history but as partners in a conversation with the larger world, both animate and inanimate, about the possibilities of existence[321]. This paper is going into the argument like Linda Nash where nature and humans play a role with one another, and how their actions play into one another. Another historian, Brian Allen Drake, wrote in his book, *The Blue, the Gray, and the Green,* also explains why studying environmental history can give historians. Drake explains that even though environmental history cannot transform the Civil War, "it can tell us many things we didn't know before and it can also allow us to reassess some things we thought we knew"[322]. Environmental history can bring new perspectives to how historians think of the Civil War. This paper gives a new perspective on why the South lost the Civil War through elements like weather patterns, agriculture, disease, and terrain.

     The South had many battles in its fight with the environment, one of those battles was disease. There were many instances of disease making an impact on the South. One instance to focus on the disease would be the fight against yellow fever in New Orleans. To visualize this

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[320] Lisa M. Brandy, *War Upon the Land: Military Strategy and the Transformation of Southern Landscapes During the American Civil War* (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 2012), 4.

[321] Brandy, *War Upon the Land: Military Strategy and the Transformation of Southern Landscapes During the American Civil War,* 6.

[322] Brian Allen Drake, *The Blue, the Gray, and the Green (*Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 2015), 3.

fight in New Orleans would be one from *Harpers Weekly* about Benjamin Butler and Abraham

Lincoln.

Figure 1., Abe and Butler Cartoon.[323]

This cartoon from the Library of Congress represents Benjamin Butler's efforts to clean up New

Orleans for Abraham Lincoln. A little background on this cartoon, Benjamin Butler was the

union officer in charge of occupying the city. New Orleans at the time was very vulnerable to

yellow fever, a disease caused by mosquitos," the disease killed nearly 10,000 people there in

1853[324]. Once Butler occupied New Orleans, he did not wait a minute to put the citizens at work

to clean up the city. Having cleanlier streets and drains limits the amount of stagnating water

which in turn limits the breeding of mosquitos. This is where this cartoon from the Harper

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[323] John Mclenan, Uncle Abe. "Hello! Ben, is that you? Glad to see you!" Butler. "Yes, Uncle Abe. Got through with that New Orleans job. Cleaned them out and scrubbed them up! Any more scrubbing to give out?". (The United States New York New Orleans Louisiana Orleans Parish, 1863. Harper's Weekly, New York),1. Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/scsm000389/

[324] Judkin Browning, Timothy Silver, *An Environmental History of the Civil War (*North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 32.

Weekly comes into play, Lincoln is celebrating Butler for cleaning up New Orleans and making the city a safer place to be.[325] Historian Gordon Burg explains in his article that Benjamin Butler did a lot to help New Orleans get back on its feet, even if it did not involve diseases. When New Orleans was sieged by the Union in April-May of 1862, Benjamin Butler was sent to New Orleans, and he did everything in his power to keep the city in order. Environmentally, Butler wanted to keep the people of New Orleans fed, and disease-free. The city was starving, and Butler made sure to keep the people fed, he opened a safe passage for a steamboat from Alabama to bring in flour, he opened up the Opelousas Railroad to bring in livestock, flour, and other goods from southern Louisiana and the Red River District, and in June sieved a warehouse that stored beef for the Confederates for the people of New Orleans. Butler even ordered his commissary officers to sell army food to the civilians are low prices. "10 cents a pound for beef, ham, pork, and bacon; 7½ cents a pound for flour. He proudly reported employing 1,000 impoverished laborers to distribute food to more than 9,700 families. By October the U.S. Relief Commission reported it was feeding 32,150 people."[326] Hunger was not the only thing that plagued this city, they were also facing an epidemic of yellow fever or "yellow jack". With the location of the city being in a swap and the poor sanitation of the city, yellow fever took nearly 18,000 people in the 1853 epidemic. Even though Butler was not a doctor, he studied the disease because of the death of his father. From his studying, he knew that quarantining was important to the containment of this disease, so he established a quarantine station at Fort. Philip to inspect all the ships coming into the city. Butler hired surgeon, Charles McCormick to improve the overall health of the city, and this includes inspecting the open food markets and cleaning up the garbage

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[325] Browning, Silver, *An Environmental History of the Civil War,* 32-34.
[326] Gordon Berg, "About-Face", *American Civil War* 31(2): 28–35.
https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a9h&AN=128277450&site=ehost-live&scope=site

on the city streets. Butler also ordered all the households to be kept nice and orderly. At the time

that Butler put in all these orders for yellow fever, only two citizens died of the disease, and the

city did not have another outbreak until 1867.[327] Disease had control of New Orleans until

Benjamin Butler, while most cities did not have the same treatment most cities still suffered from

the same as New Orleans, food shortages.

While the North and the South struggled with feeding their soldiers, the South's food

shortage crisis had its toll on everyone in the South. The South thought they had an abundance of

food and writers in the *Charleston Courier* and De Bow's Review wrote that " Lincoln's humbug

of a blockade never could achieve its objective because of the South's abundant supply of

food."[328] Paul Gates explains in his book, *Agriculture and the Civil War*, that the South during

the war struggled with not having enough food to feed the army and its citizens. In reports from

1863, the army was living on a one-quarter ration of meat, and the horse's health was depilated

from the reduced rations that they were experiencing as well. This goes even earlier, in 1862 the

Commissary Department was worried about the amount of wheat in Virginia due to a drought

that reduced the forage, so cattle were too thin to be slaughtered so the army was not getting a

supply of fresh beef. This became more of an issue since the Confederate South got most of their

salt supplies from England and produced some in the South. However, Northern raids reduced

the output, and the need for salt was never met. The South then suffered from not having

preserved meats due to the lack of salt, so all people, horses, and livestock suffered due to the

lack of salt. The South wanted to keep this struggle under the rug by not publishing papers about

the shortage of food, Senator Clement C. Clay said to the people, " Don't mention this, as it will

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[327] Berg, *About Face,* 28-35.
[328] Paul W. Gates*, Agriculture and The Civil War,* (Nebraska; University of Nebraska Press. 1962.,28.

harm to let it get abroad."[329] With the food shortages happening in the South, they ended up

causing food riots all around the South.

Figure 2, Richmond Food Riots. [330]

The Confederate South was hungry and with no relief in sight, women turned to violence.

This was in the spring of 1863; women had broken into stores to get goods that they could not

afford. These women told onlookers that "their suffering condition" was the reason for these

measures of violence. Farmers in Randolph County, Alabama wrote to President Jefferson Davis

about a series of riots that took place in a government building to retrieve wheat and corn. The

most famous of the riots were in the Confederate Capital of Richmond. Almost 1,000 women

marched through the streets of Richmond, demanding something to eat. Armed with different

weapons, these women would ransack stores in a nearby district, this caused Confederate

soldiers to stop them at the capital and Jefferson Davis ordered all the women to go home or be

[329] Gates, *Agriculture in the Civil War,* 24,28.
[330] American Civil War Museum

fired upon. However, all this violence caused a change in Richmond, within days of the riots, the city began a program to provide more food for the poor. Then the rest of the South began to develop programs to feed the poor[331]. The bread riots in Richmond happened everywhere in the South, these riots gave women a voice but also highlighted the issues in agriculture and livestock that the South had to go through.

The United States lost about 2 percent of people during the Civil War, however, about 7.4 million horses and mules were killed.[332] Horses and livestock were crucial factors in the war, they were important energy sources on the battlefield. While horses and mules were important to both the North and the South, there were simply not enough of them on the market, so the Confederate government began to seize the animals from civilians. This had Virginia and South Carolina with the largest number of horses given to the Confederate army. With this many horses gone, farmers had a difficult time producing crops making the food shortage worse for all. One southern War Department official "believed the lack of equines had been a major reason for the defeat." [333] Even with a large number of horses and mules in the Confederate, it would not matter in the end if the citizens and the soldiers of the Confederate could not eat. These animals would not come back since so many died in the war, so the South had to gain back from this loss. With the number of horses and mules that the Confederacy had, they had to have a lot of feed to keep them healthy enough to go through the war, Keith Miller wrote in his article, "Southern Horses", that

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[331] Browning, Silver, *An Environmental History of the Civil War, 90.*
[332] Keith Miller, "Southern Horse" *Civil War Times* 45(1) 30-36.
https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a9h&AN=19359914&site=ehost-live&scope=site.
[333] Browning, Silver, *An Environmental History of the Civil War,* 107.

"Horses were to be fed 14 pounds of hay and 12 pounds of oats, corn, or barley a day. A smaller mule received about the same hay but only nine pounds of grain. Although it was possible to graze horses, they required 2% to four acres of grassland and about seven acres of grain crops to equal the nutritional value of the prescribed 26 pounds. In the winter, when grasses grow slower, more land was needed. Given the relatively warmer climate, Southerners traditionally grazed horses and therefore produced little hay. While this worked well on sprawling Southern farms, it provided inadequate forage for concentrated armies. An army with 25,000 animals required more than 150 square miles of good pasturage. To overcome the lack of hay, the Confederates, particularly in the winter, reduced the ration, lightened the work, and dispersed the animals."[334]

With the South already struggling with feeding their population, the horses and mules having to be fed made it that much harder on the South. While horses and mules were an important resource on the battlefield, there was another important resource that got disrupted due to the war, livestock. Animals like pigs and cows were important proteins to feed the soldiers of the South. Pigs were favored as the protein source for soldiers, pigs can consume twice their weight in food every day, and hogs can eat many items like vegetation to small mammals, while domesticated pigs eat corn which is an abundance during peacetime. [335] With the abundance of corn that the South had, pigs were the better protein source for the soldiers.

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[334] Keith Miller, "Southern Horses" *Civil War Times* 30-36.
[335] Browning, Silver, *An Environmental History of the Civil War, 121.*

Figure 3, a cartoon of pigs and cattle marching into battle[336]

The cartoon above from *Harper's Weekly* shows the importance that pork and beef had

on the soldiers in both the North and the South. In the South, most farmers practiced open range

management, this would mean that only the crops would be fenced in, and the livestock would be

out in the open. However, the North had a more efficient way of keeping pigs and the

slaughtering process, making the Midwest the central point for pork slaughtering and disruption,

leaving the South unable to get pork once the war started.[337] As Judkin Browning and Timothy

Silver mention Lisa Brady, she argues that the Union became central in their military operations

in the South by attacking the " enemy's ecological base", which for the South would be the

nature that is feeding the hogs that live in the wild.[338] Brady also explains that " the Union

armies under Grant, Sheridan, and Sherman undermined southerners' power to marshal nature's

energies, thus striking an important blow against Confederate war efforts."[339] Using the South's

way of maintaining livestock and destroying the natural land that allows this to happen, makes it

so that the South had to struggle to get the protein that the soldiers needed. The South before the

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[336] Reinforcements for Our Volunteers on the March Southward., 1861. Photograph.
https://www.loc.gov/item/2002718622/
[337] Browning, Silver, *An Environmental History of the Civil War, 122,123.*
[338] Browning, Silver, *An Environmental History of the Civil War,* 124.
[339] Brady, *War Upon the Land, 11.*

war had horses, mules, and livestock to feed everyone and make products in the South work. However, once the war started, the North found the weakness in the South and targeted them through means of food. Without the right environment for the animals, the South could not feed its soldiers the proper nutrition that they needed. What the North and South did not see, however, was how the weather patterns would affect their soldiers, and the paths they would take into battle.

An overlooked aspect of the Civil War is weather patterns, specifically those in the South. Historian Kenneth. W. Noe looked at how weather patterns made an impact on the Civil War. Noe refers to Paul Gates when looking at how droughts and other weather patterns affected the food supply in the South. The new Confederacy had three successive droughts, and with the South not helping the loss of crops, the South could not have the crop needed to feed its people, soldiers, and trade. Noe also mentions Gates when discussing the bad weather, the South experienced in 1863, Gates explains, "'Droughts and too much rain-plagued Virginia, a severe summer frost did damage in Tennessee, extraordinarily heavy and long-continued rains in Georgia held back the corn and spoiled much of the promising wheat crop". During the following year, "excessive spring rains were followed in Georgia by another destructive drought. In the early part of the growing season of 1864, sections of Virginia had a drought of six to eight weeks, which materially shortened the corn crop.'" [340]

The South in the middle and crucial part of the Civil War was having some of the worst weather patterns, making farming very difficult and putting the South in danger. However, Noe also noted that there were favorable conditions that played a more positive role where otherwise

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[340] Kenneth W. Noe, "Fateful Lightning: The Significance of Weather and Climate to Civil War History, *The Blue, the Gray, and the Green (*Athens Georgia: the University of Georgia Press, 2015) 20.

it would be negative, Noe refers to David Ludlum who describes one of these positive events, he described how the North got the better half of these weather events. He uses Sherman's March to the Sea as one of those conditions that were favorable to the North and their plan. [341] Another thing both soldiers of the North and South had to worry about was the heat. In the South during the summer temperatures get extremely high. The heat and the dust did not seem as dangerous as freezing temperatures, however, from soldiers' accounts, many men were collapsing and dying from sunstroke. [342] Soldiers in the South had to face this harsh reality every summer and the lack of rain during the droughts had to no help in the situation. Weather and climate patterns are now being looked at as being an unspoken contributor to the loss of the South. Looking at these elements explains why the South went the way they did and explains further about the food shortage that deeply affected the South. However, most of the Civil War was fought in the South, making the terrain of the South much different from before the war.

The terrain was not only affected by the weather but also by the soldiers themselves. During the Civil War, the Union and the South used canals to make easier routes and supply chains. One of the most famous canals built during the mid-1800s is the Erie Canal. Historian Lisa M. Brady wrote in her book, *War Upon the Land,* about the destruction made by making these canals.

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[341] Noe, "Fateful Lighting", *The Blue, the Gray, and the Green,* 23.
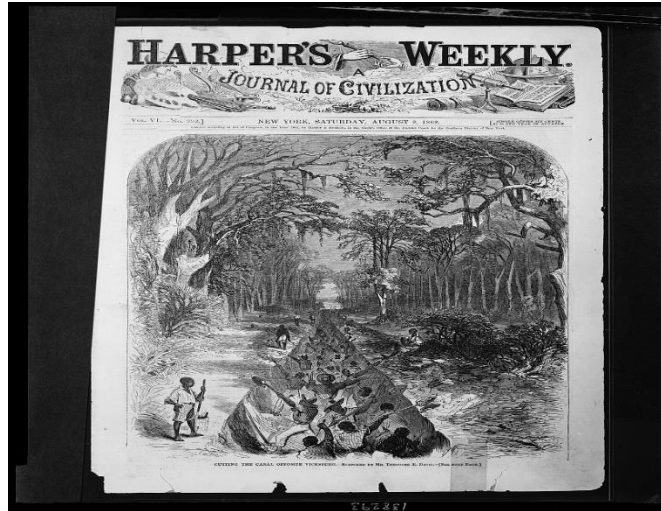[342] Noe, "Fateful Lightning", *The Blue, the Gray, and the Green, 24.*

Figure 4, Building of the De Soto Point Canal.[343]

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This image created by Theodore R Davis, depicts African American slaves digging the

first attempt at the De Soto Point canal[344]. At the height of the canal era, the Union wanted to

create this canal for easier access and create a safe passageway for navy boats and open the

Mississippi River to Federal navigation. Union soldiers along with over one thousand slaves had

to dig up heavy clay, thick vegetation, unpredictable water levels, and mosquito-borne illness. To

get the victory in Vicksburg, the Union needed to have better access, and surrounding the city

and cutting through De Soto Point, the Union can do that. The Union and the South used canals

to give them better access to the rest of the United States, however creating these canals destroys

the earth, and disrupts the natural flow of the rivers[345]. Another way the terrain was affected in

the South could be explained by the weather. One of the more famous examples of the terrain

being affected due to the weather is the "Mud March". Union General Ambrose Burnside

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[343] Theodore R. Davis., Artist. Cutting the canal opposite Vicksburg / sketched by Mr. Theodore R. Davis. The United States Mississippi Vicksburg, 1862. Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/2008680156/.

[344] Theodore R. Davis., Artist. Cutting the canal opposite Vicksburg / sketched by Mr. Theodore R. Davis. The United States Mississippi Vicksburg, 1862. Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/2008680156/.

[345] Brandy, *War Upon the Land,* 39.

planned to capture the Confederate capital of Richmond. While the weather was looking

promising, Burnside and his men went out, however delaying a day because the Confederate

troops were near. On January 20th, 1863, the cold and heavy rain started to pour down, this rain

did not stop for about thirty hours. With this much rain, the roads of Virginia were nothing but

very thick mud that went deep into the ground.[346] This picture from the Library of Congress

perfectly shows the struggle and the impact that the weather had on the terrain like the one in

Virginia that would make it impossible to move.

Figure 5, Artillery moving through the mud. [347]

Whether the terrain in the South was destroyed due to the weather or the people

themselves, the South was never the same after the Civil War. Canals destroyed the land

especially if they were never used and the weather constantly changed what the terrain would

look like on a given day. The South had been changed and sometimes could not recover from

these damages.

For most of the teachings and the understanding of the Civil War, most historians would

be on the side of the political, military, and cultural reasonings for the Civil War happening and

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[346] Browning, Silver, *An Environmental History of the Civil War,* 2.
[347] Alfred R. Waud, Artist. *Dragging Artillery Through the Mud.* The United States, 1864. March. Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/2004660244/.

more importantly why the South lost. Seen throughout this paper has been that learning about the environmental impact of the Civil War is one that should be looked at more closely. Disease, agriculture, livestock, weather patterns, and the terrain, were all have made factors of why the South lost the Civil War. Learning about environmental history has opened up a new understanding of the Civil War and truly environmental history is the unspoken contributor to the Civil War.

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    Got through with that New Orleans job. Cleaned them out and scrubbed them up! Any

    more scrubbing to give out?". The United States New York New Orleans Louisiana

    Orleans Parish, 1863. Harper's Weekly, New York, 1. Photograph.

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    Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/2004660244/.

Chapter 9.

**Andrew Higgins, "Railroads are not the Reason"**

Before we get to the Evolutionary Advancement that was the creation of the Railroads, we must first understand the means of transportation that were used before and how many of these were used heavily during the beginning and through the Railroad Revolution including the Civil War. The Confederates' loss of the Civil War was not dominated by the Union's use and abundance of railroads but rather was due to more strategic and smarter warfare by the Union and its Generals. The Different methods of transportation for the South played an enormous role in what could've been a Southern victory had it not been for the inability for Southern generals to be strategically smarter than the North.

"The first North American "gravity road," as it was called, was erected in 1764 for military purposes at the Niagara portage in Lewiston, New York. The builder was Capt. John Montressor, a British engineer"[348] While not a Railway as we may think of one, the Niagara Portage Railway was a set of tracks that stretched down the side of a mountain. The Railway allowed for porting ships to unload "From 1764 till the end of the "hold over period," about 1795, ~ many hundreds of thousands of tons in weight, boats, cannon, military stores, provisions and traders merchandise"[349] With the creation of the railway the labor required to transport

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[348] *"The Beginnings of American Railroads and Mapping : History of Railroads and Maps : Articles and Essays : Railroad Maps, 1828-1900 : Digital Collections : Library of Congress." The Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/collections/railroad-maps-1828-to-1900/articles-and-essays/history-of-railroads-and-maps/the-beginnings-of-american-railroads-and-mapping/#:~:text=The%20first%20railroad%20charter%20in,opened%20before%20the%20year%20ended.*

[349] https://www.buffalohistorygazette.net/2011/01/the-niagara-portage-railway.html

materials was much less, almost nonexistent if these ports worked effectively. The Seneca Native

Tribe once employed by the British to carry these shipments

but now unemployed due to the invention of the railway

attacked the British Controlled Port and attacked British

soldiers at the top of the track (Lewiston Heights), "When

British soldiers at the fort below Lewiston Heights heard the

attack, they hurried to the scene, but were ambushed by the

Senecas and only eight men out of two companies

survived"[350]. The cost of these railways was becoming apparent and essentially a pulley system

to track the idea of applying some sort of "Engine" into a land vehicle used to transport weight

exceeding 1000 pounds along an abrasive surface rather than the ocean.
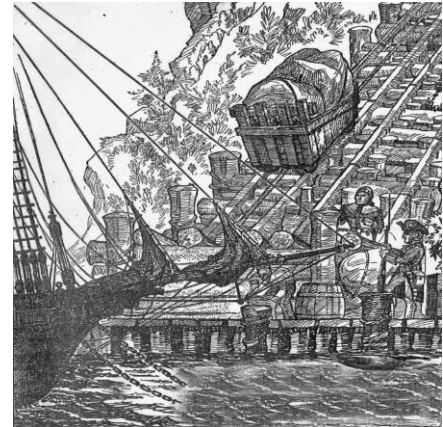
While the creation of a track system allowed for new uses of land transportation, the use

of water travel was essential and advancements in that technology were continuing to come out.

"In 1787 John Finch an Engineer from Connecticut designed a steam engine that was used to

propel a ship up the Delaware River and later that same year by James Ramsey on the Potomac

River"[351] The patent for John Finch's first Steam Boat can be seen on the right. These

advancements to the Engine helped spark ideas on furthering advancements to ship engines,

helping further increase the speed and abilities of American ships allowing for more cargo, and

faster voyages. The creation of these Steam Engines did not come at a cost; Finch and Ramsey

"could not sustain financial backing and died in frustration." While Finch and Ramsey had

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[350]https://buffalonews.com/news/wagon-road-led-to-devils-hole-massacre-as-british-built-improved-niagara-area/article_3779891d-2dfe-5c1f-8773-9c41143d65fb.html

[351] James A. Ward, *J. Edgar Thomson: Master of the Pennsylvania* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1980), p. 11.

trouble creating a commercially successful steam engine that could be used nationally among all American Ships, in 1807 Robert Fulton released his own creation for the Steam Engine which can be seen on the right. Fulton's Steam Engine became the first commercially successful engine in America allowing for Faster Speeds, Larger Ships, and ability to travel up stronger rivers and through rougher waters.
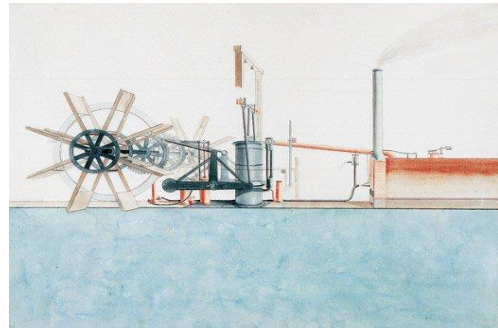
In October 1809 John Thompson drew the first survey map of a railway which was the first in North America. The Leiper Railroad only covered about ¾ of a mile but was an industrial feat never seen in North America. The Railroad was built with wooden tracks and the carts would be pulled by horses. The railroad ran from the stone quarries to the river where he could ship out products. While small home/business tracks were built, not until "John Stevens, considered to be the father of American railroads. ~ was granted the first railroad charter in North America in 1815."[352] and "In 1826 Stevens demonstrated the feasibility of steam locomotion on a circular experimental track constructed on his estate in Hoboken, New Jersey"[353] did commercial use of railroads start to become a thing and have the capabilities for transporting people and goods at faster speeds and without human labor.
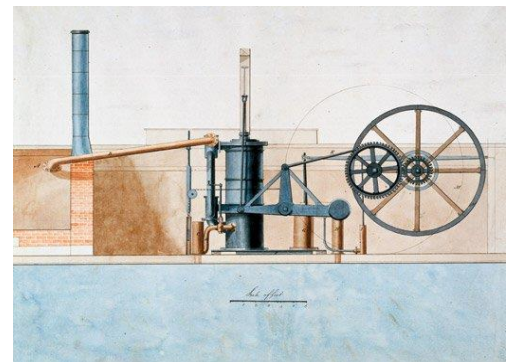
[352]https://www.loc.gov/collections/railroad-maps-1828-to-1900/articles-and-essays/history-of-railroads-and-maps/the-beginnings-of-american-railroads-and-mapping/#:~:text=The%20first%20railroad%20charter%20in,opened%20before%20the%20year%20ended.

[353]https://www.loc.gov/collections/railroad-maps-1828-to-1900/articles-and-essays/history-of-railroads-and-maps/the-beginnings-of-american-railroads-and-mapping/#:~:text=The%20first%20railroad%20charter%20in,opened%20before%20the%20year%20ended.

While the South already has ports and hospitals and easy access to hospitals by wagon the south really wasn't relying on another mode of transportation to force them to focus heavily on expanding this new mode of transportation. In 1875 George Otis the Assistant Surgeon General said "The experience, discussions and experimental trials of various nations regarding railway transport of sick and wounded in war, indicates a very general solicitude for the determination of some regular system during the leisure time of peace. When the hour of need comes"[354] This was in 1875 almost 10 years after the Civil War ended a Northern Army General stated that the railroads should be looked at as a means of transporting wounded out of battle. The railways

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[354] Anthony G Puzzilla, *Hospital Trains and Vessels during the Civil War: The Evolution in the Handling and Transportation of the Wounded* (p. 10). Kindle Edition.

were never set up to get people near a hospital and on the fly transporting wounded in unstable conditions did not advantage the North.

At the Start of the Civil War neither the Union nor the Confederacy had a Navy. The "Union navy numbered less than 40 usable ships"[355] While "the Southern coast measured over 2,500 miles" the southern "advantage" to water travel could be seen clearly as the south already having large boats for trade created "IronClad" ships to protect the ships from artillery as well as get close to ports to enact as much destruction as possible. As the war broke out "The Northern navy immediately began building dozens of new warships and purchased hundreds of merchant ships to convert into blockaders by adding a few guns. The result was a motley assortment that ranged from old sailing ships to New York harbor ferry boats. Critics called it Welles' "soapbox navy." None of these boats were protected as most were made from wood creating an even bigger challenge when these ships had to travel nearly 2000 miles to a battle and 2000 miles back. The South were just as desperate though but the
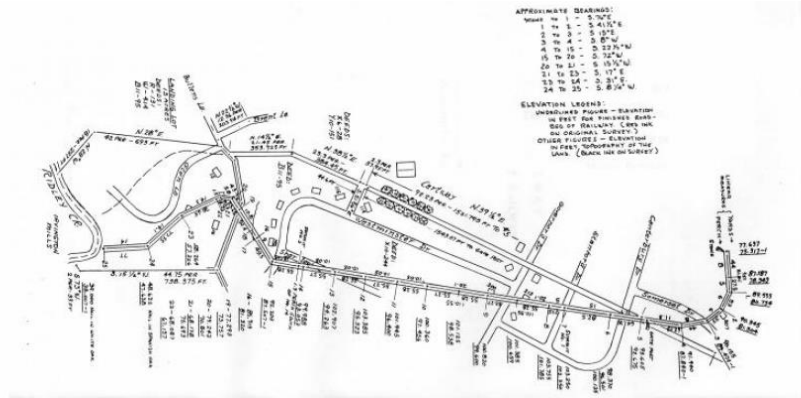
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[355] https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/navies-civil-war

already trade heavy south had vessels that could be transformed and used as battleships as well as Hospital Boats which would become very useful as the war continued.

"In 1861, when hostilities between the North and South formally erupted, our country had a rail network totaling more than 30,000 miles of track. ~ of this, 21,300 miles or about 70% was concentrated in the Northeast and Midwest while the Confederacy enjoyed only 9,022 miles of track."[356] If you look at the map above the network of railways in the north is very congested and overlapping in spots which makes sense for the 21,300 miles of track but the location of these tracks that extend down into different theatres and states where battles were taking place is very scarce and almost equal to that of the South. At the First Battle of Bull Run on July 21, 1861 the South used its freight cars as the first usage of the railroad for wounded transport. The Battle was located near the Orange and Alexandria Railroad where wounded soldiers would travel on board a freight car for 24-36 hours until they arrived in Charlotte, NC while the Northern soldiers would have to walk 27 miles back to the nearest hospital, wounded. This Battle created the US Sanitary Commission due to the overwhelming loss of forces in the battle due to lack of medical attention and also doctors quitting at the sight of these horrific injuries. The North Carolina RailRoad was built along cities and it was built along hospitals making transportation efficient and as the Civil War broke out it made it possible for them to use the railroad for their wounded. "Few southern railroads during the Civil War were more strategically placed then the North Carolina Railroad
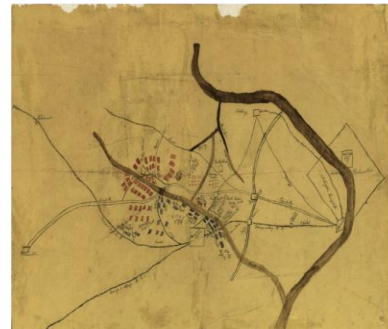
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[356] Puzzilla, 9.

(NCRR) or played a greater role in determining the fate of the Confederacy."(pp. 5) Reinstating what I said the NCRR was perfectly positioned along many battles up the east coast that allowed the confederacy easy access and ability to replenish materials when needed.

The theatres during the Civil War was a way for the War to be broken up into different sections depending on its location. The Eastern Theatre composed of Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, DC, and the Union occupied Seaports in North Carolina. This Theatre was important to the efforts for both the North and South due to it containing the capitals to all these states along with most highly Industrial regions. The Trans-Mississipian Theatre contained Missouri, Louisiana, Kansas, Texas, Oklahoma and states west of the Mississippi River. This theatre was very important because the Confederacy had control of the Mississippi River meaning it could easily contact the Confederate states on the other side but once the Union took control of the River the Confederacy was blocked off from contact and from soldiers fighting alongside the Western Theatre. The Western Theatre contained, Non-Coastal North Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Kentucky, Tennessee and all states south of Virginia and east of the Mississippi River. With the Union controlling the Eastern and Part of the Trans-Mississippian Theatre and the Confederacy controlling the Western and part of the Trans-Mississippian Theatre this allowed the war to be as even as possible, allowed and created states decades pervious to even the Slave and non-slaveholding states.

The development of the Railroads allowed for travel between these theatres for the first time although not for the first time but the ability to transport people and supplies deeper into the

opposing theatre and at a faster rate allowed for a whole new different type of warfare. The

different in walking, using a boat or horses to deliver supplies to a location and loading a train

with the same supplies most of the time more supplies. Meaning the soldiers will be fed for

longer allowing them to defend the fort for longer, they will have dry clothes for longer to keep

the soldiers healthy, and it will have more medicine and first aid items for longer playing a part

in the saving of numerous lives. The Railroad also allowed for more strategic attacks on multiple

targets around the same time due to the ability to transport large numbers of soldiers to areas of

interest.

At the Battle of Wilson's Creek another Union loss, the Surgeon General Claimed a

victory to the usage of the Railroad to keep wounded alive saying "I remained with two hundred

and nine wounded and sick and, with the help obtained with convalescents they were made

comfortable. During October, I sent one hundred and fifty of these patients to Rolla, (Missouri).

On November 11th… I started with the remaining wounded, all of whom arrived safely in St.

