Slide 1

Text: Contested Visions: The Civil War and Reconstruction (1861-1877)

[Painting of Civil War battle]

Audio: This lecture is going to have four sections. I will begin with some miscellaneous details on the military conduct of the Civil War. Then I'm going to give a strategic overview, looking at the major strategies on both sides and make my determination as to how effective that each side chose to fight the conflict. Then I'm going to take you through the major turning points and missed opportunities of the war and finally, we'll examine the period of reconstruction. It's important to note that unlike the European militaries of the time, with their professional soldiers, America had no significant standing army when the war broke out. There was merely a small force designed for garrisoning coastal forts and protecting settlers on the western frontier. So initially both sides had to call for plenty of volunteers and they got them. As a matter of fact, the Confederacy had to turn away most of its first recruits, since it did not even have the capacity or the infrastructure, if you will, to absorb them. However, before this war would be over, both sides would end up utilizing the draft, and in both cases it would be unpopular. Please keep in mind that most Civil War soldiers were new to military life. They showed up with too much gear and in the cases of some wealthy volunteers, they even showed up with servants. Strict discipline was difficult to achieve as distinctions in rank were not appreciated by civilians. There were no officer candidate schools to develop expertise, just a few military academies scattered across the country. In what might seem as one of the most bizarre features of the war, given our modern sensibilities today, senior officers were typically appointed by politicians and junior to mid-grade officers were often elected by the men below them. So there's not the sort of emphasis on merit that we're more accustomed to today. Oftentimes, elections of officers could come down to popularity contests, and in the case of those senior officers, colonels and generals, a leader like Abraham Lincoln might be forced to accept somebody who was clearly incompetent but if you wanted the political support of different governors and members of Congress, you had to go along with letting them put their cronies into high military positions. In other words, if you're someone like President Lincoln who's trying to hold a political coalition together, you may often be put in a position where you feel like political considerations have to trump military considerations and this would be a real problem for him. Back to general features of the war, much of the close order drill performed as training, when these soldiers would first show up to get acclimated into the service, must of the close order drill was designed to get soldiers to convert rapidly from a marching formation to one designed for fighting. There actually was little opportunity for target practice, which you'd think would be pretty important. Having more backwoodsmen or frontiersmen gave the South a bit of an edge at first. It's also worth noting that the technology was significantly better than in America's war for independence more than 70 years earlier. The old inaccurate smoothbore muskets the patriots had used had given way to a muzzle loaded variety that was accurate up to half a mile. The problem however, was that most
officers still used old tactics, typical of the Revolutionary War, which meant massing together men in order to concentrate their fire power. But in putting them together in these dense formations, it also made them easier targets. At least on the defensive, soldiers in the Civil War were more likely to use the terrain and manmade structures for cover. Artillery had become much deadlier than in the age of the American Revolution. Muzzle loaded cannon had tremendous penetrating power while the old smoothbores could shoot canisters of lead slugs that would have the effect of a sawed off shotgun. It could decimate formations. Mortars, with their higher angle of fire were ideal for use against fortifications and other prepared field positions. The Union had much more artillery and generally better trained crews. In the area of cavalry, the South had the edge. More of their soldiers were expert horsemen. It was not until 1863 that the Union could even begin to challenge the legendary Jeb Stuart of the Confederate States of America. In the West, the Confederate cavalry officer was Nathan Bedford Forrest, who after the war would pay a key role in the founding of the Ku Klux Klan. But during the Civil War, cavalry was used mainly for scouting. Both sides had corps of engineers who built bridges, opened roads, repaired railroads, strung telegraph wire and laid out fortifications. Robert E. Lee of the Confederacy was himself, the finest engineer on either side. Most of the more than 600,000 deaths in this conflict were the result of diseases that swept through encampments and wounds that became infected due to inadequate medical facilities. The worst illnesses were typhoid, dysentery, pneumonia and malaria. For every soldier who died from combat, another nearly three succumbed to disease. The Confederate war effort was so disorganized that there never really was a specified uniform. Southerners could easily be wearing a combination of clothing sent from home and other articles scavenged from dead Union soldiers. Camp life tended to be dull, though Union troops began to play a new game called baseball. Army food was poor, consisting mainly of hardtack, a form of bread, also salt pork and coffee. Soldiers lived off of the land as much as possible, usually at the expense of civilians. Food was so scarce in the South that Confederates sometimes plundered their own communities. Most punishments were light, though the penalty for desertion was death. Neither side put much effort into maintaining proper prison conditions and the prison exchange system broke down in 1864. Why? Mainly because the South would not respect black troops as legitimate. One thing that will be covered a bit later in this lecture is that the Union eventually decides to rely upon African American soldiers. There are many horrific stories of prison conditions during the Civil War. The worst case was at a Confederate camp in Andersonville, a Georgia hamlet in the middle of a pine forest and swampy marshes. In the summer of 1864, about 32,000 Union prisoners were crowded into an open air stockade. Some of them had rudimentary tents, but many of them had to sleep out in the open, in the elements. Over the course of six months, almost 13,000 of that original 32,000 died. Near the end of the war, their food ration was a pint of coarse cornmeal and a tablespoon of peas a day. The camp commander ended up being put to death after the war for his mismanagement of the situation. But the Northern track record was not that great either.
Text: Fort Sumter (symbolic beginning of war)

[Painting of Fort Sumter under fire]

Audio: Let me set the stage now for the symbolic beginning of the war. In early 1861, Abraham Lincoln took office as President of the United States, having been elected in November of 1860. However, before he even took the oath of office, seven Southern states had already seceded from the Union. They were all from the Deep South, namely Florida, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas. They set up their first capital in Montgomery, Alabama and selected a man named Jefferson Davis, a former Senator and Secretary of War, as their president. In other words, enough political figures and citizens in those particular states did not even wait around to see what an Abraham Lincoln presidency would be like before they decided to leave the Union. They did not trust Lincoln's promise that he would not touch slavery where it already existed in these Southern states; they left. But there were still other states remaining in the Union where slavery was legal. And where their loyalties would ultimately lie was an open question as Abraham Lincoln took office in early 1861. Meanwhile, there was another issue. In all of these Southern states, there were federal military facilities. In some cases forts, that were still technically supposed to be flying the US flag and under the control of federal troops. But now because these seven Southern states had left the Union, their authorities were claiming that they now should occupy and control these facilities. And one of these federal military facilities was in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina, and that was Fort Sumter, named after a hero of the American Revolution. And Fort Sumter would ultimately become the flashpoint around which the Civil War would begin. Abraham Lincoln, after taking office, was concerned about trying to bring reinforcements and supplies to this fort because initially its garrison was not in a position to hold out for very long. While this garrison was waiting to get reinforcements, the Confederacy forced the issue. In April of 1861, Confederate artillery batteries in Charleston opened up on Fort Sumter and the two sides traded cannonades as is depicted here in this painting. Ironically, the Union commander at Fort Sumter, a Major Robert Anderson, was being faced on the other side by a Confederate general, P.G.T. Beauregard, who had been one of his students at West Point, the United States Military Academy in New York. As a matter of fact, Beauregard had been such an excellent student of Anderson's that after Beauregard graduated from West Point, Anderson sought to have him work with him further. This is just one of many examples of where former comrades now found themselves on opposite sides of this conflict. In any case, after a sustained artillery barrage by both sides, Robert Anderson eventually surrendered Fort Sumter because he couldn't hold out any longer waiting for reinforcements from the North. Ironically, no soldiers were killed in this engagement. One horse died in this artillery barrage, to begin a conflict that would ultimately take over 600,000 lives. So Fort Sumter is not militarily significant but politically it was very much so. Once word spread across the country that now shots had been exchanged, that really hardened up the political loyalties of American citizens. After Fort Sumter, four more slave states decided to leave the Union. Those states were: North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee and Arkansas. So now
this Confederacy had grown to 11 states and recognizing Virginia's power and importance to the Confederacy, the Confederate capital was now moved to Richmond, Virginia. So Jefferson Davis would be attempting to set up his government there. So 11 Southern states had now left the Union by the time you've hit the end of the Fort Sumter engagement, or shortly thereafter. But please keep in mind, there were four states where slavery was still legal that stayed in the Union. Now slaves were not in huge numbers in these states, but the states of Missouri, Kentucky, Delaware and Maryland stayed in the Union despite slavery still being legal. And I'm emphasizing that point because this was part of what put Abraham Lincoln in a very delicate political position and affected his stance on slavery, because he didn't want to lose those four states. He didn't want them either to secede or for large numbers of their citizens to find ways to frustrate the war effort and not cooperate with it, maybe give the South supplies, give them military intelligence, whatever the case may be. So it was a tricky thing. So this is not a neat war of free states versus slave states. It's going to be a bit more complicated than that. But in any case, Fort Sumter, much like the little engagement at Lexington Green, in Massachusetts in April of 1775, you know, "The shot heard round the world," again, not all that militarily significant, but it kicks off the American War for Independence. Fort Sumter plays that role in the case of the Civil War.

