

MODELING RECONSTRUCTION AS A WARGAME, 1865-1877

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MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE
Art of War Scholars

by

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The opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the student author and do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College or any other governmental agency. (References to this study should include the foregoing statement.)

ABSTRACT

MODELING RECONSTRUCTION AS A WARGAME, 1865-1877, by Major David C. Millikan, 166 pages.

The destruction and social upheaval of the U.S. Civil War did not end with the laying down of arms at Appomattox, but instead continued for the next 11 years, a period known as Reconstruction, as Americans of different classes, backgrounds, and origins struggled to achieve competing visions of what a more perfect union would look like. For many Northerners, this meant the increased economic integration of the South into the North. For the Planter-class of the former Confederacy, this took the form a return to slavery by other means. Between these two forces stood the Freedmen; men and women who had retaken their freedom through force, and sought to establish for themselves a future in the only home most of them had ever known. Of these three visions, the Jim Crow future engineered by Southern elites would come to dominate not only the rebel states of the Confederacy, but would affect the culture of the United States as a whole, laying the groundwork for both the Civil Rights protests of the 1960s and the racial inequalities that continue to afflict our nation today.

This simulation, and the paper that accompanies it, seeks not to explain why one man would choose to subjugate another, but to show how, by raising the cost of Reconstruction and occupation beyond what the North was willing to pay, the strategic goals the Confederacy was unable to achieve by force of arms, their decedents were able to take through patience, economics, culture, and terror.

This thesis tells the story of counterinsurgencies and asymmetric wars: a disenfranchised elite, a newly empowered ethnic group, an occupying military power, and the violence and chaos of economic upheaval. By modeling the chaos and asymmetry of the Reconstruction era as a four-player wargame, this game will allow players to understand the decisions, resources, and constraints of major factions following the end of the Civil War, and encourage them to both understand the context of America's historical execution of asymmetric struggle, and draw parallels with conflicts over the last 20 years of the Global War on Terror.

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Finally, I would like to thank Mr. Curt Pangracs for his efforts to build an electronic version of the wargame, allowing me to continue playtesting in spite of COVID restrictions, and for the beautiful design work he put into the physical copies of the game. Thank you all.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Background

At the conclusion of a brutal and bloody war, the United States found itself in possession of a world turned upside down. Where once an ethnic elite had maintained control through violence and slavery, a free people could now decide their fate. The invading army had seemingly destroyed all organized military resistance and, for a time, had been greeted as liberators. From within and without, men and women set themselves to the task of rebuilding the country, eyeing the prosperity and freedom sure to accompany reconstruction. It would take longer than they expected. Soon, former regime elements would return to violence as a tool to suppress and intimidate their way back into power. Prosperity and freedom seemed closer only to those with money to purchase it, and as the disenfranchised began to emigrate away from their newly-freed homes, the U.S. Army faced increasing calls to demobilize, while the war remained half won.

From the end of the American Civil War through 1877, four factions competed and cooperated to establish new economic, political, and social systems in South, ranging from revanchist to revolutionary. From the Capitol, the Union Army, at the direction of a Republican Congress, occupied the eleven states of the former Confederacy and attempted to implement the policies of the Republican government through military means. Alongside and among them stood the Freedmen, the formerly-enslaved people who attempted to navigate a path to political, economic, and physical security that was their right by citizenship. Resisting this process were the wealthy planters who had formed the core of the Confederate political and economic elite. These men, whose

fortunes and way of life the Civil War had decimated, would quickly turn to violence to prevent their political disenfranchisement. Finally, white Republicans, termed Scalawags if native-born, or Carpetbaggers, if Northern immigrants, brought a wide range of perspectives with them, accepting the new status quo in the South but differing in their approach to their newly freed neighbors.

Historically, Reconstruction ended with the withdrawal of Union troops in 1877 and the reinstitution of slavery by other means, but by no means was this a foregone conclusion. Instead, it was the result of a struggle in which each side attempted to impose their will upon the others. Could radical Republicans have managed to evade distraction and Northern dissent to achieve permanent enfranchisement in the South? Could Freedmen and ex-Confederates have managed to co-exist peacefully? Could the ex-Confederates have gradually been convinced to give up their cause and align with the Carpetbaggers? Could poor Carpetbaggers have found common cause with Freedmen against the competing economic systems of the North and South, and forged a third path?

This thesis exists, not to definitively answer these questions, but to provide a teaching tool to support discussion of the Reconstruction era, and a framework for understanding a historic example of asymmetric competition using the same analytic tools used to understand contemporary conflict. To accomplish this, the thesis takes the form of a wargame: a competitive, decision-focused model of the events of 1865-1877. At its heart, wargaming is the physical manifestation of the visualization process: “the mental process of developing situational understanding, determining a desired end state,

and envisioning an operational approach by which the force will achieve that endstate.”¹ Its value as an analytical methodology lies both in the creation of the model underlying the game, and in its use by learners and practitioners to gain insight about the phenomena being studied. Ultimately, a wargame should aim to strengthen a player’s decision-making abilities, ground their understanding of the context in which operations are taking place, and do so in an environment that is safe, encouraging of exploration, and able to be repeated across multiple sessions, or with multiple groups.² In this light, wargames are tools of both analysis and education, and their usefulness comes from the fact that they are interactive, rather than passive educational tools. Rather than studying the events of the Reconstruction era as they are recorded to have happened, wargames allow players to explore the multiple underlying causes behind historical events, and to do so in a non-deterministic way. This is because, in a wargame, players are not competing against a historical outcome, but against opposing players.³

This wargame invites players to assume the roles of Reconstruction-era decision makers, both in specific and aggregate, as they use the instruments of national power to achieve various policy goals: state-level political control, national-level political control, economic prosperity, and personal security. While the factions may work together to

¹ Headquarters, Department of the Army (HQDA), Army Doctrine Publication 6-0, *Mission Command: Command and Control of Army Forces* (Washington, DC: Army Publishing Directorate, 2019), 2-15.

² Center for Army Lessons Learned (CALL), *How to Master Wargaming: Commander and Staff Guide to Improving COA Analysis* (Fort Leavenworth, KS: CALL, 2020), 19.

³ A. M. Mood and R. D. Specht, *Gaming as a Technique of Analysis* (Santa Monica: RAND, October 19, 1954), 5.

achieve those goals, the end-states for each player are mutually exclusive, forcing them to decide when to work with an erstwhile enemy and when to undermine an ally. The player making decisions for the Republican party assumes direct control of the Union forces occupying the South, and must balance this ability with the requirement to deal with abstracted national events, which serve to distract their attention away from the process of Reconstruction. By contrast, the other three players (Freedmen, ex-Confederates, and Carpetbaggers) represent broad social classes and movements and will have difficulty coordinating their activities beyond the local level, as there was no one person leading or controlling these factions. The game takes place at the strategic and operational levels, with players primarily focusing on building economic infrastructure and generating forces in order to achieve political or economic control of the Southern United States within a set of constraints unique to each player. Taken together, these features stress the asymmetric nature of the Reconstruction era, in that it was population-centric conflict, where parties had unequal access to military force, unequal vulnerabilities to threats, unequal cultural frameworks, and unequal costs in carrying out operations.⁴

This paper consists of five chapters: an introduction, a literature review covering historical, doctrinal, and simulation specific sources, an overview of wargaming methodologies used to design the game and validate the concept, a chapter covering the history of Reconstruction and its reflection in the wargame, and a conclusion. Following this are several appendices: appendix A – Parts List, appendix B – Rules, appendix C – Player Aids, appendix D – Game Map, and appendix E – Event Card Descriptions.

⁴ David L. Buffaloe, *Defining Asymmetric Warfare*, The Land Warfare Papers (Arlington: The Institute of Land Warfare, September 2006), 17.

Problem Statement

Military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan over the last 20 years have demonstrated the complex results of removing a minority powerholder from government, the rapid empowerment of a previously-repressed minority, and the withdrawal of military forces attempting to enforce national policy. While most military thinkers have attempted to find parallels with counterinsurgency efforts in Vietnam and Malaya to formulate U.S. military strategy in the contemporary fight, a less-studied period exists closer to home that fits these criteria: the Reconstruction Era following the Civil War. Could a wargame covering this period be used to teach the history of, and asymmetric strategies used during Reconstruction to decision makers?

