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Battle Cry

Founded 1961,
Newsletter of the Sacramento Civil War Round Table
P.O. BOX 254702
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President's Message

I recently came across a lecture on YouTube by a professor from the Army War College at Carlyle Barracks. He stated that General Robert E. Lee's ultimate plan for Pennsylvania was to take Harrisburg. After the loss at Chancellorsville, morale was way down in the North. The South thought that one more loss and the North would give up the War effort. Ohio Congressman Clement L. Vallandigham had just given a speech in the House of Representatives that got a standing ovation from the Democrats and was even praised by Republicans. He stated the North was spending a million dollars a-day and blood was being spilt like water and we had nothing to show for it. It was time for a negotiated peace. He was so effective that President Abraham Lincoln had him captured and under a flag of truce, transferred to the South.

The South was winning battles but also running out of resources. Lee's goal was to take Harrisburg, PA. Governor Andrew Gregg Curtin was a staunch supporter of President Lincoln. Lee in Harrisburg would cause panic throughout the North. Lee believed the Army of the Potomac was still in Virginia. The Union corps would come by forced marches north and could be defeated one at a time as they arrived.

This loss on top of Chancellorsville would break the will of the North to continue. At this time, the North really had nothing to show for their expenditures in money and blood.

Dennis Kohlmann, President

MINUTES
SACRAMENTO CIVIL WAR ROUND TABLE
Wednesday, September 11, 2019
HOF BRAU RESTAURANT, 2500 WATT AVENUE, SACRAMENTO

ATTENDANCE – 20:

MEMBERS – 16: Dennis Kohlmann, President; Donald Hayden, Vice President; Barbara Leone, Secretary; Jim Armstrong, Harvey & Marsha Cain, Arnd Garnter, Nina & Wayne Henley, James Juanitas, Grace Long, Bernie Quinn, Paul Ruud (MAL); Nicholas Scivoletto, Richard Sickert (MAL) & Shari Lowen.

GUESTS – 4: Antonio Magana, Kris Scivoletto, John Walker, Don Zajic.

1. Dennis Kohlmann led the Pledge. There was no raffle. Dennis announced the passing of Fred Bohmfalk, a long-time member of the SCWRT. Dennis introduced Richard Sickert and his topic: "A Gathering Beneath the Limbs of the Secession Oak in Bluffton, South Carolina in 1844." Richard was assisted by his wife, Shari Lowen.
2. In 1860, 87% of the Federal budget came from excise taxes know as tariffs. The Northeast of the country had water energy to run factories and support manufacturing. The South had excellent soil for cotton, tobacco, and sugar cane. Thus two separate cultures developed.
3. The South got its tools mostly from Great Britain. The North wanted to protect its young manufacturers by imposing tariffs on imported goods that the South was buying. The income generated by these tariffs was not equally divided between the two areas. Although the South was paying taxes, it was not getting the benefit. Hard feelings developed.
4. In 1828, there was a large tariff increase. South Carolina felt it could nullify the tariffs because state rights permitted it. President Jackson threatened military action against South Carolina. Tariffs were lowered.
5. Robert Barnwell Smith Rhett, a fire eater from Bluffton, SC, held many offices in SC politics. He was the first to bring up secession in nullification talks in 1832. He owned and his son edited the predominant Charleston Mercury newspaper, thus controlling what the public knew of events. In 1844, there was another major increase in tariffs. There was a gathering in Bluffton, SC with the people of the area and their Congressman to discuss secession under a large oak tree. A group of planters called the Bluffton Boys advocated for secession but it did not happen.
6. In 1846, the Wilmot Proviso tried to prevent slavery in the lands gained by the Mexican War but it was defeated. In the Compromise of 1850, California was admitted as a free state, starting to turn the balance of power away from the South.
7. In 1854, Senator Stephen Douglas introduced the Kansas-Nebraska Act that allowed the citizens of new states to decide if they would have slavery or not. This led to Bleeding Kansas.
8. The Morrill Tariff Act enacted In 1861 greatly increased tariffs again.
9. After Lincoln was re-elected, SC seceded on 1December 2, 1860. Six other states joined it. Lincoln would not recognize the Confederacy because recognition would give it more power. He only wanted to deal with Francis Pickens, the Governor of SC. Pickens considered SC to be a free trade nation like England.
10. President Buchanan sent the Star of the West to resupply Fort Sumter but was unsuccessful. Lincoln decided to restock the Fort but Jefferson Davis and Pickens warned against it. Lincoln knew he needed the tariff money to run the Federal Government and could not recognize the Confederacy. By re-supplying Fort Sumter, he was forcing SC to take action. In that way, he was not starting the War.
11. The next Board Meeting will be Wednesday, October 9, 2019, 10 AM, at Brookfield's Restaurant.