Slide 3

Text: Union and Confederate Strategies

- Matching military tactics to political realities
- Confederacy ignored possibility of war of attrition – the successful model offered by Patriots in 1776
- Lincoln recognized the need to take the war to the South dramatically
- Conflict initially defined as a war to restore the Union rather than an anti-slavery crusade

Audio: As I prepare to discuss the strategies on both sides, let me say a few things about the geography of the Civil War. This conflict can basically be divided into two theaters or fronts. And Eastern theaters centered in Virginia, since the Confederate union capitals at Richmond and Washington, DC respectively were so close. As you can imagine, in the Eastern theater there would be constant efforts to somehow drive upon the enemy's capital. And then there's a Western theater on the other side of the Appalachian Mountains. And in many ways, it would be a tale of two wars. The union had reasonably consistent success in the West right from the beginning and continuing on through the duration of the conflict. But the union struggled for much of the time in the East. And Abraham Lincoln would go through many commanders trying to find the right leader to give him decisive victories in that part of the war. The two most famous armies of the war were the Army of Northern Virginia that was eventually commanded by Robert E. Lee of Virginia and the Army of the Potomac. And this was the unit that had the greatest amount of turnover, as I mentioned a moment ago. Abraham Lincoln kept firing Generals, and at least one
case rehiring the General and then firing him a second time. So let's turn now to a strategic overview of the conflict. When analyzing any war, it is important to recognize the need to coordinate your military strategy with your political goals. Let me explain. If you were part of the Confederate leadership planning for war, your political goal was relatively simple. Compel the union to recognize your independence. This happens to be the same goal that patriots had faced in the American Revolution. So what is the best military strategy to achieve that goal? All you have to do is make the conflict costly enough that your opponent loses the will to fight. Does that mean that you necessarily have to capture union territory and occupy parts of it for long periods of time? No. I mean, sure, it would help if you could but that may not be realistic. And I would suggest that it wasn't because the South suffered about a three to one inferiority in available manpower and had much less in the way of industrial resources and railway lines. All that the Confederacy had to do was what George Washington had learned by the end of 1776 during the American Revolution and, that is, fight and not to lose. If you can keep forces in the field, no matter how often they're defeated or how little territory they occupy, your enemy has to continue to give chase to destroy every vestige of resistance by your rebellion. So you can use skirmishes with your larger forces and guerrilla hit-and-run tactics with smaller units to make it what's called a "War of Attrition" that gradually wears down your enemy. I am suggesting that this was the path that the South should have chosen, but for the most part, that will not be the case. Now granted, there were some successful guerrilla fighters among the Confederates. Some of you may have heard of Colonel John Mosby, who had a great deal of success in portions of Virginia. There was also a man out West, William Quantrill, who put together a gang of basically psychopaths who terrorized union communities. But for the most part, the Confederacy chose to slug it out toe-to-toe with union forces. Now granted, they did not do too badly in this regard, especially in the Eastern Theater with the leadership of men like Robert E. Lee and Thomas Stonewall Jackson. But I think that their odds for alternate victory would have been much better taking an approach closer to what the patriots of our Revolution decided. And unfortunately, also the strategy that was used by America's enemies in the Vietnam Conflict. And again, that was to fight a War of Attrition. Now why did the Confederacy choose a more conventional war against a foe that was more numerous and better armed? Well, some of it was a matter of pride. Many Southerners did not think it necessary to have to fight a conflict of frequent retreating and hiding for ambushes. On a more tangible level, the issue of states' rights came into play. To make the insurgency strategy work or a War of Attrition, you had to be willing to see much of your real estate occupied by enemy forces, especially in those areas bordering the union. But individual Southern states had trouble appreciating that big picture of what it was going to take to win the war. Throughout the conflict, Confederate President Jefferson Davis had much difficulty getting full cooperation from state leaders in terms of providing supplies and troops and coordinating strategy. Much of this dilemma stem from the political reality that the Confederacy was a product of a States Rights Movement. There was not much consensus for a strong federal government. As a matter of fact, the very term, Confederacy, you know, as a political science term, refers to only a loose alliance of states. But
of course, when you get into a war, you need more of a centralizing authority to manage the hostilities. Frankly, the Confederacy never had it. So the main point here is that the Confederacy did not select a military strategy that best fit its political goals. In fact, Southern forces will invade the union twice, which is, of course, the very opposite of a War of Attrition, and suffer costly defeats in the process. And we'll get to those episodes a bit later. Let's turn now to the union strategic picture. Here, the political goals were much more complicated. For Abraham Lincoln and his government to be successful, much like the British Empire back in the 1770's and '80's, he had to take the war to the South and extinguish every major piece of resistance. This is why he rejected a strategy offered to him at the beginning of the conflict by General Winfield Scott, who was the Head of the US Army at the time. Now Scott was well past his prime. He was a hero of the Mexican war back in the 1840's. He was so obese at this point that he couldn't even really ride a horse, and he's about to get replaced. But before he's out the door, he proposed what was called, the Anaconda Plan. And of course, many of you know that an Anaconda is a type of snake that gradually crushes its victims to death. And so building upon that analogy, the idea here is that the North would rely upon a naval blockade of the Confederate coast and also its major rivers in order to strangle gradually the Southern economy and bring this [inaudible]. Now in terms of eliminating casualties, the Anaconda Plan is a great idea because it most likely would have avoided just about all the titanic battles that actually ended up taking place. But from a political perspective, Lincoln knew that he could not make the Anaconda Plan work. With several slave states remaining uneasily in the union and with much of the Northern public unwilling at first to fight an all out war against the South, Lincoln knew that he needed to produce dramatic results quickly or public opinion which shift against fighting this conflict to complete victory. More and more Northern citizens would decide that it's just better to let the South have its independence and get on with their lives. So Lincoln did not have the time to build the naval resources necessary to implement this blockade and wait for it to work by himself. Now don't get me wrong, he is going to blockade the Confederate coast and its rivers and do the best he can to strangle the South, but that strangling is going to be part of a much broader strategy of invading the South and tackling major concentrations of forces. So what I'm alternately driving at here is that Lincoln did a better job of matching his military strategies to his political goals. Now that being said, it was still going to be very difficult to win the war. The union navy was almost non-existent when the conflict began. The number of trained troops remaining in its Army were small. I mean, keep in mind, many Southern officers decided to leave the US military and join the Confederacy. The most famous, of course, was Robert E. Lee, and we'll get back to him in a moment. And as I have hinted at, the Northern public was far from united behind the war. Many Northern Democrats were not in favor of being too aggressive against the South. And there were areas in the slave states remaining in the union where Confederate sympathizers had significant forces. Now you may be wondering, why would not all Northern Democrats be in favor of being aggressive against the South? Most of the leadership of the Confederacy came from Southern Democrats. Now the Democratic Party had split in the election of 1860, and it's a big reason why Abraham Lincoln had been triumphant. But for many
Northern Democrats, they still looked forward to the reuniting of the country and rebuilding political bridges. So they had a somewhat different agenda compared to many Republicans when it came to the prosecution of the war. Some Northern Democrats, who were dubbed copperheads, used their influence to argue for the union to drop out of the war as soon as possible. Some of these copperheads behaved in a way that could legitimately be classified as treason, which is a crime punishable by death in wartime. As I mentioned a moment ago, many of the Army's finest officers left to join the South, most notably, Robert E. Lee of Virginia. Lincoln actually offered Lee command of all union forces. I mean, Lincoln recognized Lee was the finest officer in the US military. Now Lee had not been in favor of Virginia leaving the union. But once that step had been taken, he decided that he could not take up arms against his native state. His ancestral home happened to be in Arlington, Virginia, which is right across the river from Washington, DC, and it was soon occupied by union forces once the war got underway. And ironically, the decision was made to turn Lee's former plantation into a military cemetery. And today Arlington National Cemetery is hollowed ground, with so many of our veterans buried there, but it had been previously Robert E. Lee's property. Just a bit of an antidote there. Now let's get back to Lincoln's challenges. He wanted the best minds in his cabinet. So he appointed several individuals who were political rivals, and thus, not guaranteed to act in his best interest. For Lincoln to end up holding this coalition together, the way that he did, was amazing. Keep in mind that he originally defined the war as a fight against a session, as a fight against the illegality of those Southern states leaving, rather than defining the war as an assault or a crusade upon slavery. He recognized that this was the only way to have a decent shot at keeping those remaining slave states in the union. He further saw that racial views in the North just would not support depicting this conflict as a sort of humanitarian crusade. To make a long story short, there was a prevailing hierarchy of race operating in American society at this time and it was backed up by a very thin veneer of science, crackpot science, quite frankly, but there was this idea that you could systematically rank races and ethnicities according to their intellectual ability and moral character. And Africans were at the bottom of this hierarchy, not surprisingly, in the America of the time, and plenty of Northerners bought into that. Abraham Lincoln himself, to a large extent, bought into that hierarchy of race. As a matter of fact, Lincoln was in no hurry to emancipate or free the slaves, even though he absolutely deplored their treatment. So for the time being, he stuck to the legalistic argument that the union was indivisible as a constitutional principle such that individual states could not break this contract, if you will. Now in 1862, due to new developments that we'll cover, Lincoln will begin to redefine the war and it will eventually become a war more about ending slavery. But at first, it was to be a white man's fight and both sides agreed upon that. Before I leave this slide, I would like to turn to the first major battle of the war just to give you some flavor of the conflict. By July of 1861, a few months after Fort Sumter, both sides had mustered a significant Army in the vicinity of Washington, DC. Union General Irvin McDowell commanded about 30,000 troops, while Confederate General PGT Beauregard led a Southern force of about 22,000. Thanks to the late arrival of additional forces by rail, the odds would be about even once the fighting commenced. The South's
defensive position was along Bull Run Creek, near the town of Manassas Junction. In an irony of
the war, the two sides sometimes did not even agree on what to call their battles. The North
utilized nearby landmarks to name their engagements, while the South intended to refer to the
closest community. So you have the first battle of Bull Run or Manassas Junction, depending
upon your background. It is important to note that most of the soldiers on both sides were
extremely inexperienced and had little expectation that this would be a lengthy conflict. Many
members of Congress and their families showed up to watch the engagement from a nearby
hillside as though this was a social event. They expected the Confederate war effort to be rolled
up on this very day. At first, the battle went well for the union, as Southern lines began to buckle.
But one Confederate officer rallied his troops by asking them to follow the example of the
Virginians, under the command of Robert Jackson, who were, as this officer put it, standing like
a stone wall. At this moment a legend was born, as Thomas Stonewall Jackson would become
the finest of Robert E. Lee's field commanders. The union assault also faltered when one of its
units misidentified attacking Southerners in blue uniforms. I had mentioned earlier that the South
did not have a consistent uniform. The union uniforms were almost uniformly blue. So a union
unit hesitated to fire upon soldiers that saw coming at them because they were in blue. In any
case, once the tide of the battle began to turn, the union line simply collapsed. Instead of an
orderly retreat, complete panic set in. As a matter of fact, the main highway to Washington, DC
was essentially undefended for the Confederates to march right into the capital. As union troops
fled, the partygoers got mixed up in the chaos. But the South was every bit as disorganized in its
victory as the union was in defeat. So the full potential of the Bull Run triumph was not
achieved. The Confederacy did not march on into Washington, DC. But by the time this battle
was over, it was becoming clearer that the war would not end quickly.