Louis on November 19th."[357] Katherine Wombley a Sanitary Commission Official said "…the

worst cases are put inside the covered cars, close, windowless boxes, sometimes with a little

straw or a blanket to lie on, oftener without. They arrive a festering mass of dead and living

together."[358] two complete opposite takes to the usage of the Railway for Wounded transport.

The North had many difficulties at the start of the war with losing battles along with the

fumbling of medical staff and inability to evacuate these soldiers from the battlefields. After the

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[357] Puzzilla, Anthony G.. Hospital Trains and Vessels during the Civil War: The Evolution in the Handling and Transportation of the Wounded (p. 38). Kindle Edition.

[358] Puzzilla, Anthony G.. Hospital Trains and Vessels during the Civil War: The Evolution in the Handling and Transportation of the Wounded (p. 39). Kindle Edition.

Battle of Wilson's Creek the realization that these freight cars aren't the most humane for wounded soldiers to travel back, and the dedication of all river boats to transporting the wounded over cargo was implemented for the Union.

The US Sanitary Commission did implement refittings of the freight cars with padding on the floors rather than straw. "Dr. Elisha Harris, of the U.S. Sanitary Commission, sketched out a system for hanging the stretchers with India rubber rings to serve as shock absorbers. He submitted his design for a hospital car to Quartermaster General Montgomery Meigs. He approved the plan and instructed the various railroads between Washington and New York City to begin altering existing passenger cars."[359] These stretchers could be inserted straight off the battlefield without having to lift a wounded soldier off the stretcher making the transition to the hospital and on the train smoother. "A journalist for Harper's Weekly, February 27, 1864, described the ride of the Harris hospital car as, "comfortable as the beds of a hospital."[360] the propaganda about the war and how good the Union was doing is very apparent as i mentioned before the abilities and actual state of the wounded and trains now fitted as hospitals was much worse than the Surgeon General led on just as the Journalist who was invited to try out a brand new bed, seems in poor taste at best.

By Spring of 1862 the Hospital Ships became more of a necessity than the Railroads were. The US Sanitary Commission had requested and refitted 16 Medium/Large Ships to work as Hospital Ships. Starting on March 17, 1862, and going until July 1862 these

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[359] Puzzilla, Anthony G.. Hospital Trains and Vessels during the Civil War: The Evolution in the Handling and Transportation of the Wounded (p. 53). Kindle Edition.

[360] Puzzilla, Anthony G.. Hospital Trains and Vessels during the Civil War: The Evolution in the Handling and Transportation of the Wounded (pp. 57-58). Kindle Edition.

ships served Troops of Mcclellan's Army (100,000). The Ships could transport up to 450 wounded/sick as well as the Nurses and Staff that worked on these Ships. The Union Army eventually lost the Battle and suffered catastrophic numbers but the presence of the Hospital Ships and the battle being located on Chesapeake Bay and James River helped save the lives of thousands who may not have had the ability to make it to one of the Union occupied railways. After this battle the union army was no longer able to use Ports at White House Landing.
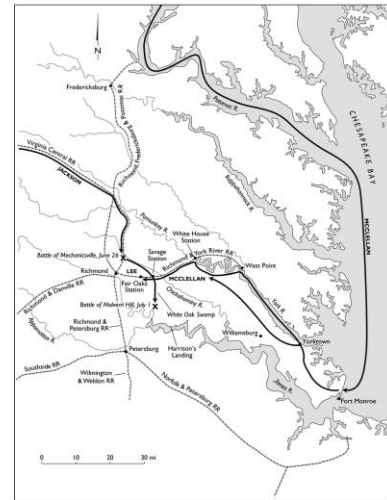
The Battle of Antietam was fought on the 17th of September 1862 and is considered to be the deadliest day in American history, a projected 22,717 soldiers dying that day and over the next few days and weeks due to complications of injuries acquired at the battle. The Battle is considered a Draw although Robert E. Lee set an official retreat due to the devastation to his unit before the union. The Railroad was thought of as a key way of transporting wounded during this battle as well as the use of soldiers as stretcher bearers to reduce the amount of wounded left on the battlefield. Dr. Jonathan letterman Assistant Surgeon General also noted that the while the railroad was very important and transporting wounded by them saved the lives of thousands he says this in response to the conditions of hay floors for wounded being transported immediately from the battlefield. "The capacious barns, abundantly provided with hay and straw, the delightful weather with which we were favored, and the kindness exhibited by the people, afforded increased facilities to the medical department for taking care of the wounded thrown

upon it by that battle."[361] While the trains offered fast transportation for dressed and stable soldiers the ability to use barns and houses as field hospitals to assist wounded close to the battlefield with conditions comfortable and spacious enough for even emergency operations. Because of the generosity and a word he needed to say to General George L. Hartsuff, Abraham Lincoln arrived in Frederick, Maryland on October 4 to thank the people of Frederick for their help in the War. although not many stayed in Frederick long no more than a few days the ability to Triage wounded soldiers in a time of with mass amounts of injuries saved the lives of thousands.

Union Major Dr. Jonathan Letterman was a Surgeon graduating in 1849 assuming the position of Assistant Surgeon general the same year. He would serve as half soldier half medic assisting wounded soldiers on the battlefield in battles between the United States and the Natives until 1861 at the start of the Civil War when he was stationed with the Army of the Potomac to assist the soldiers with any medical inquiries. In June of 1862 Letterman "was eventually named medical director of the entire army ~ After it took over a week to remove the wounded from the battlefield at Second Manassas, Letterman was given free range by General George McClellan to do whatever was needed to revamp the poor medical services that the men received in the field."[362] "Letterman and his staff further developed the U.S. Ambulance Corps based on a concept originated earlier by Charles S.
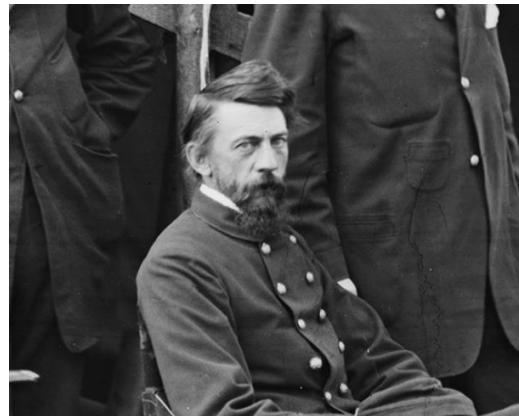
[361] Puzzilla, Anthony G.. Hospital Trains and Vessels during the Civil War: The Evolution in the Handling and Transportation of the Wounded (p. 90). Kindle Edition.

[362] https://www.battlefields.org/learn/biographies/jonathan-letterman

Tripler, the former Medical Director. The so-called "Letterman Plan" involved the concept by which the ambulances of a division moved together with two stretcher-bearers and one driver per ambulance to move wounded from the field to dressing stations, and then on to the field hospital."(87)

This came into effect in August of 1862 only one month before the battle of Antietam which is regarded as the bloodiest day on American soil where 23,000 men lost their lives. How might the battle had gone if this new plan was not in place? Within 24 hours of battle ending every wounded soldier was evacuated via the Ambulance core as part of letterman's three step system of

"1) A Field Dressing Station - located on or next to the battlefield where medical personnel would apply the initial dressings and tourniquets to wounds.

 2) A Field Hospital – located close to the battlefield, usually in homes or barns, where emergency surgery could be performed and additional treatment given.

3) A Large Hospital – Located away from the battlefield and providing facilities for the long term treatment of patients."[363]

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[363] https://www.battlefields.org/learn/biographies/jonathan-letterman
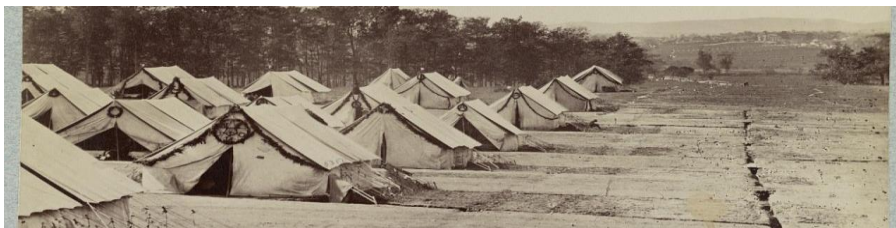
Pictures above you can see Camp Letterman filled with rows of Medical Tents (Field Hospitals) allowing for immediate assistance to the wounded. But none of this would've be possible had it not been for the Ambulance core which trained men to act as stretcher bearers and operate wagons to pick up the wounded and bring them to field dressing stations. Had letterman not been given free reign of the Medical System during the Civil War the deadliest war in American history to possibly much worse.

The South had varied uses of the Railroad during the Civil War.

"Preston Moore, Surgeon General of the Confederate Army, states in August 1875: "Freight and open box cars were used to transport our wounded from the field to the hospitals. In the beginning of the war these cars were bedded with straw or leaves, whichever was most convenient. It was soon found that this bedding became so foul as to be very unpleasant. This plan was therefore discontinued, and the wounded were placed on blankets, when they could be had, spread on the floors of the cars. Stretchers were not used."[364]

The fact that the south 10 years after the war didnt even try and come up with an elaborate lie to why they didn't have plans in place to evacuate wounded by train shows that the south "Fumbled the ball" when it came to the south given all the chances to secure a victory, but were cut short due to the almost incompetence of some of the Confederate Generals during the Civil War. Dr. Hunter McGuire the Medical Director of T.J. Jackson's Corps said, "I remember only one regular hospital train, running from Guinea's Station [about twelve miles from Fredericksburg] to Richmond. It was made up partly of freight and passenger cars arranged as ~

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[364] Puzzilla, Anthony G.. Hospital Trains and Vessels during the Civil War: The Evolution in the Handling and Transportation of the Wounded (p. 206). Kindle Edition.

Planks fastened on the tops of the backs of the seats; these slats were covered with beds" all of these quotes from Confederate Generals and medical directors all state the obvious, that the Confederate army didn't have the cohesiveness and ability to instruct mass amounts of people to follow certain orders and their inability to control the war is how they lost the war. In October of 1861, The Virginia Central Railroad not the Confederate army but the VCR built two Ambulance Cars to assist in the transportation of wounded during the War, but these were built to transport only 44 at a time while the Union was transporting upwards of 50-100.

By the end of the War the Union had made significant advancements to the Railcars and the Railways now allowing for safer travels for the wounded meaning that in 1864 "hospital trains had been proven safe enough that seriously wounded patients, who had sustained compound fractures and penetrating abdominal wounds, were sent by rail."[365] as the war went on more wounded were able to be saved as the fighting became more intense due to the actions taken by the Union Generals. Other forms of transportation were also used to transport wounded but majority of it was Union organized.
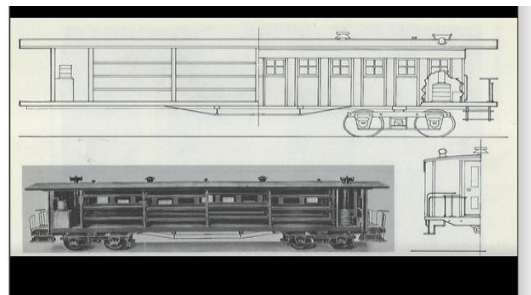
"The use of hospital ships was exclusively used by the Union or Federal forces in the evacuation of its sick and wounded where extensive waterways and existing industry facilitated

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[365] Puzzilla, Anthony G.. Hospital Trains and Vessels during the Civil War: The Evolution in the Handling and Transportation of the Wounded (p. 210). Kindle Edition.

its outfitting and use. The South was prevented from utilizing hospital ships due to the strangling blockage of its major ports as part of General Winfield Scott's Anaconda Plan."[366]

As the war went on the Union improved upon their railroads and the evacuation methods of that but also improved upon their hospital ships and the evacuation methods that went with that to allow for easy transport of wounded from any type of situation whether it be in the middle of a field or along water the union had every avenue explored and conquered when it came to its wellbeing and future health of their soldiers. All I ever heard when learning about the Civil War was that the Railroad was very important and the Union won because of their use of the Railroad for supplying goods to their soldiers as well as transporting soldiers to and from the battlefield but that does not seem entirely the case it seems that the railroads were important along with the use of Hospital Ships and the Unions strategic change in Medical Director which allowed for more effort to be put into helping these wounded as quick as possible and to use these transportation methods to transport already stable soldiers to get further assistance. As well as the introduction of measures to pick up wounded and dead from the battlefield quickly to lessen the number of wounded having died being left without medical attention. But the Confederates inability to follow suit in their measure for evacuating wounded cost them as the wounded were either left to die or brought back to camp in percentages much lower to those evacuated on the union side, to either live or die based on the conditions and stuff available to the confederate battalions.

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[366] Puzzilla, Anthony G.. Hospital Trains and Vessels during the Civil War: The Evolution in the Handling and Transportation of the Wounded (p. 211). Kindle Edition.

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> Press, 1980.

Chapter 10.

Benjamin Nelson-Betz, "The Massachusetts 54th Infantry Regiment's Impact on the Union Victory"

The impact that African Americans had on the Civil War is one that has been mostly overlooked by historians. When their accomplishments in the Civil War have been recognized and celebrated, it has often been in the shadow of White commanding officers such as Robert Gould Shaw. To see this, one needs to look no further than how the Massachusetts 54th Infantry Regiment's story has been told in United States history. Their story has been most famously told in the movie *Glory* where the lead character and star is Robert Gould Shaw.[367] In similar fashion, the famous monument of the Massachusetts 54th Infantry Regiment in Boston Massachusetts is called "The Robert Gould Shaw and the Massachusetts Fifty-Fourth Regiment ". There is no indictment on Shaw as he is an important historical figure, however these examples are a few of many in a long history of United States history being told from the White's side instead of people of color. What is not talked about enough is the impact that African Americans had on the Civil War against all odds, and this was personified in the 54th Regiment. Despite facing discrimination in the Union army and being overlooked as soldiers in the battlefield, African American soldiers were the tipping point that pushed the Union to victory in the Civil War.

The story of the 54th Massachusetts Infantry Regiment is a long and complicated one filled with controversy. The Regiment was the first all-Black regiment that fought for the Union army. On January 1st, 1863, President Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation,

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[367] Zwick, Edward,1989, *Glory,* TriStar Pictures.

freeing all enslaved men. As a result of this act, John A. Andrew, the governor of Massachusetts at that time, began the process of recruiting Black men for the regiment.[368] The Union army was made up of enlisted soldiers, and also of men that were part of the army as part of the draft. However, the 54th regiment was to be made exclusively by volunteers.

From the start, the 54th Massachusetts Infantry Regiment was intended to be more than just an infantry regiment. In a letter from John A. Andrew to Francis G. Shaw, the father of Robert Gould Shaw, Andrew gave his reasoning for starting the 54th. He stated:

> I am about to raise a Colored Regiment in Massachusetts. This I cannot but regard as perhaps the most important corps to be organized during the whole war, in view of what must be the composition of our new levies, and therefore I am very anxious to organize it judiciously in order that it may be a model for all future Colored Regiments.[369]

Andrew intended for the Regiment to be the first of its kind, and more importantly to have it be a blueprint for future regiments. In his letter, Andrew also addressed the fact that the regiment would need to be constructed and led by individuals that had strong anti-slavery morals. Since it would be the first all-Black regiment, Andrew also acknowledged the message that a regiment like this would send to the rest of the country and the world. He also stated in his letter:

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[368] "Andrew, "Letter from John A. Andrew to Francis Shaw," January 30, 1863, 1-7.https://www.masshist.org/object-of-the-month/objects/this-i-cannot-but-regard-as-perhaps-most-the-important-corps-2009-05-01

[369]Andrew, "Letter from John A. Andrew to Francis Shaw,"1.

With my deep conviction of the importance of this undertaking, in view of the fact that it will be the first Colored Regiment to be raised in the Free States, and that its success or its failure, will go far to elevate or to depress the estimation in which the character of the Colored Americans will be held throughout the World, the command of such a Regiment seems to me to be a high object of ambition for any officer.[370]

Andrew knew that the 54th Massachusetts Infantry Regiment could go a long way in empowering African Americans, especially if they won the War. It was with that letter that he decided he wanted Robert Gould Shaw to be the commander of the 54th, a decision that would prove to be the right one.

With the installment of the infantry, the initial enlisted was counted at 106. Although not all of the original enlistees made it into the 54th, it was an immense start for the infantry that eventually had over 1000 members.[371] With the installation of the first Black infantry in the Union, the stigma surrounding African Americans in the United States began to change. Unfortunately, there was still a long way to go. Members from the infantry faced an uphill battle from the moment they enlisted, as the public, and even the commanding officers did not see people of color as competent soldiers. This was reflected in the many discriminations that they faced as members of the Massachusetts 54th Infantry Regiment, which made the regiments impact on the war that much more impressive.

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[370]Andrew, "Letter from John A. Andrew to Francis Shaw,"2.

[371] Appelton, John W.M. *Enlistment role of Company A, 54th Massachusetts Infantry Regiment, 1863*(Massachusetts Historical Society,1863).

https://www.masshist.org/database/viewer.php?ft=54th%20Regiment&pid=&item_id=1148

For Black Union soldiers during the Civil War, one of the many discrepancies they faced during their service was unequal pay compared to their White counterparts. The pay wages for White soldiers was 13 dollars a month, while the wages for Black soldiers was nearly half of that at 7 dollars a month. The pay difference of almost half of that of White soldiers was never the wage amount that Black soldiers were promised when volunteering.

Image taken from Massachusetts Historical Society. It is a recruitment poster for the Massachusetts 54th Infantry Regiment taken from 1863. It includes promises of a 100-dollar bounty, pay of 13 dollars a month, along with good food and clothing, and state aid to their families. These needs were not initially met as promised by the Government.[372]

When recruiting letters and posters were sent out in Massachusetts by Governor John A. Andrew, the promise by the government was that of 13 dollars a month. There are many reasons that this empty promise was in place as there was never any hard evidence that the government

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[372] Historical Society, Massachusetts, 2022, "Massachusetts Historical Society: 54th Regiment," Masshist.org,2022. https://www.masshist.org/online/54thregiment/#portraits

intended to pay black soldiers their promised wage. During the war, there was a stigma surrounding Black soldiers' competency as a soldier. Many high-ranking individuals for the Union, including the future commander of the 54th Regiment Robert Gould Shaw, doubted African Americans ability to be competent soldiers. Despite both Shaw and Andrew being strong supporters of an all-Black regiment, their initial views on Black soldiers were not up to par. Despite promises of equal wages, the government did not hold up their end of the deal. However, the 54th Massachusetts Infantry Regiment knew their worth, and did not sit idle with the pay discrepancy that they faced.[373]

Francis H. Fletcher, a Sergeant in the 54th Massachusetts Infantry Regiment, wrote a letter on May 28th, 1864, describing the issue of unequal pay of the all Black regiment. The letter alludes to the issues the 54th Regiment was facing, as Fletcher says "In that one year no man of our regiment has received a cent of monthly pay all through the glaring perfidy of the U.S. Gov't."[374] During this period of the war, the 54th Regiment refused pay from the Government in protest over the unequal pay they were receiving. The passing of a bill by Congress that would grant Black Union soldiers equal pay was imminent at the time of the letter, as it was passed two weeks after the letter was written. However, Fletcher echoes his feeling, and the feelings of many of the other members of the 54th Infantry by saying "All the misery and degradation suffered in our regiment by its members' families is not atoned for by the passage of

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[373] Fletcher, "Sergeant Francis Fletcher of the 54th Massachusetts on Equal Pay for Black Soldiers, 1864."

[374] Fletcher, 1864.

the bill for equal pay."[375] While the passage of the bill would grant them equal pay, it was not a solution to all the discrepancies that Fletcher and his men faced.

The Massachusetts 54th's discrepancies did not stop at pay, as it was part of their everyday life as a soldier. The promise of "good food & clothing" was yet another lie that the government told to Black soldiers. In no way were the conditions that any soldier faced during the Civil War good, but there was a large gap between that of White and Black soldiers.

One faction that this was very evident in was that of disease within camps and on the battlefield. Disease was rampant during the Civil War, especially from wounds. Lack of medical care for White soldiers was already a glaring issue, however it affected Black soldiers at an even higher rate. Black soldiers, especially those that were ex-slaves, were much more likely to contract disease and die than their White counterparts. 33,000 out of 179,000 black soldiers (18.4%) died from disease during the war, while only 8% of White soldiers did.[376] This meant that 10 out of 11 of all deaths for black soldiers were caused by disease, and the ratio of wound caused deaths was much higher for Black soldiers than White. Furthermore, there was a discrepancy in medical care based on the tone of skin color, as Black soldiers with darker skin died at a rate of 30 more people per 1,000 than those of lighter skin color. There was discrimination within the discrimination, and it did not stop there. Upon enlisting, Black soldiers were discriminated against immediately. They also were not allowed to become commissioned officers in the Union army and were paid significantly less than that of their white counterparts.

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[375] Fletcher, 1864.

[376] Lee, Chulhee "Socioeconomic Differences in the Health of Black Union Soldiers during the American Civil War" *Social Science History* 33, no. 4 (2009): 434. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40587324

To add to that, black soldiers were given manual duties that were extremely arduous.[377] There was no such thing as good food or clothing in the Civil War for the average soldier, but those promised conditions that Black soldiers believed they were getting were not up to par with that of their White counterparts.

All of the Black soldiers fighting for the Union faced another overwhelming problem when enlisting in the army. Prisoners of war are something that is common in all wars, as they can be very useful for the capturing side. In most instances, they are used as collateral by one side in order to get their own people back that have been captured. It was common practice during the Civil War to have prisoners of war treated in a not so harsh way. They were still given food and water, and had wounds treated. This was not the case for Black soldiers fighting for the Union side, as they faced a much different reality when being captured by the Confederacy. Issac S. Hawkins is an example of African American prisoners of war that faced unfair treatment because of his race. When captured, he was forced to work and was whipped for doing work incorrectly or not doing enough.[378] The treatment was similar to slavery, which was what most African American men faced as prisoners of war.

Whenever the Massachusetts 54th Infantry Regiment is mentioned, it is impossible to do so with bringing up Robert Gould Shaw. Shaw, who was the leading commander of the 54th Regiment, has been immortalized in United States history as one of the biggest heroes of the Civil War. Despite being reluctant at first to lead the 54th Regiment, Shaw's road to becoming commander and his successes in doing so can not be looked past. As someone who was at first

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[377] Lee, 438-439.

[378] Parks, National, 2022. "Isaac S. Hawkins: Prisoner of War (U.S. National Park Service)"Www.nps.gov, February 9, 2022. https://www.nps.gov/articles/isaac-s-hawkins.htm

skeptical of the 54th regiment, it is important to understand who he was as a person and what he looked to accomplish with the men that he led.

This is a photo of the Robert Gould Shaw and the 54th Regiment memorial. The memorial shows Robert Gould Shaw marching alongside his soldiers. It is located in Boston and was created by Augustus Saint-Gaudens.[379]

Shaw's family history is the starting point in understanding where he came from, as his background was rich in academics. Born in 1837, he was exposed to anti-racist, anti-slavery ideals from a young age. His parents joined Child in the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1838, which was a year after his birth, where is father Francis began working with the Boston Vigilance Committe to help runaway slaves to freedom.[380] Since Shaw's parents raised him to be anti-slavery, those ideologies stayed imbedded in him throughout his life.

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[379] Historical Society, Massachusetts. 2022. "Massachusetts Historical Society: 54th Regiment" Masshist.org,2022. https://www.masshist.org/online/54thregiment/#portraits

[380] Duncan, Russell, *Blue-Eyed Child of Fortune: The Civil War Letters of Colonel Robert Gould Shaw*, Avon Books: (1999)

The ant-slavery ideals that Shaw grew up learning were not the only aspects of his early life that led him to be the eventual commander of the 54th Regiment. He also received a high level of education growing up which was something that his parents made sure of. As Shaw became a teen, he began studying at the preparatory school of Saint John's College.[381] After he attended prep school, he transitioned to a boarding school in Switzerland, where he had an extremely "rigorous curriculum", and his teachers were constantly hard on him.[382] While this was very hard on Shaw, it taught him many life skills and lessons that would benefit him later in life. He learned what it was like to be away from home at a young age, and also had to work extremely hard for teachers that pushed him to the limit. On top of all of this he became extremely well educated, which eventually landed him at Harvard University.

In Shaw's academic endeavors, he also gained a large feeling of nationalism. He despised the way that people would talk about America and the institution of slavery. It was one of the leading causes of him joining the army, as Duncam explains that "he would join the navy if he could 'cut some of their heads open' and thus stop the offensive words coming from mouths of those who blasphemed his America".[383] As so he did in 1861, with the purpose of wanting to reshape and amend the image of America. Shaw was just as successful in the navy as he was in education, which allowed for him to quickly climb the ladder during the war. His morals ideologies about the war, accompanied by his anti-slavery upbringing, made him the perfect candidate for the Massachusetts 54th Infantry Regiment in the eyes of Massachusetts Governmer John A. Andrew.

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[381] Duncan, *Blue-Eyed Child of Fortune: The Civil War Letters of Colonel Robert Gould Shaw*, 5.

[382] Duncan, *Blue-Eyed Child of Fortune: The Civil War Letters of Colonel Robert Gould Shaw*, 6.

[383] Duncan, *Blue-Eyed Child of Fortune: The Civil War Letters of Colonel Robert Gould Shaw*, 10.

At first Shaw was reluctant to take the position as the commander of the regiment. At the time, the stigma that black soldiers could not fight was embedded in the minds of most Americans including Shaw. Shaw initially refused Andrew's invitation, as he "doubted that blacks would enlist, and questioned the fighting ability of black troops."[384] Shaw would eventually change his mind about leading the regiment, and it would not take long for him to change his views on African American soldiers as fighters. He quickly realized that could be just as competent as White soldiers, and he came to respect the soldiers. As a result of this, he bought into what Governor Andrew was trying to accomplish with the Regiment, and Shaw decided to show the North exactly what the regiment could do. People were permitted to come see the Regiment do drills at Camp Meigs, and it changed the perceptions of thousands of people. People's doubts began to disappear about the competency of the regiment the more they saw them, and the attitude towards Black soldiers began to change drastically. All that was left was for the Massachusetts 54th Infantry Regiment to prove themselves in battle so crush any doubt that was remaining.

The 54th Regiment finally had a chance to prove itself in battle at the infamous Fort Wagner in South Carolina. There has already been one attempted taking of the fort, which proved unsuccessful. The Union needed the fort, as taking it would ultimately give them an opportunity to attack Fort Sumter, which would provide the Union access to the Charleston harbor. As Charleston was considered the birthplace of the Civil War, the step in securing the city would be a monumental win for the Union. On July 18th, 1863, the Massachusetts 54th

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[384] Duncan, *Blue-Eyed Child of Fortune: The Civil War Letters of Colonel Robert Gould Shaw*, 23.

Infantry Regiment got to prove to the country that themselves, along with every other Black soldier fighting the war, were just as good as their White counterparts[385].

The battle was not technically the 54th first battle, as they had "minor skirmish" two days prior, but it was incomparable to what they would face at Fort Wagner. Since "the 54th received the honor of leading the charge"[386] there was no way around them facing heavy casualties. However, the impact that would have was tremendous because "If black men could storm the fort and open the door to the birthplace of the rebellion, the symbolism would be enormous."[387] Unfortunately, the battle proved to be unsuccessful in taking the fort as predicted. As Duncan explains:

> Obviously, the assault was ill-conceived and, if judged on a military basis or on the loss of lives, a failure. If judged by its scale as compared to other battles of the war, it would attract little notice. But the charge upon Wagner changed things. Blacks had proven themselves as fighting men and vindicated their sponsors, the abolitionists.[388]

 The 54th suffered many losses, as 600 men changed Fort Wagner, with half of them making it through the walls. Unfortunately, 272 of the soldiers were killed, wounded, or taken as prisoners of war.[389] Among the deaths were Robert Gould Shaw. Lewis Douglass, the son of Fredrick Douglass described what happened in the battle:

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[385] Zack, "The 54th Massachusetts and the Second Battle of Fort Wagner." National parks Service:(2022)

[386] Zack, National Parks Service.

[387] Duncan, *Blue-Eyed Child of Fortune: The Civil War Letters of Colonel Robert Gould Shaw*,51.

[388] Duncan, *Blue-Eyed Child of Fortune: The Civil War Letters of Colonel Robert Gould Shaw*,55.

[389] Duncan, *Blue-Eyed Child of Fortune: The Civil War Letters of Colonel Robert Gould Shaw*,52.

Saturday night we made the most desperate charge of the war on Fort Wagner, losing in

killed, wounded and missing in the assault, three hundred of our men. The splendid 54th

is cut to pieces…. If I have another opportunity tonight, I will write more fully. Goodbye

to all. If I die tonight, I will not die a coward.[390]

Lewis Douglass did survive that night, as there were multiple attacks on the Fort before the 54th

had to retreat for good. Despite the loss, it was a victory for all men of color fighting in the war.

The battle proved that the 54th Regiment could do more than just the supporting work for the

Union army while the other soldiers fought. They proved themselves in battle, as Lewis

Douglass explained in a letter he wrote to his future wife Helen Amelia Loguen:

Our men fought well on both occasions. The last was desperate we charged that terrible

battery on Morris Island known as Fort Wagner…This regiment has established its

reputation as a fighting regiment not a man flinched, though it was a trying time.[391]

Douglass was correct in his statement that the regiment now had a reputation as a fighting

regiment, as the news quickly spread of what happened to both the Union and Confederate states.

The second battle of Fort Wagner got the attention of the North, where newspapers began

printing stories about them all across the Union. Newspapers like the *New York Tribune*,

Richmond County Gazette, and *Atlantic Monthly* spread word of what happened.[392] This was

impactful for a variety of reasons. It shined a national light on African Americans in a positive

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[390] Letter from Lewis Douglass to Frederick Douglass and Anna Murray Douglass, July 20, 1863, Transcribed in Freedom's Journey: African American Voices of the Civil War, ed. Donald Yacovone (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 2004), p. 108-9.

[391] "'I Hope to Fall with My Face to the Foe': Lewis Douglass Describes the Battle of Fort Wagner, 1863." n.d. Historymatters.gmu.edu, Accessed April 21, 2022. http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/6215/

[392] Duncan, *Blue-Eyed Child of Fortune: The Civil War Letters of Colonel Robert Gould Shaw*,55.

way by showing them laying down their lives for the country. It squashed any doubt that someone could have about an African American's ability to fight, and made the South look weak despite it being a victory for the Confederacy. It also helped the Union Army gain more men, as Black soldiers had gained the respect of the other troops as well. Duncan cites a quote from one White soldier that was at Fort Wagner as saying "We don't know any black men here, they're all soldiers."[393] The quote was the perfect example of how attitudes towards African American changed, and it was all thanks to the Massachusetts 54th Regiment.