Barbara Leone, Secretary

Treasurer's Report

The cash balance on September 11th was \$6,535.32. There was no raffle.

George W. Foxworth, Treasurer

Coming Programs for 2019 & 2020

Date	Speaker	Topic
October 9th	James Juanitas	"The Navy in the Civil War"
November 13th	Jim Lane	"The Great Locomotive Chase"
December 11th	Nicholas Scivoletto	"General Order 100"
January 8th	Michael Werner	"The First Battle of Charleston Harbor, 1863"
February 12th	Robert Orr	"Civil War Music"
March 11th	Abigail Eller	"Benjamin Judah: The Brains of the Confederacy"

2019 Membership

The 2020 membership renewal is due as of January 1, 2020. The dues are \$20.00 and you can renew at a monthly meeting or send to the Treasurer through the mail. For all checks, make them payable to **Sacramento Civil War Round Table** and send them to

George W. Foxworth
 9463 Salishan Court
 Sacramento, CA 95826-5233

Remember, you can also pay at any monthly meeting.

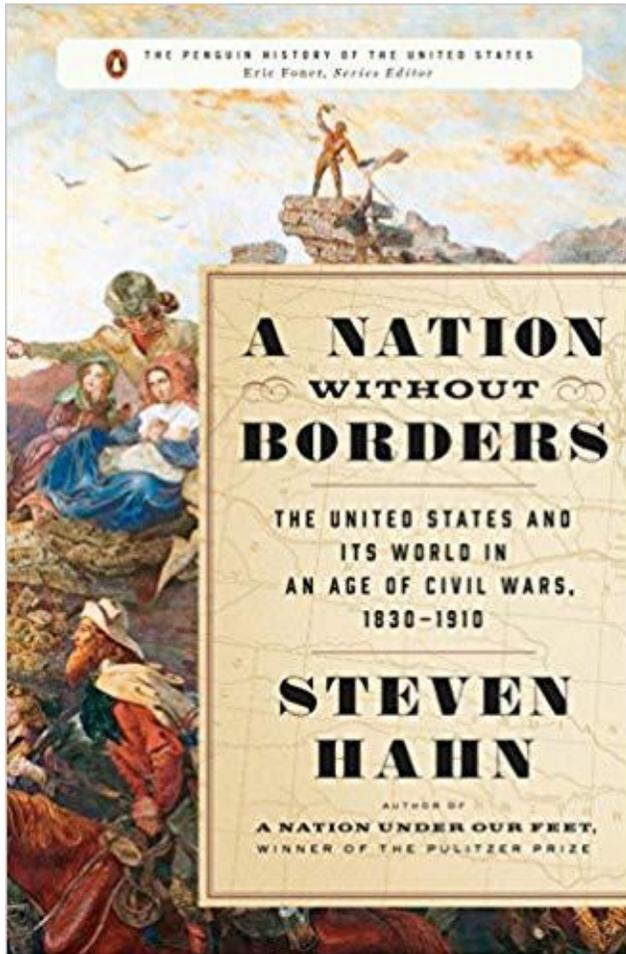
NEWSLETTER CIVIL WAR ARTICLES

Civil War articles/book reviews are welcome. The submission deadline is the 1st of each month for that month's **Battle Cry**. However, you can submit articles at anytime. Please submit your items in Microsoft Word or regular email to:

gwofforth@sbcglobal.net

The **Battle Cry** is the monthly newsletter of the Sacramento CWRT. Submissions are subject to availability of space and size limitations. Submissions do not necessarily reflect the views of the organization or the Editor. The official address of this organization is: Sacramento Civil War Round Table, Post Office Box 254702, Sacramento, CA 95865-4702. <http://www.sacramentocwrt.org> is the web site address. Check the web for past newsletter editions and information about the group.

Steven Hahn. *A Nation Without Borders: The United States and Its World in an Age of Civil Wars, 1830-1910.* New York: [Viking Publishing](https://www.viking.com/), 2016. 608 pp. \$35.00 (cloth), ISBN 978-0-670-02468-1.



Reviewed by Vernon Burton (Clemson University) and Bennett Parten (Clemson University). **Published on** H-Slavery (December, 2018). **Commissioned by** David M. Prior (University of New Mexico).

Steven Hahn's *A Nation Without Borders: The United States in the Age of Civil Wars, 1830 - 1910* is the third volume in the Penguin History of the United States. According to series editor Eric Foner, this five-part series reflects the multigenerational transformations in how history is written. As he points out, new themes, voices, and subfields have provided fresh insights into familiar stories of American development. Penguin's History of the United States attempts to integrate these new approaches into cohesive narratives that capture the American experience in its entirety, a daunting challenge that Hahn masters beautifully.

A winner of the Pulitzer, Bancroft, and Nevins Prizes, Hahn redraws the common trajectory of American development during the eighty years from Presidents Andrew Jackson to William Howard Taft. He argues that rather than starting as a nation and growing into an empire, the United States inherited “significant imperial ambitions” from the British, became a nation-state through the experience of the Civil War, and then “reconfigured the character of its empire” by the turn of the Twentieth Century (p. 2). Using “borders” as his metaphor and central theme, Hahn examines the relationship between nation, which he understands as having real borders with clear zones of sovereignty, and empire, which possesses a more amorphous character. Empires, he suggests, expand and contract and are based on claims and alliances rather than legal recognition.

Hahn’s analysis also orients itself not from the North or the South, but from the country’s historic western peripheries—New Orleans, the Trans-Mississippi West, the Neuces and Rio Grande Rivers, and the Pacific Coast—and explores two recurring problems in the pursuit of both empire and nation: one, how to assert actual authority over people and places where such authority is more imagined than real, and, two, how to deal with the rebellions that will inevitably occur. Hahn thus explains American development during this long Nineteenth Century as a history of how state power ebbed and flowed over time.

Hahn begins and ends his massive analysis outside the United States, opening and closing in Mexico, starting with Santa Anna and concluding with Zapata and the beginning of the Mexican Revolution. His assessment of Texas—or Tejas—reveals how he interprets the forces of empire. During the early decades of the Nineteenth Century, Texas was a vast border region “marked by murky and competing territorial claims” (p. 20). Hahn explains that although Mexico claimed the area, the region operated less as an official polity and more as an “integrated economic zone” with Comanche Indians and a spattering of native Tejano and Anglo-Texan settlers erecting their own regional outposts (p. 19). By the 1830s, trade that had traditionally run north to south began shifting eastward, toward the Mississippi Valley, as an influx of American settlers migrated into the region. In 1836, those settlers, along with Anglo-Texans already in the region, fought for independence from Mexico, and, nine years later, in 1845, Texas applied for statehood, sparking a conflict that would result in the Mexican-American War.