Slide 4

Text: Turning Points/Missed Opportunities of the Civil War

- As argued by historian James McPherson
- Summer 1862 – Peninsular Campaign
- Fall 1862 – First Confederate invasion of North
- Summer/Fall 1863 – Confederacy permanently on the defensive
- Summer 1864 – Fall of Atlanta and Lincoln’s re-election

Audio: Given the constraints of time, I am not going to attempt to give you a blow-by-blow
description of the entire Civil War. What I'd like to do is to use the argument of America's
foremost historian on the Civil War, James McPherson to make a case that there were four key
turning points or missed opportunities in the Civil War. There were four moments where you
were really at a crossroads in terms of how the conflict was going to ultimately unfold. And I'm
going to tell you both what actually happened at each of these four moments and then also
suggest what likely would have happened if you'd had a different outcome. So by focusing on
these four episodes, I think it helps to give an appropriate overview for the Civil War. Just to introduce them very briefly for now, the first turning point/missed opportunity will come in the summer of 1862, when General George McClellan of the Army of the Potomac will launch a major offensive against the Confederacy which, had it been successful and had captured the Confederate capital of Richmond, Virginia, the conflict likely would have come to an end far more earlier than was actually the case. But that offensive will be unsuccessful and I'm about to describe it. The next turning point/missed opportunity will come in the fall of 1862, when the Confederacy will launch a two-pronged invasion of the North that was designed to coincide with mid-term Congressional elections in the North such that public opinion might be demoralized and more anti-war politicians might get elected in the North, if the Confederacy was successful. However this invasion will fail, it will be a missed opportunity for the Confederacy. Then we'll turn to several battles in the summer and fall of 1863 that all go very badly for the Confederacy and basically leave the South permanently on the defensive. And one of those battles will be the result of another Confederate attempt to invade the North. And you might remember that I argued on the previous slide that invading the North was not a good tactic for the Confederacy given the particular strengths and weaknesses of their war effort. And finally we'll turn to the summer of 1864 when General William T. Sherman's capture of Atlanta basically guarantees Abraham Lincoln's reelection as president and really sounds the death knell of the Southern Confederacy.

Slide 5

Text: Summer 1862

[Map of 1862 Peninsular Campaign]

Audio: So let's turn now to this first turning point/missed opportunity in the summer of 1862. At this point, the commander of the Army of the Potomac was General George McClellan, who fancied himself the "Napoleon of the Western Hemisphere," if you will, if you will. He was a tremendous organizer, I mean he was very good with logistics, and training, you know, kind of whipping an army into shape on the parade ground and so forth and he was loved by his troops because he was genuinely concerned about limiting their casualties. But as Lincoln would discover, to the President's dismay, McClellan was cautious to a fault. He would always hesitate to use his army decisively, even when he had all sorts of advantages. McClellan also had political sympathies that placed him among the ranks of the Democrats. As a matter of fact, later in the war, after McClellan had been fired a second time by Lincoln, and ended up retiring from the army, he'll become the Democrats' nominee for president in 1864 and will run directly against Abraham Lincoln. As a Democrat, McClellan was not interested in being too harsh in the prosecution of the war. I mean, he wanted to win the war, but he was trying to pick tactics that would avoid heavy casualties, on both sides, avoid casualties on both sides, and so he's not one who's looking for the kind of decisive victories that Lincoln needs. And McClellan did not hold
the President in very high regard personally. And let me just throw a quick anecdote in here. At one point, early in the war, Lincoln was trying to press McClellan to be more aggressive and it reached the point where Lincoln was actually willing to go visit McClellan at his home to talk about it. And this already, if you're the Commander in Chief as the president, this is already admitting a degree of weakness if you're going to the other guy's turf, so to speak. But Lincoln goes to McClellan's home and when he gets to the rather large mansion, he's told by a servant that the general is out, even though Lincoln had previously announced when he was going to be showing up. And the servant tells Lincoln that he's welcome to wait. So the President spends several hours sitting in a parlor in McClellan's home and when McClellan eventually arrives in the evening, he comes in the back and decides to go to bed rather than see the President. So he just sends his servant to tell the President that the general has retired for the evening. Now it's hard to imagine you could get away with something like this today. It's openly disrespectful, but Lincoln put up with it, to a degree because of the desperate circumstances. Much of the correspondence between these two men can actually be amusing to read at times because Lincoln would get increasingly sarcastic in his letters to McClellan, basically trying to urge him to be more aggressive and at one point he says something to the effect of, "If you're not going to be using the army for awhile, may I borrow it?" So, a good Commander in Chief recognizes that he can't get too deep in the weeds with the details, you know, he should just be providing sort of the overview, the general goals that he wants accomplished and then let your military professionals achieve them. But for Lincoln, this was a very tricky thing in some cases because he had generals who were either unable or in McClellan's case, probably more an instance of being unwilling to do what was necessary. However, in 1862, McClellan did come up with a plan that was designed to knock the Confederacy out of the war by capturing its capital of Richmond, Virginia. And the idea was to hit Richmond from behind by making the amphibious landing along the James River Peninsula, which is shown here on the map on your slide. And it's actually a rather famous area because not only will there be some Civil War battles fought here, but this is also where the first permanent English settlement in the New World was made in Jamestown, Virginia, where there's a nice historical site today. But Jamestown was first settled back in 1607. You also have Williamsburg, I mean Colonial Williamsburg is probably the finest reproduction of colonial life that you'll find anywhere in this country. And the Battle of Yorktown, the last major engagement of the American War for Independence was also fought on this peninsula. So a very historic area, even as of back in the 1860s. So the idea was an amphibious landing along this peninsula, and if McClellan's army could move rapidly enough, he could advance upon Richmond before the Confederates could organize defenses. The problem was that this area of Virginia tends to have very swampy conditions, especially in the summer and McClellan's army ended up getting bogged down. Furthermore even though he was up against much smaller Confederate forces initially, he hesitated to attack them. And the South was very adept at coming up with forms of subterfuge to create the impression that they had a much larger army. And of course, they're playing to McClellan's weakness of being overly cautious. He had an army of over 100,000 men, but he only slowly moved towards Richmond, under these circumstances. By
the time that McClellan finally gets to the vicinity of Richmond, General Robert E. Lee had prepared a strong defense and in what were called "The Seven Days Battles," shown here on the map, Lee repulsed McClellan and essentially saved the Confederate war effort. Historians will generally argue that if Richmond had fallen so early in the war, it is unlikely that the South would have been able to hold itself together. So here is a Union missed opportunity that also began to establish the legend of Robert E. Lee as the deliverer or miracles. And part of the reason for Lee's success stems from the exploits of Thomas Stonewall Jackson, whom I mentioned a moment ago. Jackson was able to tie down larger Union forces by raiding throughout the Shenandoah Valley of Western Virginia. Today this area helps form the boundary between the two states of Virginia and West Virginia. But keep in mind that the western region of Virginia had a majority of anti-slavery advocates and consequently, broke away from Virginia during the war. So there was no state of West Virginia in 1861-62, but in 1863, West Virginia will become a Union state based upon breaking away from Virginia. But back to the war, Jackson's men in the Shenandoah Valley were so shadowy and rapid in their deployments that they were nicknamed "The Foot Cavalry." So here's another Southern legend that was growing.