There were countless names that day that went down in history as war heroes of the 54th Regiment. One of those names was Sergeant William H. Carney. In the battle, the flag bearer was shot down and killed, so Carney proceeded to pick the flag up and carry it for the rest of the battle. Despite being wounded, he did not let the flag touch the ground, and afterwards said to his fellow soldiers "Boys, I did but my duty; the dear old flag never touched the ground!"[394]

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[393] Duncan, *Blue-Eyed Child of Fortune: The Civil War Letters of Colonel Robert Gould Shaw*,55.

[394] "William H. Carney (U.S. National Park Service)" n.d. Www.nps.gov. https://www.nps.gov/articles/william-h-carney.htm
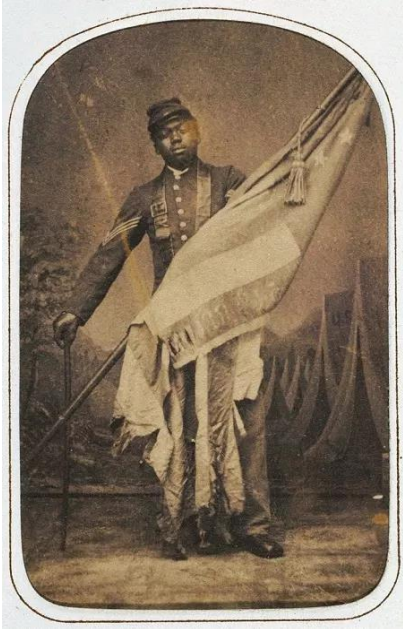
Sgt William Carney holding the American Flag, ca. 1864.[395]

Carney's heroics landed him the Congressional Medal of Honor, and although he was not the first African American to receive the honor, his actions were the first chronologically to get the award. He is one of the most famous members of the Massachusetts 54th Infantry Regiment, and was a symbol for what the Regiment stood for. He was yet another example of the hundreds of brave men that erased stigmas about what African Americans could not accomplish, and showed all the great things they could do when given the chance.

    Image and legacy were themes that defined the purpose and the impact of the 54th Massachusetts Infantry Regiment. Every figure and group involved in the history of the 54th Regiment was affected or motivated by the image of what the regiment represented, and it was

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[395] Carney, National Parks Service.

an ultimate driving force in how they were so successful. Robert Gould Shaw alluded to the image of the regiment in a letter he wrote Governor John A. Andrews of Massachusetts on April 6th, 1863, where he said:[396]

> I think, as I once said to you, that it would be a great misfortune for the Fifty fourth Mass. Regt to be sent away piece-meal. The moral effect on the people at home, of seeing a well armed, well drilled, and well-disciplined regiment march, would be lost entirely. The pride of the officers and men in their regiment would be very much lessened.

In the end, everything that the Massachusetts 54th Infantry Regiment did exceed all expectations. Andrew and Shaw had an image in their head of what it could be, as they thought the image of an all-Black regiment would be powerful for both the Union and Confederacy. They were right about this, but the 54th did so much more than just be a powerful image. By the end of 1863, just 5 months after the battle of Fort Wagner, Duncan explains how "sixty black regiments were being organized, and they would not be used simply to dig fortifications, handle baggage, and cook food for white soldiers. They would be allowed to fight."[397] The sixty Black regiments that were created were deeply impacted by what happened at Fort Wagner, and it could be argued that if the Massachusetts 54th failed in what they wanted to accomplish both in battle and symbolically, those regiments would not have been created.

One of the reasons why Black men wanted to join the fight was pointed out by W.E.B. DuBois. DuBois argued that volunteering to join the army and engaging in battle would grant

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[396] Lawson, Brenda M., and Robert Gould Shaw, 1990, "The Letters of Robert Gould Shaw at the Massachusetts Historical Society", *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 102: 127–47. https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/25081020.pdf

[397] Duncan, *Blue-Eyed Child of Fortune: The Civil War Letters of Colonel Robert Gould Shaw*,55.

African American soldiers their "manhood". In turn, they would be more welcomed in society, and it would fuel their personal pride.[398] This argument does have merit, as African American ability to fight was often questioned and looked down upon. Once they were able to prove they could be successful, the Union accepted them. As a result of this acceptance of Black soldiers, an argument can also be made that they were the tipping point that won the war for the Union.

There are two main reasons why African American soldiers were the tipping point in the Civil War. After the Massachusetts 54th Infantry Regiment fought in battle, the Union army grew greatly in size as the sixty Black regiments were organized by year's end. Since the 54th proved themselves in battle, African American were given active-duty jobs, not just work like cleaning and cooking for soldiers. Secondly, and more importantly, it gave a spark to the Union army and damaged the Confederacy. Now having to fight more people and more competent soldiers, along with many of the soldiers being ex-slaves, it was a new challenge for the Confederacy. In total, there were approximately 180,000 soldiers that fought for the Union army, which made up 10% of the total soldiers throughout the war.[399] The symbol of Black and White men fighting together by choice, having respect for each other, and a sense of brotherhood amongst each other went against everything the Confederacy stood for. The greater numbers and symbolism of a better America all started with the Massachusetts 54th Infantry Regiment, as they were the ones to kickstart the Union's ultimate victory.

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[398] Emberton, Carole, "'Only Murder Makes Men': Reconsidering the Black Military Experience" *Journal of the Civil War Era* 2, no. 3 (2012): 369–93. http://www.jstor.org/stable/26070249

[399] "Black Soldiers in the U.S. Military during the Civil War" 2016. National Archives, August 15, 2016. https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/blacks-civil-war#:~:text=By%20the%20end%20of%20the

The history of the Civil War cannot, and should, never be told without including the contributions of African American soldiers in the Union. They achieved many great victories, not just for the Union victory, but victories for African Americans in America. Against all odds, they crushed stigmas rooted in racism about how they were incompetent in the battlefield and proved themselves as equals to their White counterparts. At the heart of it all was the Massachusetts 54th Infantry Regiment, who kickstarted the avenue for African Americans to fight for the Union in battle and the eventual victory for the Union.

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Part IV. Legacies

Chapter 11.

Patrick Carey, "The U.S. Civil War: Illness and Psychological Effects"

Among many of the thousands who had perished along the entirety of the east coast of America, we see many of the wounded sent home because they are no longer of use to the army's cause within the U.S (United States) Civil War. These soldiers who were sent home were either those who were severely wounded from injuries they had seen within any battle of this gruesome series of conflicts, but the ones that we will dive deeper into will be those who are forever scarred in their own minds. While looking at those in the U.S. Civil War who had received any form mental illness or psychological issues, we see that many of these cases was because both the Union and confederacy did not have a reliable source of medical information to help those in need, a disorder such as PTSD was not ever diagnosed before this period, and that this could have affected these soldiers' families too.

The U.S. Civil War had many casualties on both sides and historians are still trying to produce a more definitive answer as to how many people that were killed in action, died of their wounds, had been discharged, or those who had died after the engagements took place. The number in which the union army had totaled is estimated to be around 2.8 million members (about the population of Mississippi today), and about 230,000 were enlisted in the rebel militia and were not considered part of the union forces. About 1.5 million of these members had only enlisted from two weeks to fourteen months of service, and some of those who had finished their term of service ended up enlisting again, which inflates these numbers a bit. Unfortunately, there

is no exact number as to how many had fought for the Confederate States of America because the records from the War Department do not contain a summary of those enlisted.[400]

The writers during the Civil War were able to give approximate numbers as to how many had served under both General Wright, General Early, and General Stephens of the Confederate armies. In total, there were approximately 1.2-1.4 million active members on the side of the Confederates. Each of these Confederate generals acquired around 400,000-600,000 soldiers in their divisions.[401] One example as to how some of these men had chosen sides was from a Confederate colonel by the name of Thomas Pickens Butler, who had earlier served during the Mexican War had chosen to enlist for the confederate army even before the firing on fort Sumter on April 12th, 1861. At the age of 46, he was then working for a commission department out of Kershaw's Brigade. Colonel Butler was lucky enough to escape some of this brutal warfare because of his administrative work for the Confederates, but he later ended up committing suicide in a hotel room located in Richmond, Virginia[402]. This period did not have the acute knowledge to understand why the colonel had killed himself and the one explanation is due to the lack of medical technology during the Civil war period to understand how war affects soldiers.

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[400] Thomas Leonard Livermore. Numbers and Losses in the Civil War in America, 1861-1865. United States: Houghton, Mifflin, 1901. Pg. 4-10
[401] Diane Miller Sommerville. 2018. *Aberration of Mind: Suicide and Suffering in the Civil War-Era South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. Pg. 23-24.
[402] Sommerville, Diane Miller. 2018. *Aberration of Mind: Suicide and Suffering in the Civil War-Era South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. Pg. 28-29.

Photo from the after math of Antietam.[403]

The American Civil War had created a long-term effect of grieving and overall sadness which could have led some of these soldiers or their families to end up killing themselves due to hardships of the war. There was no specific correlation between the age, POW status, or the percentage of a company killed to the presence of a nervous disease like PTSD, or Post Traumatic Stress Disorder. Soldiers where they lost a high percentage in their company were far greater to end up with both physical and nervous ailments. The younger the soldier was the higher the chance of developing one of these diseases, for example, young soldiers had about a 93% increased risk of physical and nervous disease and a 32 % increase of having a unique specification to these ailments[404].

These Civil War soldiers, unlike our 20th century counterparts did not have the use of tanks, chemical gases, or weapons of mass destruction, but we can see that the forms of warfare that these Civil War soldiers saw were just as terrifying. This fear was due to the traumatic stress

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[403]Maryland, Preservation. 2019. "The Aftermath of Antietam." *Preservation Maryland*. September 17. https://www.preservationmaryland.org/the-aftermath-of-antietam/.

[404]Aaron Levin. 2006. "Civil War Trauma Led to Combination Of Nervous and Physical Disease." *Psychiatric News*, April. doi:10.1176/pn.41.8.0002.

of having their army companies were formed locally which meant that one's neighbors could have been right next to them on the battlefield and having to see them die for their sides cause was the tipping point for most soldiers during this time.[405] This type of situation would have more than just an emotional impact on these soldiers, it would have been very traumatic to see some of your friends or potentially part of your family die on the battlefield. Some of these Civil War doctors did not have the understanding as to how a traumatic experience such as this could harm the mind enough to cause Post Traumatic Stress Disorder or having a soldier startled enough to cause a reflex action like they are back in the action. Many recent studies have found that there was lots of evidence saying that many of these cases were common among Civil War soldiers and have a direct link to their military experience.[406]

St. Elizabeths Hospital or the Government hospital for the insane.[407]

Dorothea Dix who was the founder and mental health reformer during the 1850s for the Government hospital for the insane, admitted their first patients in 1855 where they would be

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[405] "Post Traumatic Stress Disorder and the Civil War." 2019. *National Museum of Civil War Medicine*. May 2. https://www.civilwarmed.org/ptsd/.

[406] "Post Traumatic Stress Disorder and the Civil War." 2019. *National Museum of Civil War Medicine*. May 2. https://www.civilwarmed.org/ptsd/.

[407] "St. Elizabeths Hospital (U.S. National Park Service)." 2022. Accessed April 18. https://www.nps.gov/places/st-elizabeths-hospital.htm.

provided with the utmost best of human care and treatment for any injury or psychological

disorder they may have acquired during their terms of service. In the case of William James, who

was held captive in a northern prisoner of war camp where he had first appeared to be physically

ill, and his mind was causing disorder. After he was released, he had tried to reintegrate himself

into his farmland in the fall of 1865 but was shortly brought back to the violence and even

threatened to kill his father and even tried to kill himself by jumping into a water well. Violence

such as this including self-harm is a quite common indicator of PTSD. Many of the patients at

this asylum had shown an uncontrollable rage that could jeopardize the lives of anyone they may

or may not know. Some of these patients here were also there because their injuries were far

greater than others, in which case, this hospital was later equipped to help those soldiers who had

lost limbs throughout the course of the Civil War. But there were many other opportunities for

medical advancements among both the Confederates and the Union. Most of the soldiers who

had been injured in battle required a lot of medical support as well as financial assistance.

Many soldiers saw a feeling of homesickness which could then drive these soldiers mad

through both shame and guilt of leaving behind their families to fight for their side's

independence from the other[408]. But when these soldiers tried to seek out any medical help

whatsoever, they were often disappointed because most of the doctors during this period did not

physically possess a medical degree but had an extensive apprenticeship with their local

physicians or doctors. Even if one of these doctors had had a degree, the extent of their training

was only scratching the surface of the physical and psychological wounds of these Civil War

soldiers. Most of the so-called doctors Most of these doctors during this period had never seen

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[408] "Post Traumatic Stress Disorder and the Civil War." 2019. *National Museum of Civil War Medicine*. May 2.
https://www.civilwarmed.org/ptsd/.

anything close to a bullet wound or tried to help with any disease that may have run through their camps[409].

This image shows an early Confederate ambulance, transporting their wounded back to camp.[410]

The U.S. sanitary commission was formed and modeled after the British sanitary commission to help alongside the medical bureaus of that time. Many of the doctors and surgeon stations these armies had constructed were later turned into field hospitals under the direct order of the new commissioner Surgeon general Hammond. Often, if the casualties were far too great for some of these field hospitals, the injured would have been sent to one of the nearest general hospitals to be treated for their wounds[411]. Many of the young soldiers who had seen some of their fellow men at arms die on the battlefield were said to be at greater risk of heart, stomach,

[409] Elizabeth Bush. 2020. "Blood and Germs: The Civil War Battle against Wounds and Disease by Gail Jarrow." *Bulletin of the Center for Children's Books* 74 (2): 88–88.doi:10.1353/bcc.2020.0679. Pg. 60-61.

[410] "'Don't Be Afraid Boys' - Evacuating the Wounded". 2017
[411] Bernard Rostker. 2013. "The Civil War." In *Providing for the Casualties of War*, 75–112. The American Experience Through World War II. RAND Corporation. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7249/j.ctt2tt90p.13. Pg. 80-82.

and nervous illnesses even decades after the end of the war. A study done at the University of

California, in Irving, focused on the fact that there can be serious mental and physical costs to

the exposure of war. They had selected about 303 companies out of almost 20,000 within the

Union armies to then predict these soldier's later illnesses. This study can help the understanding

of those who had mental illnesses during and after the American Civil War.[412] But more recent

studies found that many families back home were struggling from these horrific events.

While looking at primarily white children during this time of the Civil War, there were a

few instances where children had demonstrated the hardships of dealing with the war itself.

Those children in the North would have demonstrated in memoirs about the Lincoln

assassination, while straying from the source of reconstruction after the war. While those

children from the south would have mentioned the war as their primary point of focus.[413] These

entries of memoirs or personal diaries reflect the fact that both sides of the Civil War had quite

diverse ways of thinking about how the war would turn out, but sadly many of the children's

wars did not end once the fighting had stopped. Many children during this time were exposed to

the war in many other ways than physically seeing the events. They were often shown the facts

of these events through toys, literature, and especially in their schooling.

One example of northern literature comes from Oliver Optic titled *Student and

schoolmate,* where the main characters resembled different parts of the United States and need to

come together for the better of everyone and calls on" Uncle Sam" to take pride in their nation

that they have[414]. This piece shows that many of the northern citizens would rather try and

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[412] "St. Elizabeths Hospital in the Civil War." 2020. *National Museum of Civil War Medicine*. November 25. https://www.civilwarmed.org/st-elizabeths-hospital/.

[413] James Alan Marten. The Children's Civil War. United Kingdom: University of North Carolina Press, 2000. Pg. 189-190.
[414] Marten, James Alan. The Children's Civil War. United Kingdom: University. Pg. 189-19

peacefully talk through some of their differences rather than fighting over who can control what area of their land. One example from southern literature was that of the *Southern Boys and Girls Monthly* magazine, which demonstrates the calls for war and how they wanted to please the southern readers with what they would want to have heard during this period. Some of the editors of this magazine have complained that the southerners are relying too heavily on other parts of the land and of the world to give children literature to learn. But these letters or magazines were not the first of ways that children would have learned about the war, they first learned it from family or even siblings that would write home to tell their families about where and how they are doing.[415]

Many of the children during this time both in the north and south would have been ridiculed for representing the victorious enemies, specifically whether a northern whites and to southern African Americans. For example, a southern teen, Martha Moore, who resided in New Orleans had spotted a group of African children walking to school. Martha had overheard one of the children talking and then wrote down a very disturbing action, that she would not even notice the little children because of their race as African Americans.[416] Many of the families in general became victims as well as their children, explained in the book Invisible wounds written by Dillon Carroll.

Many of these families often saw their fathers or even children march off to fight in this gruesome series of events and often see them return psychologically wounded. Many of the wives that had seen and experienced some of the tragic psychological pain that some of the men

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[415] Marten. "The Children's". Pg. 192-193

[416] Marten. "The Children's". Pg. 196.

went through and decided to become advocates to speak out about the cruel experiences of war that caused their husbands or fathers to change and not be able to be happy at any point in time. If it were not for some of these women coming to speak out against some of the horrors these men had seen, the history of Post-Traumatic Stress would have ended up different because many of times these families were driven towards poverty, alcoholism and in severe cases, violence.[417] As a result of these hardships sometimes certain families had to travel with their husband if they went off to war as seen in the depiction below.

[418]

Having to live like this would have been hard on the whole family, especially having to pack up everything and travel in the caravan with the army of either side. The things that these families would have seen would have been enough to cause severe mental trauma.

Considering all of the above, we can see that the U.S. Civil War was a very threatening time for both the soldiers and their families, which could result in a lot of death, psychological illness and even poverty and other illnesses that were not common during that period. Historians

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[417] Dillon J. Carroll. 2021. *Invisible Wounds: Mental Illness and Civil War Soldiers*. Conflicting Worlds: New Dimensions of the American Civil War. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. Pg. 173.

[418] Mark. "Children of Civil War Veterans Are Still Alive 147 Years after the War Ended." Iron Brigader, August 21, 2018. https://ironbrigader.com/2012/02/13/children-civil-war-veterans-alive-147-years-war-ended/.

today are still uncovering some of the facts regarding some of these issues and new information is sure to be discovered in the near future.

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Chapter 12.

Adrian J. DuVerger, "War Crimes and Criminals: Defining the Laws of War in 1865"

War within and between countries is an expected part of human tradition that rarely has any positive effects on overall society. All throughout history wars are fought and won or lost, and sometimes it makes or breaks a country. The Civil War in the United States almost tore America apart, and one could argue it was never culturally put back together. The Civil War marks the beginning of the modern idea of War Crimes and how we know them today. Crimes of war and crimes against humanity can end up being the most brutal and cruel part of war, but that honesty is often not emphasized to the public. Starting with the Lieber Code that was written during the Civil War, War Crimes have evolved significantly since then, allowing for the definition to change with time. The definition of a war crime now exists differently than it did in the mid - nineteenth century and what people associated with the term depended entirely on the views of society at the time. Defining acts of war as war crimes can be a difficult task before the Geneva convention because it not only depends on the laws of the country but the culture of the nation to determine what was criminal in that time.

The way crimes of war are recorded into history often depend on a few different factors, especially considering there are two sides, at least, to every war and each side has its own narrative to tell. The Union and the Confederacy during the Civil War had vastly different views, and such when it came to war crimes, were often handled differently. Another contributing factor is that because the Union won the war, they got to choose who was prosecuted and who suffered

consequences. If the South had won the war, not only would we have been two separate countries at that point, but the Confederacy would have held the Union responsible in a way they never were. Records of war will often come from the opposing side as well, and thus comes from a biased perspective, no matter who it's coming from. One side of the war will record a war crime as being worse off than how it happened. The side of the war committing the same crime might downplay what happened because they don't believe anything was wrong. This can be seen in many of the Prisoner of War Camps on both sides. The prisons themselves often don't think about how they treat their prisoners because they don't see their prisoners as people to be treated with respect, but the prisoners always remember. They note for years after the war and after reconstruction is over how the opposing side neglected them in prisons and how they were treated.

For a war fought within the same country, the North and the South had vastly different views. The motivations of the northern states during the civil war are one that is largely disputed by those who study the civil war as a whole. Different motivations include restoration of The United States, and abolition of slavery altogether, or something else entirely. Generally, people think that the Union's motivation was the radical abolitionist take to the war because that's what society view now about slavery, and that it should have been eradicated a lot earlier. Through extensive research into civil war history, it has been suggested in the past that many northerners did not care much for eradicating slavery but instead had more political motivations for fighting in the war. It's possible that northern soldiers fought to uphold the United States government and did not look too deeply into the fight over slavery.

In 1863, President Lincoln signed the Lieber Code, originally known as General Orders No. 100, outlined to union soldiers how they should be treating humans under the pressure of

war. The document itself outlines a various number of things, such as: martial law and military jurisdiction, public and private property of the enemy, protection of persons, and especially of women, of religion, the arts and sciences, punishment of crimes against the inhabitants of hostile countries, deserters / prisoners of war / hostages, armed enemies not belonging to the hostile army, spies, traitors, abuse of the flag of truce, exchange of prisoners, the parole, assassination, and insurrection. The modern-day definition of a war crime is defined by the United Nations who, in 1949, held the Geneva Convention. The modern-day definition is very different from what was outlined in the days of the Civil War, for several reasons. One, being the very nature of the war and the divisions that took place in the country. The North and the South had vastly different views on how to conduct a battlefield. Defining anything by Civil War – era standards is difficult to do because that requires reading into the culture and societal standards of the mid – 18th century. In article 29 of the Lieber code, the document states, "Modern times are distinguished from earlier ages by the existence, at one and the same time, of many nations and great governments related to one another in close intercourse."[419] This is in reference to the nature of war, and the relationships between the different sides of any war, not just the Civil war. The definition of a war crime is particularly difficult to pin down because while the Civil War was being fought brother against brother, the country had two very different cultures clashing against each other. The Lieber Code isn't perfect, and as it's written under divided circumstances, the Confederate South had their own definition of what a war crime was. The document only applied to the North – written by a northern American, signed by President Lincoln. Had it been agreed upon by both President Lincoln and President Jefferson Davis, we

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[419] Lieber, Francis, and Richard Shelly Hartigan. 1983. Lieber's Code and the law of war. Chicago: Precedent.

could hold both sides of the war to the same standards. Because the Confederacy had no part in this document, therefore it is difficult to hold them to the same standards.

Regarding how well the Lieber code held up over time, is hard to determine. The document was written mid – way through the war and the North only ever prosecuted one person, Henry Wirtz. The document was written for a purpose, but that purpose was never upheld. There were plenty of people on both sides of the war, and there is plenty of evidence to suggest this due to the amount of people in their prison camps to prove this. The lack of consequences on both sides of the war implies the concept of using the Lieber Code was thrown away almost immediately after it was written and the Union regulated its soldiers very little, if at all. The other theory is that the document was a statement to show the South that they had an upper hand of sorts.

The South had a different view on the Civil War than the North did. For the Southern States it was a war of defense and viewed the war partly as a war for honor. Many soldiers fought to defend families as well. The war was an argument over slavery and slave labor in the South, but the South took that motivation to another level. The confederacy's view on slavery was generally that enslaved people were violent and that if they were freed, they would riot and rise up against the slave holders for the years of abuse. Therefore, the Confederacy and many soldiers in the South who fought to keep slavery were also fighting, from their perspective, to defend their families. This motivation for the war can be seen in many different documents and when looking through records out of the South it is very apparent that this sense of defense for their homeland was apparent in many different aspects of the war. Most of the Civil War, as well, was fought on southern soil and so there was that added aspect of so much of the bloody battles taking place on their home soil.

It is unclear what the Confederacy thought in the way of war crimes and war criminals. The South had some of the biggest prisoner of war camps known to the war, and some of the worst atrocities of the war happened at places like Fort Pillow. Unlike the north who wrote out their views on war crimes with the Lieber Code, the South did not have such a document. It is very difficult to determine what they considered a war crime was, or even if they had such solid views at all. The Confederacy and the southern states at this time did not consider people of color humans, but rather they still considered them property. With many instances of what ended up being determined as war crimes, the South did not view these instances in the same way the north did. Instances like the Fort pillow massacre involved the mass slaughter of African American people, the previously enslaved, and northern soldiers. this massacre may not have happened if the South viewed people of color as humans, but they also did not think anything was wrong in doing so because to them people of color did not deserve the same rights as they did.

Sherman's March to the Sea refers to a military campaign of the civil war conducted by William Tecumseh Sherman in the last few months of 1864. The campaign itself had a purpose not on the battlefield but to instead target civilians of the confederate South and prove how harsh and cruel of a war this was. Opinions of Sherman's March exists in the record books in a variety of ways because it shows the North and South true opinions of both war crimes and the war. Sherman brought about the fall of Atlanta GA and that's where the campaign started, from there he made his way down the river to the Gulf of Mexico. Sherman and his troops notably did not destroy any villages in their travels to the sea, "but they stole food and livestock and burned

the houses and barns of people who tried to fight back."[420] Southern opinion of Sherman's March generally tends to be negative because what they saw was Sherman and his troops making their way through each town expecting the best treatment and taking their resources. According to University of Georgia Press, "Sherman's march frightened and appalled Southerners. It hurt morale, for civilians had believed the Confederacy could protect the home front. Sherman had terrorized the countryside; his men had destroyed all sources of food and forage and had left behind a hungry and demoralized people." Northern opinion of Sherman's March is usually positive because William Tecumseh Sherman was in northern soldier and throughout the campaign took hold of strategic resources needed to win the war.

Disparities in opinions of Sherman's March to the Sea often reflects the views of war crimes by both the Union and the Confederacy. To the union, Sherman was a hero that pushed further and deeper into the South showing bravery and courage to his troops. To the southern states Sherman terrorized an entire region and these views place him in a similar light of that of a war criminal. If the South had won the war, there is a high chance that Sherman would have been tried as a war criminal for terrorizing the state of Georgia. These South would have seen it necessary to hold him responsible for what he did. The North, does not see him as having done anything wrong and even if he was in violation of the Leiber Code, he would not have been, and was not, tried as a war criminal.

Prison camps in the north had a different story then camps from the South. Camp Chase, in Columbus, Ohio, was established in 1861 as a training and prisoner camp. It was owned and operated by the Union Army, and the only physical memory left of it is the Camp Chase

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[420] History.com Editors. "Sherman's March to the Sea." History.com. A&E Television Networks, February 22, 2010.

Confederate Cemetery which contains over 2,000 graves. Today the cemetery is regarded as a historical site. Camp Douglas, in Chicago Illinois, was the North's largest POW camp for confederate soldiers during the Civil War. It was a POW camp from 1863 – 1865, though was used as a training camp before then. After the war, Camp Douglas came to be known for its poor conditions and over 4,000 bodies were re-interred from the camp to a mass grave at Oak Woods Cemetery in Chicago. Aside from local historical sites from both Columbus and Chicago, it is difficult to find and locate information regarding camp chase and camp Douglas. Not much information being captain recorded about these camps suggests that not only are people are less inclined to want to know of the war crimes committed by the north of these camps, but also that history tends to hide information that is difficult to find.

Camp Chase and Camp Douglas were both Prisoner of War camps operated and owned by the Union in the Civil War. Camp Chase was in Columbus, Ohio, and Camp Douglas was in Chicago, Illinois. Research and evidence show that prisoners from both camps were not treated any better than those at Camp Sumter or Fort Pillow in the South. The mistreatment of prisoners at both Camp Chase and Camp Douglas reflects what had happened at Camp Sumter in the South. Prisoners at Camp Sumter were neglected and mistreated in issues revolving around physical health. Camps were overflooded with prisoners so much that the guards could not take care of the people inside. Those same instances were happening at places like Camp Chase and Camp Douglas, but these were not noted into historical records as crimes of war because it was the north committing these crimes. Because the North won the war, they got to decide what was a crime and what wasn't. Henry Wirtz was tried and executed for his crimes during the war, what's to say that those at Camp Chase and Camp Douglas doing the same things shouldn't have been tried as well.

Camp Sumter, otherwise known as the Andersonville Prison, was a confederate camp in Georgia built to house prisoners-of-war at the tail end of the Civil War, in 1864. Andersonville "opened" in early 1864, and by July, the prison was housing close to 32,000 people of various backgrounds and ethnicities. The prison was commanded by Henry Wirtz, a Swiss immigrant who is remembered as a controversial figure. Henry Wirtz, after the war in 1865, was tried and declared a war criminal, found guilty, and executed November 10, 1865, in Washington D.C. He was the only confederate officer to have been executed after the Civil War.

Henry Wirtz [421]

Many accounts from the camp recall a severe lack of food and water, and several prisoners had diseases from malnutrition and lack of medical attention. "I witnessed the hanging of the raiders July 11, which was a horrible sight. I was too lame from scurvy to walk when the

[421] National Park Service. "Omnipresent and Omniscient: The Military Prison Career of Captain Henry Wirz." National Parks Service. U.S. Department of the Interior, July 2020.

prisoners were taken out in September, so had to remain with about 2,000 others in some open

sheds in the North end of the stockade until November, when they were taken to Millen. At least

two-thirds of the number had died before leaving Andersonville."[422] said S. S. Wales who

recounted his time at Andersonville for a March 1910 edition of *The National Tribune*

(Washington D.C.). Andersonville also had what they called a "deadline" on the perimeter of the

camp. The line was a few feet from the physical barrier, a stockade, which was built to keep

prisoners inside the camp. The line was marked by a post and a rail fence, and camp guards were

ordered to shoot anyone who passed the line. Andersonville was certainly a crime against

humanity and the people who were imprisoned there fought one of the hardest battles of the Civil

War. Many of the people who were there died there too from several causes - malnutrition,

disease, and execution via the guards - among other things. It's very clear that the prisoners were

not taken care of in the way humans should have been. Camp Sumter and the role of

imprisonment during the Civil War is an important event to look at and analyze when it comes to

how war crimes and criminals play a part in the overall war.

   The Battle of Fort Pillow occurred on April 12, 1864, at Fort Pillow in Henning,

Tennessee. The Fort was Union owned and operated by Maj. Lionel F. Booth. He commanded a

garrison of 600 men, "… divided in roughly equal numbers between white and black troops.

Many of the black troops were runaway slaves; the whites were Tennessee unionists."[423] The

garrison was originally built by Confederate Brigadier General Gideon Johnson Pillow in 1862

and was used by both sides during the war. At the time of the battle, the union had control over

Fort Pillow. Early morning on April 12, Maj. Gen. Nathan B. Forrest attacked the fort with about

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[422] S.S. Wales. "Stories of Prison Life." *The National Tribune (Washington D.C.)*, 24 Mar. 1910.
[423] Cimprich, John, and Robert C. Mainfort. "The Fort Pillow Massacre: A Statistical Note." *The Journal of American History* 76, no. 3 (1989): 830.