Purpose of the Study

This study will attempt to fill the current gap in wargames covering Reconstruction and address the similarities between historical counterinsurgency warfare and those encountered by soldiers over the last two decades. In taking on the role of both active and passive participants in the struggle, players will gain an appreciation of how different policy goals can lead to complex interactions among allies and enemies.

Research Questions

Primary Research Question: Can the Reconstruction period following the end of the U.S. Civil War be effectively modeled as an asymmetric conflict for the purpose of educating leaders? To answer this question, this thesis will rely on three secondary questions.

Secondary Research Question 1: What are the essential features of Reconstruction that must be included in the model? This question encompasses both the design of the map, and the basic choices available to each player. This wargame uses the instruments of national power as a framework to understand these choices, and allows each player to make decisions to achieve their policy goals directly or indirectly through diplomatic, informational, military, and economic means.⁵ These actions take place across three broad areas of the map: those southern states who seceded from the Union; the border states that remained in the Union, either by desire or coercion; and a selection of northern states which formed the core of the Union. The underlying model must take into account the material and social differences in each of these areas. Within these areas exist sub-regions and resources that have been chosen to represent the population, demographics, and industrial capacity of each state. These locations and qualities have been chosen based on population records and proximity to significant events that occurred during Reconstruction. These choices have been made deliberately; this wargame is meant to help players explore the decision spaces of the various commanders, presenting too many options would serve to confuse, rather than support, this process.⁶

Secondary Research Question 2: How can those essential features be modeled? Modeling the essential features of Reconstruction builds on the options available to each player and focuses on the complex results of each player's interaction, as well as the

⁵ Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), Joint Publication (JP) 1, *Doctrine for the Armed Forces of the United States* (Washington, DC: Department of Defense, 2013), I-12.

⁶ Mark Mahaffey, "Historical Aesthetics in Mapmaking," in *Zones of Control: Perspectives on Wargaming*, ed. Pat Harrigan and Matthew G. Kirschenbaum, Game Histories (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2016), 68.

game mechanics that influence player decisions. This requires that players are able to achieve their goals both directly, through their own actions, and indirectly, by influence or negotiation with another player. To support this, the model should be robust enough to force players to make decisions similar to their historical counterparts, but not so constrictive as to force history to replay itself the same each time. In addition to the interactions between player decisions, the essential features can also be modeled through abstract or random mechanics. In this wargame, player actions occur in the context of event cards, which serve to create a historical setting, distract players from achieving operational objectives, and control the tempo for the game. This is addressed fully in chapter three.

Secondary Research Question 3: What prior models exist that can be used in the models, and what models must be invented? Over the last eight years, the Counterinsurgency (COIN) model developed by Volko Ruhnke has proved useful in simulating conflicts from 1990's Colombia⁷ to the American Revolution⁸. However, while these models focus primarily on military and influence operations, any model of Reconstruction must be driven by economic relations. Changing social relations during Reconstruction were expressed nowhere more clearly than in the economic relations between enslaved and master, which transitioned after the war to sharecropping and wage labor. As the various factions attempted to navigate this transition, the Union and

⁷ Volko Ruhnke, *Andean Abyss: Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Colombia* Board Game (GMT Games, 2012).

⁸ Harold Buchanan, *Liberty or Death: The American Insurrection*, Board Game (GMT Games, 2016).

Carpetbaggers tried to impose the North's economic system onto the South, while the Freedmen and ex-Confederates worked against each other to secure or prevent the existence of free labor.

Methodology

This will consist of three elements: Document Review, Historical Methods, and Wargame Design. The Document Review and Historical Methods will focus on: (1) Major decisions points for Freedmen, Carpetbaggers, the occupying Union army, and former members of the Confederate government. (2) How differing policy goals among the various factions caused seemingly aligned actors to work for and against each other. (3) What policy tools each faction was able to bring to bear to achieve their goals, whether military, economic, or political. Wargame Design will start with research into the ways counterinsurgencies and asymmetric conflicts are modeled using analog tools, and whether any of those systems could be adapted to model the Reconstruction era, or if new system is needed. Simulation design requires the creation and testing of a model able to present users with effective representations of decisions and problems the leaders of each faction faced. Wargame playtesting consisted of running the system with members of the Directorate of Simulation Education, fellow Wargame Design MMAS Track students, and others as available, with the aim of refining the system to those elements required to model the Reconstruction period. No human research or oral history will be conducted. The Wargaming Methodology used in this study will be fully explored in Chapter 3.

Assumptions

Two assumptions were required to begin the design of the wargame. First, that it is possible to model Reconstruction as a wargame using an analog system, and second, that the interactions between the players can be described using the instruments of national power.

Scope

This wargame covers Reconstruction from the years 1865 to 1877. This choice allows players to explore events beginning with the death of Abraham Lincoln, and ending with the Compromise of 1877.⁹ This is by no means the only possibility, however this definition has the benefit of keeping players focused on the decision makers who were alive during the period, and avoids counterfactual scenarios that would limit the academic value of the model.¹⁰ A more expansive view of the period could have U.S. begin in 1862 with the abolition of slavery in Washington, D.C. and federal territories, or 1863 with the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation. This, however, would require the model to support conventional warfare between the Union and Confederacy, and would provide limited unique decisions for the Carpetbaggers and Freedmen. Poor play by the Union could even result in the game ending before the two of the factions even exist! Finally, ending the game in 1877 provides clear direction to players' actions,

⁹ Richard Zuczek, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Reconstruction Era*, Greenwood Milestones in African American History (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2006), xxxi-xlvii.

¹⁰ Philip Sabin, "Wargames as an Academic Instrument," in *Zones of Control: Perspectives on Wargaming*, ed. Pat Harrigan and Matthew G. Kirschenbaum, Game Histories (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2016), 435.

namely, the presidential election of 1876: can the Republicans maintain political control, and who will they need to rely on to do so?

Limitations

The main limitation to this project is the lack of time necessary to playtest and refine the game. Playtesting allows designers to spot ambiguities in rules, understand the cognitive load required from first-time players, and explore novel strategies.¹¹ Given Ruhnke's maxim that games are never finished, only published,¹² the lack of time and resources available to conduct playtesting will prevent the game from progressing past the prototype stage.

Another limitation is the lack of available sources from minority perspectives. Primary sources generally come to us in the form of written documents; this results in a bias towards those who were able to write, had the resources to have writing done on their behalf, or had the power to decide what to preserve. To counteract this, the researcher has attempted to conduct research with a bias toward the poor and powerless within the story of Reconstruction. To this end, the game presents the history of women and racial minorities whenever possible. Unfortunately, judging from the lack of material, many of these peoples' stories have been lost to time or the shifting preferences of Civil War historiography.

¹¹ Philip Sabin, *Simulating War: Studying Conflict through Simulation Games* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), 127-128.

¹² Volko Ruhnke, "How to Design a COIN Wargame," Georgetown University Gaming Society, video, YouTube, 2020, https://youtu.be/FbflZE_NTRI; Sabin, *Simulating War*, 129. Or, more pessimistically, until they are abandoned.

Finally, the field of wargaming presents several limitations. First and foremost, that it is an attempt to produce a model that reduces the complex and chaotic relations between people to a set of digestible rules. However closely we attempt to model the conflict, there will always be a gap between the reality of the past, and the history it is attempting to describe.¹³

Delimitations

The majority of delimitations within the project are a result of the need to control the scope of the game, and are more thoroughly explored in chapter 5. Ultimately, the game is not intended to be a 1:1 representation of Reconstruction, but a model that allows players to understand the decisions available to their historical counterparts.

The time covered by the game has been limited to the period from 1865-1877. This allows players to focus on the main events of Reconstruction, but skips the events of 1862-1864, when the Emancipation Proclamation and generous terms for readmission to the Union set a completely different course for Reconstruction. To avoid the counterfactual of a Lincoln presidency, as well as the need to model conventional battles between the Union and Confederate armies, the game begins in 1865, after the assassination of Lincoln and the formal end of hostilities between the North and South.

In order to simplify the model and focus decisions on the interactions between competing demands, player decisions are limited to the strategic and operational levels. The operations each player can take are abstractions of the full range of options available

¹³ Peter P. Perla, *The Art of Wargaming: A Guide for Professionals and Hobbyists* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1990), chap. 4.

to the historical factions, and do not represent single engagements, but multiple engagements using a single implement of national power. For example, a Freedmen “Arrest” operation models Freedmen control of the local government, and the resulting ability and responsibility to maintain law and order, rather than the ability to execute an arrest warrant at the tactical level.