Slide 6

Text: Fall of 1862 – Battles of Antietam and Perryville

[Painting from Battle of Antietam]

Audio: The next turning point/missed opportunity transpired in the fall of 1862. By this point, George McClellan was back in Washington, and the Confederacy was about to take the initiative. Mid-term Congressional elections were going to be taking place soon in the North and the Confederate leadership wanted to strike a blow that would demoralize the Union public and lead to a loss of seats for Lincoln's coalition. The timing of this moment was also critical because the British and French were on the fence about recognizing the Confederate government as legitimate and strengthening their ties with the regime to include perhaps even becoming military partners with it. Now you might ask yourself, "Well why would the British and the French be willing to do this?" Well their textile industries were the major purchasers of southern cotton and so there was a strong economic interest in maintaining some kind of relationship with the Confederacy. But it was a tricky thing because the British and the French had outlawed slavery decades before and many of their people were uncomfortable with the idea of getting too close to a government to an attempt at a country here that still allowed slavery. So Abraham Lincoln and the Confederate leadership were all well aware that the British and French were paying close attention to this war and a key Southern victory might help to push them over the line into assisting the Confederacy in greater intensity. In other words, for those of you who are familiar with the American War for Independence, when the French monarchy got news of the big Patriot victory in 1777 at Saratoga, New York, that was the key moment in causing Louis XVI decide to back the revolution completely and send French forces into this part of the world. And without
that, it is very unlikely that the Patriots would have won. The Confederates of course are hoping that this invasion of the North will create that kind of Saratoga moment to assist their war effort. So, there was a consensus among the Confederate leadership that the war had to be taken into Union territory. Even though it would be mean extended supply lines and even though the Confederate forces tended to be outnumbered wherever they went. But the South planned a two-pronged invasion. In the west, Confederates would attack at Perryville, Kentucky. Since that Union state was somewhat up for grabs at this point in the war and in the east, Robert E. Lee would invade Maryland and seek battle in the vicinity of Sharpsburg, Maryland, also referred to as "Antietam Creek." So the battle that's about to take place in the east is called either "Antietam" or "Sharpsburg" depending upon how you choose to define your engagements. Now, I'm going to focus on the Battle of Antietam because it was the more significant engagement of the two. Before the battle, a Confederate cavalry officer in Lee's army happened to drop a cigar container that held Lee's battle plans. Basically he was galloping through a corn field, this fell off of his person and a Union soldier picked it up and brought it to McClellan. So essentially McClellan was in a position to read Lee's mail. Even with this advance information, McClellan would still not act decisively enough to maximize the situation. Now the two armies did clash at Antietam and it was one of the bloodiest battles of the war and what you see here in your slide is one of the more famous paintings of a key moment in the engagement. The total dead, wounded, captured and missing for the North was more than 12,000 and for the Confederacy it was more than 10,000. Now it was a victory for the North, because the Confederacy retreated south afterwards, so Lee's invasion of the North had failed, but it was only a partial victory because McClellan did not pursue Lee. I mean, he might have actually wiped out the entire army of northern Virginia. So Antietam becomes another missed opportunity. But you can also turn it around on the other hand and say that had Lee won big at Antietam, and continued to be able to maraud in the North, he might have been able for example, to capture Philadelphia, because Union forces would have been more focused on protecting Washington, D.C. and if the Confederates had captured Philadelphia, enough political damage might have been done to Lincoln for him to lose his Republican majority in Congress and therefore, he may have ended up compelled to make peace on the South's terms, conditions that would have included recognizing Confederate independence. So it is very important for the Union war effort that there was at least a partial victory at the Battle of Antietam. By the way, the Confederates were also defeated at Perryville, so the South had ultimately over-extended itself in its two-pronged invasion in quest for victory. But the Battle of Antietam is important for other reasons that I want to talk about for a few moments here. As the battle came to an end, in September, 1862, Lincoln saw an important political opportunity. He had been waiting for the right moment to redefine the war, to make it about more than just restoring the Union. He needed to make an important political statement to redefine this war, but he knew that this statement would carry far more weight if it was issued in the aftermath of a Union victory, because you want to do it when you have momentum, you want to do it when it seems like you're winning a conflict. So although McClellan had not given Lincoln the perfect triumph, it was going to have to be enough. Given
the extraordinary casualties that had been suffered by this point in the conflict, anger against the South had grown and therefore Lincoln decided that it was time to threaten to make this a war about ending slavery. So after the Battle of Antietam, he issued one of the more famous political statements in US history called "The Emancipation Proclamation." He basically gave the South a deadline of January 1, 1863, so a couple months after the Battle of Antietam, he gives them a deadline of January 1, 1863 to either surrender or else all slaves in Confederate held territory would be freed. Now this is one of the most misunderstood moments in US history. We tend to focus on the fact that Lincoln was threatening to free the slaves. You know, we call Lincoln "The Great Emancipator," we've got the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., in large part because of his role in freeing the slaves. But what we frequently overlook about this moment in history is that Lincoln did not want the South to call his bluff. He was laying down the ultimate threat to their society, mainly freeing the slaves, in the hope that this would induce the Confederate to surrender. But if they did surrender before that January 1st deadline, then Lincoln was not going to free the slaves right away. What he wanted to do was more gradually emancipate them through some kind of a compromise that might even include compensating slave owners. But of course, what happens? The South did call Lincoln's bluff and therefore, when January 1, 1863 rolled around, he either had to make good on his threat or lose all credibility. So of course, he went through with it and he does end up being remembered as the Great Emancipator. But the truth is more complex. Some of these complexities lie in the loopholes around the Emancipation Proclamation. I want you to keep in mind, please, that this proclamation did not apply to slaves that in those states that were still in the Union. So I mentioned Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland, Delaware, the Emancipation Proclamation has nothing to do with slaves in those Union states. The Emancipation Proclamation also did not apply to Confederate territory that had already been captured by the Union, as of the Battle of Antietam. For slaves who had escaped the Union lines in those areas, they were regarded as contraband. Now that's basically a legal term that put these slaves in a kind of limbo. I mean, they weren't really slaves anymore, but they weren't completely free either. They typically worked as supply handlers for Union soldiers. Certainly a step up from being a slave, but again, they were not emancipated. But once this proclamation does go into effect, now in terms of the grand political definition of the war, it's now a war to end slavery. Not all Northerners were thrilled about this. Not by a long shot, but the high casualties of the conflict had hardened their attitudes towards the South and so more Northerners were willing to make the war about taking that kind of a step. The final significance of the Emancipation Proclamation and the fact that the South rejected it, or rejected Lincoln's threat, was that it now opened the door for African Americans to be trained as Union soldiers and by the end of the war, about 25% of soldiers in Union uniforms were black.

Slide 7

Text: Summer/Fall 1863

[Map of the Battle of Gettysburg]
Audio: The third turning point or missed opportunity of the Civil War transpired over the summer and fall of 1863. The Confederacy suffered a crippling series of blows that put the South permanently on the defensive. In one case, the last Confederate stronghold on the Mississippi River at Vicksburg. Ironically, this is where Jefferson Davis had his home. The last Confederate stronghold at Vicksburg was captured thanks to a siege led by Union General Ulysses Grant, who had made quite a name for himself in the Western theater of the war. So after the victory at Vicksburg, this Confederacy was now split into. Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas were separated from the rest of the Confederacy. And the Mississippi River, a major waterway so important to commerce and military operations was now firmly in union control. So that obviously was a disaster for the South. Also during this period of time, the union won a victory at Chattanooga, Tennessee, which opened the way for an invasion of Georgia. By the way, a young union soldier at the Battle of Chattanooga won the nation's highest military decoration; the Congressional Medal of Honor. This soldier was the father of future US General Douglas MacArthur, who was one of the military icons of the 20th century in US history. And Douglas MacArthur would also eventually win the Congressional Medal of Honor. And they became the first, and I believe to this point, the only father-son combination that's ever won that military decoration. But it's the third battle during this period of 1863 that I want to concentrate on because it's the single most significant engagement of the entire Civil War. What you also see here during this period of the conflict is that Robert E. Lee decides to invade the North a second time. And he is eventually going to be stopped at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania by the Army of the Potomac, led by George Meade. McClellan had been fired for the second time by this point, and he's out of the military picture. He will be back in the political picture, as I'll describe here in a few moments. But the battle of Gettysburg was the bloodiest most significant engagement of the Civil War. The North will have more then 23,000 dead, wounded, missing and captured. And for the Confederacy, more than 28,000 soldiers will end up in one of those categories. Now, although an opportunity was missed to destroy Lee's Army while it retreated, so much like the Battle of Antietam, this will not be a complete union victory. The Confederates will never again have the initiative after suffering these three defeats here in 1863. And once again, kind of looking at the what if's of history, had Lee triumphed at Gettysburg, Northern public opinion might well have shifted dramatically against continuing the war. Southern triumphs in these other two battles at Vicksburg and Chattanooga would have delayed those campaigns for the North considerably and, once again, weigh down morale and public opinion. Now I would like to cover Gettysburg in more detail because it does tend to be an event that captures the imagination of students. In July 1863, Lee having invaded the North, was maneuvering in southern Pennsylvania and angling for making this invasion a big success to weaken Northern morale. Up to this point, the sleepy town of Gettysburg was known pretty much for its religious seminary and little else. Confederate and union forces begin to collide there. Now in your slide you have a map, and the map tries to break down the events of the battle over several days. As union and Confederate forces begin to run into each other, it was crucial that a much smaller union contingent was able to hold off Southern units so that reinforcements could arrive and occupy the higher ground. The
Confederacy did not realize the advantage that it had on the first day, while both sides were still deploying their forces. And the initiative of a Union General, by the last name of Beauford, went a long way toward setting up conditions that would eventually put the union in a good position to win this battle. So day one was very important. On the second day of the battle, the Confederacy ended up nearly outflanking union positions and turning Gettysburg into a huge victory. And it's on this second day of the battle that you could argue that a professor of classical languages, of all people, essentially saved the US Republic. I mean, if you look at what might have happened, might well have happened if the Confederacy won this battle, and then if you look at what this professor did on day two, it is remarkable. Now this man was Colonel Joshua Chamberlain of Maine, who was, most of the time, a professor at Bowdoin College. But he was one of these political appointees. Fortunately, he was a good one in the Union Army during the war. And he commanded forces along one of the union's flanks. He had just fought off a Southern attack, and his men were almost out of ammunition. Sensing that the Confederates were about to launch another strike, he did something completely unexpected. He ordered his men to fix bayonets and charge the Southern position. Now a bayonet, it's named after a French town where this device was invented. It's basically a blade that you can attach to the end of a rifle or a musket so that if you get into a close-quarter situation -- although, it's still somewhat awkward to use a rifle or a musket this way, but with the blade at the end you could now use it as a close-quarter's weapon to strike at your enemy, if you're in a position where shooting is really out of the question. So this bayonet attack catches the Confederacy off guard and gives union forces time to stabilize their position so they don't get outflanked. And that is one of the key developments on day two of this battle. Now heading into day three, Robert E. Lee faces a real conundrum. From a purely military perspective, he now knows that it's unlikely that he can win this battle. The union occupies the higher ground. They're well positioned now. So from a purely military perspective, the smart thing for Lee to do would be to just retreat and live to fight another day. But the problem, once again, is the politics of the war. At this particular moment, with things having gone badly on some other fronts, Lee really needs a victory. He really needs to effect Northern public opinion. He's up here in Northern territory. It's not easy to do this. He's got to come away with more than he already has. So he decides to stick around and fight another major engagement, and he decides to attack the very center of the union line, which happens to be its strongest point. The center of union positions is laid out along the top of what was called, Cemetery Ridge, which is somewhat of an ironic title given what's about to take place there. And Robert E. Lee decides that he's got to go after that position, even though the odds are going to be against Confederate success. At Cemetery Ridge union forces have plenty of artillery support. And to attack Cemetery Ridge, Confederate troops are going to have to march one mile uphill in plain view of union guns. In other words, they're going to have to take a ferocious beating before they can even get close enough to union forces to attack them. Lee calls upon roughly 15,000 men, most of them Virginians, all under the command of General George Pickett of Virginia, to make this assault. So this is going to be the infamous Pickett's charge. It's really going to be the single most crucial moment of the entire Civil War. So Confederates prepare for this attack.
They launch an artillery bombardment to try to soften up union defenses. But because Confederate artillery is firing from a much lower elevation, most of their shells are exploding harmlessly behind union lines. So while it might be heartening for the troops to see the Southern artillery shells overhead, it's not really getting much done. Meanwhile, as the Confederate troops begin marching up towards Cemetery Ridge, they begin taking heavy casualties from union artillery but they keep on going. And as a matter of fact, Pickett's men reached the crest of this hill and basically began fighting union troops at point-blank range. And for about 15 minutes it was unclear who was going to ultimately be in control of Cemetery Ridge. In other words, for about 15 minutes it wasn't entirely clear who was going to win this war. Nevertheless, the Southern forces were ultimately repulsed at Cemetery Ridge. And of the roughly 15,000 men who made Pickett's charge, fewer than half of them returned to Confederate lines due to either being killed, wounded, captured, et cetera. Now as I indicated previously, after winning the battle of Gettysburg, George Meade should have pursued Lee aggressively. He probably could have trapped and caught Lee before he got back to Confederate territory and the Army of Northern Virginia would have been destroyed and the war would have been over. He did not do that. So once again, it's a partial union victory but still a very significant one.