1,500 men, most of whom had never come face to face with black soldiers before. After a half day of attacking the fort, Forrest sent a request to Booth, demanding the union's surrender. When the union refused, Forrest's men continued their assault on the fort, and ended up gaining control. After the battle, and most of the garrison had surrendered, the union troops should have been taken as prisoners of war. Instead, the troops that had been previously stationed at Fort Pillow, most of which were African American, were massacred in one of the most controversial moves of the war.
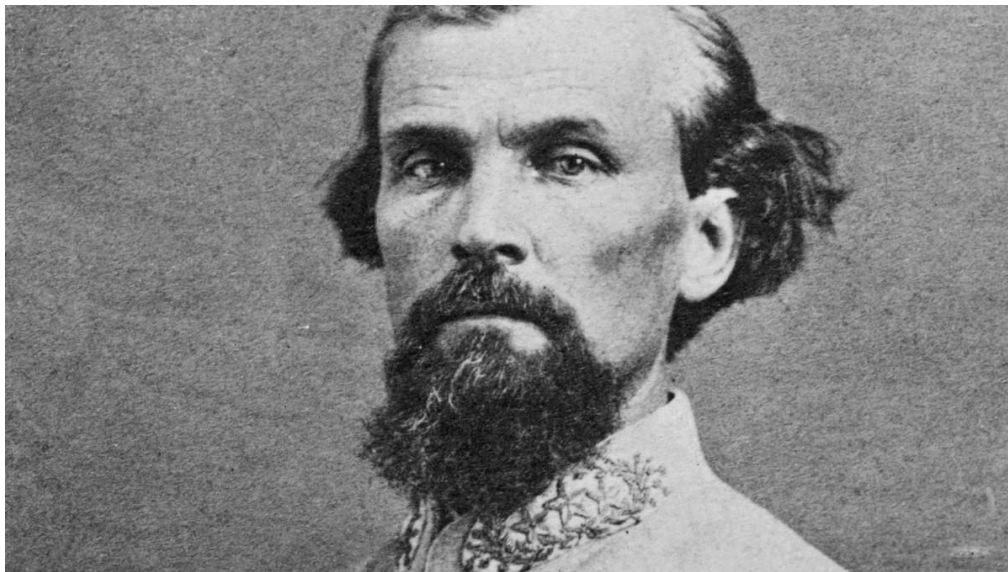
Maj. Gen. Nathan B. Forrest. [424]

To this day, historians argue over the casualty numbers at the Fort Pillow Massacre. Forrest's initial report recorded that his force killed 71 percent of the Union's forces. One of Forrest's surgeons recorded 79 percent, and a confederate cavalryman recorded 81 percent. According to Cimprich and Mainfort in their article, "The Fort Pillow Massacre: A Statistical Note", they continue with these numbers and debate the percentage of deaths. Cimprich and Mainfort aren't the only two authors too take note of the inconsistencies either, McPherson does

[424] History.com Editors. "Nathan Bedford Forrest." History.com. A&E Television Networks, November 9, 2009.

so as well in Battle Cry of Freedom. McPherson however does so in less of a statistical sense and connects it to an overall issue of historical records within the Confederacy. McPherson notes, actual treatment of black prisoners is hard to ascertain. Even the numbers of negro captives are unknown, for in refusing to acknowledge them as legitimate prisoners the Confederates kept few records. Many Black captives never made it to prison camp. In the spirit of Secretary of War Seddon's early directive that 'we ought to never to be inconvenienced with such prisoners … Summary execution must therefore be inflicted on those taken,' hundreds were massacred at Fort Pillow, Poison Spring, the Crater, and elsewhere."[425] The lack of records after the Battle of Fort Pillow contributes to a historiographical debate on how information can be lost to history under certain circumstances. Historians prove time and time again that history as we know it depends on the winners. Lack of respect for African American soldiers is the main reason we don't have a solid grasp on such numbers today.

Camp Sumter included the malnourishment of African American people and Union soldiers under Henry Wirtz's watch. The continued attempts by prisoners to either get food and water, or break out shows a general discontentment, as well as a basic understanding of the situation they were in. Fort Pillow was a massacre that occurred when General Nathan B. Forrest overtook Fort Pillow - a Southern POW camp, which was under control of the Union. After the Battle of Fort Pillow, Forrest should have taken the Union men as prisoners but instead decided to kill everyone.

Henry Wirtz, previously mentioned, was a Swiss - American Officer in the Confederate states, and oversaw Camp Sumter, also known as Andersonville. Henry Wirtz was the only man tried and executed for his crimes committed during the war. No other war criminal stood trial

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[425] McPherson, James M. *Battle Cry of Freedom*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003. Page 793.

after the war. Major General Nathan Bedford Forrest was a prominent general of the Confederate Army and the first Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan. Forrest also committed the massacre at Fort Pillow. The question arises - why was Henry Wirtz tried and Forrest wasn't, when both men committed war crimes. When Henry Wirtz was executed, he became something of a scapegoat for the failed confederacy. He was raised on a pedestal and became a martyr. Had more men been executed for their crimes, would there be more martyrs? Henry Wirtz was put on that pedestal because he was the only one tried and executed. If Nathan B. Forrest was Executed. He might not have become a martyr in the same way Henry Wirtz was because there would've been more men executed. Alternatively, this also brings up the question of War Criminals on the losing side of war. If the Union had tried confederate men, it would've been Southern soldiers and generals on the bench, to be tried and executed. Northern men might not have been executed because why would the North set their own generals up for a Trial? Those who win the war set the laws and rules of battle so that they're tailor made to fit the losing side who they overtook in war. In this case, it's the North against the South.

Without the knowledge that modern day United States has of war, history becomes blurred in such concepts. It's hard to ascertain the idea people might have had in the past when they didn't have the knowledge of what was to come. In the present day, we as people have different views than people might have had during the mid - nineteenth century. An example of this is the views on people of color in the present compared to the past. in the past it might have seemed normal for the unjustified killing of African American people in the United States, especially within the Confederate South. War crimes and the trials of war criminals are strangely absent during the civil war. There is very little talk and debate from the 1860s on the crimes committed in that age. It is also difficult to determine crimes of war from the Civil war, given

that the war being fought was within the same country and while it was brother against brother, which didn't mean there were two separate views in the same way that it would have been if it were two countries instead. When looking through what has been recorded into history from the Civil War there are gaps that need to be filled in, that from an outside perspective don't make a lot of sense. Civil War history, given its unique nature has a tendency to talk to itself, Both physically and metaphorically. When the hundreds and thousands of pages of research is done regarding United States history from 1861 to 1865, the war is unique because it was an internal fight. People tend to note that it was a war within the American family, brother against brother, so the history that has been recorded reflects the opposing side. Facts and information of the South reflects that of the North And vice versa. When concerning war crimes into this type of recorded history, the war crimes of one side mirror that of the other. The Confederacy may have lost the war, so their crimes are highlighted in the history books and generally noted as being worse off. People don't tend to notice that the North has secrets that it's hiding in between the lines. The crimes of Camp Sumter and neglecting its prisoners was not unique to the South but was also happening in the North as well. Those in charge of the written records fail to shine a light equally across the board for Civil War history because history is determined by the victor

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Chapter 13.

Casandra M. Stoica, "Education and the Civil War"

Education in America has evolved and changed drastically over the course of the country's history. More times than not, education was also seen as a privilege that only the elite could indulge in. In a world where there is constant conflict, education was often found on the back burner and was not seen as important during certain times of history, especially for the working class. Conflicts, primarily the Civil War, have overruled the American education system and made it seem even less of an importance than it was already viewed. After the conflict, education was able to grow and prosper in America.

As mentioned previously, education was not deemed a necessity for most school-aged children. Only about half attended primary school and those that did attend were only in session for four months. This is because children were expected to be home, helping their families tend to the farms during harvesting season. This is the basis of the "summer break" that current students are granted today. Education was simply not seen as a necessity over tending to farms, especially in the south. Education was also not needed for adults entering careers like education, medicine, or law. Real life experience and tending to home chores were far more important in the eyes of families in the United States. Due to the lack of education laws, students were kept home from school for a matter of a few days to weeks in order to help with chores like harvesting their farm or laundry. Before the war, education had already not been seen as a primary concern for school-aged children unless they were the children of the white and rich.

For enslaved children, education was far more difficult before the Civil War. Most states in the south made it illegal for any African American to gain an education. Slave owners saw an

educated slave as a threat. After events like Nat Turner's rebellion in 1831 that proved to the

world that enslaved people weren't happy with their quality of life, southern slave owners were

now much more passionate about their "rights" to own slaves. This eventually led to legislation

prohibiting the right for black people to access education. Colette Coleman wrote, "While the

rebellion only lasted about 24 hours, it prompted a renewed wave of oppressive legislation

prohibiting people's movement, assembly, and education."[426] The ability to read or write would

make it easier for slaves to escape or fight back against newly appointed slave laws and

oppression. There were few cases of a slave owners educating their slaves, but most

implemented punishments as severe as cutting off a finger for simply owning a book.[427] A

slave's ignorance was a white man's best weapon.

Throughout the course of the war, there were thousands of African American Union

soldiers. These men were able to gain an education through their time in the war. In an interview

with Eric Foner, he explained, "One of the ways that African Americans first begin to get access

to education is in schools created by the army during the Civil War. Black soldiers get education

through the army. The contrabands - that is, runaway slaves who are now living in camps or

other areas protected by the army - schools are created for them."[428] African American soldiers,

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[426]Coleman, C. (2020, June 17). *How Literacy Became a Powerful Weapon in the Fight to End Slavery - HISTORY*. Www.history.com. https://www.history.com/news/nat-turner-rebellion-literacy-slavery

[427] The Pursuit of Learning by African Americans before the Civil War (National Humanities Center Resource Toolbox, The Making of African American Identity: Vol. I, 1500-1865).

[428] Foner, E., Walker, C., Ayers, E., Duncan, R., Tunnell, T., & Blight, D. (2019). *Schools and Education During Reconstruction | American Experience | PBS*. Pbs.org. https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/reconstruction-schools-and-education-during-reconstruction/

formerly enslaved, were now receiving an education through a governmental entity. It shows how, slowly but surely, the waves of education were making strides.

The evolution of West Point and the education of white soldiers, who may not have had an opportunity prior to the war, is another prime example of how education began to shift.. West Point, a military academy, was the educational institution that taught influential Civil War generals like Robert E. Lee (class of 1829) and Ulysses S. Grant (class of 1843). West Point was one of a kind. More developed countries had schools for each military branch. However, at this time, the United States of America was not equipped enough to do this. In order to remain financially stable, West Point housed and educated all branches of the military.

What is most surprising about West Point is that most would assume the school taught primarily military tactics and what to expect when going into the battlefield. In reality, West Point taught classes like we see in schools today. Students were taught in the arts of philosophy,

law, foreign languages, and even drawing. Engineering, which was built with principles of math and natural philosophy, made up seventy-one percent of classroom hours while subjects like military tactics only took up about twenty-nine.[429] However, it wasn't always like this. A cadet's ranking at West Point was based on how well they excelled at engineering courses, not military tactics.
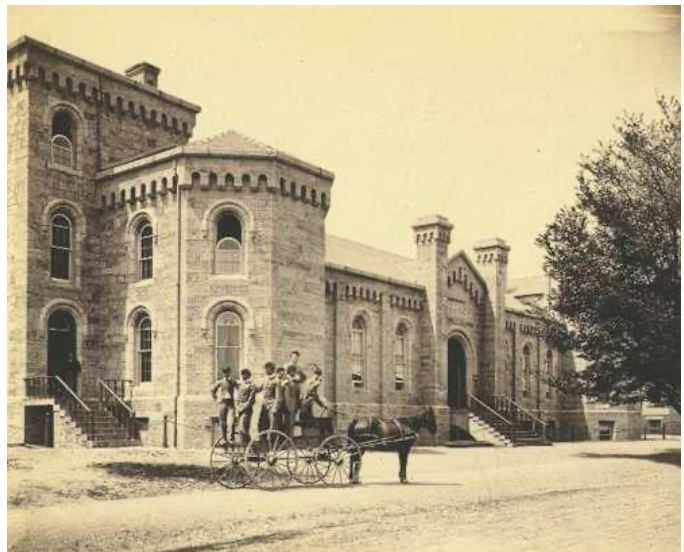
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[429]Morrison, J. L. (1974). Educating the Civil War Generals: West Point, 1833-1861. *Military Affairs*, *38*(3), 108. https://doi.org/10.2307/1987111

Of the ninety-three percent of applicants that were admitted into West Point before the war, only one fourth of those cadets were eventually eligible to graduate. It wasn't until the Board of Visitors (prominent citizens that were appointed by the president to inspect the academy annually) had visited the school and complained about the excessive stress on math, science, and engineering. Once these complaints were made, West Point then began offering other diverse classes.

As previously mentioned, education was mostly aimed for the rich and elite white children. However, America started to see a progressive education system during the Civil War. For example, Governor Andrew Gregg Curtin of Pennsylvania became one of the first and few advocates that helped orphaned children gain access to education. This is one example of how the war took over education. The number of orphaned children was on the rise, as the Civil War was the bloodiest war the United States had yet to see. Pennsylvania had set laws allowing children to be placed out of school, as it was needed for children to hold an income in order to live on their own. Instead of allowing for education to be easily accessed for these children, they made it easier to quit school altogether.

However, on Thanksgiving Day in 1863, Curtin was met with two orphaned children begging for food. It was at this point that Curtin understood that these children needed advocacy because their parents had lost their lives to the war. Looking

back at this time, Curtin had said in an 1866 speech, "I said to myself, is it possible that the people of Pennsylvania, thanking God for victory, can do so when the children of brave men who brought us fruits of hard fighting and gained us our victories, are on the street begging for bread."[430] Before this event on Thanksgiving Day, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company had gifted the governor with $50,000 to equip troops. Curtin had gone back to his fellow legislators and asked for them to grant him permission to use this money to advocate and help provide orphans with their education. Once he was denied, he then began to script a formal request for a bill with the help of James Wickersham, the principal of the State Normal School of Millersville, PA. Legislators were still not convinced, but their plan was still implemented as the basis of Pennsylvanian education. The Civil War had taken many lives, leaving behind children with nowhere to go and no direction in their lives. They had been students one day and then living on their own and needing to provide for themselves the next.

Orphaned children were not the only group of disadvantaged students losing their access to education. The Civil War caused a disturbance in the schools of the deaf and blind all over the south. The Louisiana Institution for the Deaf, Dumb, and Blind (currently the Louisiana School for the Deaf and Blind) is just one example of a special education school that was sacrificed during the war. The school stayed open, despite being in the middle of the Battle of Baton Rouge, for the small number of homeless and orphaned children. During the battle, the assistant matron rowed a boat out to the Union gunboats and pleaded for them to spare the school. Her

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[430]Bair, S. D. (2011). Making Good on a Promise: The Education of Civil War Orphans in Pennsylvania, 1863–1893. *History of Education Quarterly*, *51*(4), 460–485. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1748-5959.2011.00354.x

plea was not respected and the school was not spared. However, it survived the battle and the building was divided into two sections: a school and a Union hospital.[431]

Physical destruction and taking over school buildings were not unique phenomena during the Civil War. Many colleges like the University of Virginia and University of North Carolina struggled heavily during the war. Most colleges were graduating only a small number of students and in part they were also hurting financially. However, some schools like the Lutheran Theological Seminary of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, were physically destroyed as a result of the war. The seminary, founded in 1826 by Samuel Simon Schmucker, was in the heart of Gettysburg during the war.

While the original purpose of the seminary was to prepare students for careers in education and parish ministry, it was used for many different things during the war. At one point, Schmucker, an avid abolitionist, used the basement to house runaway slaves. However, most notably, the building was taken over by soldiers of both sides as an observation post. Both sides, at different points of the battle, used the building for a better look of their opposition. The building was mostly occupied by the Union, who turned it into a field hospital. The hospital held around seven hundred patients, only ten percent of which had succumbed to their wounds.

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[431] *The Civil War's Impact on Schools for the Deaf and the Blind in the South (U.S. National Park Service)*. (n.d.). Www.nps.gov. Retrieved May 4, 2022, from https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/civil-war-impact-on-schools.htm

George F. McFarland, 151st Pennsylvania Infantry, was the longest and last patient who stayed in the hospital. He survived his wounds and lived to the age of 1893.

During the rest of the battle and over the course of the war, the building withheld a brutal taking. It lost most of its glass windows, sustained multiple bullet holes, and remained standing despite a crack in the foundation that extended two stories in length. The Lutheran Theological

Seminary in Gettysburg is only one of many educational institutions that were taken over and destroyed during the Civil War.

Even after the war, schools were still being threatened with destruction. African American schoolhouses in the south were victims towards such things like arson. Dr. Josiah C. Nott is a notable example of the type of opposition African Americans were fighting against for their education. Nott was the leader of the opposition movement and had gained popularity for his views on polygenism and how it was a justification of African American repression, which became the scientific defense of slavery leading up to the Civil War. In a paper written by Hilary Nicole Green, she wrote,

Nott argued that African Americans lacked the intellectual facilities and capabilities necessary for full citizenship and equality as whites using scientific and historical evidence. Ultimately, he concluded that the Freedmen's Bureau efforts could not overcome African American's natural inferiority, intellectual deficiencies, smaller brain

sizes, and lack of history worthy of study. Thus, Nott advised Howard (General O.O

Howard) to "remove your bureau and the United States troops (particularly blacks) as

speedily as possible from our soil, and leave the relations between the races to regulate themselves.[432]

However, even with such harsh words and threats as this, the formerly enslaved African American community still did not respond back with violence. They pointed out that his "facts" about African American intellect was merely just his theory due to ignorance and bigotry.

Many African American schools during Reconstruction were subject to terrorism as a protest against their right to education, especially ones being helped by the Freedman's Bureau. The bureau helped many southern black schools evolve their communities into ones with educational access. Another example of a school that was helped would be the Tolson's Chapel School of Sharpsburg, Maryland. Tolson's Chapel, like many other African American schools, faced a number of challenges on top of being threatened by angry southern democrats. They struggled with a shortage of qualified teachers, the inability to pay the teachers they could hire, and even

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[432]Green, H. (2016). *Educational reconstruction: African American schools in the urban South, 1865-1890*. Fordham University Press.

finding an adequate building to host the classes. This is where the Freedmen's Bureau came in to help.

The bureau worked with the American Missionary Society and American Freedmen's Union Commission to place qualified teachers from the north into schools in the southern and border states. They also provided teachers with transportation and salary while the community provided them with room and board.[433] The Freedmen's Bureau contributed a lot to the increase of education. In Alabama alone, there was an increase of 13,000 black and 11,200 white students in public education due to the efforts of the bureau. However, despite the efforts of the bureau, the Civil War took a heavy toll on Alabama's public education. Schools were moving towards a much more supportive curriculum for the Confederacy. This led to a dismissal of teachers who were not showing full devotion to the movement. Many other teachers left in order to join the war efforts. The economy was also strained. In 1858, public education had a $500,000 budget that was nearly cut in half in 1861. By 1865, the budget was as little as $112,000.[434] Education in Alabama suffered tremendously after the war for many years.

Including Alabama, education in all southern states took a huge drawback during the war over textbooks. Southern states had previously relied on northern companies to print and distribute textbooks to their states. However, during the war, there was a drastic shortage as many companies were no longer willing to send textbooks to the south. Because of this, the south began an intellectual revolution. There was a legendary movement towards education for all ages

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[433]*African Americans and Education during Reconstruction: The Tolson's Chapel Schools (U.S. National Park Service)*, 2019)

[434]Harvey, G. (2010). *Public Education During the Civil War and Reconstruction Era*. Encyclopedia of Alabama; Jacksonville State University. http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-2600

in order to have to no longer depend on the north intellectually. In "Confederate Minds: The Struggle for Intellectual Independence in the Civil War South." Michael T. Bernath wrote, "The entire population, not just able-bodied males of military age, had to be mobilized for war. This mobilization, however, would be a mustering of consciousness, a widespread commitment on the part of southerners to assert their autonomy and prove to themselves and the rest of the world that the Confederacy was in fact a true nation."[435] The south began to see gaining education as a patriotic duty. Not only did they no longer want to be dependent on the north, but they also wanted to show the world they could stand alone as a nation successfully.

While the Department of Education wasn't founded for another one hundred years, the department originated in 1867 in order to collect information and statistics about schools all across the country. Act of March 2, 1867, Public Law 39-73, 14 STAT 434 states, "Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, that there shall be established, at the city of Washington, a Department of Education, for the purpose of collecting such statistics and facts as shall show the condition and progress of education."[436] However, due to fear that the federally operated department would have too much control on local schools, it was demoted to the "office of education" a year later. The office worked under both the Department of the Interior and the former U.S. Department of Health

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[435]Bernath, M. T. (2013). *Confederate minds: the struggle for intellectual independence in the civil war south.* Univ Of North Carolina Pr.

[436] *Act of March 2, 1867, Public Law 39-73, 14 STAT 434, which established the Department of Education | DocsTeach*. (n.d.). Www.docsteach.org. https://www.docsteach.org/documents/document/act-of-march-2-1867-public-law-3973-14-stat-434-which-established-the-department-of-education

Education and Welfare.[437] It wasn't until the 1950's that the country began to take part in the expanding of federal funding for education.

Conflicts in history have overruled the American education system and created an illusion that education is not of high importance. However, the Civil War created a wave of change throughout the nation, some more expected than others. The war allowed education to grow and prosper, as it gave both sides of the war a leg up in the battle to win. The education system was massively influenced, as it started as a privilege to elite children and evolved into a right for everyone. The Civil War allowed the country to see that an educated mind meant a more progressive world.

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    Service). (n.d.). Www.nps.gov. Retrieved May 4, 2022, from

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Chapter 14.

Julianna R. Benducci, "Women's Suffrage: Before the 19ᵗʰ Amendment"

Women's suffrage and the Civil War are two subjects someone would not think to go together. During the Civil War there was a lot going on with women's suffrage and the journey to get women the right to vote. Women's suffrage has always been important. The right to vote has fluctuated throughout the history of America, starting with men who have property, being able to vote to all white men to Black men and then women. White men had many rights and during the Civil War when rights were being argued for many groups including slaves and women. Women fought for their right to vote during the Civil War and a lot happened during this time. Throughout the Antebellum period and the Civil War there were women who fought for their rights and other women's rights. These people were important to the world of women suffrage. One thing that was not realized is that women suffrage and the Civil War had impacts on each other. The impacts forced each other to move forward.

There was a lot going on before and during the Civil War that involved women's suffrage. A lot could argue that there was not a lot going on during these times involving women's suffrage, but that is wrong. Discussions between suffragists and abolitionists happened and major events happened in the years leading up to the Civil War.

     Abigail Adams marks the start of women's suffrage. Women's suffrage began before

everyone thinks it started. While women's suffrage was huge in the 1900's and 1920's, that is

not where it began. It started in the 1700's way before the Civil War and the time periods where

Women's Suffrage was popular. Women's Suffrage started in a time where women had barely

any rights, in fact they had very few rights. For example, they had the same number of rights in

the US as they did in England. "Colonial women in North America did not enjoy more

advantages and legal freedoms than their counterparts in England."[439] It is debated whether

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[438] photographer Harris & Ewing, "[Portrait of Abigail Adams by Benjamin Blyth]," image, Library of Congress, January 1, 1910, https://loc.getarchive.net/media/portrait-of-abigail-adams-by-benjamin-blyth.

[439] Lindsay R. Moore, "Women, Property, and the Law in the Anglo-American World, 1630-1700," *Early American Studies, An Interdisciplinary Journal* 14, no. 3 (Summer 2016): 537–67.

Women have a negative or positive impact. The side that has been chosen is that it did have a positive impact, as it opened the door eventually to women getting voting rights as well as feminists helping abolitionists.

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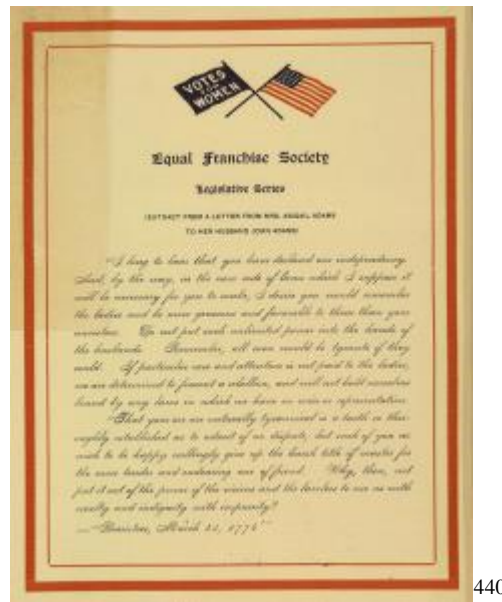
In fact, the first mention of Women's Suffrage was mentioned by Abigail Adams in a letter to John Adams in a letter on March 31st, 1776. In the Letter she says, "… *remember the Ladies, and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the Husbands…*"[441] She talked about how men had all the power and that they had to remember the ladies, that they too are important about the laws as they must follow them as well. From there in the 1800's it took off more. It took another hundred years from the 1700's to the 1800's for it to take off again and become more serious. While it did

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[440] "Equal Franchise Society Legislative Series; Extract from a Letter from Abigail Adams to Her Husband John Adams," image, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540 USA, accessed February 26, 2022, https://www.loc.gov/resource/rbcmil.scrp7010201/.
[441] "Equal Franchise Society Legislative Series; Extract from a Letter from Abigail Adams to Her Husband John Adams."

take off more in the 1800's there were feminists in this period, they just weren't as prominent as they were in the 1800's.

During this time, women did not have a lot of property rights. But Abigail Adams did however claim their farm to be hers as she did most of the work on the farm and even took care of the farm and its assets while her husband was a way for most of the time. While she was not a feminist as we know today, she did have the thoughts and ideas of women in mind and wanted them to thrive. She only wanted what was best for women and that included women's education. She wanted women to be educated and to go into higher education. [442] She believed that women should be able to teach themselves and to learn subjects in school outside of being a woman. "In context, however, it is clear that Abigail wrote not of political rights per se but of women's legal rights, specifically those that guaranteed them protection from physical abuse."[443] Abigail was one of the first women to voice her opinion on these topics. She wanted people to understand and hear their voices and not just see them as objects. She wanted them to be protected rather than be forgotten by the law. She wanted their rights to be put into the law just like how the men's rights were protected by law. However, she did not want it to be political she just wanted it to be written in the law and protected by the law.

Her husband, John Adams, did not have a public view about women being able to vote. However, he did write to James Sullivan about women and how he feels about them and his feelings about them wanting to be able to vote. "But why exclude women? You will Say, because their Delicacy renders them unfit for Practice and Experience, in the great Business of

[442] "Abigail Smith Adams," National Women's History Museum, accessed March 15, 2022, https://www.womenshistory.org/education-resources/biographies/abigail-adams.

[443] "Great Lives From History : American Women," accessed March 15, 2022, https://web.p.ebscohost.com/ehost/ebookviewer/ebook/bmxlYmtfXzEyNjA4MDhfX0FO0?sid=6f1ba764-5b8b-4ee3-b1dc-17bb04d0e8db@redis&vid=0&format=EB&rid=1.

Life, and the hardy Enterprises of War, as well as the arduous Cares of State."[444] Although James Sullivan does not mention women and their wanting the ability to vote, John mentions it due to the fact of his wife mentioning it to him in the letters she writes to John.

This letter was important as groundbreaking work for women's suffrage movement. Women's suffrage is the basis of that letter and used it to grow. For example, women's suffrage talks about being remembered. In the letter that Abigail Adams wrote, she spoke about women being remembered. They used that to have an edge in the world for the movement to be remembered. That is what they wanted the most is for to be remembered and to be taken seriously. Men do not take women seriously because they are women. That is something that is not right.

FRANCES WRIGHT D'ARUSMONT, [445]

After Abigail Adams's important letter, it took some time for women's suffrage to be back in the minds of people. In the first half of the 1800's there was one feminist who spoke and

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[444] "Founders Online: From John Adams to James Sullivan, 26 May 1776" (University of Virginia Press), accessed March 30, 2022, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-04-02-0091.
[445] "Frances Wright," Text, accessed May 3, 2022, https://npg.si.edu/object/npg_NPG.77.217.

stood out. Along with being a feminist she was an abolitionist, and spoke out for married women to have rights along with birth control etc. She was a public speaker and lecturer and spoke about many diverse types of topics, some consuming her life more than others like slavery and Women's rights. Frances Wright was born in 1795 in Dundee, Scotland. Her life was full of adventures, and she was an early feminist in the 1800's.[446]

Her work was an important steppingstone to those who came after her. Along with being a feminist she was an abolitionist and even owned slaves to prove that slavery was not as lucrative to begin with. While the experiment failed because of her health. She was able to free the slaves in the experiment and escort them to Haiti. [447] She became a pioneer for her time, even though she passed away in 1852, she was a radical and important figure in Women's Suffrage. After her came more women suffrage figures that are more commonly known today. "Indeed, by the early 1830s the very term "Fanny Wright" emerged as an epithet hurled at social reformers of all stripes, especially female reformers…"[448] Her name became a negative term because of her speaking out. Her teachings became popular, and she was a public figure. She became a big feminist or her time and worked with others to spread the word of feminism.

But she did not work alone. She worked with called Robert Dale Owen, who had his own following which helped her advocate for women's rights. She was one of the first major public figures to advocate and talk about women's rights.[449] Because of her outstanding work,

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[446] "Frances Wright -," *Archives of Women's Political Communication* (blog), accessed February 23, 2022, https://awpc.cattcenter.iastate.edu/directory/frances-wright/.
[447] "Frances Wright -."
[448] "A Nation of Speechifiers : Making an American Public After the Revolution," accessed March 16, 2022, https://web.s.ebscohost.com/ehost/ebookviewer/ebook/bmxlYmtfXzM0NDkxMV9fQU41?sid=68b085a5-22f9-433d-9e62-c78117d506f5@redis&vid=0&format=EB&rid=1.
[449] Ellen Carol DuBois, "Outgrowing the Compact of the Fathers: Equal Rights, Woman Suffrage, and the United States Constitution, 1820-1878," *Journal of American History* 74, no. 3 (December 1987): 836–62, https://doi.org/10.2307/1902156.

Fanny Wright inspired more people like Ernestine Rose and Robert Dale Owen to advocate for women's rights in both an economic and marital rights, unfortunately neither were for political rights.

During the Antebellum period, this is where women's suffrage started to take off. It began to take off again with the Women's Suffrage Convention in 1848. This was the major beginning of women's suffrage in the country and how women sought after voting rights and civil rights. Seneca Falls was a big start to the world of women's suffrage. This is where people gathered in the name of women's suffrage and where women's suffrage gained popularity. This is where it really released its name and people gathered to hear what they had to say and what they wanted to know. Where this took place was in a chapel called The Wesleyan Chapel, other things took place there like antislavery rallies and free speech activities and political rallies. This place was chosen because of all these rallies that happened previously at the chapel. They wanted a politically charged place and Wesleyan Chapel was the place that helped them out. This was a major hub for all these kinds of events, including feminism and women's rights. Along with feminists there were a bunch of abolitionists. The abolitionists and feminists started to work together to bring both topics to the public forefront. At this meeting, all the major names showed up including Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucrecia Mott, and Frederick Douglas. The meeting started by Elizabeth Cady Stanton giving a speech followed by the Declaration of Sentiments.