Summary

This chapter provided an introduction to the goals, limits, and benefits of the study, as well as the historical setting in which the model operates. The subsequent chapters will provide a review of the literature, and compare the historical Reconstruction with the model used by the wargame. Taken together, these elements aim to answer the primary research question: Can the Reconstruction period following the end of the U.S. Civil War be effectively modeled as a Counterinsurgency for the purpose of educating leaders?

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

For every Southern boy fourteen years old, not once but whenever he wants it, there is the instant when it's still not yet two o'clock on that July afternoon in 1863.

—William Faulkner, *Intruder in the Dust*

Introduction

The purpose of the model used in this wargame is to allow players to make historical decisions affecting the outcome of Reconstruction, and do so under similar pressures and constraints as their historical counterparts. The model relies on existing wargames to provide meaningful decisions and interactions between the players, and on primary and secondary historical sources to create the context in which those decisions take place. A complete listing of all material reviewed is contained in the bibliography.

Historical Sources

Academic views on Reconstruction have been the site of major reevaluations since the 1870s, and broadly fall into four schools: the Traditionalists, epitomized by William Archibald Dunning, and representing a concerted effort to rehabilitate ex-Confederates and villainize Freedmen and Carpetbaggers; the Revolutionary approach taken by historians Charles and Mary Beard, which held that Reconstruction was the second American Revolution; the Revisionist school, characterizing the era as a revolution denied; and the Post-Revisionist school, which focused on the non-revolutionary outcome of Reconstruction, and stressed the continuity between the

antebellum, postbellum, and contemporary South.¹⁴ Any attempt to model this period needs to grapple not only with our current understanding of the era, but with the understanding the decision makers had (or wished others to have) at the time. This is not to say that the perspective of over 150 years has been necessary to properly understand reconstruction. After all, current scholarship of the conflict aligns closely with the views of W.E.B DuBois in his 1935 history, *Reconstruction in America: Toward a History of the Part of Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880*, written in response to historians of the Dunning school who painted Reconstruction as a “Tragic Era.”

The model for this wargame relies heavily on the work of Eric Foner, whose book, *Reconstruction: America’s Unfinished Revolution*, remains the definitive account of Reconstruction 30 years after it was first published, and takes the position that while, “Reconstruction may not have succeeded in the nineteenth century . . . it made possible radical changes realized through the civil rights movements a century later.”^{15, 16} This book forms the basis for the model’s implementation of the Diplomatic and Economic implements of national power.

Military and Informational decisions presented by the model are drawn largely from Keith Dickson’s short book, *No Surrender: Asymmetric Warfare in the*

¹⁴ Eric Foner, “Reconstruction Revisited,” *Reviews in American History* 10, no. 4 (December 1982): 1.

¹⁵ Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America’s Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877*, New American Nation Series (New York: Perennial Classics, 2002).

¹⁶ Brook Thomas, “The Unfinished Task of Grounding Reconstruction’s Promise,” *The Journal of the Civil War Era* 7, no. 1 (2017): 19.

Reconstruction South, 1868-1877.¹⁷ Dickson uses a four-phase approach to describe the evolution of violence during Reconstruction: Sources and Preconditions; Identity-Based Classification, Distinction, and Mobilization; Dislocation of the Dominant Actor; and Equilibrium and Reconciliation.¹⁸ This framework provides a general strategy for the ex-Confederate player to leverage targeted violence against the superior numbers of the other factions.

For an understanding of the military's role in enforcing the bureaucracy of Reconstruction, Mark Bradley's short history, *The Army and Reconstruction, 1865-1877*, was invaluable, as it includes a history of the different ways in which military governors attempted to transition from military to civilian control.¹⁹ Andrew Birtle's *U.S. Counterinsurgency and Contingency Operations Doctrine, 1860-1941* briefly frames these operations in the wider context of Constabulary operations, and describes the lack of institutional learning the Army both brought to, and took away from Reconstruction.²⁰

Further information about the employment of the U.S. Colored Troops, as well as Military occupation at large was sourced from: William Dobak's *Freedom by the Sword: The U.S. Colored Troops 1862-1867*, and *The Black Regulars, 1866-1898* (written with Thomas D. Phillips), as well as Gregory Downs' *After Appomattox: Military Occupation*

¹⁷ Keith D. Dickson, *No Surrender: Asymmetric Warfare in the Reconstruction South, 1868-1877* (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2017).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 4-6.

¹⁹ Mark L. Bradley, *The Army and Reconstruction 1865-1877*, *The U.S. Army Campaigns of the Civil War* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 2015).

²⁰ Andrew J. Birtle, *U.S. Counterinsurgency and Contingency Operations Doctrine, 1860-1941* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 1998), 57.

and the Ends of War, and Joseph Glatthaar's, *Forged in Battle: The Civil War Alliance of Black Soldiers and White Officers*.²¹ Histories of specific units can be found in Kelly Mezurek's *For Their Own Cause: The 27th United States Colored Troops*, and Gregory Mixon's *Show Thyself a Man: Georgia State Troops, Colored, 1865-1905*.²² Information on the experience of Freedmen at large can be found in *A Nation under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration*, by Steven Hahn.²³

The design of the map, including the placement of factories, farms, and resources come from three sources: Scott Nelson's *Iron Confederacies: Southern Railways, Klan Violence, and Reconstruction*, *Confederate Industry: Manufacturers and Quartermasters in the Civil War*, by Harold Wilson, and *Rails to Oblivion: The Battle of Confederate Railroads in the Civil War*.²⁴ In addition to these was Carl Fish's *The Restoration of the*

²¹ William A. Dobak, *Freedom by the Sword: The U.S. Colored Troops, 1862-1867*, Army Historical Series CMH Pub 30-24-1 (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 2011); William A. Dobak and Thomas D. Phillips, *The Black Regulars, 1866-1898* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 2001); Gregory P. Downs, *After Appomattox: Military Occupation and the Ends of War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015); Joseph T. Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle: The Civil War Alliance of Black Soldiers and White Officers* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000).

²² Kelly D. Mezurek, *For Their Own Cause: The 27th United States Colored Troops*, Civil War in the North (Kent: The Kent State University Press, 2016); Gregory Mixon, *Show Thyself a Man: Georgia State Troops, Colored, 1865-1905*, Southern Dissent (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2016).

²³ Steven Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2003).

²⁴ Scott Reynolds Nelson, *Iron Confederacies: Southern Railways, Klan Violence, and Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Harold S. Wilson, *Confederate Industry: Manufacturers and Quartermasters in the Civil War*. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2005); Christopher R. Gabel, *Rails to*

Southern Railroads, a brief look at the fiscal and physical rebuilding of railways after the Civil War.²⁵ The map itself is based on “Railroads of the Confederacy and Border States” maintained by the Department of History at the United States Military Academy.²⁶

Details on different effects Reconstruction had across the states of the Union were pulled from a variety of sources, including: *The Dance of Freedom: Texas African Americans during Reconstruction*, Barry Crouch and Larry Madras, *After War Times: An African American Childhood in Reconstruction-Era Florida*, Timothy Fortune and Daniel Weinfeld, and *Crucible of Reconstruction: War, Radicalism and Race in Louisiana 1862-77*, by Ted Tunnel.²⁷

For an understanding of the motivations of poor whites in the North and South, *Searching for Freedom after the Civil War: Klansman, Carpetbagger, Scalawag, and Freedman*, by Ward Hubbs, *Masterless Men: Poor Whites and Slavery in the Antebellum*

Oblivion: The Battle of Confederate Railroads in the Civil War (Leavenworth: Combat Studies Institute, 2002).

²⁵ Carl Russell Fish, *The Restoration of the Southern Railroads*, University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences 2 (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1919).

²⁶ Department of History, United States Military Academy, “Railroads of the Confederacy and Border States,” accessed March 29, 2021, https://www.westpoint.edu/sites/default/files/inline-images/academics/academic_departments/history/AmCivilWar/ACW02.pdf.

²⁷ Barry A. Crouch and Larry Madaras, *The Dance of Freedom: Texas African Americans during Reconstruction*, Jack and Doris Smothers Series in Texas History, Life, and Culture 19 (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 2007); Timothy Thomas Fortune and Daniel R. Weinfeld, *After War Times: An African American Childhood in Reconstruction-Era Florida* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2014); Ted Tunnel, *Crucible of Reconstruction: War, Radicalism and Race in Louisiana, 1862-77*. (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1984).