**Slide 8**

**Text:** Summer of 1864 – Sherman’s Heyday

[Photo of William T. Sherman]

**Audio:** The final turning point or missed opportunity came in the summer of 1864. What you see here on your slide is a photograph of one of the Union's most effective field commanders and that was General William T. Sherman. Although a northerner, he had been teaching at a Louisiana Military Academy when the Civil War broke out and he decided to put the uniform back on and return to the service of his country. He was very upset for politicians for having started this war. He was in no hurry to get into the fight but he felt it had to be done and like Ulysses Grant, was a man who felt like once you got into a conflict like this, you had to really fight to win. You had to use decisive tactics; you had to destroy your enemy's will to resist. And in this regard, William Sherman is going to be one of the most unpopular Union commanders in the south and in the memories of southerners for generations afterwards. In any case, Sherman had been fighting in the western theater and a very effective commander and by the summer of 1864, he is now in command of an army, trying to take Atlanta from the Confederacy. And Atlanta was one of the last major strongholds for the Confederates in this conflict. And the effort had been bogged down for a while and this was increasing the frustration in the northern public about the length of the conflict and meanwhile, Abraham Lincoln in 1864 is up for reelection. And the Democrats have nominated retired General George McClellan to go up against him. And although McClellan personally was saying that he would continue to fight the war if he was elected president, many of McClellan's supporters were in favor of ending the war and allowing
Confederate independence. And so a McClellan victory could be a very ominous thing for the Union war effort. So Lincoln needed a victory during this political season and he would end up getting it. William Sherman -- and by the way, this business of putting your hand inside your tunic when you're being photographed, that was something that Napoleon Bonaparte had done on a number of occasions while having a painting or portrait done of him. So sometimes officers in other parts of the world would copy that practice. But anyway, another factor during this campaign to take Atlanta was that there were peace talks that had recently begun that, again, offered the possibility of letting the Confederacy escape from the war with its independence. But William Sherman ultimately captures Atlanta here in the summer of 1864, which affects public opinion in such a way that Lincoln is guaranteed a reelection and the peace talks were abandoned afterwards so now it's really going to be fight to the finish. So this victory for the Union ultimately seals the fate of the Confederacy. And as a matter of fact, after William Sherman captured Atlanta, he then proceeded to have what they see in the south as his infamous march to the sea, where as he headed towards the Atlantic Ocean and to gradually to move northward towards Virginia, his forces would destroy every economic asset they could get their hands on. They would tear up railroad tracks, they'd set fire to barns and granaries. They would do whatever they could to take the war directly to the southern people, I mean not slaughtering civilians, don't get me wrong but trying to destroy the southern economy by every means possible to completely break the will of the Confederacy to resist. And so after the fall of Atlanta and Sherman's march to the sea, it is just a matter of time before the Confederacy surrenders.

Slide 9

Text: Surrender at Appomattox Courthouse (April 1865)

[Painting of the surrender at Appomattox]

Audio: Let's turn now to that surrender. By the spring of 1865, things were looking very grim for the South. In 1864, Abraham Lincoln had given General Ulysses Grant -- who had made his name in the West as well -- had given Grant Field command of all Union armies. And Grant had come east to Virginia and had been directly clashing with Robert E. Lee on the battlefield. Now Ulysses Grant, who shown here seated on the right, closest to Robert E. Lee, he was not -- I would not call him a brilliant General. And he was rumored to be an alcoholic. There's a bit of dispute about that. He was a man who had pretty much failed in peacetime life, but he really found his niche. And he'd even failed on the peace time Army, but he found his niche in the wartime Army. And it wasn't that he was a brilliant commander, but he was just very dogged. He was very determined to win. And he recognized, as Lincoln did, that if you can fight in the style that produces heavy casualties on the enemy side, even if that means heavier casualties on your own side, but if you can do that, when you outnumber the South three to one, I mean, you're eventually going to win this war. I mean, your enemy just cannot keep pace in that kind of environment. And Grant was willing to fight those kinds of battles. And you know, he lost a
number of them, but the sort of casualties that he inflicted served the larger purpose of the war. And this is one reason why Lincoln was very happy to stick with him. And in any case, by the spring of 1865, you had Sherman's Army, had come far enough north that it was in Virginia. You had Grant's Army in Virginia. And Robert E. Lee was gradually running out of options. The Confederates eventually had to abandon Richmond, and Union forces captured the Confederate capital. Abraham Lincoln came down and sat on Jefferson Davis's desk, for what it's worth. Again, I like to throw in a few anecdotes. And by April of 1865, Robert E. Lee decided that there was no point in fighting on any longer. And in the community of Appomattox Court House -- again, that's actually the name of a town -- he decided to sit down with Ulysses Grant and discuss terms of surrender. Now there are many paintings and renditions of what this meeting might have looked like, and there are somewhat disputed accounts. Robert E. Lee apparently showed up in his finest dress uniform, ever the Virginia gentleman, and offered Ulysses Grant his sword in which was a tradition of the 18th and 19th centuries. I believe it goes back even somewhat earlier than that. That, a commanding officer defeated in battle offers his sword to the -- to his counterpart on the other side. And supposedly, Ulysses Grant showed up in a rather dirty uniform. I mean, his style was more kind of down to earth and plain. But Grant was very generous in the terms that he offered Lee. Although Lee surrendered on this day, his officers were allowed to keep their horses, which was very important when you're going back to communities that are economically devastated. And it really was a moment in which the victor was respectful to the vanquished. And one officer, who was supposed to have been in attendance at this surrender ceremony at Appomattox Courthouse, was a very young Calvary General in the Union Army, named George Armstrong Custer. He had graduated at the very bottom of his class at West Point. Now, today they call that person the anchorman. And that's actually something of -- I would almost call it an honor. It's a long story. But your classmates kind of celebrate the fact that at least you made it through. But he graduated at the bottom of his class at West Point. He was a very rash, impetuous officer. And of course, he will go on after the war to be in command of Calvary forces that get wiped out at the battle of the Little Bighorn in 1876; the most famous defeat that US forces ever suffered on the Western frontier against Native Americans. But again, just a little bit of an antidote. Now one more antidote, one more irony that is pretty remarkable when you look at the Civil War. I mentioned earlier in my presentation that the first major battle of the war was fought at Manassas Junction, Virginia or call it the Battle of Bull Run. Actually, there ended up being two battles there. So it's this first one, is called, the first Battle of Bull Run. And much of that battle was fought on the property of the McLean family. And recognizing that they lived along a major avenue between the two capitals, the McLean's decided after the first Battle of Bull Run to move. And ironically, the community that they moved to was Appomattox Court House. And the parlor that you see here in this painting, where the surrender ceremony was signed, was part of Wilmer McLean's home. So by the end of the Civil War, he could legitimately say that the war had begun in his front yard and had ended in his parlor. And I'm not making that up. It's just another bizarre irony.
**Slide 10**