From this experience there was one important document that came out of it. The Declaration of Sentiments, this document was one of significant importance. It was modeled after the Declaration of Independence with the way it was worded. An example of this is with this line, " We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life,

liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted,"[450] In the Declaration of Independence it has the words we hold these truths to be self-evident, this is a direct take from the document to make it seem like a second Declaration of Independence.

A part of the Declaration of Sentiments was the Honor Roll. It listed names of those who came to the convention. This document holds the names of those who wanted women equality and more. Along with women being there, there were also men. "Such has been the patient sufferance of the women under the government, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to demand the equal station to which they are entitled"[451] What this means is that they are asking for equality and that women have been patient and tolerant of what is going on but enough is enough. They want their equality and are not afraid to protest for it. Another example is like what was written by Abigail Adams is in the Declaration of Sentiments it tells, "He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead. He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns."[452] It means that when a woman gets married, she is civilly dead, and has no property of her own all of it belongs to her husband now. They want to take that back and want to make them civilly alive and well, and to make them own their own property and not be their husband's property.

A feminist who was there was taken there by her father, her name is Rhoda Palmer. She was one of the women who signed the Declaration of Sentiments and was there for the readings.

[450] Mary Chapman, *Treacherous Texts : An Anthology of U.S. Suffrage Literature, 1846-1946*, accessed February 9, 2022, https://web.s.ebscohost.com/ehost/ebookviewer/ebook/bmxlYmtfXzQxMTU2M19fQU41?sid=d619e5da-7149-4fa6-8b6a-38caf2f28208@redis&vid=0&format=EB&rid=1.

[451] Chapman.

[452] "Image 10 of Report of the Woman's Rights Convention, Held at Seneca Falls, New York, July 19th, and 20th, 1848. Proceedings and Declaration of Sentiments," image, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540 USA, accessed February 16, 2022, https://www.loc.gov/resource/rbcmil.scrp4006702/?sp=10.

Every day of the convention they read the Declaration of Sentiments and the changes that were made.
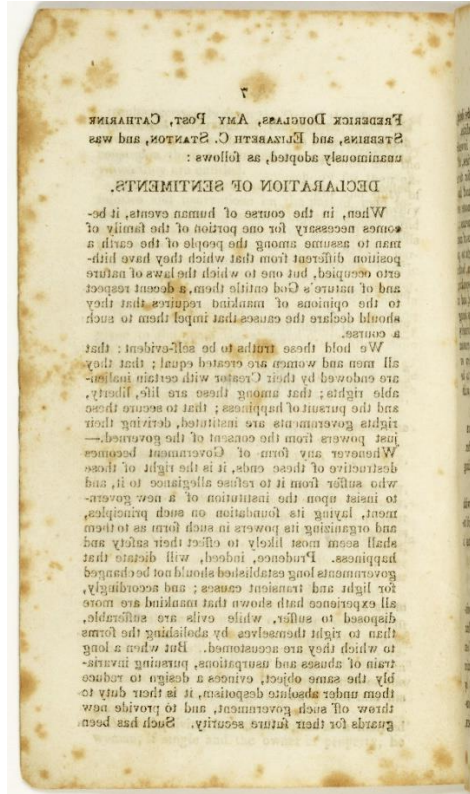
[453]

Another aspect that was added was the Honor Roll, Which, mentioned earlier was signed by everyone who was willing to put their names on the line and those who were at the convention for Women's Rights. This was a major time in the life of the people who were there. They believed that this was what was right and believed that women should have voting rights. The Declaration of Sentiments was an important document throughout this time. Some women who were important that signed the Declaration of Sentiments include Elizabeth Cady Stanton,

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[453] "Declaration of Sentiments. Photomechanical Print," accessed February 6, 2022, https://tile.loc.gov/storage-services/service/rbc/rbcmil/scrp4006803/001.gif.

Lucretia Mott, and Amy Post. Some important Men who were there and signed the Declaration of Sentiments were, James Mott, Thomas M'Clintock, and of course Frederick Douglas.

This all happened during the Antebellum Period, which was right before the Civil War, During the Civil War Women fought with Abolitionists. Some fought alongside abolitionists to have Black people gain freedom and some fought against them thinking that their cause was greater than that of theirs. At the time, most abolitionists were feminists and vice versa.

The first major point of tension that came was when the Fourteenth Amendment came around. The Fourteenth Amendment is when people born into slavery were seen as being free in the country of the United States. This Amendment was not for voting rights and with that it concerned people who wanted people of color to have voting rights. "However, because the amendment did not grant the universal right to vote, abolitionists and some suffragists withdrew from the universal suffrage campaign to focus on the enfranchisement (obtaining the right to vote) of Black men."[454] This was just the beginning of the split between the Suffragists and the Abolitionists. People were unsure of which one to support more as both causes seemed like important causes. However, abolitionists and suffragists split up greatly and there was some commotion stirring once the Fifteenth Amendment was introduced.

The Fifteenth Amendment was the Amendment that was passed by Congress on February 26, 1869, and ratified February 3, 1870. This Amendment gave men of color the right to vote. Abolitionists were of course for the Fifteenth Amendment as it gave Black men the right to vote, however suffragists were split. There were some who were for the Fifteenth Amendment and there were those against. Some suffragists that were against were Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and

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[454] "Fighting for Suffrage: Comrades in Conflict (U.S. National Park Service)," accessed April 4, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/articles/comrades-in-conflict.htm.

Susan B. Anthony. The two of them felt that women's suffrage should come before men of color's enfranchisement of voting rights. When Ulysses S. Grant came into presidency, he argued in favor of the 15th Amendment. This did not please or was accepted by the suffragists and they started to crumble in between each other. There was a group in which it encompassed all diverse kinds of suffragists called American Equal Rights Association. This included Frederick Douglass who while was in support of women's suffrage, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony.

"On the other hand, prominent voices such as Anthony and Stanton argued that any constitutional amendment that did not grant women's suffrage was unacceptable. If anyone was deserving of the vote, it was "educated" white women. Stanton argued that African Americans were ignorant of the laws and customs of the U.S. political system, and that it was "a serious question whether we had better stand aside and see 'Sambo' walk into the kingdom [of civil rights] first.'"[455]

They talked about how white "educated" women were more in favor and should get the right to vote before Black men as they were educated and were able to be better integrated into society rather than Black men, who were coming out of enslavement. When the Fifteenth Amendment was passed this was when the American Equal Rights Association was criticized and crumbled slightly.

One thing that people did not talk about was about Black Women. Black Women were excluded from both conversations and while they supported both causes, they were also critical

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[455] "Why the Women's Rights Movement Split Over the 15th Amendment (U.S. National Park Service)," accessed April 6, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/why-the-women-s-rights-movement-split-over-the-15th-amendment.htm.

and spoke out about both causes. "Echoing Frances Ellen Watkins Harper's earlier comments, Sojourner Truth asserted that "There is a great stir about colored men getting their rights, but not a word about the colored woman; and if colored men get their rights, and not colored women get theirs, there will be a bad time about it.'"[456] Sojourner Truth wanted people to know that black women were not looked at in either cause. That it is a sour word in the mouths of both sides and that if Black men got enfranchisement, Black women should too.

Frederick Douglass is an important character within women's suffrage. While he was primarily an abolitionist, he was also a feminist and suffragist himself. Frederick Douglass spent a lot of time for both the abolitionist movement and the feminist movement. But he also spoke against the suffrage movement and what it stood for as time went on. His personal ideas were that Black men should have the right to vote before women. In 1847 Frederick Douglass wrote, "Right Is of No Sex–Truth Is of No Color–God Is the Father of Us All, and All We Are Brethren,"[457] This showed up in one of the newspapers that Frederick Douglass edited, This newspaper was a pro-abolitionist paper, and is one of the oldest pro-abolitionist papers that was founded by Douglass. Douglass was friends with Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony for years. The three were often together on voting rights up until the Fifteenth Amendment. When Anthony, and Stanton thought women should get voting rights before Black men and that Douglass thought that Black men should get voting rights before women. This became an even more fiery debate when the Civil War came around.

Throughout the Civil War and after the Civil War different states had different standings on women's suffrage. For example, the North was a lot more receptive to women's suffrage than

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[456] "Why the Women's Rights Movement Split Over the 15th Amendment (U.S. National Park Service)."
[457] "Image 1 of The North Star (Rochester, N.Y.), December 3, 1847," image, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540 USA, accessed April 4, 2022, https://www.loc.gov/resource/sn84026365/1847-12-03/ed-1/?sp=1.

the South. But that does not mean that everyone was as receptive. One progressive state was New Jersey. New Jersey even gave women the right to vote for a time during the Revolutionary War, but unfortunately was taken away due to bipartisan arguments. Women's suffrage was an important topic in New Jersey during the Civil War and during the Antebellum period. "In New Jersey, petitioners to the Provincial Congress objected that, despite having aided the Revolution's military efforts, they were denied a voice in government; as a result, New Jersey granted suffrage to all adults who met the property and residency requirements."[458] New Jersey is also a major part in women's suffrage and abolitionism. In fact, women and Black men could vote before the 15th and 19th Amendments were enacted. "New Jersey's first constitution in 1776 gave voting rights to "all inhabitants of this colony, of full age, who are worth fifty pounds … and have resided within the county … for twelve months." In 1790 the legislature reworded the law to say, "he or she," clarifying that both men and women had voting rights."[459] This was a huge step in the right direction and New Jersey knew this. Its' first constitution gave the voting rights to those who had the money instead of those who had the status of their money, it gave the right to those who met simple requirements. This was a huge step as most states at the time. In other states those who had status and wealth were allowed to vote, and this was usually only white men as white women and Black men were not allowed to vote. Along with giving women the right to vote New Jersey was an important state involving women's suffrage. In 1867 Lucy Stone, an abolitionist and suffragist founded the New Jersey Women Suffrage Association. Stone and her Husband Henry Blackwell were based in Orange, New Jersey and the house was even in

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[458] Nichole Etcheson, "'When Women Do Military Duty': The Civil War's Impact on Woman Suffrage," *Journal of American History*, no. 107 (December 2020): 609–35.

[459] "Did You Know: Women and African Americans Could Vote in NJ before the 15th and 19th Amendments? (U.S. National Park Service)," accessed April 13, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/articles/voting-rights-in-nj-before-the-15th-and-19th.htm.

Stone's name. She even tried to avoid paying taxes due to the fact of her saying it was "taxation without representation"[460] But it was not only Stone and Blackwell who were based in New Jersey, many other Suffragists were based in New Jersey also. For example, Elizabeth Cady Stanton also had a house in New Jersey. She had a house in Tenafly NJ.

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While she lived there for a long time, she did not get involved with New Jersey Suffrage movements. She was more focused on the major and national suffrage of women rather than individual states suffrage of women. Stanton also wrote the first three volumes of the historical series of *History of Women's Suffrage.*[462] New Jersey also made a big splash in the government as it made the two political parties to be embarrassed that women and people of color could vote. "By 1807 both Federalists and Democratic Republicans were embarrassed by the large numbers

[460] "The Women's Movement during the Civil War Period · On Account of Sex: The Struggle for Women's Suffrage in Middlesex County · On Account of Sex: The Struggle for Women's Suffrage in Middlesex County," accessed April 13, 2022, https://blogs.libraries.rutgers.edu/womensuffrage/exhibits/show/womenssuffrage/civilwar.

[461] Mailing Address: 136 Fall Street Seneca Falls and NY 13148 Phone: 315 568-0024 Contact Us, "Elizabeth Cady Stanton House - Women's Rights National Historical Park (U.S. National Park Service)," accessed May 3, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/wori/learn/historyculture/elizabeth-cady-stanton-house.htm.

[462] "The Women's Movement during the Civil War Period · On Account of Sex: The Struggle for Women's Suffrage in Middlesex County · On Account of Sex: The Struggle for Women's Suffrage in Middlesex County."

of both women and African Americans voting in New Jersey. The franchise was limited to white males in 1807."[463] Women's right to vote got it taken away since it embarrassed the government.

The South was an interesting place with women's suffrage and how it worked down there. The south was not a place that women's suffrage thrived during the Civil War. Some women fled from the south to the North, like Angelina Grimke. She fled as she was an abolitionist and held solidarity with Black women. "They are our countrywomen, they are our sisters; and to us, as women, they have a right to look for sympathy for their sorrow, and effort and prayer for their rescue."[464] She talks about how black women should be rescued and that they should have a right for sympathy for what they are involved in and what they go through. Again, Sojourner Truth came forward and talked about Black women's suffrage in the 1850's and 1860's. Sojourner said,

"There is a great stir about colored men getting their rights, but not a word about colored women; and if colored men get their rights but not colored women theirs, you see the colored men will be masters over the women, it will be just as bad as before."[465] While Sojourner was located in the North and Angelina moved to the North, what they talked about focused and affected the South. As there was the 15th amendment and how their work was affected by the 15th amendment.

Women's suffrage in the south stopped during the Civil War but picked back up during the Reconstruction Era especially in South Carolina thanks to the Rollins sisters. The Rollins sisters included five of them. The name of the women were Frances, Katherine, Charlotte, Marie

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[463] Susan Klepp, "In Their Places: Region, Women, and Women's Rights," *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 82, no. 3 (2015): 343–56, https://doi.org/10.5325/pennhistory.82.3.0343.
[464] Nancy Hoffman, "Teaching about Slavery, the Abolitionist Movement, and Women's Suffrage," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 14, no. 1/2 (1986): 2–6.
[465] Hoffman.

Louise, and Florence. Frances was influential as well. She was a part of a one of the most influential lobbyists and power brokers in South Carolina. In fact, a situation that involved her was included in *The American Annual Cyclopedia and Register of Important Events for the Year 1867,* In which an altercation had happened between her and a steamboat captain.

"'In August, a captain of a steamboat was tried before a post court at Charleston [South Carolina] and condemned to pay a fine of $250 for refusing a first-class passage to a colored woman, in violation of Section 8 of General Orders No. 32.' The military order issued on May 30, 1867, explicitly prohibited any discrimination 'because of color or caste' in public conveyances on all 'railroads, highways, streets and navigable waters.'"[466] The Rollins were very prominent in the Reconstruction Era for South Carolina. They got journalists attention in South Carolina for their reputation. In 1871 two New York papers interviewed the sisters, while both newspapers did not like the "New Order" in South Carolina however and depicted the radical Republican regime in South Carolina as a "combination of villainous whites and ignorant 'sambos'…" [467] But they loved the sisters. "Both reporters were impressed by the Rollins' knowledge of Republican politics in the state by the frankness with which they were the women themselves- their culture, sophistication, appearance, and aggressiveness in behalf of civil rights that embraced all women as well as black males."[468] They were voices for those of their own gender and the other gender of their color. The Rollins sisters were heavily involved in politics, and this helped influence their work in women's suffrage.

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[466] Willard B. Gatewood, "'The Remarkable Misses Rollin': Black Women in Reconstruction South Carolina," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 92, no. 3 (1991): 172–88.
[467] Gatewood, 172-173.
[468] Gatewood, 173.

The Civil War was a bloody war for everyone involved. Women's suffrage suffered some blows to it as it had to take a step back from center stage and allow abolitionism to take the spotlight. Before the War there were several pioneers in the world of suffrage, including Abigail Adams and her letters to her husband John Adams. However, during the Civil War, most suffragists were not happy as they wanted women's rights to be the fore front and center of everything happening. Abolitionists worked with suffragists as well and the two divided during the war due to them having differing opinions on who should get the right to vote first, this fight completely left out Black women and this was echoed by Sojourner Truth. Sojourner wanted people to know that there were more than white women and Black men frighting to get the right to vote. That it was not just a fight between these two groups. That Black women were to be a part of the conversation also. There were different conversations and various levels of inclusion in the states. For example, New Jersey had allowed women the right to vote for a time in the 1700's. In South Carolina there were a group of sisters who fought for the right to vote among being influential and wealthy in their community, one being an influential power broker. While women's suffrage had some minor and major movements during the Civil War, the Civil War was not kind to the movement, as it completely forgot about itself, due to the war. But after the war it built itself back up and kept chugging along. The Civil War and Women's Suffrage may not have gotten along but in the end, Women's Suffrage helped the Civil War and what stood behind it.

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    rights-movement-split-over-the-15th-amendment.htm.

<center>**Chapter 15.**</center>

<center>**Sabrina Gatlin, "Disorder of American Cities in a Post-Civil War Society"**</center>

The failure of Reconstruction in a post-Civil War society was one of the biggest factors of the splintering society. One of the symptoms of a splintering society is a rise in crime rates. This is what the United States experienced after The Civil War. The corruption within the criminal justice system makes it difficult for historians to explore a quantitative analysis of the crime rate in America after the Civil War. A factor within the failure of Reconstruction was the culture surrounding returning veterans and what they had to come back to. The rise in crime in a post-Civil War society was the result of the failure of societal reintegration of veterans and their continuous loss in the race for economic prosperity. The rise in crime after the Civil War could be contributed to several cultural events or patterns during this period, including riots. However, the rise in crime would have happened throughout the entire Civil War if this was the case. The rise in crime happened specifically after veterans returned from the war.

Crime and Punishment on the Civil War Homefront explores how social historians do not have a lot of scholarship on crime during the Civil War and those historians tend to focus on the military history and the political history surrounding the Civil War. This article offers a compilation of historical findings on the crime rates during the Civil War. "Although veterans did contribute to a post-war crime wave, they did not violate laws immediately after leaving the ranks, or immediately before joining".[469] Veterans from the Civil War were not criminals before

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[469] Robert L Hampel and Charles W Ormsby. *Crime and Punishment on the Civil War Homefront* (The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 1982*)* 106, no. 2 (1982), 223–244.

joining the military or immediately after being discharged. This implies that the culture or environment that veterans returned to contributed to their change in behavior. This source also talked about the potential correlation between veterans returning from the war and the crime wave. This source went into detail about the different percentages of crimes committed by returning veterans of the war in Lancaster County. "Ranked by proportion of the soldiers' indictments, property crime was most common (43.6%), followed by moral offenses (26.8%) and personal offenses (23.6%). Differences here were negligible between veterans and offenders who later joined the army. Ranked by proportion of all the indictments served between April 1865 and December 1866, veterans accounted for almost half (46.7%) of the property offenses, 30.7% of the moral offenses, and 30.2% of the personal crimes".[470] This article talked about how historians should be looking closer at quantitative crime trends after the Civil War to understand the disorder that the Civil War caused instead of looking at the riots exclusively. "In any case, historians should begin to think of Civil War disorder in terms of quantitative trends rather than famous episodes like the anti-draft riots, which on balance occurred after the first war year"[471].

The book *Search for Order* looks at the social systems in America after Reconstruction and why the country was in such chaos. Historian Robert Huddleston Wiebe talks about the splintering process. The splintering process is how society crumbled after Reconstruction. The thesis of this book is that the failure of Reconstruction resulted in disorder, and that Americans had to find the order or find their new normal. This is part of what contributed to the rise of crime rates in urban areas. The first chapter talks about how the state sovereignty that people lobbied for resulted in a series of islands. "America in the late nineteenth century was a society

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[470] Hampel, 235
[471] Hampel, 238

without a core. It lacked those national centers of authority and information which might have given order to such swift changes"[472]. Wiebe also talks about how the Civil War impacted the government and policy-making process. "In fact, war and reconstruction had helped to disrupt an entire system of government. The sudden departure of eleven states and their erratic return, the years of preoccupation with strange problems, had invited endless distortions in the making of policy. Those internalized restraints which the traditional ways of governing had bred no longer operated".[473] The social climate of the country after the war was in shambles which extended as far as the government.

The culture of the United States splintered due to the failure of reconstruction. "The great casualty of America's turmoil late in the century was the island community. Although many Americans would still reside in relatively small, personal centers for several decades more, the society that had been premised upon the community's effective sovereignty, upon its capacity to manage affairs within its boundaries, no longer functioned. The precipitant of the crisis was a widespread loss of confidence in the powers of the community".[474] The country was extremely divided, and the failure of reconstruction only amplified the chaos.

The crime rates, or at least the rise in arrests, rose after the Civil War. This can be linked to social issues in America during the nineteenth century. *Towards a Social History of the American Civil War: exploratory essays* explored many different topics surrounding the social history of the Civil War. "The financial aspects of the federal veterans' pension program also need to be examined. How much money was involved overall, what percentage of the federal

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[472] Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920*.
[473] Wiebe,
[474] Wiebe,

budget went to veterans' pensions, and how much did the average claimant receive? The amount of money provided through the federal veterans' pension program started low and rose sharply. In 1866 the federal government spent $15.9 million on veteran benefits"[475]. The veterans' benefits programs were vastly different for confederate soldiers and for Union soldiers.

Sing not War by James Marten analyzes the hardships faced by Civil War veterans in a post-war society. Marten specifically looks at the struggles for veterans to reintegrate into the civilian world. veterans had a challenging time finding jobs. "Employers also worried about veterans' trustworthiness. Prison officials in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Wisconsin reported that between 50 and 90 percent of all inmates were discharged soldiers. A warden in eastern Pennsylvania attributed the situation to the fact that so many men "had been more or less incapacitated and demoralized by an apprenticeship to the trade of war." Others were physically unfit to work and had turned to crime as a last resort" [476].

The criminal justice system in America in the late 19th century was extremely corrupt. There were many flaws in the system that have made it difficult for historians to look at quantitative statics for the crime rate. Racism within the criminal justice system was and is a big factor in the disparity within the conviction rates.

Wars Within a War: Controversy and Conflict over the American Civil War focuses on analyzing political crimes during the Civil War. Historian Joan Waugh analyzes the history of political crimes within this time period and the corrupt justice system that tended to work in favor of those in power.

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[475] Vinovskis, Maris A. *Toward a Social History of the American Civil War: Exploratory Essays*. Cambridge England: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
[476] Marten, James Alan. *Sing Not War: The Lives of Union & Confederate Veterans in Gilded Age America*. Civil War America. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011.

"During the first year of war, hundreds of white people fell into this category, seized by authorities and held without benefit of habeas corpus for what were called political arrests, or suspected crimes against the nation-state. Potential or implied treason was used as an excuse to hold suspects while authorities searched their businesses and personal property, seizing some of the latter—especially mail—as contraband".[477]

THE STATE PENITENTIARY,
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA.

[478]

A newspaper that is from Philadelphia shows the statistical table for the prisoners convicted in 1869 in that city. This table talks about the prisoners admitted that year and then compares the table to prisoners admitted since 1829. This table is oddly specific and even shows the type of job that the prisoner had before being admitted to prison. This paper also talks about

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[477] Waugh, Joan, and Gary W Gallagher. *Wars Within a War: Controversy and Conflict Over the American Civil War*. Civil War America. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009.
[478] "The State Penitentiary, for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania. | Library of Congress."

the time served for the prisoners, previous convictions, and a summary of the discharges. This article was written by a social scientist named Richard Vaux. Vaux used the Annual Report of the Inspectors of the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania for his research.

Chicago is another city that experienced disorder after the failure of Reconstruction. An article printed in the Chicago Tribune on November 23rd, 1872, analyzed the relationship between alcohol dependencies and crime. The winter affects the crime in Chicago and talks about a photographer who was robbed of $121 and suffered a head injury from a robbery. This article talks a bit about the lack of employment opportunities for people in the winter, which leads to the crime of highway robbery.

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[479] "New Orleans - The Civil War and Its Aftermath | Britannica."
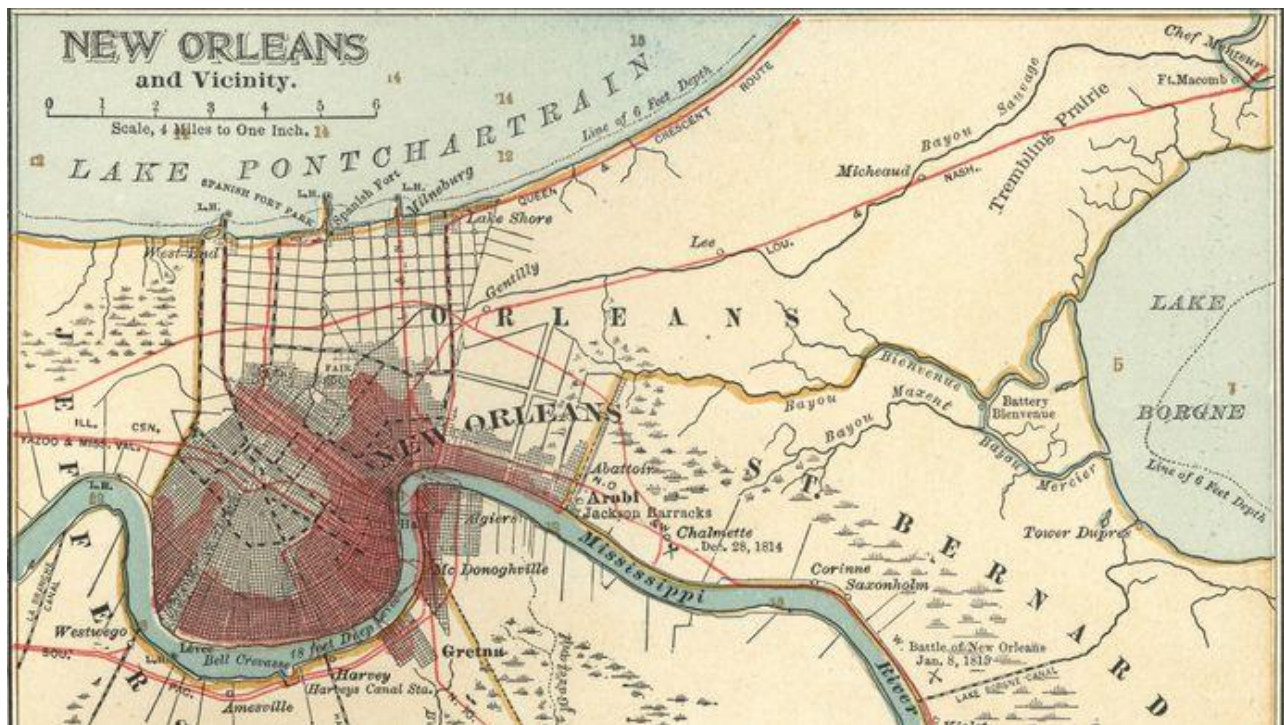
Crime in New Orleans increased immediately following the end of the Civil War. This could be due to multiple reasons, including the return of Confederate soldiers, the fall of the southern economy, and the increase in hate crimes committed by white supremacists. New Orleans experienced its first mafia war from 1868-1872. "During the <u>American Civil War</u> the strategic location of the city was inadequately appreciated by the Confederate military. The Union fleet of Admiral <u>David Farragut</u> was able to capture New Orleans in April 1862. The city was placed under the military command of General <u>Benjamin Butler</u>, and city officials were removed from office. Although Butler was replaced as commander by <u>Nathaniel Banks</u> by the end of 1862, his brief <u>regime</u> became infamous in local history for his roughshod handling of the population".[480]

A difficult aspect for this topic of crime rates in the post-Civil War world is that race played a crucial role in how crime was documented. "Many murders committed in Louisiana after the war were not recorded by military authorities. When a black man was killed, the civil officials frequently made no special record of it and no effort to solve the crime, particularly if the murderer was a white man. Too often, the men who committed these outrages successfully concealed their identity".[481]

The failure of Reconstruction played a key role in the increase of crime in New Orleans after the Civil War. The justice system was corrupt and would imprison freed slaves while letting white criminals get away with murder. "Patterns of homicide varied widely from one region to another, between racial and ethnic groups, and between genders. Results revealed a clear

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[480] "New Orleans - The Civil War and Its Aftermath | Britannica."

[481] Vandal, "Black Violence in Post-Civil War Louisiana."

dichotomy between the general lawlessness of white persons and the relatively nonviolent attitude of black persons during Reconstruction. In addition, black interracial homicides became an important component of the general atmosphere of lawlessness in the South as black persons became increasingly alienated by the degradation of social, legal, and political conditions that characterized the Reconstruction period".[482]

The three case studies together show that crime did increase in America after the Civil War in urban areas. Crime rates rose for many reasons, including the failure of Reconstruction, the return of Civil War veterans and the lack of care for them after their return, the rise in political crimes, and the rise of arrests of African Americans after slavery was abolished.

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Chapter 16.

Eric T. Silverman, Jr., "Intentional Failure: The Legacy of Reconstruction's Intentional Failure for African Americans"

Inequality is not created by chance but rather by intent and enforcement. Whether it is in nature or man-made, inequality has a reason for why it occurs and why it persists. It's no secret that within this country there is a history of inequality between the White and African American communities. That very inequality between the two communities has come to define much of the domestic history of the United States. While there has been significant progress made in lessening inequality it is impossible to discuss the progress without equally examining the setbacks and stagnations or reversal of that progress. No moment in this nation's history highlights the back-and-forth swing of this pendulum towards diminishing or enhancing this inequality then Reconstruction. This period of history has generally been ascribed to the years between 1865 and 1877, which begins directly following the conclusion of the Civil War up until the election of Rutherford B Hayes and the infamous Compromise of 1877. The period of Reconstruction came to define and illustrate what true progress for the African American community would mean.

For the first time African Americans were finally given citizenship, equal protection under the law, and for men the right to vote through the enactment of Constitutional Amendments 13 through 15. They could pursue a litany of new opportunities from running for elected office, becoming employed in any number of jobs, or even own their own land symbolizing the break from the notion that they themselves were property. Unfortunately, many of the steps forward made during this time began to be undone in both its latter years and in the

decades immediately succeeding it. Property would become one of the hallmarks of this step

back to suppress progress but to simultaneously begin crafting a narrative that has come to define

one side of the historiographical debate which surrounds Reconstructions legacy. The

racialization of property since the waning years of Reconstruction laid the cornerstone for later

discriminatory mechanisms that controlled and limited African Americans' progress.

There has been a long historiographical debate about the legacy of Reconstruction. This

paper will support the progressive or modern interpretation. A key component of this argument

revolves around the intentionality of discrimination in particular of property versus

discrimination being a matter of circumstance. This central argument of the debate is

foundational in *The Color of Law* in which Richard Rothstein discusses how since the 1870s

until today, on how systemic racism within the United States has systematically and intentionally

segregated American cities. The two terms in which Rothstein bounces back and forth between

to discuss this change in narrative are de facto and de jure segregation. De facto as Rothstein

describes it, "… result from private practice is not from law or government policy"[483].