South, by Kerri Merritt, and *New Masters: Northern Planters during the Civil War and Reconstruction*, by Lawrence Powell were invaluable.²⁸

Context for historical events taking place outside Reconstruction was provided by a broad array of books, including: Laura Edwards' *A Legal History of the Civil War and Reconstruction: A Nation of Rights*, John Hart's *Empire and Revolution: The Americans in Mexico Since the Civil War*, Stephen Haycox's, *Alaska: An American Colony*, and Heather Cox Richardson's, *West from Appomattox: The Reconstruction of America after the Civil War*.²⁹

Education

In order to understand the place of Reconstruction in American education, see David Morgan's Ph.D. thesis, "The Treatment of the Reconstruction Period in United States History as Reflected in American High School History Textbooks, 1890-1983."³⁰

²⁸ G. Ward Hubbs, *Searching for Freedom after the Civil War: Klansman, Carpetbagger, Scalawag, and Freedman* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2015); Keri Leigh Merritt, *Masterless Men: Poor Whites and Slavery in the Antebellum South*, Cambridge Studies on the American South (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017); Lawrence N. Powell, *New Masters: Northern Planters during the Civil War and Reconstruction*, The North's Civil War 9 (New York: Fordham University Press, 1998).

²⁹ Laura F. Edwards, *A Legal History of the Civil War and Reconstruction: A Nation of Rights*, New Histories of American law (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015); John M. Hart, *Empire and Revolution: The Americans in Mexico Since the Civil War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Stephen W. Haycox, *Alaska: An American Colony* (Seattle: The University of Washington Press, 2020); Heather Cox Richardson, *West from Appomattox: The Reconstruction of America after the Civil War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

³⁰ David Earl Morgan, "The Treatment of the Reconstruction Period in United States History as Reflected in American High School History Textbooks, 1890-1983," (Ph.D. dissertation, Loyola University, Chicago, IL, 1985).

To understand the use of wargames as classroom teaching tools see: Benjamin Hoy's "Teaching History with Custom-Built Board Games." and Solomon Smith's "Pounding Dice into Musket Balls: Using Wargames to Teach the American Revolution."³¹

Doctrine

The DIME model of the instruments of national power contained in Joint Publication 1 provided the framework to build the interactions between the factions.³² The idea that national policy goals can be achieved in one of four ways, Diplomatic, Informational, Military, and Economic, defines the ways in which players can interact with each other and with the game's system. Using the DIME model as a framework for player decision-making allows players to use current doctrine to describe historical events, and better allows players understand the asymmetric nature of the conflict. For example, while all four factions can execute actions in the political domain (falling under diplomacy in the model), there are substantially different costs for the Freedmen to do so, as opposed to the ex-Confederates or Carpetbaggers.

Wargame Methodology

The model for this game is based on the system originally created by Volko Ruhnke for the game, *Andean Abyss*, itself inspired by Brian Train's *Algeria: The War of*

³¹ Benjamin Hoy, "Teaching History with Custom-Built Board Games," *Simulation & Gaming* 49, no. 8 (March 2018): 1-19; Solomon K. Smith, "Pounding Dice into Musket Balls: Using Wargames to Teach the American Revolution," *The History Teacher* 46, no. 4 (August 2013): 561-576.

³² JCS, JP 1.

Independence 1954-1962.³³ Ruhnke proposes that counterinsurgencies can be modeled across the two dimensions of control and support, expressing the degree of physical control in an area, and the degree of support among the population. Thus, any space will fall into one of four possible categories, ranging from Government Control/Government Support, to Insurgent Control/Insurgent Support. Additional design notes found in *Fire in the Lake: Insurgency in Vietnam* by Mark Herman and Volko Ruhnke, as well as Ruhnke's presentation to the Georgetown University Wargame Society, "How to Design a COIN Wargame", provided an invaluable frame work during the initial design of each player's actions.³⁴

Guidance on wargame mechanics was sourced from *Game Mechanics: Advanced Game Design*, by Ernest Adams and Joris Dormans, which provides a thorough taxonomy of the subject.³⁵ Selections from *Zones of Control: Perspectives on Wargaming* edited by Pat Harrigan and Matthew Kirschenbaum were extremely useful in designing the model to provide an educational, rather than simply entertaining, experience.³⁶ Finally, Ralph Koster's *A Theory of Fun* describes why games work: the

³³ Ruhnke, *Andean Abyss*, sec. Design Notes.

³⁴ Mark Herman and Volko Ruhnke, *Fire in the Lake: Insurgency in Vietnam*, Board Game (GMT Games, 2014); Ruhnke, *How to Design a COIN Wargame*.

³⁵ Ernest Adams and Joris Dormans, *Game Mechanics: Advanced Game Design* (Berkeley: New Riders, 2012).

³⁶ Pat Harrigan and Matthew G. Kirschenbaum, eds., *Zones of Control: Perspectives on Wargaming*, Game histories (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2016).

elements common to enjoyable games, as well as the features that enable players to learn from them.³⁷

Summary

This chapter provided information on the most valuable sources used to prepare the model underlying this wargame, ranging from the history of Reconstruction, the development of the COIN model, and the design and use of games in learning. The next chapter describes the validity of the mechanics used by the model.

³⁷ Raph Koster, *A Theory of Fun for Game Design* (Scottsdale: Paraglyph Press, 2005), 124.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY AND VALIDITY

Some players will be uncomfortable with the idea of playing Oppression. This discomfort is intentional.

—Amabel Holland, *This Guilty Land*

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explain the methodology behind wargaming as a discipline, its validity as a tool for teaching history, and its use in answering the primary and secondary research questions. While the primary tool used in this thesis was wargaming, the author also relied on the historical method and document analysis to answer the research questions, both of which will be described in this chapter. Subsequent chapters will describe the results of this research, specifically the essential features of Reconstruction needed to be modeled by the wargame, and the mechanisms which were used to do so.

Defining Games

To understand the process behind wargame methodology, designers must first define the terms of art. This paper will use Greg Costikyan's definition that a game is a simulation in which players make decisions to achieve goals, with a wargame being any game that primarily focuses on conflict between the players.³⁸ From here, three more terms need to be defined.

³⁸ Greg Costikyan, "I Have No Words & I Must Design: Toward a Critical Vocabulary for Games," in *Computer Games and Digital Cultures Conference Proceedings*, vol. 1, ed. Frans Mäyrä (Tampere: Tampere University Press, 2002), 9-33.

First, a *model* is a set of underlying rules that seek to explain the reality of the wargame.³⁹ At its best, the model defines the connections between the different elements of the game, and controls how the system changes from one state of play to the next. If these changes in the system are iterated, a *simulation* exists. The iteration can occur sequentially within the system, or in subsequent uses of the model, the difference being whether the opportunities for decision making occur throughout the system's use (sequential), or only in setting the initial conditions (subsequent). Once players are able to make meaningful decisions about how the simulation translates from one state to the next, the model has become a *game*. In this way, a game can be thought of as a machine that “progresses from one state to another based on their current state, and the input provided by players.”⁴⁰

In creating the model, the designer must decide what the possible states of play the game will allow, as well as the paths player decisions will take to progress the game from one state to the next. While this may seem straight forward, designers quickly run into two issues when attempting to decision space for their game: first, that they include too few possibilities, in which case player decisions cease to become meaningful, and second, that they include too many possibilities, wherein the game loses focus and ceases to represent an underlying process.⁴¹ For games attempting to model historical events this

³⁹ Sabin, *Simulating War*, 4.

⁴⁰ Adams and Dormans, *Game Mechanics*, 26.

⁴¹ Christopher A. Weuve, Peter P. Perla, Michael C. Markowitz, Robert Rubel, Stephen Downes-Martin, Michael Martin, and Paul V. Vebber, *Wargame Pathologies* (Arlington: Center for Naval Analyses, September 2004), 21, accessed December 27, 2020, <http://www.dtic.mil/docs/citations/ADA596774>.

means that designers should choose a starting state that actually existed in history, and ensure player decisions allow for game states that mirrored historical events. Games that are unable to recreate the history that their model attempts to describe are not valid.