**Text:** Consequences of the War

[Painting of southern troops folding their flag]

**Audio:** I now turn to the results or consequences of the war and what you see here is a pretty famous painting of a southern unit that has recently learned of Lee's surrender and is now folding up its flag and preparing to disband. The nation that emerged from four years of total war was not the same America that had split apart in 1861. Obviously you had about 618,000 men who had been killed in the conflict who otherwise would have gone on to do other things with their lives and their many female loved ones left behind temporarily increased the population of unmarried women in the population and many of these women sought new opportunities for making a living or serving the community that went beyond the traditional domestic roles that had been prescribed for women. So let me run through a number of these consequences; they are going to deal a bit with the role of government, with issues of gender, issues of class. During the war, northern women pushed the boundaries of their traditional roles by participating on the home front as fundraisers and in the rear lines as army nurses and members of the Sanitary Commission. The Sanitary Commission promoted health in the northern army's camps through attention to cleanliness, nutrition, and medical care. However, women were not limited to playing roles as nurses; throughout the war they also filled key positions in the administration and organization of patriotic organizations. Women in the north simultaneously utilized their traditional position as nurturers to participate in the war effort while they advanced the new ideas about their role in society. The large number who had served as nurses or volunteer workers during the war were especially responsive to calls for broadening the "women's sphere" so to speak. The war did not destroy the barriers -- the sexual equality that had long existed in American society -- but the efforts of women during the Civil War broadened beliefs about what women could accomplish outside of the home. The effect on white women in the Confederacy was different from the effect of the war on women in the north. Southern women had always been intimately involved in the administration of the farms and plantations of the south, but the coming of the war forced them to shoulder even greater burdens at home. This was true for wealthy plantation mistresses who had to take over the administration and maintenance of huge plantations without the benefit of extensive training or the assistance of male relatives. The wives of small farmers found it hard to survive at all, especially at harvest time when they often had to do all the work themselves. The loss of fathers and brothers, the constant advance of Union troops, and the difficulty of controlling a slave labor force destroyed many southern women's allegiance to the Confederate cause. At the close of the conflict, southern women faced the challenge of rebuilding a society that had been permanently transformed by the experience of war. As in the north, the Civil War changed the situation of women in society. The devastation of the southern economy forced many women to play a more conspicuous public and economic role. These women resounded by forming associations to assist returning soldiers, entering the
workforce as educators, and establishing numerous benevolent and reform societies or temperance organizations. Although these changes created a more visible presence of southern women in public, the south remained more conservative in its views about a woman's "proper place" than did the north. Now we're going to deal with the racial impact of the Civil War when we get into Reconstruction, but let me turn now to the impact of the war on white working people. Those in the industrializing parts of the north had suffered and lost ground economically because prices had risen much faster than wages during the conflict. But Republican rhetoric stressing equal opportunity and the dignity of labor raised hopes that the crusade against slavery could be broadened into a movement to improve the lot of working people in general. Foreign-born workers had additional reason to be optimistic. The fact that so many immigrants had fought and died for the Union cause had, for the moment, weekend nativists or anti-immigration sentiment and encouraged ethnic tolerance. What the war definitely decided was that the federal government was supreme over the states and had a broad grant of constitutional authority to act on matters affecting the common good. The southern principal of state sovereignty and strict construction of the Constitution died at Appomattox and the United States was on its way to becoming a true nation state with an effective central government, but it retained a federal structure. Although states could no longer claim the right to secede or nullify federal law, they still had primary responsibility for most functions of government. Everyone agreed that the Constitution placed limits on what the national government could do and questions would continue to arise about where federal authority ended and states' rights began. A broadened definition of federal powers had its greatest impact in the realm of economic policy. During the war, the Republican-dominated Congress passed a rash of legislation designed to give stimulus and direction to the nation's economic development. Taking advantage of the absence of southern opposition, Republicans rejected the Pre-Civil War tradition of laissez faire or a "hands-off" approach to the economy and instead actively supported business and agriculture. In 1862, Congress passed a high protective tariff, approved the Homestead Act intended to improve the settlement of the west by providing free land to settlers and granted huge tracks of public land to railroad companies to support the building of a transcontinental railroad, and gave the states land for the establishment of agricultural colleges. The Civil War also saw Congress set up a national banking system that required member banks to keep adequate reserves and invest one third of their capital in government securities. The notes the national banks issued became the country's first standardized and reliable circulating currency; although this is still not the U.S. dollar, but it's a major step in that direction. These wartime achievements added up to a decisive shift in the relationship between the federal government and private enterprise. The Republicans took a limited government that did little more than to seek to protect the marketplace from the threat of monopoly and changed it into an activist state that promoted and subsidized the efforts of the economically ambitious and industrious. The most pervasive effect of the war on northern society was to encourage what's been called an organizational revolution. Aided by government policies, venturesome businessmen took advantage of the new national market created by military procurement -- that is military contracts with the private sector -- to build larger firms
that could operate across state lines. Some of the huge corporate enterprises to the post-war era began to take shape. So there was a real modernization of northern society and since the Union won the war, this modernizing revolution is going to spread across the entire country.

**Slide 11**

**Text:** Reconstruction

- Began with high hopes for social and political activism on behalf of freed slaves
- Limited by white southern resistance, political corruption, and northern apathy
- Left African-Americans in a distinctly second-class status that would continue into the 1950s-1970s.

**Audio:** Now let's turn to the Era of Reconstruction. The Union victory in April, 1865 settled two major debates, but everything else was in doubt. Yes the Union was preserved and yes slavery was dead and African Americans could now be free, but who would hold economic and political power in the postwar south? How would the land be worked? How would labor be organized? Above all, what would freedom actually mean for these ex-slaves? Answers to these questions would emerge only after a decade and a half of intense political and social struggle, a campaign that contemporaries hopefully called Reconstruction. I mean to even put that title on it is already implying the outcome but by the time I reach the end of our material, you'll see that it was a partial Reconstruction at best. There were four main sets of actors in this drama: The old planners who fought to maintain their wealth, power, and control over the labor of the former slaves; the freed people who sought land, education, and freedom from the planners domination; the northern Republicans who sought to put their party on a solid basis nationally and to expand the free labor system in the south; and to a lesser degree the white yeoman farmers -- this being the small farmers, your poorer whites -- who struggled sometimes in alliance with African Americans and Republicans to maintain their beleaguered political and economic independence.

The role of the northern Republicans in this drama tells us something very important about Reconstruction; it was truly a national experience involving not only the transformation of the south, but also a profound change in the very character of American society and politics. In this sense, Reconstruction, though largely played out in the south, had vast national implications very much like the Civil Rights Movement of the late 20th century. Yet Reconstruction was also an intensely local, even personal, experience. Individual blacks from the first moments of their newly won freedom, repeatedly asserted their rights to reunite their families, to found their own churches where they could worship as they chose, to own land on which they could labor as free men and women, to educate themselves and their children, and finally to exercise the full rights of American citizenship. In less than a decade, they helped transform themselves legally and politically from chattel property to full voting citizens of the United States, but this status would prove to be short-lived for most of them.