Migration of Americans into Texas was part-and-parcel of a larger quest for empire that Hahn believes had deep roots in the founding of the United States. To be sure, men like Thomas Jefferson and James Madison remained committed republicans, but Hahn contends they envisioned their republican experiment expanding across the continent. The American Revolution, after all, was a not so much a rebellion against empire per se as much as it was a rebellion against the British crown for violating its imperial obligations. Exporting their republican ideals only affirmed their belief that their revolution marked the creation of a new political order, an “empire of liberty” according to Jefferson. Empire also satisfied the “aggressive aspirations” of American settlers, whose homesteads would join others in a larger American commercial orbit (p. 23). In Texas, as well as in the Old Southwest—Mississippi and Alabama—and much of the

Louisiana Territory, slavery and the plantation system expedited this process. Thus, Hahn's view of empire-building has two fronts—romantic ideas and on-the-ground reality. As he suggests, Americanized notions of empire (i.e., Manifest Destiny) buttressed an imperial vision rooted in White settler colonialism and plantation slavery. Hahn insists, however, that the imperial designs were far grander than Texas. The Pacific remained the ultimate prize.

Various forms of resistance countered the United States' imperial ambitions. Foremost among them was resistance to slavery. Because Hahn sees slavery as central to the work of empire, he sees resistance to slavery as the root cause behind two strands of resistance to American empire. Representing one strand were the enslaved, whose opposition to slavery—embodied most visibly by fugitive slaves' escapes and border battles over captured runaways—weakened the “edifices of enslavement” and exacerbated the political crisis that led to the Civil War (p. 49). Abolitionism formed another strand. Abolitionists kept constant pressure on slavery, as a political economy, and, over time, political abolitionists spearheaded an antislavery political party whose principal objective was to restrict slavery's borders and keep the institution out of the western territories.

The greatest and most transformational border war was the Civil War, which Hahn calls the “War of the Rebellion.” He cogently argues that the American Civil War was “only the largest of many rebellions” that challenged “the sovereign authority of the Federal Government” (p. 4). Secession, therefore, corresponds to other resistance movements, even the most disparate and dissimilar, like Native American opposition to land dispossession or the Mormon's quest for autonomy in what became Utah. Hahn believes that Southern independence also parallels the wars of independence that shook Latin America during much of the nineteenth century. Linking Southern secessionism to these struggles might rankle some readers, but Hahn's argument is well taken: imperial control is always under threat. Whether sourced to border regions or dissidents from within, an empire is only as strong as its ability to manage competing claims to sovereignty. The War of the Rebellion stands alone, then, not simply because of its size, but because it brought the United States to a point of near collapse.

Amidst the reconsolidation of state power that followed the War of the Rebellion, Hahn sees a shift from empire to nation. Civil war necessitated the transformation of the American political economy in ways that reflected the Federal State's power and reach. The Federal Government created a large standing army (which would be deployed against western Indian tribes as well as Confederate armies), established a new system of banking and finance, invested in railroads, modernized the industrial sector, authorized projects that hastened westward expansion, and, of course, freed four million people. These transformations produced a new nation-state replete with parameters for citizenship and the political wherewithal for a more activist Federal Government. Most importantly, the Federal State represented a lone sovereign. Challenges would never cease, but the wartime reconsolidation of power placed the Government in a position to mute any such threat and quickly reassert control. Nothing except its own constitutional limitations could check the Government's dominion.

By the later decades of the Nineteenth Century, Hahn argues, the United States shifted back toward empire with a changed imperial model. A new form of corporate and investment capitalism that blurred distinctions between public and private interest replaced slavery as the state's dominant political economy. The American South and West, he suggests, became colonial client states to a new class of financiers, executives, and entrepreneurs eager to create new markets and capitalize on the nation's natural productive power. This system would soon be expanded beyond the US to places like Hawaii, where visions of transpacific shipping lanes and fruit fortunes precipitated its annexation in 1898. The Federal Government thus found itself as something of a client to the forces of big business. Although Hahn offers a number of "Alternate Paths," the title of a chapter documenting ardent voices of dissent and reform, this partnership would prove resilient. The new imperial model, with its colonial possessions and expanding system of financial capitalism, would come to define the twentieth-century American state.