Classifying Features

One method of classifying games is the TSAR model, which describes a game as the set of Time, Space, Assets and Resolutions. The challenge of game design is the development of a system that ties these four aspects together coherently.⁴²

Time is the sequential distribution of decisions, and describes the relationship of one player's decisions to another, and of the relationship of the model to the decisions those players are asked to make. The time relationship between two players can be thought of as turns or rounds within the game: opportunities for players to make decisions and react to their opponents' decisions. Additionally, the time aspect describes the scale on which actions are taking place within the model: in wargames, a turn can represent the hours, days, or years through which one play state progresses to the next.⁴³

Space is the distribution of decisions across possible states of play. In wargames this often takes the form of a map, subdivided into areas where players can decide to move their pieces. The three main types of maps used in wargames are *hex*, *area*, and *point-to-point*. Hex games overlay a hexagonal grid on terrain, and allows for realistic

⁴² James Sterrett, "A385" (Lecture, United States Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS, Fall 2020).

⁴³ John H. Butterfield, *SpaceCorp 2025-2300*, Board Game (GMT Games, 2018).

movement in any direction.⁴⁴ Area games discard the regular tiling of hexagonal grids in favor of irregular shapes. While this limits the number of decisions a player is able to make, it may have the benefit of focusing a player's attention on the most important spatial relationships within the model. Point maps are topographically equivalent to Area maps, but their design emphasizes the connections between nodes. Where area maps will take the form of a cartographic map, point maps are more abstract, and look similar to a wire diagram. These mechanisms are not mutually exclusive; designers may combine different elements to better model the underlying system. As an example, John Gorkowski's *Empire at Sunrise* uses two scales of hexagons along with tiled squares to represent tactical, strategic, and operational theaters in the Pacific during World War I.⁴⁵

Not all games relate player decisions to physical terrain. When modeling complex behavior, such as a factory or hospital, players may be asked to place their resources onto an abstract board, representing an action to be taken during their turn, such as gathering resources or treating a patient.⁴⁶ This is known as *worker placement*.⁴⁷

Assets are resources players use to make their decisions. They can represent an exhaustible resource such as food, fuel, or time, or can represent the object through which

⁴⁴ Geoffrey Engelstein and Isaac Shalev, *Building Blocks of Tabletop Game Design: An Encyclopedia of Mechanisms* (Boca Raton: CRC Press, 2020), 352.

⁴⁵ John Gorkowski, *Empire at Sunrise: The Great War in Asia, 1914*, Board Game (Hollandspiele, 2021).

⁴⁶ Caitlin J. Ebbets, "Death Can Wait," (master's thesis, US Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS, 2018).

⁴⁷ Engelstein and Shalev, *Building Blocks of Tabletop Game Design*, 329.

the player makes their decision, such a worker or military unit. Most games ask players to accomplish a goal using limited assets.

The final aspect of this model is Resolutions, and refers both to the way in which the model reacts to player decisions, either allowing them or challenging them, and the way in which the model resolves conflicts between the players. In some models, resolution is deterministic, and occurs exactly as the player expects.⁴⁸ In others, especially war games, the model introduces an element of chance into player decisions. The simplest version of this uses dice to model the outcome of a battle, while more complicated models may use a Combat Results Table—effectively, a mapping of probability onto a set of outcomes.⁴⁹

Validity and Utility

In discussing the utility of wargaming to students and practitioners, Sabin provides six ways in which wargames prove to be useful: first, that they require an underlying model; second, that they allow researchers to reconstruct poorly recorded historical events; third, that they provide a logical framework against which researchers can test their theories; fourth, it reminds practitioners that history is a series of decisions and counter-decisions, rather than an inevitable series of events; fifth, that they allow the exploration of alternative possibilities within the framework described by the model; and

⁴⁸ Engelstein and Shalev, *Building Blocks of Tabletop Game Design*, 113.

⁴⁹ Albert Lamorisse, *Risk!*, Board Game (Parker Brothers, 1959); Engelstein and Shalev, *Building Blocks of Tabletop Game Design*, 121

finally, that a powerful enough model provides insights no only to the past, but to future conflicts.⁵⁰

The validity of wargaming as a discipline, like all forms of education and training, rests on its ability to transfer knowledge and experiences from one person to another. What sets wargaming apart is “its ability to enable individual participants to transform themselves by making them more open to internalizing their experiences.”⁵¹ The designer’s role in this process is to guide players through the different play states offered by the game, and to ensure that each possible play states includes some mix of necessary, probable, and possible situations, while excluding impossible situations, or those at odds with the educational purpose of the game. In the example shown in figure 1, where stars represent necessary or historically accurate events, circles represent probable or possible events, crosses represent impossible or unwanted events, and the arrows show player decisions, propelling the game through sequential play states – the sets of events the designer is hoping to produce or allow to happen, while ensuring impossible events remain unreachable.

⁵⁰ Sabin, *Simulating War*, 59-63.

⁵¹ Peter P. Perla and E. D. McGrady, “Why Wargaming Works,” *Naval War College Review* 64, no. 3 (Summer 2011): 112.

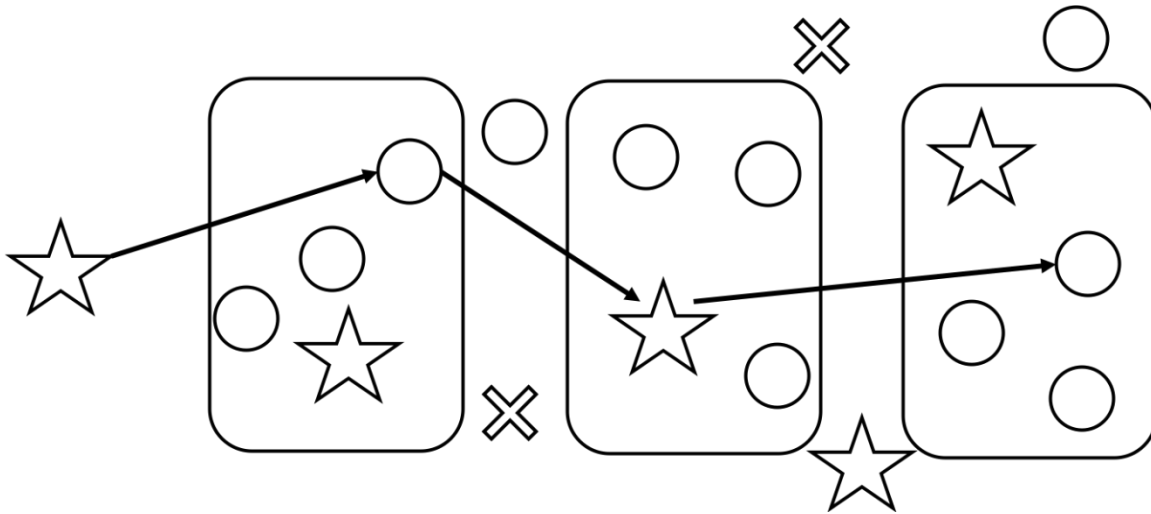


Figure 1. Player Decisions, States of play, and Possible Results

Source: Created by author.

Wargaming, both professional and hobbyist, can trace its history back over 4000 years with the invention of Go in China, the (much) later development of Chaturanga, and Chess in India and Europe, the more recent development of modern Kriegspiel in the 1800s, and the subsequent growth of commercial wargames.⁵² Each of these games is characterized, not only by the purpose of playing the game, but by the tradeoffs the designer made in attempting to create the game's model. Briefly, these tradeoffs include Accuracy and Simplicity, Dynamics and Narrative, and Outcome and Decision.

In creating a model, a designer must decide on the appropriate level of detail players need to contend with, and in doing so, defines both the scope of the player's control, and the person on whose behalf the player is making decisions. This leads to a balance between the combination of accuracy (the truthfulness of the model), precision

⁵² Smith, "Pounding Dice into Musket Balls."

(the level of detail it allows) on one hand, and on the other, simplicity (the degree to which the player is able to understand and execute the rules that define the model).⁵³ This distinction can be seen in two games that attempt to model World War II: *Axis & Allies*, and *The Campaign for North Africa*.⁵⁴ In *Axis & Allies*, players have full control of all decisions their nation is able to make: they can decide on strategy, allocate resources toward production, and tactical decisions concerning individual attacks. While all these things happened, *Axis & Allies* does not accurately model the way the warring sides made decisions in WWII. Here, as in many games, “one person is the entire government and can act more consistently than any real government can.”⁵⁵ This does not mean that *Axis & Allies* is a totally inaccurate model of WWII, but that the designer, understanding that most players will rarely be able to get a thousand friends together for an afternoon, traded accuracy in the decision making part of the model, in favor of simplifying the system as a whole. On the other hand, Berg’s *Campaign for North Africa* took the opposite approach, dividing factions into competing teams, where each person assumes the role of a staff officer on the Axis or Allied side. With five players to a side, the game is notorious for the level of detail represented—going as far as to list specific and distinct logistical requirements for cooking rations. Here the attempt to achieve a level of precision is at

⁵³ Richard Paul and Linda Elder, *The Miniature Guide to Critical Thinking: Concepts and Tools*, 5th ed. (Tomales: The Foundation for Critical Thinking Press, 2008), 8; Sabin, *Simulating War*, chap. 2.