Essentially the reason that African Americans face discrimination and happen to live in

underdeveloped and poor neighborhoods is simply by their own choice and a result of the

choices made by their ancestors. This interpretation of history removes the agency and blame

from the system or even whites in general and places it entirely on African Americans for

making intentional choices that sabotaged their progress. De jure segregation is defined by

Rothstein as, "…segregation by law and public policy"[484] This is where the intentionality of the

segregation and discrimination becomes central in the reason why African Americans find

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[483] Richard Rothstein, *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America*, First (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2017), VII.
[484] Rothstein, *The Color of Law,* VIII.

themselves facing inequality. The intention is that of the policy and practice designed with the specific goal to limit and constrict the progress and advancement of civil liberties and rights for the African American community.

Those who crafted this policy tended to be exclusively white men who sought to protect their own interests only ever being inclusive when it would seek to benefit themselves. This truth of intentionality has become lost in our history and our societal understanding of these events particularly on the more conservative side of this historiographical debate. This intentional warping of history and memory is done so with the intention of psychologically doing what these very policies and practices did physically in reality, control and subjugate the progress and power of African Americans. This fear of a few white men controlling not only the policies but also the narrative can be summarized best by Heather Cox Richardson in her book, *How The South Won The Civil War:*

> In the last half century, we have begun to pay attention to how the American paradox has kept people of color and women from the full enjoyment of their rights. But we have paid far less attention to the fact that it actually threatens all Americans. It has given a small group of wealthy men the language they need to undermine our democracy, and to replace it with an oligarchy.[485]

That very intentionality is often written out of the narrative now in most history textbooks with an ever-growing push of American exceptionalism backed by the new political right headed by Donald Trump. However, that is not the focus of this paper but is essential to understanding not only the importance of the work but also the foundations of this side of the debate. The break

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[485] Heather Cox Richardson, *How the South Won the Civil War: Oligarchy, Democracy, and the Continuing Fight for the Soul of America* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2020), xvi.

from factual reality of what occurred over 100 years ago is what this side of the debate seeks to reintegrate back into the understanding which was common while this history was being lived. The intentionality is not just simply in what the policy and practice is designed to do it's also in the intentionality of how they failed or were improperly implemented. This intentionality of design and intentionality of failure took effect in various different ways across the South but one county in Georgia gives a generalized overview of some of how this intentionality took form.

In an article published in the spring 2008 issue of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* Dr. Keith Hébert, a historian and associate professor at Auburn University, gives insight into how this took shape in one county in the South. The focus of this article is on the challenges faced by the people of Bartow County, Georgia during Reconstruction, more specifically between the years 1865 and 1872. It illustrates how this one county was not only affected by the Civil War itself but also by the challenges and problems of implementing Reconstruction-era programs within the south. The focus of this article is not only on poor white southerners' challenges in rebuilding their lives after the Civil War but also on the experience of African Americans in trying to establish a new life granted by emancipation. Dr. Hébert gives significant focus on the inability of the Freedmen's Bureau and its agents in aiding and protection and help for African Americans and poor white Southerners alike.

Throughout the first nine pages of this article, Dr. Hébert illustrates the challenges white southerners inherit following the end of the Civil War. First and foremost, he highlights the immeasurable physical and mental toll upon which the war took on Bartow County, "Approximately, 33.2% of the nearly 2,000 Barrow men identified from the 1860 federal census having served in the Confederate and Union forces died as a result of wounds received, disease contracted… One out of three borrow county soldiers, 37% of them married, died during the

war"[486]. This level of human capital loss affects southern populations immensely due to the culture of kinship that is extensive and deep meaning in one sense or another everyone within Bartow County felt the loss of life. Furthermore, the physically destructive nature of the Civil War resulted in many of their crops becoming insolvent and ruined destroying much of the economic backbone of the economy of the South. Surprisingly the Freedmen's Bureau was very willing to distribute supplies to these struggling poor white southerners at a much higher rate compared to their newly freed black counterparts. Unfortunately, the Freedmen's Bureau was not as helpful to African Americans as some may have hoped it was especially for those who ultimately decided to stay within this particular county. What is surprising is that the African American population in 1860 was roughly 27.2 percent of the total population in Bartow County and by 1880 was 33.6 percent which stood often in contrast to many other rural counties which saw their populations decrease thanks to migration[487]. The military presence of the Union that supported the Bureau's presence in this county was severely limited and never saw reinforcement to better enact proper distribution of supplies and aid to the white and black populations of Bartow County Georgia. This also limited the protection it could give African Americans against white mob violence. Furthermore, the lack of funding for African American educational programs and even custodial reparation groups inhibited and prevented reconstruction from properly giving African Americans an opportunity to become equal with their white counterparts.

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[486] Keith S. Hébert, "The Bitter Trial of Defeat and Emancipation: Reconstruction in Bartow County, Georgia, 1865-1872.," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 92, no. 1 (2008): 70.

[487] Hébert, "The Bitter Trial of Defeat and Emancipation.", 75.

This article gives great insight into not only the discrimination and challenges that African Americans faced in creating new lives for themselves, but also vital insight into the experiences of poor white Southerners who would end up supporting, enforcing, and often self-starting a lot of the Jim Crow and anti-African American policies and practices that would come to define the South post-Reconstruction. It allows us to better understand the mentality behind these white Southerners in actions they would come to take to perpetuate the system of white supremacy and domination over the newly freed slaves. This is crucial in the understanding of intentionality behind the stunting of progress. Now, this understanding in no way justifies the actions and rhetoric that the Southerners took against African Americans, but it allows us to better understand the question of why they would intentionally target African Americans for the next 100 years. This fear of the "white man's democracy"[488] being in jeopardy provided that fundamental fight for preservation of "society" and honor to most southern whites which gives underlining reasoning behind how they sought to "coexist" with newly freed blacks. Dr. Hébert provides a useful insight into the reality of what this new reality of coexistence was for African Americans in the Reconstruction era South:

> In 1870, fewer than 8 percent of blackheads of households owned any real property. Approximately 37 percent of the county's African American population lived in white-headed households, working primarily as domestic servants and laborers. The overwhelming majority of freed people identified themselves as day laborers or farm laborers, while a sizeable minority occupied skilled positions such as blacksmiths,

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[488] Hébert, "The Bitter Trial of Defeat and Emancipation.", 66.

wheelwrights, and ironworkers. The bureau identified roughly 78 percent of black households as 'very destitute.'[489]

This lack of ownership by African Americans can be attributed to two variations of intentionality. One was the more obvious and that is of either creation of restrictive ownership opportunities for Blacks or the reversal of policy that would have granted or at the very provided an avenue to potentially acquire land. The other was that of intentional failure of policy or practice either by implementation or design. There is one bureau to which encapsulates both multitracked avenues of intentional setback towards African American land ownership that being the Freedmen's Bureau.

Established on March 3, 1865, the Freedmen's Bureau was created to aid by any means possible not only to the newly freed slaves across the South but to also provide the same aid to the South in general. The intention behind the Freedmen's Bureau is one of true compassion trying to present the olive branch towards the South for coming out of the Civil War. It wanted to truly give the help the South needed to not only rebuild but to also provide a new start for the millions of newly freed African Americans. Unfortunately, attempting to be the jack of all trades for helping rebuild the South came at the cost of being overly ambitious and severely undermanned and underfunded. Before diving into the specifics of how the bureau failed it is important to mention the most fundamental intentionality of failure it faced being that of its design.

A point of reference that must be made in discussing the freedmen's Bureau is that the official documents of this governmental Bureau are available to the public. It is possible to access these documents on internetarchive.com. These documents contain registrars of food

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[489] Hébert, "The Bitter Trial of Defeat and Emancipation.", 80.

distributed by individual commissioners within states to the value of given property rent collected and all the other daily records complied during the bureau's lifespan. However, it is apparent that none of these documents are referenced within this paper. The reasoning behind this is that all those documents are preserved through microfilm and unfortunately are very difficult to read and understand what scribed on these documents. Considering this any discussion of information that pertains to the freedmen's Bureau comes from secondary source analysis of these primary documents. This is done so to include in some manner the original documentation of the Bureau as it is essential to give credence and give the due diligence that the members of the freedmen's Bureau did for newly freed African Americans during Reconstruction.

In the original charter of the bureau, it was only "to last 1 year after the end of the war"[490] thereby from the outset be incredibly limited in what actual aid it could offer especially to African Americans. Furthermore, there was no federal funding allocated towards its operations. Within his book George R. Bentley outlines its chief source of income was rent from abandoned lands, but this source dried up rapidly as President Johnson pardoned the plantation owners and restored their property to them. "The South Carolina branch of the Bureau, for example, was receiving $6,000 per month in rents toward the end of 1865, but only $50.00 a month a year later."[491] The issue over the longevity of the bureau would plague it throughout its lifetime. The renewal of this charter in 1866 sought to extend its operation by another two years but also give the bureau funding for the first time. Each subsequent time the charter for the freedmen's Bureau

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[490] Roy W. Copeland, "In the Beginning: Origins of African American Real Property Ownership in the United States," *Journal of Black Studies* 44, no. 6 (2013): 653.

[491] George R. Bentley, *A History of the Freedmen's Bureau.*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1955), //catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000338239 74.

came up for renewal it had to further reduce its funding as well as limit its capacity for oversight which in essence killed this Bureau when it was shut down in 1872.

One specific area into which the bureau was originally centered around and would come to define how Reconstruction would play out for African Americans is that of land redistribution. Prior to the end of the Civil War land confiscation was already a policy of the Union laid out in the Land confiscation acts of 1861, 1862, and 1863. Generally, all three acts authorized the seizure of any land used to aid the Confederate rebellion either militarily or otherwise. The second and third confiscation acts focused on who would take over the title for any land confiscated by the union army as it now gave any slaves in the land freedom. Furthermore, the issue of ownership became more complicated as with the ordering of, "Special Field Order No. 15 which proclaimed lands in Coastal South Carolina and Georgia 'reserved and set apart for the settlement of the negroes now made free by the acts of war and the proclamation of the President of the United States".[492] This order is commonly attributed the commonly known phrase forty acres and a mule as the bureau was authorized to the see the redistribution of this land to African Americans. Within six months following Sherman issuing Special Field Order No. 15 out of the total 850,000 acres of land the union confiscated after the war 40,000 former slaves lived on 400,000 acres of the land allocated by the order.[493] This promise of a good plot of land in which these newly freed slave families could start a new life was not only a mirage but also not to last long.

There were two realities which undercut the Freedmen's Bureaus ability to actually give this land to Freed people with the first being that they didn't own the rights to the majority of it

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[492] Henry Louis Jr. Gates, *Stony the Road: Reconstruction, White Supremacy, and the Rise of Jim Crow* ([New York]: Penguin Books, 2020), 30.
[493] Gates, *Stony the Road,* 30–31.

from the start. As Edward Magdol highlights in his book *A Right to Land,* "Only two-tenths of one percent of the land in the insurrectionary states was ever held by the bureau. It would have been impossible to give even one acre (of land held by the Freedmen's Bureau) to each family of freedmen".[494] This lack of actual land in which the Bureau could redistribute was only further reduced by President Andrew Johnson. Through the power of the executive branch he ordered a vast majority of this land be returned to their former owners stipulating that only those who had paid for the land could keep it reducing the original 40,000 settled African Americans in the area down to a mere 2,000.[495] The intention to not upset the imbalance of societal and economic power between whites and blacks in the south is very clear in the ordering of the redistribution of land back to former white owners by President Johnson.

So far, this essay has pointed the desire to inhibit reconstruction he's coming solely from the South. It has pointed to the blatant racism and desire of southern whites to continue to enforce and enhance they're already in equal society. However, in doing so there's a key component that often gets overlooked that is essential to understand why reconstruction also saw support to fail in the north. Much of the north's motivations behind reconstruction ultimately failing it is primarily economic. The north depended just as much on southern slavery as the southern slave owners did themselves. In particular, the northern textile industry came to be dependent on cheap and readily accessible labor to provide the cotton which it needed to produce these textiles. In his essay titled those valuable people, the Africans Ronald Bailey discuss is the importance in which slavery had in the economy of the United States as a whole. At one point he

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[494] Magdol, Edward. *A Right to the Land: Essays on the Freedmen's Community.* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1977), 156.

[495] Copeland, "In the Beginning", 653.

mentions How dependent the northern textile industry became on southern cotton, "In the decade of the 1790s, … The United States consumed 37.5percent more raw cotton…. the amount of raw cotton consumed in the United States doubled in each decade between 1810 and 1830. In 1840 and 1850 the increases were 163.6 percent and 132.8 percent respectively"[496] it's clear that northern industry was profiting off of the free labor that slavery provided. One can then infer, and once slavery was abolished the north in particular the northern business owning elite would be in favor of creating a system of free labor that would help return their profits to the same levels that they experienced pre civil war.

The legacy of Reconstruction cannot be understated in the impact it has upon the imbalance faced by African Americans today. The reality of the situation faced by African Americans is one that has been deliberately crafted over the many decades since reconstruction's collapse. Recently however we have seen this renewed debate around reconstructions importance in understanding the legacy of slavery in this country. We have seen an entire political party become enveloped in trying to preserve the "patriotic" narrative. This narrative is one of hyper nationalism that paints the United States as a champion of individual liberties personal freedoms and progressive tendency all while keeping the constitution of the United States held close to its chest. It excludes the rolls foundationally that racism, sexism, misogyny, and many other discriminatory ideologies played in the evolution of this country. During the previous administration we saw the creation of the 1776 Commission which was instructed to create a template for this narrative of hyper nationalism for the United States. It was created to combat the "wokeness" that its competing political party was pushing and this level of indoctrination

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[496] Ronald Bailey, "'Those Valuable People, the Africans': The Economic Impact of the Slave(ry) Trade on Textile Industrialization in New England," in *The Meaning of Slavery in the North*, by David R. Roediger and Martin Henry Blatt (New York: Garland Pub., 1998), 23-33

amongst its children within education of all levels threatened to destroy the foundations of this "great country". In response to this push of revisionist history that seeks to erase many of the underlying ideologies that founded this country there has been an increase level of scholarship and academic work that has gone to place many of these very ideologies and realities into the cortex of the foundation of our country. reconstruction is one of those events given its focal point nature in a change in the narrative surrounding African Americans in this country. This debate will continue long after myself and the historians in which or referenced in this essay have passed. History swings on a pendulum as well as its interpretations. However, in this day and age it is important that we acknowledge the centrality and the reality that reconstruction had in outlining the future and present reality for African Americans within this country.

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Chapter 17.

Leopold J. Fleming, "The Performative Nature of Pain: The Cultural Significance in the Behaviors of the Ku Klux Klan"

The end of the Civil War brought about significant changes within the South, and not just in a purely economic sense. Old convention and social norms were upheaved without the presence of slavery, forcing residents to seriously consider their own identities in the aftermath of the war. This is true for both white planters and former slaves, as new opportunities to break former social molds were becoming more viable. Of course, while this was celebrated by many, there was also a concern for the former elite and those who benefited from the pre-existing racial hierarchy. This, in tandem with the emotional distress of the loss itself and the physical destruction of the war, resulted in an identity crisis among white men. Thus, the Southern defeat in the Civil War resulted in a cultural backlash that created the environment from which a violent organization such as the Ku Klux Klan could form. How they performed their violence, especially with what antebellum aspects of culture they glorified or parodied, would come to define this new generation of white supremacists.

The physical impact of the Civil War and the resulting changes of Reconstruction had momentous consequences on how Southern life functioned. It disrupted certain social norms and structures, while also just being an inherently traumatic event for residents across all backgrounds within the region. A positive of this of course was the end of racial slavery, at least on an official level, and a surge of activism among former slaves. New ways to define one's self

and agency were becoming more viable within the South, with many black politicians capitalizing on this wave of energy to establish themselves as community leaders.[497] However, inversely, the same energy was not as readily apparent within the views of white Southerners. Many chose to refer to the end of the war as some profound blow to Southern identity. Typically, they would focus on the physical destruction of the fighting, the following economic instability, and what they perceived as a disruption to the former racial hierarchy enforced by slavery.[498] Common themes of describing the region as desecrated or in ruins began to appear in letters, newspapers, diary entries, and other forms of communication in the immediate aftermath of the war.[499] A group that became particularly vocal about this sense of despair would be Southern white men, who began to echo anxieties over changing social dynamics as they viewed it as a direct threat to their own status. Commonly this fear would be projected onto some other, either it be the emerging class of freedmen or the North. One account from a planter that was severely impacted economically by the loss had this to say about Southern perceptions of the war, "The people of the South feel they have been most unjustly, most tyrannically oppressed by the North. All our rights have been trampled upon."[500] Already was there a sentiment growing among white men that the negative impact of the war was done unjustly to them, which would influence how some individuals would eventually devolve into radical terrorism. As they were able to observe

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[497] David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001), 42.

[498] Elaine Frantz Parsons, *Ku-Klux: The Birth of the Klan During Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 9.

[499] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 39-42.
[500] John Richard Dennett, *The South As It Is: 1865-1866,* ed. Henry M. Christman (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 19.

the desolation around them, and then create a "justifiable" other to impose their reactionary violence onto.

Reconstruction was a period that was fraught with both external and internal tension, with the South being an exemplary example of what this tension can devolve into. Instances of organized and mob violence were rampant throughout the region, oftentimes taking on a racially biased narrative. Thus, in this way, the Klan was not terribly unique in engaging in such disorder. However, what made the actions of the Klan different is in the way they defined the movement. Four criteria first had to be met to be considered part of this particular brand of violence: it had to be premeditated, secretive, dedicated to a larger social movement, and finally, it had to be performative in nature.[501] This specification becomes most apparent when comparing the behavior of similar vigilante groups of the time to those of the movement. One example of this was the Order of the Pale Faces who, despite commonly being miscategorized as being part of the Klan due to their proximity, enforced their violence and image in ways that didn't align with Klan methods. Their aim for terror was largely paramilitary, and they never strived for the same sense of enigmatic authority that Klansmen claimed to have.[502] The same cannot be said for the Klan, where their imagery and sense of self were ritualized to a point that it became an abstract force. When this focus on image and projection is recognized, the reality behind the movement's formation of a cultural body is apparent from its very origins.

It would be partly through the year of 1866 that a group of former Confederate soldiers would meet within Pulaski, Tennessee to form the organization that would eventually be known

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[501] Parsons, *Ku-Klux,* 27.

[502] Allen W. Trelease, *White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction,* 1st ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 26; Parsons, *Ku-Klux,* 6.

as the Ku Klux Klan.[503] Why they were meeting, according to later testimonies, was over the

local civil unrest that followed the war. The town itself was heavily impacted by nearby violence

and fighting, periodically being occupied by passing Federal troops.[504] This closeness to the war,

in tandem with the large population of veterans within the surrounding Giles County, likely

contributed to the town's tense postwar atmosphere. This unrest is important because it sets

Pulaski as a stage from which radically social reactions could form, both in the case of the KKK

and from an emerging economic class of freed slaves. As this tension grew more fraught, this

meeting would take place between six men: Frank O. McCord, Richard Reed, John C. Lester,

Calvin Jones, John Booker Kennedy, and James Crowe.[505] All of which reportedly met within a

local bar to discuss the creation of a new "social group." The purposes behind this new group

were obvious from the start, it was a means to revitalize the white male population of Pulaski as

well as address the anxieties that were raised as freedmen gained more agency within the

town.[506] Over the following two years after this event, the Pulaski organization would attempt to

form itself as a competent and coordinated movement that would enforce white Southern

authority across the County. While the success of these efforts was ultimately less than desired,

their interactions with the surrounding community and the reasoning behind them started to show

the elemental social factors that helped form their creation.

       The first two years of the Klan's existence are hard to properly determine due to a lack of

concrete evidence that indicates exactly what they were doing during this time. Personal

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[503] Blight, *Race and Reunion,* 112.

[504] Parsons, *Ku-Klux,* 27.

[505] Trelease, *White Terror*, 3.

[506] Parsons, *Ku-Klux*, 31.

accounts from former members have to be taken with a considerable degree of caution. Either they tend to downplay the violent tendencies of this original group or dramatize their importance for the overall movement.[507] Both tactics were part of a larger effort to conceal and manipulate Klan legacy to perpetuate the more abstract image of the organization. What is known, however, is there were considerable efforts to organize the Klan into an organized group. One that had a designated hierarchy and set of membership rules. A supposed event that highlights these efforts is a convention in Nashville that took place in 1867. Although it should be of note that the validity of this event or its reported significance is contested, as the only knowledge of the event comes from the account of one former member. It would be at this very convention that the first iteration of the *Prescript of * *,* the Klan's constitution, was adopted by attending members.[508] This manual would be the Klan's first attempt at dictating what defined membership. Then, only a year later, a revised version would be published to help clarify earlier points and to reinforce the group's authority.[509] The creation of the *Prescript*, in tandem with a few other recorded events of Klan involvement with the Pulaski community, show that this group was attempting to form themselves as a distinctly coordinated force. This push towards organization is important to keep in mind as the developments of these first two years show the movement's desire to capitalize on the social needs of the time to be successful.

The original notion of the Pulaski group being a "social club" is also integral to the progression of the Ku Klux Klan movement, as it acknowledges how these Pulaski members framed themselves prior to being completely associated with violence. Thus, establishing a

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[507] Parsons, *Ku-Klux*, 53.

[508] J.C Lester and D.L. Wilson, *Ku Klux Klan: Its Origin, Growth, and Disbandment,* 1905, Reprint (New York: De Capo Press, 1973), 84; Parsons, *Ku-Klux*, 53.

[509] Parsons, *Ku-Klux*, 46.

relationship between the Klan and changing dynamics within the culture at the time. Such as

with their attempts to exploit ongoing cultural revitalization movements, to incorporate them into

their own agenda and origins. Throughout the South during the Reconstruction era, many other

former Confederates already saw the use in rebuilding the South culturally through public events.

Parades, tournaments, masquerades, and other similar social engagements became prevalent as a

means of unifying white Southerners through more innocuous means. These events could be

used to both foster a sense of nationalism, as well as a place to condemn the "lecherous"

behaviors of the North.[510] The members of the Pulaski sect too saw the use in large social

gatherings as a tool to rally white southern identity as well as a way to promote the image of the

organization. They themselves publicly participated in these events alongside the creation of the

Klan, so the jump to incorporate similar practices within the organization wasn't too difficult to

do.[511] It would supposedly be in the summer of 1867 that the Klan do so by organizing a large

parade with local members.[512] Unlike the convention in Nashville, the is more evidence available

to confirm the existence of the event, but the overall impact of the parade is still debatable. Most

sources are either unreliable or have wildly self-contradictory accounts of the exact events. Yet,

what they were attempting with this parade is more important than the event's actual success. As

these members were utilizing popular methods of the time to both broadcasts a unified image of

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[510] Mary P. Ryan, *Civic Wars: Democracy and Public Life in the American City during the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 237.

[511] It should be of note that the charity events that these members attended were distinctly related to the aftermath of the Civil War. With Nathan Bedford Forrest and John C. Brown acting as judges at a tournament raising funds for a local Orphan Asylum, which was still reeling from the physical destruction of the war. The other example is even more explicitly related, as half of the original group appear on a series of tableaux raising funds for prosthetics for wounded Confederate soldiers. "To the Maimed Confederate Soldiers of Giles County," Pulaski Citizen (Pulaski, TN), May 4th, 1866, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85033964/1866-05-04/ed-1/; "Tournament at Clarksville," Pulaski Citizen (Pulaski, TN), May 11th, 1886, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85033964/1866-05-11/ed-1/.

[512] Parsons, *Ku-Klux*, 51.

the Klan, as well as connect the organization to the health and wellbeing of the community of Pulaski.

A more direct instance within these first two years of attempting to capitalize on the social disruption of the Civil War would be apparent through their recruitment methods. They saw that the postwar depression that many male residents claimed to feel was both integral to the formation of the movement itself, as well as a tactic to draw in new members. Former member John Lester reflected on this lethargy in a later account, claiming that the town's white male population suffered from a period of inactivity following the intensity of the war.[513] Their own sense of self was temporarily disrupted, as the traditional means of defining identity through occupation and other social arraignments were unavailable. So, the Klan then attempted to supplant the real reasons behind this disconnect by creating a malicious other. Sometimes this other would take the form of being discourse against the North, Southern Republicans, or freed slaves; but the purpose behind this framing was to draw in disenfranchised white men. Where this attempt is evident is in the romantic language of various page headers within the Prescript. The supposed violation of these individuals' rights for an "appropriate" Southern culture is seen through phrases such as "Damnant quod non intelligent," and "Hic manet vestigia morientis libertatis." What this translates to, according to historian Elaine Frantz Parsons is "They condemn what they do not understand" as well as "Here lie the remains of Dying Liberties."[514] Phrases such as this put a significant amount of emphasis on a perceived sense of oppression for the members involved. While the creators of the Prescript were not likely in the marginalized position that they claimed to be in, due to what is known of suspected economic and social

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[513] Lester and Wilson, *Ku Klux Klan,* 52.

[514] Anonymous, *Prescript of the * * (Np: Pulaski, TN, 1867), 1-4; Parsons, *Ku-Klux*, 47.

status, this inclusion seems to be a pointed appeal. This attempt at recruitment by these original members is important to recognize because this sense of underlying false victim narrative would remain present throughout the fluid history of the movement, oftentimes becoming a personal justification for violence.

Despite these efforts at creating and broadcasting a coordinated notion of the Klan, for a majority of these first two years the organization was relatively unknown. The Klan, and any mention of it, was primarily confined to Giles County. Outside of the *Pulaski Citizen*, the organization's name would only be referenced roughly six times in the year 1867 by select papers throughout central Tennessee.[515] At this point, the larger public consciousness was unaware of the Klan's existence, and they weren't inherently connected to the brutality they were eventually infamous for. This is not to say that there wasn't significant racial violence in Giles County during these years, or that the members themselves were not participating it in, but rather what is defined as Klan violence had yet to solidify.[516] All of this would change in early 1868, as there would be a dramatic rise in Klan growth and violence. The first instance connecting Klan to physical terrorism in Pulaski would be seen in a report made by Captain Michael Walsh after an armed white mob was formed other a local dispute. What reportedly sparked this violence was a long-standing feud between Calvin Carter (mulatto farm laborer) and Calvin Lambert (white grocer) over a female third party: Lucy Reynolds. Tensions rose between these two men to the point of an armed standoff, where a large white mob outnumbered the black men supporting

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[515] Parsons, *Ku-Klux*, 61.

[516] Member Frank McCord was mentioned by name in a report by a Freedmen's Bureau agent for inciting a racially motivated riot against a Pulaski black schoolteacher. Reportedly this teacher physically disciplined the boy at the request of his mother, and in response, a McCord rallied a white mob in retaliation. The attack was called off, but this instance is a perfect example of aspects of Klan violence being apparent in the public lives of its members. Letter from Captain George E. Judd (Agent) to Captain Michael A. Walsh (Subassistant Commissioner), May 14, 1867, quoted in Elaine Frantz Parson, *Ku-Klux: The Birth of the Klan During Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 59-60.

Carter. In the resulting violence, several black men were injured and resident, Orange Rhodes, was killed.[517] Walsh concluded, likely both due to prior agent's knowledge of the Klan and research he gathered through his investigation, that the perpetrators of the attack were indeed the Klan. While there is some contention by contemporary historians if this was actually performed by the Klan, this moment of violence put the organization on the national stage. Such attention would then become commonplace over the course of the year, as accounts of the organization's activities became prevalent throughout the South.

This image depicts an unknown Klansman in full costume while on horseback. While hard to determine due to the quality of the photo, the flag that the rider is holding seems to state the Latin phrase, "Quod Semper, Quod Ubique, Quod ab Omnibus." [518]

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[517] Michael Walsh, Michael Walsh to William P. Carlin, January 11th, 1868, transcribed from BRFAL, National Archives Microfilm Publication M999, roll 34, "Reports of Outrages, Riots and Murders, Jan.15, 1866-Aug. 12, 1868," https://freedmensbureau.com/tennessee/outrages/orangerhodes.htm.

[518] *Photograph of a Ku Klux Klansman.*, unknown. Photograph. https://portal.museum.tn.gov/TSM_ARGUS/Portal/TSM_Portal.aspx?lang=en-US.

The growth of 1868 would mark significant changes within the movement as a whole, such as the solidification of certain cultural features as well as a growing political purpose within some groups. This is important to note because it demonstrates that the overall movement was dynamic in nature. While certain parts of the movement took on new meanings as it spread outward from Pulaski, there wasn't a defined purpose between individual groups. Rather, the only connecting factor between them were the underlying features of similar cultural backgrounds and expectations for violence that would push the members in a particular direction. Yet, this observation of behavior patterns and their inconsistency can be a source of contradiction for some historians, especially for those who define the movement as wholly political. Historians such as David W. Blight and Allen W. Trelease, have argued that the Klan was essentially political in nature due to the fact they were supported silently by the Southern Democratic Party and aided in the disruption of Republican control throughout the region.[519] However, the prior examination of the Klan's formative years seems to challenge that understanding. The Klan as a body had little to no structure behind it, and the intentions of each group differed depending on the needs of the members involved. What was the "goal" of Klan violence? The obvious answer was to cause terror. But to what end? Putting a defined notion for a projected purpose behind the incendiary nature of the Klan seems disingenuous when there is more substantial evidence of the underlying cultural features influencing behavior more readily apparent. The Klan was a "social group" that developed into something much more, but it was only able to do so by capitalizing on the social anxieties and changes that came about through Reconstruction.

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[519] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 113; Trelease, *White Terror*, xxix.

A common theme that connects these groups under the name Ku Klux Klan, would be in how they performed their violence and what that reflected back onto their own identity. Primarily the two points of similarity in their imagery would come from two sources: minstrelsy and the carnival. This is both apparent in the origins of the Klan, with the Pulaski group, in particular, having a long history of engaging minstrelsy tradition while in the creation of the movement, as well as in later groups' interactions with their victims.[520] Minstrelsy became a means of both humiliating their victims, mainly in their exaggerated projection of "blackness" and racist stereotypes, as well as heightening their physical bodies from reality. Klansmen in their own minds became actors for some larger movement, using the genre's troupes of comedy and exaggeration to create elaborate scenes during the events of their raids. While their use of the carnivalesque added an outlandish, and distinctly theatrical spin, to their violence. This abstraction from reality more so was about becoming some inhuman other, rather than participating in some racist mimicry.[521] Within the use of both these traditions others were referenced, such as the troupes from the circus and burlesque, but all essentially served the same purpose. They were to soothe white anxieties over changes to their economic status, social norms, and racial boundaries that were ongoing at the time.[522] By performing, and thus becoming something other than their actual identity, these white men then focused their violent aspirations into a tangible force that addressed their concerns over the dynamic changes that came throughout Reconstruction.

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[520] Parsons, *Ku-Klux*, 33.

[521] Lisa Cardyn, "Sexualized Racism/Gendered Violence: Outraging the Body Politic in the Reconstruction South." *Michigan Law Review* 100, no. 4 (February 2002): 831-832; Parsons, *Ku-Klux*, 99.