**Slide 12**
Freedman’s Bureau

Audio: Because the Confederacy resisted for so long, in 1865, a constitutional amendment, the 13th, was passed outlawing slavery. Also in 1865, the Freedmen's Bureau was created to get the federal government involved in assisting underprivileged citizens like never before in U.S. history. Your slide here shows a map that summarizes facilities that were part of the Freedmen's Bureau. The Freedmen's Bureau funded the building of black schools and allocated food and medical services to impoverished blacks and whites in the former Confederacy. Thanks to the Freedmen's Bureau and the 13th Amendment, many African-Americans were soon voting and learning to read for the first time, not to mention getting a higher-level education. This showed that northern public opinion had changed a bit due to the casualties and duration of the Civil War. As the war came to an end in the spring of 1865, African-Americans and abolitionists felt that a new era was dawning, where the old social order based on a black underclass had finally been eradicated. As one black soldier put it, when he recognized his former master among a group of Confederate prisoners he was guarding, "Hello, Massa, bottom rail on top this time." As much as it seemed this way in the heady days of the spring of 1865, over the next 12 years or so, the advocates of racial equality in America would be considerably disappointed. Reconstruction would include the process through which the former Confederacy would be reintegrated into the Union. Of course, with this reintegration came huge questions over what to do with the vast population of ex-slaves, many of whom had been denied a proper education and the opportunity to develop as skilled laborers. What is rather remarkable, and unfortunate, about Reconstruction is that southern whites will be quite successful in retaining far more of their pre-war advantages than many anticipated in 1865. Reconstruction will ultimately be only a modest victory for advocates of racial equality, and many former slaves will ask themselves just how much their lives have truly changed. Now, of course, Abraham Lincoln will not really be a player in Reconstruction. He was assassinated in April 1865 while attending a play at Ford's Theatre. His killer was Virginian John Wilkes Booth, who had been a one-time military cadet in attendance at John Brown's execution, and also, an actor. After shooting Lincoln at virtually point-blank range while the president's bodyguard had left his post, Booth leapt down to the stage, breaking a leg in the jump. He apparently announced, "Sic semper tyrannis," Latin for "thus, always to tyrants." This was also the Virginia state motto. He was later hunted down and killed. Before Abraham Lincoln was slain, he intended to go very easy on the South in terms of what conditions he would set for southern states to return to the Union. He pardoned the vast majority of Confederate soldiers and politicians. He also established a rule, whereby as soon as 10% of the voting public in 1860, in other words, before the war began -- as soon as 10% of the voting population in 1860 in each southern state took an oath of loyalty to the Union and formed a government, that government would be recognized by the Lincoln administration. In other words, Lincoln was setting the bar very low for what it would take for these former Confederate states to come back into the fold. He recommended that southern whites grant blacks the vote, but he did not make it
a requirement to return to the Union. Again, setting the bar very low. Lincoln was making it clear that he would not be very tough on the South. He hoped that this Republican Party would begin to win votes in this part of the country. But Lincoln's assassination produced a bizarre turn of political events. His vice president, who now assumed the highest office in the land, was actually a southerner, Andrew Johnson of Tennessee. Now, he was what was called a Southern Unionist. He had never supported secession. He had remained loyal to the United States. But as a southerner, he too favored going easy on the former Confederacy. Johnson had traditionally represented the interests of lower-class whites, which meant that he was no friend of the planter aristocracy in the South. But as a white southerner, he was also no fan of racial equality. He appointed interim governors in the South, who in most cases had opposed secession, but who also rejected emancipation and other civil rights measures. When Johnson looked back on secession and the Civil War, he saw it as the work of just a few evil individuals who hijacked the South rather than as the logical outcome of a clash between two social systems. So therefore, he was willing to pardon plenty of former Confederate leaders who seemed repentant, because he saw the problem merely as one of sin. The conditions that he set for southern states to reenter the Union were barely any tougher than Lincoln's. Southern states would have to endorse the 13th Amendment, which had outlawed slavery. Southern states would have to repudiate any Confederate war debts leftover from the conflict. And they would have to recant the Act of Secession. Meanwhile, Johnson was providing presidential pardons to numerous former Confederate leaders who were now finding their way back into government. The elections of 1865 in the South put into office the former vice president of the Confederacy, four Confederate generals, five colonels, six members of the Confederate Cabinet, and 58 Confederate congressmen. In Louisiana, former Confederate officers wore their uniforms in the Legislature. These new southern governments began enacting laws to restrict the rights of freed slaves, including the so-called Black Codes. These regulations imposed curfews, delineated what kinds of jobs freed slaves could take, and restricted their ability to move to other communities. This helped to lead to situations where many former slaves were working for their one-time masters. The Black Codes could never be perfectly enforced due to labor shortages and opposition from the Freedmen's Bureau, but they set off a political firestorm in Washington. A faction of the Republican Party, known as the Radicals, wanted to punish the South and enhance federal power in order to carry out a more sweeping reconstruction of southern life. This group included former abolitionists, among them Charles Sumner of the 1856 caning incident that some of you might be aware of. Even more moderate Republicans were outraged at how easily President Johnson was treating the former Confederacy. Republicans had enough votes in Congress to refuse to seat the newly elected southern members and began to confront President Johnson openly over Reconstruction policy. Meanwhile, Democrats began to use race-baiting tactics to encourage voters to see the Republicans as going too far towards racial equality. As one southern Democratic newspaper editor put it, the president should be applauded for opposing the "compounding of our race with niggers, gypsies and baboons." As another Democrat put it, if Congress declared African-Americans to be citizens, "how long will it be before it will say that
the Negroes shall vote, sit in the jury box, and intermarry with your families?" Johnson had recently vetoed two bills backed by most Republicans. One would extend the life of the Freedmen's Bureau, and the other was a civil rights bill conferring full citizenship on freed people. In 1865, Congress overrode both of these vetoes, the first major congressional overrides in U.S. history. So you're getting a strong sense of the political controversy that accompanied Reconstruction.

**Slide 13**

**Text:** Fifteenth Amendment

[Image of African-Americans voting]

**Audio:** In 1866, a Republican-dominated Congress passed the 14th Amendment, which granted full citizenship to African Americans and prohibited states from denying equal protection under the law. Traditionally in U.S. history the states had been seen as the guarantors of individual liberty. Now the federal government was increasingly playing that role. But the 14th Amendment did not guarantee blacks the vote; it only said that southern representation in Congress would be reduced proportionally for those denied the vote. The problem was that many moderate Republicans were still not ready to endorse the vote for blacks so radical Republicans had to take the best deal that they could get. Women's rights activists were very upset that nothing was put into the 14th Amendment to address their desire for suffrage. Jumping ahead a few years, in 1869, the Amendment was added to the U.S. Constitution and I have here a famous artist's rendition of what that experience might have been like. Among other things, the 15th Amendment declared that states could not deny the right to vote on the basis of race, color, or previous condition of servitude so at face value, it appeared to be a means of safeguarding the suffrage for ex-slaves and thus you have images like this of African Americans voting for the first time including a soldier, and then a gentleman in the front here would appear to be a former slave. So you know you have wonderful scenes like this and certainly there was significant progress. I mean your first African American members of Congress were elected during the Reconstruction period and you currently had plenty of black voting. However, I would like you to appreciate that the language of the 15th Amendment was deliberately designed to not say anything about other ways that African Americans could be denied the vote. In other words, there are ways without using the explicit language of race or language about your previous condition of being a slave; there are still ways to deny someone the vote. For example; you could create a poll tax. In other words, you know you have to pay a certain fee if you're going to show up and vote. I mean if you know that most of your poorer population is African American, then this is a way to effectively deny them the vote. You could also put in a literacy requirement and frankly even if African Americans can read, one technique that you'll see a bit later in U.S. history is that they won't just have to demonstrate they can read, but that they can interpret something. And so you can take something like a State Constitution with all of its legalese
language and ask them not only to read it, but interpret it and of course the white clerk administering this test can already have made up his mind that you're not going to pass. It's a very subjective kind of test so this will be another technique that can be used. The bottom line is during the late 19th century, southern states will use a variety of loopholes in the 15th Amendment to deny the vote to huge numbers of African Americans. As a matter of fact by 1900, fewer than one third of blacks in the south can actually vote. The 15th Amendment also said nothing about denying the vote to women despite the fact that early feminists had been promised by their male allies in the Anti-Slavery Movement that once slavery was abolished, the next great reform battle would be giving women the vote. That's why during the late 19th century, many feminists turned to exclusively female organizations to pursue their agendas. Now let me turn to some other subjects that are related to these Constitutional Amendments. I have mentioned a few times in this lecture how American attitudes are changing as to how liberty is protected in our constitutional system, not to mention how citizens define liberty in the first place. Traditionally, Americans had utilized what we call a negative idea of liberty. Now using the term "negative," I'm not attaching a value judgment. By negative, I mean liberty as the absence of restraint; as the absence of government restaurant. So you know negative liberty is freedom from interference by an outside authority; it is freedom from. For example; a law requiring motorcyclists to wear a helmet would be an assault on negative liberty by preventing people from enjoying the freedom to go bareheaded if they wish. The 13th Amendment with its ban on slavery can be thought of as an assault on negative liberty for those who wish to consider human beings as property. Now slavery was the most extreme example of negative liberty. I mean it can also refer to protections that almost all of us would agree are absolutely appropriate. I mean for example; the freedom for each of us to practice our faith as we see fit, to assemble peacefully. You know these are also examples of negative freedom. But the era of the Civil War and Reconstruction is ushering in another focus on a different kind of liberty that we call "positive" and it's more the "freedom to" if you will. It's not necessarily incompatible with negative liberty, but it just has a different focus. Another way of defining the distinction between these two concepts is to describe their relation to power. Negative liberty and power are at opposite poles. Power is the enemy of liberty, especially power concentrated in the hands of a central government. This is the kind of power that many of the founding fathers had feared the most which is why they fragmented power in the Constitution in the federal system. That is why they wrote the Bill of Rights to restrain the power of the national government to interfere with individual liberty. The first 10 Amendments to the Constitution will be called the Bill of Rights are an excellent example of negative liberty. Nearly all of the first 10 Amendments apply the phrase, "Shall not," to the federal government. In fact 11 of the first 12 Amendments place limitations on the power of the national government. But then beginning with the 13th Amendment in 1965, 6 of the next 7 Amendments radically expanded the power of the federal government at the expense of the states. The very language of these Amendments illustrate the rise of power -- oh excuse me, the rise of positive liberty. In other words, those who support positive liberty see federal power as more of a reforming impulse of our lives; they see it as a
more proactive and an empowering force in our lives. They're more optimistic about what federal power can do for us. So the 13th, 14th, 15th Amendments are all in that context of this new focus upon positive liberty. Abraham Lincoln played a crucial role in this historic shift of emphasis of negative to positive liberty. Those southerners who seceded from the Union in the name of preserving their liberties and rights, including the right to own slaves, were acting in the tradition of negative liberty; though that's not to suggest that negative liberty is always a bad thing. But Lincoln used federal power to achieve a positive liberty for slaves. Now positive liberty is an open-ended concept; it has the capacity to expand towards notions of equity, justice, social welfare, equality of opportunity. But it is also controversial because it puts government in the business of social engineering if you will, and therefore, potentially can be overbearing and paternalistic. But at least some degree of this positive liberty would seem to be necessary. As an advocate of positive liberty would put it, "How free is a motorcyclist who is paralyzed for life by a head injury that could have been prevented if he had worn a helmet? How much freedom of the press can exist in a society of illiterate people? How much liberty does a starving person have except the liberty to waste away?" Ok having covered that, let me try to get back into more of the chronology of Reconstruction. President Johnson, you know while these Amendments were being passed, condemned Congress for going tough on southern representatives and he urged southerners to reject the 14th Amendment. As the Congressional midterm elections of 1866 approached in the north, news arrived of anti-black violence in the south, including a riot in Memphis that took 46 lives and another in New Orleans that killed 34 plus 3 sympathetic whites. The Republicans consequently did well in those elections which emboldened the radicals to push for an even more aggressive Reconstruction.