⁵⁴ Larry Harris Jr., *Axis & Allies*, Board Game (Milton Bradley, 1987); Richard H. Berg, *The Campaign for North Africa: The Desert War 1940-1943*, Board Game (SPI, 1979)..

⁵⁵ Lewis Pulsipher, “The ‘Great Dichotomies’ of Wargames,” *Against the Odds: A Journal of History and Simulation* 12, no. 3 (January 2017): 38-39.

odds with the simplicity of the model, as well as the cognitive resources required to play it.

The next tradeoff can be found in the tension between narrative and process. At its simplest, narrative is the human tendency to storytelling, which, throughout our history has been the “fundamental way to understand events we did not or cannot experience.”⁵⁶ In game design, it is the idea that players are taking part in a story whose characters, rules, and dilemmas are defined by the game’s model. Process, on the other hand, is focused on training players on how to execute a series of actions, and is more often seen in simulations than in games. Narrative draws its power from its ability to have players suspend the disbelief that separates them from the game. The dissolution of this boundary is key to several forms of commonly used commercial and professional games, including the Tactical Decision Games and Decision Forcing Cases used by the United States Marine Corps, and the Dungeons & Dragons Role Playing Game.⁵⁷ While these two examples may seem, at first, to be wildly divergent, their main differences are more style than substance. Both ask players to place themselves in a fictional setting, and to make timely decisions under the guidance of an adjudicator. This style is an excellent tool to teach decision making, as at the U.S. Army’s Cavalry Leader Course, which uses a series of individual and team games to train leaders on planning reconnaissance and

⁵⁶ Perla and McGrady, “Why Wargaming Works,” 113.

⁵⁷ John F. Schmitt, *Mastering Tactics: A Tactical Decision Games Workbook* (Marine Corps Association: Quantico, 1994); Mike Mearls and Jeremy Crawford, eds., *Dungeon Master’s Guide* (Renton: Wizards of the Coast, 2014).

surveillance operations, as well as in therapy, where narrative-focused games have been used to teach empathy and decision-making to at-risk youth.⁵⁸

Lastly, designers need to think about the degree to which their game will focus on outcome relative to decision. Every game has a goal: a way of measuring whether or not the player has successfully completed the game, or, in the case of multi-player games, completed it better or faster than the other players. Goals can be simple: in *Candy Land*, players try to move their marker to the end of a colored track faster than the other players.⁵⁹ Or they can be complex, as in *Chess*, where players are trying to prevent each other's king from being able to make a legal move, rather than destroy each other's pieces. Knowing the goal, or "victory conditions" as it is called in *Modeling Reconstruction*, helps direct players as they formulate and execute strategy: Seeing the finish line lets you know which direction to run, though it may not make the journey any easier. The alternative is to focus on player decisions—the actions they take on the way to the goal. Here, designers preference creating opportunities for dilemmas over achieving an endstate, to the point of stopping a game before a winner is determined.⁶⁰ One reason for this is that the spirit of competition (or the taste of defeat) can warp the ways in which players analyze their decisions, choosing a high-risk, high-payoff decision

⁵⁸ Hawke Robinson, "Playing with Purpose," interview by Gil Hova and Emma Larkins, *Ludology*, September 8, 2019, podcast, 1:15:11, <https://ludology.libsyn.com/ludology-208-playing-with-purpose>.

⁵⁹ Elanor Abbot, *Candy Land*, Board Game (Hasbro, 1949).

⁶⁰ James Sterrett, "Leveraging Commercial Games for Military Education," (lecture presented at Georgetown University Wargaming Society, Washington, DC, May 19, 2020), video, YouTube, <https://youtu.be/vaOY0cUDcqo>.

that violates norms of the profession, or worse, a low-risk, low-payoff decision in order to minimize embarrassment. In designs that value decision making, the game allows players to safely explore the decision-space of the activity or setting the game is modeling. If a student's decision is warped by fear of winning or losing, the game decreases in value as an educational tool. Like any professional, teachers should strive to use the right tool to generate the desired learning outcome. Consider again the example of *Candy Land*: the goal of the game is to get to the end of the track, but along the way, players practice age-appropriate skills like color-matching, turn-taking, and counting along the way. Even with its simple mechanics and rules, the game is surprisingly deep: developed for children in Polio wards, its use of narrative allowed those players to imagine themselves in ways or in situations could not otherwise experience: as healthy children, walking freely outside the walls of the hospital.⁶¹

Prior Models

The basis for the model used in this wargame comes largely from the COIN system. Originally designed by Volko Ruhnke to model counterinsurgency in Colombia in the 1990s, it has since been used to explore conflicts as diverse as Afghanistan, Caesar's Gallic Campaigns, and the American Revolution.⁶² Games in this system

⁶¹ Samira Kawash, "Pleasure and Paralysis in Candy Land," *American Journal of Play* 3, no. 2 (Fall 2010): 186-220.

⁶² Brian Train and Volko Ruhnke, *A Distant Plain*, Board Game (GMT Games, 2013); Volko Ruhnke and Andrew Ruhnke, *Falling Sky: The Gallic Revolt Against Caesar*, Board Game (GMT Games, 2016); Buchanan, *Liberty or Death*.

generally utilize the following features and concepts that can be described using the TSAR framework.

The passage of time in COIN games is represented using Event Cards, each reflecting a historical event and accompanying decision players will need to make. Event Cards are played sequentially from a deck, with their order roughly determined by the time in which the event they represent took place. Players reference the card to determine what order they will make decisions in, and whether or not they will make the decision on the card, or a more general decision as dictated by their factions. After players have taken their turns, a new Event Card is turned over, and the process repeats. Play of these Event cards is interrupted by a special card interspersed within the deck, variously called a “Coup” or “Propaganda” card. This causes players to pause and conduct a “Propaganda Round”, where players total their scores and determine if any of the players have won the game, if no player has won, they add resources to their factions and resume play. The time that passes between Event Cards is highly variable: events may occur sequentially in the game which were separated by weeks or months of history. This variability is bounded by the Propaganda Cards, which generally map on to a more regular event, such as the seasons of the year or political elections. Thus, while individual events may happen out of their historical sequence, they will happen in line with larger political events—an event that took place toward the end of the American Revolution will not appear at the beginning of the war, as the deck from which Event Cards are drawn is ordered at the beginning of the game, and cards not shuffled back into the deck after play.

Space in COIN games is represented by an area map, allowing players to move pieces between physical locations. These often take the form of the administrative

boundaries between states or territories, and cities. Some games also include Lines of Communication, roads or the physical terrain between which pieces can be moved which take the form of a point-to-point map overlaid on top of an area map. Generally, pieces can move more quickly using Lines of Control than they can from area to area; placing pieces on Lines of Control may also allow players to affect each other economically, for example by sabotaging railways or setting up illegal checkpoints.

In addition to geographic space, the defining element of COIN games is the use of space to represent political or informational aspects of the game state. Most areas will be marked to show the relationship between the population of that area and the insurgent or counterinsurgent player. This information is displayed along two axes: Control, representing which player has more pieces in an area, and Support, showing which faction the abstracted population of the space supports. This mechanism allows for four possible states within each space—it is both possible and likely that a player will find themselves in control of a space, while lacking the support (or even being opposed) by the population that lives there.

Assets in COIN games fall into two categories: resources, and pieces. Resources represent the ability of factions to pay for the actions they wish to take, and can be thought of as a combination of economic resources and political will. Players exhaust these resources by paying for actions (with the cost depending on the faction taking that action), and replenish them during Propaganda Rounds. The amount of resources each player will get during each Propaganda Round also depends on the faction they are playing, and will increase or decrease during game play. For example, players may increase their resources gained by controlling additional spaces or building infrastructure.