[522] Parsons, Ku-Klux, 95.

The official explanation for this emphasis on costuming, according to former members, aligns perfectly with this foundation of the dramatics and performance. The origins of their appearance and later success were supposedly due to their imitation of the supernatural; especially in the ways they were "ghost-like".[523] They were attempting to exploit the superstitious nature of freemen, as well as attempting to elevate their actions into some abstract form of terror. Of course, the real reason behind the Klan's success as a terrorist organization wasn't due to the quality of their costumes. Rather, it was the threat of violence itself that made them infamous. Those impacted by Klan violence were more scared of the gun and the whip than they ever were of some cotton sheet. This is highlighted in testimonies like Reuben Sheets who was surrounded by a group of Klansmen covering their faces with painted meal-sack. His focus wasn't preoccupied with the believability of their costumes, but rather the weapons that they threatened him with: "The reason I was scared was, that they came in with their pistols, and I was afraid they would shoot me."[524] Yet, their continued use of these costumes and the overly performative nature of their violence indicates some of the underlying cultural features pushing this organization. Particularly, how some of their notions of violence seem to be before rejecting antebellum norms and then in other ways reinforcing them.

Regardless, if the Klan didn't maintain the superstitious status that they so claimed, the costumes they wore did hold significance to the members underneath them. Particularly, in the ways, they were addressing previous cultural norms. Prior to Reconstruction, certain cultural expectations were relatively fixed and dependent on the presence of slavery to be viable. White

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[523] Trelease, *White Terror*, 52.

[524] U.S. Congress, *Testimony Taken by Joint Select Committee on the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States,* Vol. 7, GA, Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1872, https://archive.org/details/reportofjointsel07unit.

Southern identities, regardless of gender, relied on these conventions to be able to articulate who they were as individuals. According to the historian Bertram Wyatt-Brown, this stability provided a great deal of comfort for these white Southerns: "These traditions of social instruction and judgment gave Southerners reassurance. Security resided in knowing that insecurity was the lot of mankind; holding fast to the familiar was the best means of salvation."[525] However, in the disruption of the war, these traditions saw substantial changes to their importance and lasting value in the eyes of many residents. In the case of the Klan, this disconnect between the stability of the old and the transformation of modernity is most apparent in examining how aspects of their presentation seem to reflect the cultural changes of the time. Certain aspects of the Old South were imitated and glorified, while others were heavily questioned. It is here that their reliance on costumes plays an integral role in influencing the behaviors of Klansmen and their level of brutality.[526] As the degree of separation between the persona and the public was deemed large enough to shield individuals from the potential consequences of their actions. This was true in both a cultural sense of disavowing what determined the "ideal" Southern man, as well as in a logistical sense to avoid legal persecution. This shows that any instance of Klan performance was interconnected with pre-existing antebellum cultural cornerstones, and their manipulation of these features was in itself, a cultural reaction.

The reality of the Klan's perspective on honor was it was disregarded as much as it was utilized. While the romantic language of the *Prescript* and later accounts may attempt to portray a sense of honor in being a Klansman, the actions of the movement do not align with what is

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[525] Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South,* 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 32.

[526] Parsons, *Ku-Klux*, 12.

typically associated with this system. For one, Southern honor relied on an individual's ability to maintain proper social standing and a willingness to defend this status in acceptable modes of combat.[527] The Klan, with this largely being due to the barrier of costuming, had no desire to follow these expectations. They committed their violence without inserting personal status and didn't confront challenges in an upfront way, such as one would with a duel.[528] Their intentions were more so focused on the presumed authority position provided by their anonymity and violence. Not so much on the conventions of Southern honor and prior means of gaining social position. Being a faceless member of the Klan was efficient enough. One instance where this was evident in a testimony provided by Dick Wilson, who upon being addressing a group of Klansmen as gentlemen, was met with immediate resistance. In response one member exclaimed, "Don't you call me any gentleman; we are just from hell-fire; we haven't been in this country since Manassas."[529] These men didn't want to be recognized as gentlemen, or any other form of civility. They were attempting to project themselves as some ambiguous other; oftentimes taking on the role of being a beast or demon. Of course, this blatant disregard for gentility was not done in their personal lives, as many of the men who were members still willingly participated in the expectations of the system. They played the role of their social position, confiding in the expectations of their surrounding community, and most attempted to not publicly engage in private violence.[530] The costume they wore, and by extension, the degree of separation these

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[527] Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor*, 34.

[528] Parsons, *Ku-Klux*, 98; Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor*, 460.

[529] U.S. Congress, *Testimony Taken by Joint Select Committee on the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States,* Vol. 5, S.C, Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1872, https://archive.org/details/reportofjointsel05unit.

[530] Parsons, *Ku-Klux*, 97.

members' perceptions created with it, provided them with the means to step out of Southern tradition.

A hood/mask that has been commonly associated with Confederate colonel of the Fiftieth North Carolina Troops, John Campbell Van Hook Jr. [531]

Yet, while the deconstruction of the "gentleman" identity was an active part of the Klan's brutality, they did not abandon the system entirely. Rather, underlying methods of cultural control and upholding the notion of Southern honor too were referenced in their actions. Two features in particular that influenced the movement's practices were antebellum reliance on public shame and group violence to maintain social hierarchy. This was commonly practiced in two forms: charivari and lynch law.[532] The Klan then imitated both practices; focusing particularly on how collective efforts were used to reshape the social boundaries of a community.

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[531] *Regalia.*, 1870-1872. Photograph. https://collections.ncdcr.gov/mDetail.aspx?rID=H.1996.102.1&db=objects&dir=COMBINED&osearch=kkk&list=global&rname=.

[532] Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor*, 436.

From the tradition of lynch law, long-standing cultural norms of dehumanizing and brutalizing black bodies aligned perfectly with the movement's push toward white dominance.[533] While charivari, which tended to be less violent and more so white rule-breakers, then proved a reference for the performative nature of later violence. The success of this form of public humiliation oftentimes relied on elaborate rituals and costumes to be effective in expressing the wills of the community.[534] The connection to these two practices of community policing to the Klan's later behavior then holds even more credence when considering the history both have with being a force of nighttime terror. While midnight raids are infamously connected to the Klan, these antebellum practices too participated in similar ways and were likely to achieve the same goal. The unsettling potential that a collective group could surround an individual's home in the dead of night, to correct a prior social misgiving or crime primarily through violence was a possibility long before the creation of the Klan.[535] This shows that the Klan was referencing prior modes of social control and then adapting them for the conditions of the postwar South.

This type of reflection on older systems has significance in other areas of Klan violence other than their structural origins, certain relationships too were attempted to be replicated. The most obvious of these is the imitation of the power dynamic provided by slavery; the master/slave relationship. This was due to shifting social roles that came about in the Reconstruction, with many former Klan accounts centering their anxieties around the period about the emerging class of freedmen.[536] Fears about racial boundaries blurring would push

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[533] Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor*, 436.

[534] Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor*, 452.

[535] Parsons, *Ku-Klux*, 5.

[536] Trelease, *White Terror*, xxii.

Klansmen to idolize prior systems of white authority. How they would attempt to accomplish this was through methods that echoed slave masters' prior means of social control, incredible physical violence. The use of whips, beatings, sexual assault, and threats of lynching were all methods of moral terror that were repurposed to fit the postwar perspective on terror.[537] With the repurposing of these methods then oftentimes extending past the traditional expectations for violence, becoming much more brutal in nature. These men, familiar with the physical and emotional impact of their tools of terror, perpetuated their attacks in a way that was meant to debilitate their victims if not kill them outright.[538] Yet, it should be kept in mind that the Klan's attempt at dominance wasn't a complete parallel or even a misguided attempt to reinstate the master/slave dynamic with their victims.[539] Rather their terror aimed to create two distinct classes of Southerns: the compliant freedman and the authoritarian white man. While this may have aligned with the goals of former slave masters, the Klan had little to no interest in extending this further into forcing freemen into a specific labor class. They only focused on the position of authority that they gained by oppressing another, and the importance it gave to their identities as white men.

Keeping the level of brutality of these Klan attacks in mind, it is not hard to see how their violence was also a became a way to subvert Southern cultural expectations. As a feature that is commonly associated with the master/slave relationship is the dynamic's connection with Southern patriarchy. The white Southern who maintained the position of a master oftentimes

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[537] Parson, *Ku-Klux*, 78.

[538] Williams, Kidada E. *They Left Great Marks on Me: African American Testimonies of Racial Violence from Emancipation to World War I* (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 48.

[539] Parson, *Ku-Klux*, 78.

conflated the role with the grandiose image of protector and paternal caretaker.[540] Thus, an

underpinning aspect of their masculinity found it integral to play into this notion of a controlled

fatherly figure, which gave them a sense of superiority. Yet, with the end of the Civil War,

slavery was no longer a viable way to continue this inflated sense of importance. Thus, the Klan

began to drop that paternal notion in a similar way in how they began to reject the title of

"gentleman." Any self-imposed notion of the honorable patriarch, superficial in origin or not,

was forgone for the ability to brutalize. The same behavior was just not possible within the

antebellum South, as the constraints of community expectation and Southern honor were in the

way. Even if behavior before the war was ultimately perfunctory in nature, seeing that they were

all too willing to participate in the horrors of slavery, Reconstruction-era Klan violence marked a

change in identity signifiers. With their costumes being the main resource that allowed them to

make such changes. No longer were these white men masquerading around the notion of the

"fatherly master", but instead they took on the role of beast and supernatural forces to project

their terror. They became ghosts, demons, bulls, and other forms of animalistic distortion to

mimic the carnivalesque; but they never represented themselves as respectable men.[541] In turn,

the former projection of propriety was negated, and more importantly any pre-existing notion of

responsibility was abandoned.

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[540] Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor, 68.

[541] Parson, *Ku-Klux*, 95.

Titled *Visit of the Ku-Klux*, this illustration was created by artist Frank Bellow. [542]

There was more to Klan performance than just a focus on prior structures of power, gender and its importance for white Southern identity too became a topic of interest within their actions. Primarily, Klan violence and physical domination during their attacks became a means for members to reaffirm their notion of white masculinity with power.[543] The physical impact of this violence is what mattered to these members, as it became a tangible way for members to see the extent of their power. While still maintaining the abstract identity by being Klansmen, members could then gain a sense of false empowerment by channeling their aggressive desires onto an unsuspecting victim. It created a way of controlling a particular demographic, both

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[542] Bellew, Frank, Artist. *Visit of the Ku-Klux / drawn by Frank Bellew.*, 1872. Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/2001695506/.

[543] While Klan violence was integral in maintaining members masculinity, it also helped reinforce the femininity of the Klan's female supporters. The level at which white Southern women helped the spread and operation of the movement cannot be under said, but unfortunately that topic is too large to broach within the contents of this paper. Refer to the research provided by Lisa Cardyn for more information. Cardyn, "Outraging the Body Politic," 683.

through the actual threats themselves and sensationalism that came through survivor testimonies. Another aspect of this violence was the internal desires of the men perpetuating it.[544] They may have presented themselves as some form of other, animal or otherwise, but within their perception, they still were the one's carrying out the violence. It was their hands that were physically beating a man to death or whipping his back until it was nothing more than a bloody pulp. Thus, they fully received the gratification that they were searching for throughout their violence, without compromising their public image.[545]

Yet, like most of the Klan's interaction with Southern culture, the reinforcement of white dominance and masculinity through violence wasn't the only response the movement had to the gender norms of the region. This is highlighted in their costumes, whose appearances oftentimes contradicted what would have been traditionally seen as masculine. Some members pursued this notion even further through exploration into cross-dressing and deliberate subversions of masculine imagery.[546] The exact purpose behind this use of feminine clothing is hard to determine because the reasoning likely depended on the needs of each individual group. For some it was most likely to play into the carnivalesque origins of the movement, for others it reinforced the otherness of the costume, and as well as a means of humiliating their victims. This is evident in the fact that many testimonies did take their use of dresses or dress-like material as a

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[544] Parsons, *Ku-Klux,* 95.

[545] Parsons, *Ku-Klux,* 97.

[546] It is important to note that the costumes themselves wildly differed from individual to individual. Some seem to have taken prior clothes and then modified them into Klan outfits. Such as in the case of J.E Robuck, who took a dress that was gifted to him as a joke and then transformed it into a costume. J. E Robuck, *My Own Personal Experience and Observation as a Soldier in the Confederate Army during the Civil War, 1861–1865 also during the Period of Reconstruction— Appending a History of the Origin, Rise Career and Disbanding of the Famous Ku-Klux Klan, or Invisible Empire. Exactly Why, When and Where It Originated* (N.p., 1900), 15. While others just used the dresses themselves without any modification at all, with one instance of a Klans member being recognized by the dress that belonged to his wife. U.S. Congress, *Testimony Taken by Joint Select Committee on the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States*, Vol. 6, GA. Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1872, https://archive.org/details/reportofjointsel06unit.

direct attempt to emasculate those they were brutalizing.[547] However, this aspect of Klan

violence is much more than just a practical purpose of enforcing the movement's control. It

seems to be touching upon similar modes of cultural exploration that are already present in other

forms of Klan performance. It is just another result of the disruption of the Reconstruction that

granted these members the self-imposed right to imitate and resist prior social norms, while still

enforcing what they saw as "appropriate" social boundaries through their violence. Members of

the Klan did not care if they were manipulating the traditions of the antebellum South, as long

anyone they viewed as an outsider was not doing the same.

Along with their reflection on gender, members of this movement also participated in a

complicated relationship with the notion of race through their explicit use of minstrelsy. They

did so primarily by referencing the long-standing traditions and expectations surrounding

blackface that were already prevalent throughout the antebellum South. In theater, as well as in

some cases of vigilante justice, the act of darkening one's skin tone was not a unique sight. It

drew audiences in and set a particular standard for the show that they were viewing; firmly

rooting the performance into the comedic realm for white Southerners.[548] The importance here is

both the actors themselves and the audience had some awareness of the significance of a white

man becoming an "other". In their perception, they became gullible slaves, primitive Ethiopians,

or any other racist notion that was common among white society in their views of people of

color. It created a false exaggeration of blackness, as well as affirming to the white viewer that

they were not that "other" because that being was so grossly incompatible with their perception

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[547] Cardyn, "Outraging the Body Politic," 833; Parson, Ku-Klux, 91.

[548] Dale Cockrell, *Demons of Disorder: Early Blackface Minstrels and Their World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 58.

of themself.[549] However, their awareness of the purposes and cultural significance of blackface then plays into how it would eventually be adapted into Klan behavior. Early members of the movement would have no doubt held similar associations towards the practice and integrated them as they did with other cultural features. Where the first instance of evidence connecting the Klan with these practices would come even before they started applying it through their violence. Rather, there is some indication that the Pulaski group was well familiar with the tradition throughout the formation years. An article in the *Pulaski Citizen*, which possibly was written by one of the original members, gives a detailed list of instructions to "remove tan from one's face."[550] Artificial tanning or miscoloring of one's skin tone had to have been such a prevalent practice with that area that such advice to remove the modification was felt warranted. Later testimonies describing Klansmen in blackface would also supplement this claim, as they also help illustrate how the Klan would eventually take this practice and make it a key feature of their brutality.

For the Klan, this application of blackface took on a modified meaning that extended past just simply becoming an "other". Rather, partly due to their use of the carnivalesque, the darkening of one's skin color allowed Klansmen to take on an even more savage image. In their minds, they become animals, monsters, and some brutal sub-human all in one motion. This, of course, is a reflection of their own racist perceptions of color and they then were perpetuating their bigoted stereotypes that they then would place on freedmen while not costumed. Yet, the

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[549] Cockrell, *Demons of Disorder*, 53.

[550] "Removing Tan," *Pulaski Citizen* (Pulaski, TN), May 3rd, 1867, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85033964/1867-05-03/ed-1/.

adoption of this inhuman other and the savage behavior entailed then became a means for these members to channel their aggression towards their costumed performances.[551] They could act out their brutality without putting their "civilized whiteness" into question. Another more practical purpose for the use of blackface was the fact it misdirected public consciousness away from the perpetrators themselves. It was a means of disguise that allowed members to claim that their actions were not at the hands of white Southerners but by freedmen. Thus, allowing for later accounts to maintain the myth that the most severe instances of Klan violence were done by "black" men.[552] The prevalence of darkening one's skin within Klan performance even became so notable that by the time the movement began to decline, it was a feature that was almost infamously associated with their brand of terror. This is reflected in an article by the *Milwaukee Sentinel* which attributed an unrelated physical assault involving blackface to being "a la KuKlux" in nature.[553] Clearly the popularity of this aspect of minstrelsy was common enough for the practice to easily be recognizable as Klan-like to those even only somewhat familiar with the movement. Thus, showing that blackface was not only an integral part of Klan costuming but an underlying feature that defined Klansmen's actions and their association with them.

Despite the rapid spread of the Klan and how popular it became after 1868, the actual existence of the movement officially was relatively short. In total, the Klan only lasted for roughly seven or so years, before becoming outlawed through The Ku Klux Klan Act of 1871.[554] This bill would come to define Klan violence in a particular way, differentiating it from other forms of physical assault and adjacent crimes. While also allowing for the president the

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[551] Parson, *Ku-Klux*, 95-96.

[552] Parson, *Ku-Klux*, 96.

[553] "Minnesota," *Milwaukee Sentinel* (Milwaukee, WI), February 16th, 1872.

[554] Trelease, *White Terror*, 386.

opportunity to employ armed services if members were determined to be violating the 14th Amendment.[555] What also followed this legislation was a Congress investigation of Klan behaviors, its origins, and its impact across the South through testimonies of those impacted by their violence. Conducted by seven senators and fourteen representatives, the Joint Select Committee to Inquire into the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States assembled on the same day that the KKK Act was signed into law.[556] The testimonies gained through this investigation were integral to destabilizing the Klan's image throughout the North and the South, as it gave reality to the once abstract concept that was Klan imagery. Such deconstruction of Klan perception only helped an already present decline in membership and popularity that was forming since 1870. It appears that the sensational nature of the Klan was just short-lived in the public consciousness, with the appeal towards costume violence and the highly ritualized nature of the movement becoming a strong deterrent for joining members.[557] Thus, membership slowly dwindled off until 1872 when the Klan movement was functionally dead.

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[555] Trelease, *White Terror*, 388.

[556] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 116.
[557] Parson, *Ku-Klux*, 305.

Pictured here is three men captured while still in their costumes, not much is available about the circumstances surrounding the arrest and its outcome. [558]

While the actual existence of the Klan was less than a decade, the social and cultural

impact of the movement persisted long after its demise. Even in the years right after 1872,

memory surrounding the movement and its imagery was present within the South. They appeared

in popular literature, music, and theatrical performances; with their presence typically used to

represent some idealized notion of justice for "disenfranchised" white Southerners who the

hardships of Reconstruction.[559] This disconnect between the brutality of the Klan's actions and

their glorified memory would only grow more apparent as the years passed. They become the

[558] *Mississippi Ku-Klux in the disguises in which they were captured*, 1872. Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/2006687376/.

[559] Klan memory distortion through art and theater also demonstrates the role that female supporters had in prolonging the legacy of the movement. As many wives or associated parties within the arts took up recreating the Klan in earnest after its decline. Such as with the case of Elizabeth Avery Meriwether with her play, *The Ku Klux Klan* or, *The Carpetbagger in New Orleans* who transformed the notion of the Klansmen into this ethereal trickster figure striving for the ultimate good of Southern white men. Elizabeth Avery Meriwether, *The Ku Klux Klan*; or, *The Carpetbagger in New Orleans* (Memphis: Southern Baptist Publication Society, 1877) as quoted in Elaine Frantz Parsons, *Ku-Klux: The Birth of the Klan During Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 92-94.

distorted saviors of Southern whiteness and authority, ultimately fulfilling the same image that they attempted to project themselves as during their active years.[560] The most notable product that came out of this romanticization of the Klan would be the eventual novel, *The Clansman* by Thomas Dixon Jr. As it would cement the exaggerated depiction of the members of this movement as literal "white knights", not only drumming up Southern support for the Klan but fuel the resurgence of terrorist groups under the same name.[561] This would have significant consequences for the 20th-century interpretations of the Klan, and their legacy of violence would continue onward for an entirely new generation of victims.

The ways in which white Southern men reacted to the social and cultural changes that came with Reconstruction are important to note because they show the underlying reasons why Klan terror became so popular. The movement was as much about the brutality that it caused for its victims as it was for the sensational air it created. Members knew exactly how to frame themselves and their struggles with the social progression of the period to make them appealing to white observers across the country. Either through garnering support for long-standing structures that upheld white supremacy or through the mystique that came through costumed performances. Regardless of what drew the public consciousness towards them, the Klan defined themselves through this heightened form of presentation. As their actions of reflecting and parodying pre-existing antebellum features of the South show that they were participating in an overarching cultural dialogue to express their racist intentions. Thus, connecting the importance of Southern culture and its use to their particular brand of terror.

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[560] Parsons, *Ku-Klux*, 305.

[561] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 111.

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Chapter 18.

Alexandria Holmes, "Memory and Commemoration of the Civil War"

For each side of the fight in the Civil War there was an extensive range of losses suffered that left the people in mourning and unsure how to keep the memory of everything lost alive. The Union and the Confederacy made arguments for their beliefs and worked to gain support for their cause for the war, they believed in the preservation of their ideals. After the Civil War, commemoration and memorialization continued at an accelerated rate with the public drawing on the theme of memorialization from each one. The theme of memory is very prevalent because of the Civil War, and it has resulted in countless commemorations and memorials to be created so that those who were lost can be remembered.[562] Through these memorialization's it brings into question what message they are giving off in the modern age, what was the reason for the memorials, and why were they created. The Civil War happened over a hundred years ago but despite that the memory of it is still very much alive due to the heavy amount of memorialization that happened but is that for the good as now the ideology of that time is still being idolized through these memorials.

The idea of commemoration for those lost due to the war started to memorialize and remember the soldiers on their side of the fight as thousands were lost during the conflict. The public believed that through commemoration of the fallen solider it would give meaning to their death and the sacrifice they made for their ideals. The author Thomas Brown wrote, "These tributes helped to establish the Civil War solider as a touchstone for negotiations among

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[562] David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge MA: President and Fellows of Harvard College, 2001), 147.

Americans over several issues. Northerners and southerners alike struggled to develop patterns of mourning responsive to the shocking slaughter of the war."[563] The Civil War commemorations was just the start for how the public acknowledged and remembered those losses in the battle as soon commemoration was replaced with public monuments, preserved battlefields, national cemeteries, and more.

Each side of the battle had their own commemoration and memorialization that was focused on their loss and with an emphasis on their values and ideals about the Civil War. In the North, their commemoration started to honor the Union soldiers lost but it progressively over time turned into commemoration for all lost soldiers and the sacrifice the entire country made during the war. The Northern states recognized the sacrifice made by both sides and they commemorated all American soldiers who were apart of the battle.[564] In their book, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration*, Brown writes, "Ideas about death and citizenship cut across sectional likes, and recognition for the common solider often served as a common ground on which Civil War commemorations shifted from affirmation of the principles at stake in the conflict to acclaim for the valor displayed by both sides."[565] Through Civil War commemoration the recognition of the common soldiers was raised to a level that was beyond what it was before and the tributes for the soldiers helped to establish this precedence in society.

The Northern state side of the Civil War, otherwise known as the Union, defeated the South, or Confederacy, in the war. The North did not believe in the establishment and institution of slavery, and it was one of the main reasons they went to battle against the Confederacy. When the war ended, the Union focused on memorializing and commemorating their success in the war

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[563] Thomas Brown, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration* (Boston MA: Bedford / St. Martin's, 2004), 15.
[564] Brown, 7
[565] Brown, 16

and the public monuments reflected their pride in the victory and honoring the lost soldiers. [566]

Regarding Union memorialization and the message, they convey, Thomas Brown wrote, "Apart from those that included the end of the Gettysburg Address, less than 5 percent of known Union inscriptions refer explicitly to the abolition of slavery as an achievement celebrated by the monument. Saugus, Massachusetts (1875), and Manchester (1878) and Antrim, New Hampshire (1892), are rare examples of monuments that identity 'equal rights' as an objective of the war."[567] These monuments were lacking in the acknowledgement of one of the main focuses in the war, which was emancipation. This is something that Union and Confederate memorials have in common is that they idolize the soldiers who fought in the battle and honor those who were lost in battle but very few memorials acknowledge one of the main reasons for the conflict and what people were so adamantly fighting to change.

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[566] Darren Barry, "But What of Union Civil War Monuments?:The Shortcomings of Northern Civil War Commemoration", The Journal of the Civil War Era. UNC Press, October 13, 2020, https://www.journalofthecivilwarera.org/2020/10/but-what-of-union-civil-war-monuments-the-shortcomings-of-northern-civil-war-commemoration/.
[567] Brown, 37.

Soldiers Memorial, Manchester NH [568]

After the conclusion of the war, there were an array of commemorations happening to

acknowledge those who fought so bravely in the battles. One of the first monuments to be

constructed that memorialized the war was dedicated on June 10, 1865, which was almost two

months after the war had concluded. The monuments were created in honor of the two

battlefields crossing at Manassas and Bull Run in Virginia. At these locations two stone

pyramids were erected to honor the soldiers who fell during those battles.[569] Through these two

battles alone, thousands of lives were lost through the violent conflict and society did not

[568] Detroit Publishing Co, *Soldiers' Monument [Monument Square],* photograph, Manchester NH, [between 1910 and 1920]. https://www.loc.gov/item/2016815512/.

[569] David Ward, "Honoring the Fallen: Among the First Monuments to the Civil War," Face to Face, Smithsonian National Portrait Gallery, September 1, 2015, https://npg.si.edu/blog/honoring-fallen-among-first-monuments-civil-war.

understand how to process and move on from their loss, so they created memorials and held commemorations to pay their respects to those who sacrificed their lives for their cause and to acknowledge those who fought so bravely for what they believed in.

Stone monument dedicated into the fallen at Manassas National Park, Manassas VA[570]

Memorials, commemorations, and monuments gained an increasing amount of support and were appearing across the divided nation. The cost of memorials was being covered by private investors or companies so that they could ensure there were monuments constructed that supported their beliefs, the government originally had minimal involvement. [571]As time went on the government dedicated battlefields to those lost in battle by turning them into National Parks. Before these memorials were created and battlefields dedicated Abraham Lincoln publicly speaks out about memorials in the Gettysburg Address, Lincoln expresses,

> We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here have gave their lives and that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate –

[570] Carol Highsmith, *Stone monument, dedicated into the fallen, at Manassas National Park outside Manassas, Virginia,* 2019, photograph, Manassas, VA, https://www.loc.gov/item/2020725007
[571] Brown, 17.

we can not consecrate – we can not hallow – this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far about our poor power to add or detract.[572]

Lincoln had believed that there were no words, monuments, or a dedication that could commemorate the ultimate sacrifice that was made by the soldiers who fought in the battles and were part of the war. Despite Lincoln's belief, there was a steady rise in the construction of memorials, commemorations, and dedications.

In the Northern states, one of the most memorialized units of the Civil War is the U.S. 54th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, which was a unit of black soldiers who were led by Colonel Robert Shaw into battle. This group is memorialized due to their efforts in capturing a Confederate base in South Carolina. Regarding the 54th Massachusetts Infantry efforts, Thomas Brown wrote, "A line of works in art and literature had done much to keep the narrative alive in American culture and had eventually helped it reach a wide audience. Each commemoration responded to the historical experience of the 54th Massachusetts and the current issues of the day, and each commemoration also reflected upon and drew energy from previous works of remembrance."[573] The 54th Massachusetts Infantry was heavily memorialized through works of art, poetry, stories, and more, which looked at various aspects of the infantry. A selection of memorials focused on all the soldiers involved while another section focused only on the white officers who lead them into battle, such as Colonel Shaw who has been glorified through many memorials and commemorations.

After the end of the war, the Union veterans were quick to construct monuments and establish memorials for those who were fallen and the honor their successful deeds. The Union

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[572] Abraham Lincoln, "The Gettysburg Address" (speech, Dedication of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg, Gettysburg, PA, November 19, 1863).
[573] Brown, 132.

army veterans were some of the first to construct monuments in remembrance of the war. One of the purposes of creating these monuments, especially ones located at battlefields, was for future generations to learn about the war and who was fighting for what and the history of that time. These monuments also serve as land markers to depict the movement of the army and the geography of the battle while others acknowledge individual deeds of people's heroic actions during the war.[574] These monuments and memorials serve multiple purposes to the Union army but it also serves to remind the public of the sacrifice made by those who served the military.

While the intentions for creating, these memorials were to acknowledge the sacrifices made by the Union army all throughout the Northern states this is not the message that is presented to society in the years following the conclusion of the war. A prime example of this is the monument to the Massachusetts Fifty-Fourth Infantry that is in Boston in front of the State House. This monument depicts Colonel Shaw on a horse while the black soldiers in the infantry surround him as they charge into battle. In their book, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory,* author David Blight proposes an interesting perspective,

> The Shaw Memorial forced viewers to confront a critical issue in Civil War remembrance: did they remember the meanings of the war, or merely the drama of the fight? Had they chosen by the 1890s to feel and see only the spectacle of battle, the equality of white heroism on both sides, or the unending challenge of war's political consequences? Were they ennobled by Saint-Gauden's monument, or deflected by it? Did they recognize the degree to which the black civic future had been sacrificed to national

[574] "Civil War Battlefield Monuments, Markers, Tablets," American Battlefield Trust (History, March 26, 2021), https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/10-facts-civil-war-battlefield-monuments-markers-and-tablets.

reconciliation? How could they have reunion and still deal with race? Such a separation in popular thought haunted Civil War memory in the 1890s and formed one of the most tangled legacies of the conflict.[575]

Through their writing, Blight raises the question on if society understood the deeper meaning of the Civil War and were not mislead by the dramatics of it. One of the leading purposes of the Civil War was for abolition and the end of enslavement but Blight argues that this is not represented in the memorials and commemorations for the Civil War as they instead focus on the accomplishments of the Unions white counterparts.
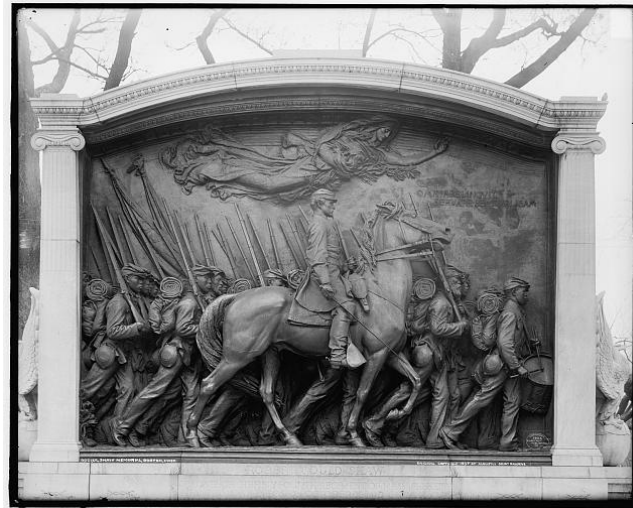
Shaw Memorial, Boston MA, 1906.[576]

In more recent years, the monument that is in Boston that memorializes the Massachusetts Fifty-Fourth Infantry has continued to be under more scrutiny as more are arguing it idolizes the white person's perspective on the Civil War. In the article, "How Cities in the American North Can Reckon with Their Monuments", the writer W. Ralph Eubank analyzes the

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[575] Blight, 340.
[576] Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Sculptor, Copyright Detroit Publishing Co, *Shaw Memorial,* 1906, photograph, Boston MA. https://www.loc.gov/item/2016810347/.