Slide 14

Text: Reconstruction Act of 1867

[Map of the Reconstruction Act of 1867]

Audio: So what did this more aggressive Reconstruction look like? In 1867, Radical Republicans presented a plan that would reduce the southern states to territories under military rule. Ex-Confederates would be disenfranchised -- that means, the vote taken from them -- and land would be redistributed to ex-slaves. Massive federal assistance would be provided to southern schools. This was the Radical Republican vision for Reconstruction. Now again, many moderate Republicans could not go along with all of this, so a compromise was reached. As depicted here on this map you see on your slide, the Reconstruction Act of 1867, which was passed over President Johnson's veto by the way, divided the former Confederacy into five military districts. Federal troops would maintain U.S. authority on American soil. New state constitutional conventions would be held in which blacks could participate. Any new state constitutions would have to include the vote for blacks. The 14th Amendment would have to be ratified in order for states to return to the Union. Attitudes had truly changed. As one northern
newspaper put it, "Six years ago, the North would have rejoiced to accept any mild restriction upon the spread of slavery as a final settlement. Four years ago, it would have accepted peace upon the basis of gradual emancipation. Two years ago, it would have been content with emancipation and equal civil rights for the colored people with extension of the suffrage. One year ago, a slight extension of the suffrage would have satisfied it." But now, obviously, more was necessary. In fact, Republicans in Congress who wanted to punish the Confederacy became so enraged with President Johnson that in 1868, the House of Representatives impeached him.

Now, I'm not sure how familiar you are with the impeachment process. Impeachment is a scenario where a combination of the two houses of Congress decides first that the president has committed at least one high crime or misdemeanor, and then secondly, that he should be removed from office for doing it. It is a two-part process. Basically, what happens is that the House of Representatives, the lower house, the people's house, is responsible for determining whether or not a president has actually committed a high crime or a misdemeanor. So the first step is not entirely unlike an indictment. To impeach a president, all it takes is a majority vote in the U.S. House of Representatives that, again, at least one high crime or misdemeanor has been committed. Then, if a president is impeached, the Senate holds a kind of trial to determine whether or not he should be removed from office. Now, this has only happened twice in our history, so we don't have a great many episodes to draw upon, but what has happened is that the chief justice of the Supreme Court will come over and act as sort of a judge in the proceedings. The president can hire lawyers to speak on his behalf and argue his case before the Senate. And members of the House who had voted to impeach can come over to the Senate and act, in effect, as prosecuting attorneys. And the jury, if you will, is the Senate itself. And the Senate will eventually vote on whether or not to remove the president. Now, because removing a president is a very big step, it takes a two-thirds majority -- not just a simple majority, but a two-thirds majority -- to make it happen. Now, in U.S. history, we have never actually removed a president.

Two presidents have been impeached. One of them was Andrew Johnson right here during Reconstruction. He was impeached in 1868 over a law called the Tenure of Office Act, which stated that the president could not remove Senate-confirmed appointees without Senate approval. And this was actually -- Johnson was on pretty solid ground here, but this was a very politically motivated impeachment. This was more about him going easy on the South than anything else. But in the removal phase, Johnson survived. By just one vote, he survived being removed from office. Now, it was very late in his term. It would have been almost symbolic more than anything else, but he survived. So he was impeached but not removed. As many of you probably know, Bill Clinton was impeached for perjury and obstruction of justice. But he survived his removal vote by a much more comfortable margin than Andrew Johnson. And then I'll sort of put an asterisk on this one. Had Richard Nixon not resigned as president in 1974, it is very likely that he would have at least been impeached and perhaps removed. The House Judiciary Committee voted to impeach him, but before the vote could go to the entire House floor, Richard Nixon decided to resign. So a little bit of a civics lesson here, but ultimately, Andrew Johnson was impeached as one of the byproducts of Reconstruction.
Slide 15

Text: End of Reconstruction – How much has really changed?

[Political cartoon depicting the end of Reconstruction]

Audio: To wrap up this lecture, let me introduce two terms that are commonly associated with Reconstruction. One of them is "carpet bagger." Carpet baggers were Northerners who came south during the early stages of Reconstruction to fill government positions, some of which were appointive and others of which were elective. As outsiders to the South, they were naturally resented by most Southern whites and some of them were corrupt. And thus, they gave Reconstruction a bad name. So going back to a slide that I had early on here, I said that political corruption was one of the reasons why Reconstruction wasn't more successful. And in fairness to white Southerners, I mean, this was a real problem. Frankly, it was a problem throughout the country, and this is not the time to go into great detail on it, but Reconstruction governments did include individuals who took bribes, who squandered public money, who in various ways did not act on behalf of the common good. And so it's not 100% the fault of white Southerners that Reconstruction didn't work out. I mean, it's a complicated picture. But of course, it was also in the best interest of those who had supported secession and the Confederate war effort to cast carpet baggers in the worst possible light. So not everything you hear about carpet baggers is going to be honest, either. Another term that's common to Reconstruction was "scallywags." Scallywags were white Southerners who supported the Republican Party. Now they were obviously a distinct minority of the white, Southern population and they included those who had never considered secession to be a wise move in the first place. But anyway, so scallywags are another category. Small category, but they're worth mentioning. As African Americans came to vote in the South, needless to say, they cast their ballots for Republicans and as I mentioned the first black members of Congress were from Southern states during Reconstruction and they were Republicans. The Southern Democratic Party remained, for all intents and purposes, the party resisting racial equality to varying degrees. But just to fast forward a little bit into history, this political cartoon pretty well depicts the end of Reconstruction. So let me say a few things about this. In 1876, there was a highly contested presidential election in which Congress could not agree that the balloting in all of America's states had been honestly conducted. In other words, there was a disputed presidential outcome. Some of you know about Florida in 2000, there were several states where there was that kind of a hullabaloo after the election of 1876. So there wasn't a clear winner. And a Congressional commission had tried to sort this thing out, they weren't getting anywhere, so the country did not yet have a new president designated. Ultimately, in 1877, an important compromise was reached. The Republican candidate, Rutherford B. Hayes was allowed to become president, but in exchange for getting their president, the Republicans had to agree to give up on Reconstruction. So in 1877, Reconstruction effectively came to an end. Federal troops were gradually removed from the South, Northerners who already had been getting pretty apathetic about Reconstruction paid even less attention to it and less attention to
what was going on in the South, so the whole thing basically fizzles out. And as is indicated by this cartoon, it basically leaves former slaves at the hands of the sort of people who had been running their lives before the war, and who had opposed every bit of Reconstruction. So for example, the Ku Klux Klan had emerged as a vigilante organization during Reconstruction. It was staffed by many former Confederate soldiers and it was acting, again, as a vigilante arm of the Southern Democratic Party. And you also had what was called the White League. This was a more overt attempt to control political life in the South. Frederick Douglass, himself an escaped slave and a leader of the African American community put it very well when he wrote about how the worst thing that Northerners could do to the African American community in the South was to leave them in the hands of their former masters, and that's essentially what happens. The Freedman's Bureau ended up accomplishing far less than it was originally hoped for by reformers. All those efforts basically came to a halt and what happens then is that the former Confederacy, first of all, it becomes a one party system politically. The Democrats will control the South pretty solidly until about the mid-1960s. And the South will essentially be in a kind of stasis where decades after the Civil War and Reconstruction, you'll still have this very distinct sense that African Americans are second-class citizens, and it's reinforced in a variety of ways. And again, this is not the lecture to go into all of the details on that. But I do want you to appreciate the extent to which Reconstruction was a partial victory at best. There will be a systematic disenfranchisement of African American voters and new battles will have to be fought down the road to get them back to citizenship status, to full citizenship status.

Slide 16

Text: Primary sources useful for paper assignments on Reconstruction

- Wade-Davis manifesto against Lincoln’s Reconstruction policy (1864)
- Article entitled “Reconstruction” by Frederick Douglass (1866)
- Appeal to Congress for African-American voting rights by Frederick Douglass (1867)
- Call for moderation by John Sherman (1867)
- Southern Republican assessment by Albion Tourgee (1879)

Slide 17

Text: Primary sources useful for paper assignments on prosecution of war

- Harrison’s Landing letter from George McClellan to Lincoln (July 1862)
- Emancipation Proclamation by Lincoln (1862)
- Gettysburg Address by Lincoln (1863)
- Grant’s account of first meeting with Lincoln (1864)
- Comments on necessity of holding elections by Lincoln (1864)