The pieces used in COIN games represent one of three assets: regular military forces, irregular military forces, or infrastructure. As second defining feature of COIN games is the distinction between exposed and unexposed irregular pieces. These pieces are marked with a star on one side, and left blank on the other, representing whether or not the irregular piece is in hiding, or has been exposed after conducting an operation. This distinction is critical because the counterinsurgent player cannot simply target the insurgent player's pieces. The pieces must first be exposed, representing intelligence efforts to penetrate the insurgent network, then destroyed or captured through military activity. Because the counterinsurgent player will generally not be able to do both of these things on the same turn, the insurgent player will have to decide to whether spend resources to send those pieces back underground, or risk having them be destroyed. Similarly, irregular pieces will generally not be able to take military actions while exposed.

The last type of piece available to players is a base, representing logistical or economic infrastructure within an area, such as an insurgent safe house or government military base. Bases allow the players to generate additional forces and collect Resources.

Most actions within COIN games are resolved deterministically, that is, when a player makes a decision, there is no element of random chance that will affect the outcome of the decision. A general exception to this concept occurs when an insurgent player attempts to attack the counterinsurgent player using conventional means, and must roll a die to determine the effectiveness of the attack. This represents the asymmetric difference in military capabilities between insurgent and counterinsurgent forces. The

insurgent player can avoid this risk by conducting an ambush, rather than an attack, although at a greater cost in resources.

The options available to each player on their turn is determined by the Sequence of Play track, while the order in which players make their decisions is determined by the faction order listed on each Event Card. In order, players select spaces on the Sequence of Play track to decide whether or not they will react to the Event Card or take an action. After the first player's selection may limit the options available to subsequent players. For example, if the first player chooses to react to the event card, the next player will need to either select an action to take, or pass.

When taking actions, each faction is able to choose from two categories: Operations—actions more or less common to all factions, allowing players to move pieces, attack enemies, and generate forces, and Special Activities—actions which must be paired with operations, and allow players to take actions specific to their faction. For example, in *Andean Abyss*, the counterinsurgent faction may use a Special Activity to move conventional pieces across the map quickly, an option not available to the insurgent players. The number of actions, and the location in which factions may take them, depends on players' selections on the Sequence of Play track. The first player in a round can control the type and number of actions a subsequent player can take, based on their initial choice. For example, if the first player chooses to react to an event, the second player will be able to execute both an Operation and a Special Activity. However, if the first player decides to only conduct an Operation, the next player may only conduct an Operation in a single area. In this way, players must balance the advantage they gain

from their actions and decisions, with the possible opportunity presented to their opponent.

A second style of game that provided a model for this thesis is known as *4X*, an initialism for the major decisions players may make: “explore, expand, exploit, and exterminate.”⁶³ These games have players assume the role of settlers, frequently (but not always)⁶⁴ in an ancient⁶⁵ or science-fiction⁶⁶ setting. Similar to the DIME framework used in this game, *4X* games allow the player to decide how they will execute their preferred policy goals: will they remain a peaceful civilization devoted to science and culture, or a militaristic one, attempting to conquer and destroy their rivals? All players begin the game as a weak civilization, and must balance economic investment, exploration, and military conflict, to attempt to finish the game as the dominant civilization, as measured by some aspect of gameplay. Thus, each player may be competing against their opponents using different policy tools in order to achieve different policy goals. While all players start off with similar resources and abilities, policy choices cause the factions to become increasingly asymmetric, as their investments strengthen their abilities, and limit the breadth of their options.

⁶³ Alan Emrich, “MicroProse’ Strategic Space Opera Is Rated XXXX!,” *Computer Gaming World* (September 1993): 92-93. Emrich’s title and prose reflect the attitude and style of much of the hobbyist game community for much of its history. Title cited as spelled in the publication.

⁶⁴ Kevin G. Nunn, *Oak & Steel*, Board Game (Mr. B Games, 2020).

⁶⁵ Francis Tresham, *Civilization*, Board Game (Hartland Trefoil Ltd., 1980).

⁶⁶ Dane Beltrami, Corey Konieczka, and Christian T. Petersen, *Twilight Imperium*, Board Game (Fantasy Flight Games, 2017).

Wargame Design

Beyond initial research, Wargame Design informed and directed the majority of the thesis; design and playtesting were the primary way in which the author was able to answer the primary and secondary research questions. Sabin describes the research and design process as consisting of four essential areas of focus: Geographic Environment, Orders of Battle, Generic Capabilities, and Decision Environment. An understanding of this process guided historical research and document analysis, both to understand the historical context of the Reconstruction era, and prior models and mechanisms used by other wargames.

Geographic Environment is the physical space in which decisions take place. In most games this takes the form of a map, divided into states or territories. Starting with the idea that a game set during Reconstruction must include the territory of the formerly Confederate states, the decision confronting the author is to determine how pieces interact within that area, and how the area itself relates to spaces outside itself. Research and playtesting drove the decision to split the South into separate states to focus play on reunification and political control, rather than into military districts. Playtesting showed a need to further divide certain states into regions, as states—especially those along the Mississippi river, did not have uniform terrain, infrastructure, resources, or demographics. Playtesting further eliminated the use of cities and Northern states, as they served to distract players from historical decisions.

Orders of Battle were the least relied upon aspect of Sabin's process, and focused on the ratios of white and black troops in the Union Army, and their locations at the

beginning of the war, as well as the locations of Freedmen workers and ex-Confederate cells.

Generic Capabilities were designed at the outset to mirror the DIME model, with each faction able to pursue policy goals along Diplomatic, Informational, Military, and Economic lines. While historical research provided concrete examples of the ways in which factions acted during Reconstruction, document analysis—specifically research into prior models—provide examples on how to generalize these activities, as well as their costs. Playtesting further refined these specific rules to ensure they were simple enough to be understandable by players, but robust enough to accurately model the complexity of Reconstruction.

Finally, research and testing were required to define the Decision Environment of the model, largely defined here by two factors: the decision maker each player is attempting to represent, and each player's possible reaction to the key events of Reconstruction. These questions were entirely answered by historical research, primarily in the selection and compilation of the essential events of Reconstruction. A more complex question concerned who each player would make decisions on behalf of. In the case of the Union, the key decision maker throughout the conflict was clear, that being Republican Legislature, acting at times in opposition, and at times in concert, with the executive branch of the government. For the ex-Confederates and Freedmen it was less clear: leadership and decision making in these factions was largely local or even family based—there was no ex-Confederate or Freedmen President or central authority. For the Carpetbaggers, identifying the decisionmaker becomes schizophrenic, as they were a diverse collection of rich and poor whites, propelled by any number of motivations, from

religious fervor to economic opportunity. The model must be able to differentiate between these different modes of decision-making: centralized, decentralized, and intrinsically motivated.

Summary

This chapter provided an overview of the use and validity of wargaming as a discipline for analysis and education. Beginning with a simple set of definitions, this chapter sought to describe the TSAR model as a classification scheme for games, describe a subset of decisions available to designers, and explain two broad types of games used to model asymmetric conflict and competition. Finally, this chapter explained the specific methodology by which *Modeling Reconstruction* was designed, using Sabin's essential areas of focus. This methodology is necessary and sufficient to condition to answer the primary research question, "Can the Reconstruction period following the end of the U.S. Civil War be effectively modeled as an asymmetric conflict for the purpose of educating leaders?" as it provides a framework and process to determine the which features need to be modeled, how to model those features, and what educational outcomes the game should encourage players toward.

CHAPTER 4

KEY FEATURES TO BE MODELED

Introduction

Design of the model began by using the DIME framework to determine which actions, and therefore which decisions, would be available to each player. These decisions, and their associated costs, are bound by the setting of the Reconstruction era following the U.S. Civil War, and must be flexible enough to model four factions seeking differing policy goals. This chapter will use the TSAR model to categorize the essential features of the Reconstruction era, and to describe the mechanisms used to model them.

Time as a Feature of Reconstruction

Time plays two roles in the model: first, to define the years the game will attempt to model, and second, to control the passage of time throughout the game.