Civil War monuments found in Boston and finds a significant lack of memorials or monuments to Northern abolitionist when the state argued its support to the abolition of slavery cause. In regards to the monument that acknowledges the sacrifices of Colonel Shaw and the Fifty-Fourth Infantry, Eubank wrote, "Although the inscription concludes that the 54th Regiment offered 'undying proof that Americans of African descent possess the pride, courage and devotion of the patriot soldier,' the dominant story is of a white savior, not of former slaves fighting for freedom."[577] Throughout this article, Eubank details the Civil War monuments located in Boston and the lack of recognition for those instrumental to the abolition of enslavement and argues that the message it provides is what that is focused on idolizing the role of the white hero.

Both sides of the war experienced an exponential rate of loss and for society to make sense of their loss they created and established memorials and monuments. Despite this the South was slow at establishing memorials due to the cost it took for monuments to be created as their economy took a massive hit during the war. In the years following the war, the Confederacy erected fewer than thirty memorials between 1865 and 1890.[578] This increase in memorials was during the time when the North and South were working on reconciliation post-Civil War. The North agreed for the South to commemorate their lost solders and to pay respects to a few Confederate figures such as Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, and Jefferson Davis. These monuments would later become memorials to the lost cause, which was the Confederacy.

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[577] Ralph Eubanks, "How Cities in the American North Can Reckon with Their Monuments," The New Yorker (Conde Nast, October 22, 2021), https://www.newyorker.com/culture/cultural-comment/how-cities-in-the-american-north-can-reckon-with-their-monuments.

[578] W. Fitzhugh Brundage, "I've studied the history of Confederate memorials. Here's what to do about them," Vox, Vox Media, April 18, 2017, https://www.vox.com/the-big-idea/2017/8/18/16165160/confederate-monuments-history-charlottesville-white-supremacy

One of the most important figures in the Confederacy during and after the war was General Robert E. Lee. When the war started, he was offered a position in the United States Army but declined and instead took a position in the Confederacy. This came as a shock to some as Lee came from a wealthy family that had close ties to George Washington's family so Lee was believed to be a representation of the ways of the Old South. [579] Despite not winning the war and his surrender at Appomattox, Lee emerged from the war a Southern Hero and was heavily idolized, which can be seen by the extensive number of memorials constructed in Lee's honor. The most influential monument to General Lee is in Richmond, Virginia on Monument Avenue that features monuments of other influential Confederate leaders. In their book, author Thomas Brown explains,

> At least one anecdote published in a Richmond newspaper treated mastery of Traveller as a test of racial hierarchy. Supposedly, when Virginia sculptor Edward Valentine asked to see the horse in action, Traveller 'positively refused' to permit a 'negro boy' to mount but accepted the authority of a Washington & Lee student. As Savage notes, the story ignored the social reality that African Americans routinely exercised the horses of privileged white southerners. The Lee Monument, he reasons, similarly offered an image of white supremacism. This reading raises important questions about the interpretation of public monuments. If the equestrian Lee offers modern observers a striking metaphor for racial hierarchy in the postwar South, the historian must wonder whether contemporaries saw the same image. Certainly not all Virginians committed to white paternalism agreed that racial ideology should be the subject of the Lee Monument. [580]

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[579] Brown, 79.
[580] Brown, 91.

Through this analysis, it brings into question what are the hidden messages of the monuments

erected in honor of prominent figure of a war about a range of reasons but one of the most

important reasons being about race. The dedication of Lee's memorial drew a crowd of almost

150,000 with thousands of the attendees being Confederate veterans. [581] Through the

elaborateness of this memorial, it became clear that society used memorials as way to remember,

honor, and idolize prominent figures and to keep the theme of memory alive.

Robert E. Lee Monument, Richmond, VA. [between 1910 and 1920][582]

After the war, the country put efforts in to work towards reconciliation so that they could

unite and hopefully one day be a united country again, which took time. By the semi centennial

of the Civil War, there was a flood of commemorations and acknowledgements to both sides of

the fight on those who were lost in battle and to acknowledge all that was affected by the war. At

the fiftieth anniversary in Gettysburg in 1913 there was a huge festival celebration that had

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[581] Brown, 92.

[582] Detroit Publishing Co., *Lee Monument, Richmond, VA,* [between 1910 and 1920], photograph, Richmond VA, https://www/loc/gov/item/2016818686/.

thousands of Civil War veterans in attendance from both sides of the fight.[583] It was a public sign of reconciliation and peace for society to move on from the past.

Despite these efforts towards reconciliation and moving on from the past, there was a feeling that society was overlooking and ignoring one of the reasons and purposes they went to war in the first place, which was the argument about enslavement and racism. In the epilogue of their book, Blight details,

> By 1913 racism in America had become a cultural industry, and twisted history a commodity. A segregated society required segregated historical memory and a national mythology that could blunt or contain the conflict at the root of that segregation. Most Americans embraced an unblinking celebration of reunion and accepted segregation as a natural condition of the races. Just such a celebration is what one finds in the *Atlantic Constitutions* coverage of the Gettysburg reunion. The *Constitution* declared that 'as never before in its history the nation is united in demanding that justice and equal rights be given to all citizens.' No doubt these sentiments reflected genuinely held beliefs among white Southerners that Jim Crow meant 'progress' and 'reform.'[584]

Through this celebration of reconciliation, the greater society saw peace and progress towards a justice and equal future but black citizens saw it is ignorance and segregation as the topic of equality was scarcely mentioned. In the years that follow the semi centennial celebration, the Southern states would erect and dedicate more than 130 statues in honor of the Confederacy. This surge in memorials can relate to the imposition of Jim Crow and white supremacy

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[583] Blight, 383.
[584] Blight, 391.

throughout the Southern states. [585] There were many memorials and monuments dedicated to a

lost cause that were used to enact fear and further segregation in an already struggling area for

equality.

In the present day, many people have accused the Confederate monuments of being

linked to ideology of white supremacy and white cultural unity. In the most recent years, there

has been a continuous argument of the removal of Confederate symbols and monuments as it is

argued they are negative connotations around them and that they are promoting an ideology that

the country should be moving away from. There have been a range of protests in regards to this

topic with many of them ending in violence. In 2020 alone, a report shows that 168 Confederate

symbols were removed from across the country, with 94 of them being monuments. The

argument is being made that through the removal of these symbols and monuments the country is

erasing history but historians and others argue it is time to engage with our past in a different

way then public displays of Confederate symbols. [586] Many of these monuments stay standing to

this day and there is no plan in sight for their removal yet.

When looking at all the Civil War memorials, monuments, tablets, plaques and anything

that references the war there are a small selection that recognize the role of slavery as a purpose

towards why the country became divided and went to war against its self. This is odd as there

was an extremely high number of Black soldiers fighting in the war to help win so that they

could work towards abolition, freedom, and emancipation for all those enslaved. In the Journal

[585] W. Fitzhugh Brundage, "I've studied the history of Confederate memorials. Here's what to do about them," Vox, Vox Media, April 18, 2017, https://www.vox.com/the-big-idea/2017/8/18/16165160/confederate-monuments-history-charlottesville-white-supremacy

[586] Rachel Treisman, "Nearly 100 Confederate Monuments Removed in 2020 Report Says; More Than 700 Remain," NPR, National Public Radio, Inc, February 23, 2021, https://www.npr.org/2021/02/23/970610428/nearly-100-confederate-monuments-removed-in-2020-report-says-more-than-700-remai

of Black Studies, writers Lori Holyfield and Clifford Beacham examine the effects this has on society and research how many monuments references abolition or freed slaves. In their examination, they explain,

> By the conclusion of the Civil War, Black Union troops were estimated to have equaled or outnumbered the entire Confederate army. However, as commemoration fever swept the nation, emancipation and the role of African Americans and others (women, Hispanics, and Native Americans) became conspicuously absent in thousands of monuments and memorials erected across the country. In only a handful of cases did depictions of freed slaves and Black soldiers find their way into the contested terrain of commemoration. Racism and adherence to the 'lost cause' allowed early memory brokers to erase slavery as cause and the role of Black soldiers' efforts as an outcome of the war from the official memory.[587]

By ignoring the ideology of the war and not putting focus on slavery as a cause of the war it is removing the responsibility from the Confederacy and furthering the ignorance of not acknowledging the role slavery and Black soldiers played in the Union victory in the Civil War. By not acknowledging this as a reason for the war, it is assisting in furthering the ideology of white cultural unity and suppression of another race and their history. It was not till the Civil rights era that historians started to acknowledge all the efforts involved in the Civil War. [588] Through this fragmented retelling of history and the commemorations that ignored the role Black

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[587] Lori Holyfield and Clifford Beacham, "Memory Brokers, Shameful Pasts, and Civil War Commemoration," *Journal of Black Studies* 42, no.3 (2011): 442
[588] Holyfield and Beacham, 443.

soldiers played has resulted in a confusion on what truly happened during the war and what happened for a country to want to fight against itself.

In the present day, our interpretation on the history of the Civil War depends on the stories, art, memorials, symbols, and writing that was created during that time. We are reliant on the items that have kept the wars memory alive such as memorials and monuments. In 1935, W.E.B. Du Bois writes that, "the facts of American history have in the last half century been falsified because the nation was ashamed. The South was ashamed because it fought to perpetuate slavery. The North was ashamed because it had to call in the black men to save the Union, abolish slavery and establish democracy."[589] The history of the Civil War depends on the memorials and monuments to tell the stories of why the country went to war and what they were fighting so hard for that it resulted in one of the bloodies wars in history. It depends on the poetry, writing, and art to accurately portray what happened and the reasoning for it all. These forms of art memorialize the war and keeps the stories alive.

The Civil War was over a hundred years ago but the topic of it is still alive in the present day and that is due to the memorials. The stories that keep going are not always good and usually glorifies a certain aspect of the war and not the whole thing. The Civil War will remain prevalent for years to come due to the controversy around the Confederate memorials and the message and ideology that they are emitting to the future generations. These memorials have a reason for being established, they have a message that they are giving off, and at some point, their establishment could have been justified. The Civil War history is still very much alive but it is

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[589] Holyfield and Beacham, 437.

time that we learn about it in a new way and acknowledge it in a new way that is inclusive to all in this growing nation. The history of the nation is meant to be taught, not relived.

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Chapter 19.

Katie A. Richard, "Evaluating the Mythmaking Machine: Hollywood's Detrimental Effect on Civil War Memory"

Hollywood has failed to present the public with an accurate representation of the Civil War. Creative bias and negative stereotypes have been prioritized over historical accuracy, damaging Civil War memory. Many Americans only learn of historical events through film and allowing myths to be misconstrued as facts dismisses America's racist past and negatively affects the national identity. Allowing the lost cause mythology to be immortalized in movies pushes the mythology onto future generations, leading them to think of the decisions of past generations as appropriate. By analyzing the themes, stereotypes, and historical inaccuracies portrayed in these films, it is possible to pinpoint the repeated failures of Hollywood to contain the lost cause mythology and how damaging these myths are to Civil War memory.

Historians agree that the inaccuracies and stereotypes shown in Civil War films were developed through literature and theater before silent films started celebrating these ideas. American Historian Bruce Chadwick traces the development of reconciliatory literature and propaganda that inspired the first Civil War films in *The Reel Civil War: Mythmaking in American Film*. Chadwick states that Hollywood built their version of the Civil War based on "a solid foundation of earlier, carefully crafted historical and cultural interpretations."[590] Movies celebrating the Civil War were created around the 50th anniversary of the war, making them under a celebratory guise. American Historian David Blight notes in *Race and Reunion* how the

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[590] Bruce Chadwick, *The Reel Civil War* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2001) 6.

semicentennial of the Civil War was the turning point in how American culture remembered the Civil War.[591] The concepts of history and memory were intertwined at a national level after the semicentennial to form Civil War Memory. Blight defines history as "a reasoned reconstruction of the past rooted in research" that is critical and questions human motives. Memory is treated as "absolute meanings and stories" about someone's identity or a community. [592] Since memories do not have to be rooted in historical facts, memories will vary based upon an individual's experiences.

These varying experiences led to three visions of Civil War memory white supremacist, emancipationist, and reconciliationist colliding and fighting to be recognized at a national level. The white supremacist vision of the Civil War is formed around Southern nostalgia and celebrating how they "won" Reconstruction. This vision ignores the racial motivations of the South and the terrorizing of black individuals during Reconstruction. The emancipationist vision is told through the stories of the freed slaves—their struggles, their truth, and how they survived slavery. The reconciliationist vision was rooted in healing the nation after the war, and the only way that could be done was to change the narrative surrounding the war to show that each side fought heroically. The racist treatment of the emancipated and slavery as the cause of the Civil War was erased from the collective memory of Americans.[593] Creative liberties taken in popular mediums, such as literature and film, desensitized the public to the seriousness of the war, allowing the national culture to accept the reconciliatory and white supremacist visions as the only views of Civil War memory.

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[591] David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001) 1.
[592] Blight, David W. *Beyond the Battlefield*. Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002. 2.
[593] Blight, 2.

Hollywood's treatment of the Civil War is inconsistent, and the lack of historical standards allows history to be erased for a good storyline. In *Shooting the Civil War*, Dr. Jenny Barrett rejects the idea that Civil War films are a "distinct cinematic genre" and examines how each genre highlights a "different aspect of the Civil War experience." Barrett notes that any film showing the Civil War is labeled a "historical film" because it reconstructs an event from the past.[594] American Historian Bruce Chadwick provides a different view of Civil War films, breaking them down by theme and showing how these themes have attempted to rewrite history. Chadwick discusses that Civil War revisionist films usually have the same themes of showing Southerners as heroic underdogs, ignoring slavery and the politics that led to the war, showing Southern women as frail, and each film has a reconciliatory ending between the North and South.[595] By examining Civil War films from the themes they contain and the characteristics of each genre they exist in, it is possible to identify the distinctive traits detrimental to Civil War memory.

A film containing myths that prioritize the white supremacist vision of the Civil War, affecting the national memory of the war and Reconstruction, is *Birth of a Nation*. Made in 1915, D.W. Griffith's film was a technically innovative film that depicted what many Southerners feared Reconstruction would be, a time for revenge. D.W. Griffith was from Kentucky, and his family fought for the Confederacy and was also a part of the KKK. He's stated that the stories of the Old South had "been absorbed into the very fiber of his being."[596] Griffith used creative liberties gained through the collective memory of the white supremacist South to popularize the myth that Reconstruction was "won" by the South. *Birth of a Nation* is a melodrama that uses

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[594] Chadwick, xix.
[595] Chadwick, 7-8.
[596] Ron Briley, "Hollywood's Reconstruction and the Persistence of Historical Mythmaking" in *The History Teacher* (2008) 455.

exaggerated, racist stereotypes and the harmful idea that "blacks caused the Civil War by their very presence" to allow the audience to emotionally connect with the white supremacist vision of Civil War memory.[597]

The film's summary, presented in the official press book given to audience members, states that "Renegade" Gus chases Flora to Lover's Leap. Describing Gus as a "burly pursuer," she jumped off the cliff to her death when Flora realized Gus had corned her. Any summary from another source declares that Gus was going to assault her sexually, and she would rather die than let him touch her. The program says Gus was captured and found guilty but did not say what the crime was.[598] In the opening scene, the display of white femineity and black masculinity sets the tone that the black man is aggressive and wrong. American Historian Ron Briley states that Griffith's film showed his fear of "miscegenation and black sexuality."[599] Griffith feared the mixing of white women and black men to such a degree that even though some black actors are in the film, only white men in black face were allowed to touch the women. Preying upon the fears of many, Briley states that Griffith used his film to show how Reconstruction assaulted the South, taking away its purity.[600] The press book says that the "nightmare of Reconstruction, and the establishment of the South in its rightful place, is a birth of a new nation."[601] The ending, showing the black men shut into their homes, and having their rights taken away, is Griffith's way of containing the fear of black sexuality and political power.[602]

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[597] Blight, 111.
[598] United Artists, *The Birth of a Nation (United Artists Pressbook)* (1915) 10.
[599] Briley, 456.
[600] Briley, 457.
[601] United Artists, 10.
[602] Briley, 457.

American Film Historian Donald Bogle details three types of black stereotypes used in *Birth of a Nation,* mammy, brutal blackbucks, and mulattos. Though the Mammy stereotype is shown in many films after *Birth of a* Nation, it is crucial to recognize that a white woman plays the Mammy in black face in this film. She is "so thoroughly black that it is preposterous to suggest she might be a sex object," desexing her and making her a caricature. [603] The brutal black buck shown in the film is established as the oversexed and extremely aggressive police force that took over the town. Silas Lynch is a mulatto, a mixed-race individual "a victim of divided racial inheritance," and is accepted until Congressman Stoneman learns Lynch wants to marry his daughter.[604] Displaying black characters as exaggerated figures, Griffith was dehumanizing a group of people and further pushing away the emancipationist vision of the Civil War from the national identity.

Figure 5. A title card in the film promotes the reconcillationist and white supremacist vision of the Civil War.

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[603] Donald Bogle "Chapter 1: Black Beginnings: From Uncle Tom's Cabin to The Birth of a Nation." In *Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies, Bucks: An Interpretive History of Blacks in American Film*, 3–18 (2001) 14.
[604] Bogle, 9.

Griffith gave many reasons "proving" his film historically accurate, including boasting

that individuals who witnessed Lincoln's assassination were present to ensure the scene was

authentic.[605] Any historical accuracies Griffith may have replicated successfully are

overshadowed by his consistent inclusion of the lost cause narrative. The film's official summary

from the David W. Griffith corporation states that when the African Americans utilize their

newly given right to vote, the "whites are disenfranchised."[606] This document describes the

film's ending when the African Americans are threatened not to vote as dissolution of the "threat

of a black empire." The press book contains commentary by Thomas Dixon stating the Civil War

was over state's rights and that the "problem of the negro" was the issue they chose to end this

argument over. Dixon's commentary also states that before Lincoln, Presidents did not interfere

with state's rights, pushing the blame for the war onto Lincoln. [607] *Birth of a Nation* sparked the

revival of the KKK with its "charismatic portrayal of hood-wearing nightriders" who were

protecting white femineity.[608] In Figure 1. The title card promotes the white supremacist and

reconciliationist vision of the Civil War by telling the audience that the North and South can put

their issues aside to focus on their true enemy, the black man. Despite the racist content, its

success showed that Hollywood would prioritize profit over historical accuracy. *Birth of a*

Nation's influence on Hollywood can be seen in many films that came after, the immortalizing of

the lost cause narrative proved to be popular long after 1915.

Gone with the Wind took D.W. Griffith's "sexual Reconstruction politics" and created a

melodrama showing the South as the victim of a conspiracy. Released in 1939, this film was not

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[605] United Artists, 2.

[606] David W. Griffith Corporation. *The Birth of the Nation; or, The Clansman. Motion picture copyright descriptions collection. Class L, -1977.* 1915. Manuscript/Mixed Material. https://www.loc.gov/item/s1229l04453/.

[607] United Artists, 4.

[608] Robynn J. Stillwell. "Black Voices, White Women's Tears, and the Civil War in Classical Hollywood Movies." *19th-Century Music* 40, no. 1 (2016): 56–78. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26348875 59.

only exaggerated and grand with its acting style but the creation of the movie itself. Newspapers

romanticized any fact they could acquire, from the system used to keep track of the extras on set

to how massive the battlefield sets were.[609] This film came out during a financial depression, and

many Americans related to the tragic aspect of this melodrama. One of the main themes is that

Scarlett O'Hara's "resilient spirit" allows her to survive and succeed despite what is going on

around her.[610] Many saw themselves in Scarlett, fighting to save their family from external

causes they could not prevent. The film focuses on the romantic life of Scarlett O'Hara as she

lives on her family's Georgia plantation and how the war deteriorates her Southern way of life.

Early in the film, a party is interrupted by the news of Abraham Lincoln calling for volunteers to

fight the South. The film ignores the politics before this announcement and shows Lincoln as the

initiator of the Civil War. Despite this film taking place during the Civil War and

Reconstruction, it does not mention the war or slavery, consistently pushing the reconciliation

vision of the war onto the public.

Barrett muses that each couple represents a different style of Southern living. Ashley and

Melanie represent the Old South and display generosity, honor, and monogamy characteristics.

Scarlett and Rhett embody what the South was "forced" to become, selfish, dishonorable, and

disloyal, which is shown through Scarlett's many marriages.[611] This division is seen from the

beginning of the film when volunteers are needed for the war. Ashley says he will fight for

state's rights and the right to secede and enlists. Rhett states he can "set no store by the Southern

cause" and says the South is inferior to the North.[612] Barrett also discusses that Scarlett's need to

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[609] Humanities, National Endowment for the. "*The Skyland Post*. [Volume] (West Jefferson, N.C.) 193? -1988, May 23, 1940, Image 9," May 23, 1940. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn92073203/1940-05-23/ed-1/seq-9/.
[610] Briley, 465.
[611] Barrett, 39.
[612] Barrett, 36.

return to Tara's plantation is representative of the new South, rising from the ashes of the Civil War.[613] David Blight suggests that Scarlett is "infused" with the legend of Robert E. Lee, further instilling Lee's "nobility" of surviving the war into popular culture.[614] Ending the film with Scarlett on the plantation shows the importance of home and represents Southern survival, allowing the audience to empathize with lost cause mythology.

Along with ignoring the war and slavery, *Gone with the Wind* popularizes negative stereotypes through its black characters. The line, "I don't know nothin' 'bout birthin' babies," from servant Prissy is troublesome. Prissy is shown as a stereotypical buffoon who speaks in a "strained, slavish voice" and is shown no respect.[615] Hattie McDaniel received an Oscar for Best Supporting Actress for her role as Mammy, another category of commonly used stereotypes. A mammy has the characteristics of being fierce, independent, fat, and cantankerous.[616] The recognition of Hattie McDaniel does not diminish the danger of popularizing such a negative stereotype. A strong theme in movies released in the 1930s was the intersections of black, white, masculinity, and femineity. Having characters like Prissy and Mammy be shown as unintelligent or angry elevates white characters, like Scarlett, so the audience does not put them in the same category. Georgetown professor Robynn J. Stillwell details in "Black Voices, White Women's Tears, and the Civil War in Classical Hollywood Movies" that one cannot exist without the other. They attract and repel each other.[617] Scarlett's interaction and being kind to these characters further allow the audience to understand and accept Scarlett as a good person.

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[613] Barrett, 40.
[614] Blight, 284.
[615] Briley, 461.
[616] Bogle, 10.
[617] Stillwell, 70.

Figure 6. This image shows the difference in the representation of white and black characters throughout the film. Scarlett is shown as flawless and beautiful, the height of femininity, and Mammy is depicted as plain and upset.

In Figure 2. Mammy is dressing Scarlett for a barbeque, and the interaction with these two characters is used to show the audience how independent and feisty Scarlett can be. Dismissing the care Mammy takes for her, dressing her, and seeing she eats regularly, Scarlett is only focused on looking suitable for Ashley Wilkes. Mammy resorts to raising her voice and threatening to tell Scarlett's mom if she does not eat, playing into the mammy stereotype. Looking at the Figure, the way these two characters are presented to the audience provides another example of how white and black characters are shown on opposite sides of femineity. *Gone with the Wind* would not be the last movie to look at the intersecting of white and black characters, but it would take 60 years for a Civil War movie to focus on a black story.

Glory, released in 1989, gave the public a perspective on the Civil War they were not given access to before, the story of the emancipated fighting for acceptance. Following the 54th infantry of Massachusetts' formation and training, *Glory*'s goal was to show the hardship of black soldiers being accepted into the armies. The movie is based on the letters of Robert Gould Shaw, the white leader of the 54th, but the film falls short of representing the black identity of the other infantry members. This movie is one of the first to attempt to focus on the emancipationist vision, but creative freedoms that prioritize showing others' stories stop the film from reaching its full potential. The only character based on a real person is Robert Gould Shaw. If the names of the actual 54th infantrymen were used in the film, a level of authenticity would have been added.[618]

The emancipationist vision is seen throughout *Glory*, from when the men struggle to train together under terrorizing conditions to the finale at Fort Wagner. This film prioritizes Shaw's white identity while still reflecting on the infantrymen's black identity. The "nonsymmetrical relationship" between white identity and black identity creates tension in the movie.[619] Continuing Stillwell's concept of intersecting white and black, the non-whiteness of the soldiers makes Shaw's white identity significant. Though the black experience of the soldiers is discussed consistently, it is usually diminished by a white man showing them they are not equal.

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[618] Glatthar, 478.
[619] Eberwein, Robert. *The Hollywood War Film*. Wiley-Blackwell, 2010. 66.

Figure 3. Shaw challenges the men to take their training more seriously. He does this by repeatedly shooting next to the soldier's head to recreate the stress of shooting on the battlefield.

In Figure 3. Shaw observes the men's training and does not think they take it seriously. He informs them it is easy to shoot accurately when you aren't being shot at, then shoots a pistol repeatedly next to the man's head while yelling at him to load his weapon faster. A white man quickly corrected any sense of friendship or fun the men tried to have during training, informing them they were not good enough. This consistent back and forth of prioritizing black and white identity prevents this film from being an accurate representation of the emancipationist vision.

Glory did not reach its full potential as an emancipationist film because of the creative freedoms within the story, erasing parts of the emancipationist vision. Frederick Douglass is shown as a party guest at the beginning of the film as Shaw receives news that he is to lead a

black infantry. Aging Douglass considerably and only including him as a prop in Shaw's story diminishes his efforts to keep the emancipationist vision alive in national memory.[620] He understood that it would be his job and other African Americans' job to keep their story alive until America was ready to accept their side. [621] David Blight says that Hollywood missed a huge opportunity to show another side of the black experience by not including Frederick Douglass' speeches. Blight muses that the fight at Fort Wagner would have been more emotional with narration or flashback to one of Douglass' speeches.[622]

The merging of black and white identity is shown through Thomas, Shaw's friend from home, establishing him as the connection between Shaw and the infantrymen. A pivotal scene in the film is when Thomas's white identity is stripped as he is criticized in training. Thomas starts to cry from the harsh conditions and intense, racially motivated treatment by Major Mulcahy, and he asks to speak to Shaw in private. Shaw decides not to comfort his lifelong friend but instead tells him he is not allowed to ask for a meeting with his commanding officer directly. Thomas realizes he is not equal to Shaw and no longer defends his actions to the other infantry members. Thomas accepting his black identity also allows him to be accepted by the other infantrymen. At the attack of Fort Wagner in the film's finale, there is a moment where Thomas and Shaw lock eyes, and they are equal again on the battlefield.

When *Glory* was released, the elaborate, realistic battle scenes were highly praised. [623] Military historian Joseph T. Glatthar states the battle scenes in this film accurately display the

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[620] Glatthar, 476.
[621] Blight, David W. *Beyond the Battlefield*. 97.
[622] Blight, David W. "The Meaning or the Fight: Frederick Douglas and the Memory of the Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts." *Massachusetts Review* 36, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 141.
[623] "Review/Film; Black Combat Bravery in the Civil War - The New York Times." Accessed February 11, 2022. https://www.nytimes.com/1989/12/14/movies/review-film-black-combat-bravery-in-the-civil-war.html.
"Movie Review: 'Glory' an Epic of Wanting Proportions." Los Angeles Times, December 14, 1989. https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1989-12-14-ca-186-story.html.

"confusion, brutality, and horror of the battlefield."[624] The movie bookends with the battle of Antietam and the battle of Fort Wagner. The Battle of Antietam, and the hospital scene where severally wounded soldiers surround Shaw, allow the audience to know that the Civil War will be a central component of the story. The struggle for racial equality and military recognition is emotionally realized at the storming of Fort Wagner. The 54th led the attack on Fort Wagner, losing almost half of their men.[625] The brutal battle honors these men's sacrifice for other black men to be recognized as part of the national identity.

In David Blight's *Beyond the Battlefield*, he states myths are born from "divergent experiences" and are "cultural weapons with which rival memories contest for homogeny."[626] The myths created after the Civil War to ensure reconciliation at a national level have harmed a large population of Americans by ignoring the emancipationist vision. The erasure of the black experience during the Civil War led to the national identity being constructed as white.[627] This allowed the cycle of negative stereotypes and racist films to be created, stripping the emancipated of their humanity on-screen after stripping them of it in their daily life.[628] *Birth of A Nation* and *Gone with the Wind* were popular tools the public used to "learn" about Reconstruction, which cemented the white supremacist and reconciliatory vision into the collective memory of the Civil War.

Civil War Memory is transformed over time and is influenced by cultural products, like film. It is the responsibility of the public to educate themselves on their national history and keep

[624] Glatthar, Joseph T. "'Glory,' the 54th Massachusetts Infantry, and Black Soldiers in the Civil War." *The History Teacher* 24, no. 4 (1991): 475–85. https://doi.org/10.2307/494706. 476.
[625] McPherson, James M. *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.
[626] Blight, *Beyond the Battlefield,* 98.
[627] Barrett, 18.
[628] Chadwick, 14.

the truth in circulation. The reality is that many Americans learn history through podcasts, art, and films, and that will be the only way they are introduced to historical topics.[629] Hollywood consistently prioritizes creating products that the public will emotionally connect with rather than focusing on historical accuracy. Filmmakers have different goals when making entertaining "historical" films than Historians do when they create researched retelling of events. Filmmakers want their movies to engage the audience and create emotional responses, and hopefully, this leads to their films being profitable. Historians' goal is to collect and evaluate information, keeping true to their sources.

There are cultural products that historians have been involved with, creating a more accurate product for public consumption. Spreading myths and negative stereotypes as fact are detrimental to Civil War Memory. The 1990 PBS series *The Civil War* is intertwined with historical analysis, dramatic retelling, and an entertaining soundtrack. This series is respected among Historians for its ability to bring the "paradoxical and complex emotion of Civil War nostalgia" to the American collective memory while not being biased.[630] Ken Burn's series proves that it is possible to discuss such a complex event with the respect that is rooted in facts. Hollywood has not given the public an accurate representation of the Civil War.

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[629] Briley, 454.
[630] Blight, *Beyond the Battlefield,* 123.

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