Reviewers should find something to critique, even in such a magisterial synthesis. The most glaring point of criticism is that Hahn, one of the most pre-eminent and gifted historians of the Nineteenth-Century South, pays scant attention to the misnamed "redeemers," those paramilitary terrorists who overthrew in coup d'états the legitimately elected Republican governments in the American South and successfully fought for a return to conservative White home rule during Reconstruction. Their ongoing campaigns of brutality, political violence, and intimidation throws a wrench in Hahn's claim that the Federal State exited the War as the lone sovereign. Rather than deal with this thorny issue in depth, he chalks up Reconstruction's demise to the Republican Party's embrace of investment capitalism and racial solidarity following the Panic of 1873 and moves on. A more thorough explanation of how White Southern reactionaries ended the experiment in interracial democracy in the American South is needed.

No quibble should detract from Hahn's achievements. Drawing together new approaches and methodologies into a single narrative of the Nineteenth Century is an amazing accomplishment, and Hahn offers a brilliant, uncompromising, and provocative interpretation, making *A Nation without Borders* indispensable reading.

Submitted by Bruce A. Castleman, Ph.D.



2019 West Coast Civil War Conference
Sponsored by Sacramento Civil War Round Table

Civil War Leadership, 1861 - 1865

November 8 - 10, 2019, Crowne Plaza Hotel, Sacramento

Our Speakers are:

Chris Mackowski: A Professor of Journalism & Mass Communication at Saint Bonaventure University, & the author of more than 10 books. He works with the National Parks Service & is the founder of the Emerging Civil War Blog.

David A. Powell: A Vice-President of Airsped, Inc., a delivery firm. He has published many articles in magazines & historical simulations of different battles. He specializes & leads tours on the Battle of Chickamauga.

Sarah Kay Bierle: A Managing Editor for Emerging Civil War's Blog. She has spent the last few years researching, writing, & speaking across the Country about the American Civil War.

Paul Kahan: An expert on the political, diplomatic, & economic history of the United States in the Nineteenth Century. Dr. Kahan has published several books & is a former resident of Sacramento.

Jim Stanbery: A retired Professor of Political Science and History at Los Angeles Harbor College, and speaker at the West Coast Civil War Conference for more than thirty years. He is a frequent CWRT speaker.

Theodore P. Savas: Is an attorney, adjunct college instructor, award-winning author, Partner and Managing Director of Savas Beatie LLC. He specializes in military history and the American Civil War.

Edwin L. Kennedy Jr.: A graduate of West Point & former Professor of the U.S. Army Command & General Staff College History Department & Combat Studies. He is the leader of staff rides, including the Battle of Chickamauga.

The Conference cost is \$200 per person which includes Friday dinner, Saturday lunch and dinner, as well as all sessions. A full hotel breakfast buffet is included for guests staying at the Hotel.

Partial day attendance: **Friday Only** is \$50; **Saturday Only** is \$125; **Saturday Dinner and Lecture Only** is \$50; **Sunday Only** is \$25.

There will be a no-host bar set-up Friday and Saturday evenings for your enjoyment before dinner.

For more information, contact Paul Ruud at 530-886-8806 or by contacting www.sacramentocwrt.com where information and registration forms will be available.

Room reservations are available by calling Crowne Plaza directly 877-504-0054 or www.crowneplaza.com
[Crowne Plaza Hotel](#) has rooms set aside for us at \$139 per night, plus tax. Please mention the Conference.

Please print this page, fill it out, and return the form with your check for your registration. Make checks payable to: **Sacramento CWRT** and mail to: George W. Foxworth, 9463 Salishan Court, Sacramento, CA 95826-5233.

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