As addressed earlier, the game's setting, from 1865 to 1877, was specifically chosen to include features relevant to Reconstruction, and to avoid including features more relevant to the American Civil War. The roots of Reconstruction can be traced back to 1862's Emancipation Proclamation, as well as the experiments with wartime Reconstruction in the border states of Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, Kentucky, and West Virginia.⁶⁷ However, this starting point would require that the game be able to model the final years of the Civil War, and require rules to allow for conventional fighting between the Union and the (not yet) ex-Confederate player. This addition would

⁶⁷ Foner, *Reconstruction*, chap. 2.

detract from the educational benefit from the game in three ways: first, it would widen the scope of the game beyond its intended purpose of teaching leaders about Reconstruction. Second, it would give the Freedmen and Carpetbaggers little to do turn the beginning of the game, as their decisions would be wholly subsumed by the Union and ex-Confederate players. Third, that it could present an opportunity for the Confederates to avoid total defeat at the hands of the Union Army, maintain the system of racial slavery, and prevent players from being able to experience Reconstruction at all. While other COIN games have explored using factions that transition from indirect to direct interaction throughout the course of the game, the inclusion of conventional warfare prior to the end of the war distracts more than it informs.⁶⁸ Thus, the model should begin in 1865. At this point, there are two major possibilities for the exact starting point of the game, either with the surrenders of the various Confederate forces between April and June, or with the death of President Lincoln in April. While the Civil War and its conclusion set the conditions for Reconstruction, the end of the war had little effect on how Reconstruction was planned or executed, as it was largely designed by national politicians, and enforced by the occupying army. By the time of the Confederate surrender in the Trans-Mississippi theater, Tennessee had already made significant steps toward formally rejoining the Union, a task it would complete by July.⁶⁹ More relevant than the conclusion of military hostilities though, is Johnson's assumption of the presidency following the assassination of President Lincoln. The difficulty of starting the

⁶⁸ Buchanan, *Liberty or Death*.

⁶⁹ Bradley, *The Army and Reconstruction 1865-1877*, 14.

model prior to Lincoln's death is that it allows for a counterfactual history where Johnson did not assume the presidency; there is simply no way to know how Lincoln would have governed, despite his actions taken to support Reconstruction up to that point. This is illustrated by the behavior of Johnson before and after he became president. During the war, he had taken a harsh position against the Confederates, declaring that "Treason must be made odious, and traitors must be punished."⁷⁰ This stands in contrast to his actions after May of 1865: the readmission of Confederate states who had failed to give voting rights to the Freedmen, and a lenient pardon policy, that saw property and voting rights returned to former Confederate officials. Rather than trying to predict what Lincoln would have done, the model focuses on the decisions of the Republican Congress, and its interactions with the President and the military.

Historically, Reconstruction ended with the compromise election of Rutherford B. Hayes to the presidency, in which Democrats pledged their electoral to the Republican candidate, in exchange for the withdrawal of the last Federal troops from Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina, and with them, Northern occupation of the South.⁷¹ While some literature takes a more expansive view of Reconstruction as a realignment of the relationship between the individual and the state,⁷² this model ends with the withdrawal of the Federal government's main tool for affecting policy in the South—the occupying army, and its shift in focus from South to West. Where once the Army was

⁷⁰ Foner, *Reconstruction*, chap. 5.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, chap. 12.

⁷² Richardson, *West from Appomattox*, 7.

used to protect Freedmen, it would now be used to evict Native American nations from their homes, and enable settlement to the west of the Mississippi.

The next aspect of Time in the model is the use of Event Cards to tie player decisions to key events of Reconstruction, and to control the tempo of the game (see figure 2). Game rounds last two years, and mirror the time between elections. During each round, players will have to deal with decisions presented by six Event Cards, each defining one turn of the game, and reflecting a key event and associated decision. These events are further discussed in appendix E. Event Cards also control the order in which players take their turns, and present a dilemma to each player: is it more important to deal with the event on the card, or to use an Operation to achieve that player's strategy? This mechanism serves to distract players from focusing solely on their chosen strategy, as they may choose to select an Event Card that does little for them, but denies an opportunity for another player. As an example, throughout Reconstruction, the Federal government continued to execute foreign policy,⁷³ thus, the model must prevent players from only focusing on Reconstruction, as each faction, particularly the Union, had concerns beyond the local (sub-state) level.

⁷³ Tom Bingham, "The Alabama Claims Arbitration," *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (January 2005): 1-25.

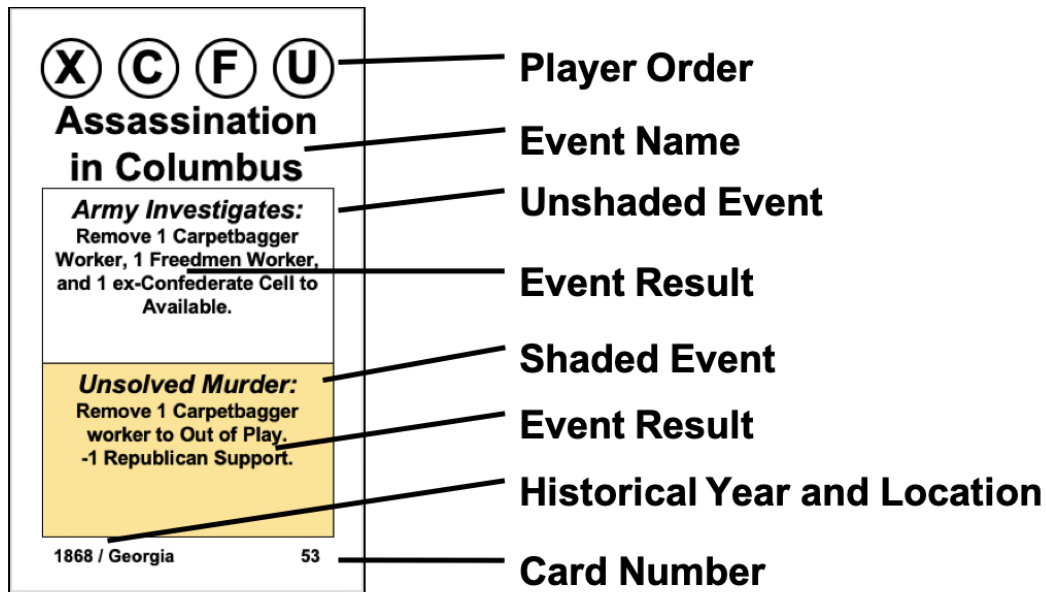


Figure 2. Anatomy of an Event Card

Source: Created by author.

Finally, the passage of time is modeled through the use of Election Rounds, signaled by the play of an Election Card. During these rounds, players check whether or not they have met their faction's victory condition, then take a set number of actions, beginning with the Politics Phase. During this phase, players may expend resources to activate or inactivate workers and cells. This represents political campaigning prior to an election, and can shift control of the space into an opposing player's control. While the ex-Confederate, Freedmen, and Carpetbagger players wish to increase their own political activity within each state, excess political activity can cause political conflict, which results in Unrest.⁷⁴ The Union player may wish to expend resources to decrease political activity within a state, as Unrest drives down national support for the Republican Party.

⁷⁴ Bradley, *The Army and Reconstruction 1865-1877*, 36.

Next, players conduct the Resources Phase, in which player factions gain resources that will be used during the next round. Ex-Confederates, Carpetbaggers, and Freedmen gain resources for each of their used resource disks on the map, while the Union gains resources for each unused disk owned by any faction on the map. This is meant to encourage factions to operate their factories and rail lines, as a portion of the unearned profit accrues to the Union, and in addition, providing a way for non-government players, especially the Carpetbaggers, to interact with the Union in the economic domain. The Carpetbagger may see a benefit in building, but not producing at factories, with the Resources generated being used to fund troops to defend those factories.

Next the Union may transfer resources to the Freedmen faction through the Freedmen's Bureau. At this point, the ex-Confederates may lose resources due to debt incurred by the South during the war. Debt repudiation was a major theme during Reconstruction, with the Republican party going as far as passing the 14th Amendment to ensure the Federal government would not be held responsible for the approximately \$1.4 billion dollars of debt incurred by the Confederate government.⁷⁵ The Resource phase ends with the Union player paying two resources for each troop on the map, representing the cost to keep troops in the field.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Franklin Noll, "Repudiation! The Crisis of United States Civil War Debt, 1865-1870," in *Government Debt Crises: Politics, Economics and History Conference* (Geneva: Graduate Institute of International and Developmental Studies, 2012), 12.

⁷⁶ Downs, *After Appomattox*, 93. Interestingly enough, demobilizing troops actually cost the government a significant amount in the short run, as many troops were owed six months of back pay.

Next, players begin the Unrest phase, where workers unable to find employment become activated. Players may then move activated pieces into adjacent spaces without unrest, as workers search for better economic opportunities. In this phase, excess active workers cause unrest, which eventually decreases Republican political support. During Reconstruction, the phenomenon of voters turning against the political status quo was most prevalent in the election of 1874, which saw Democrats elected to offices across the North, in response to an economic depression.⁷⁷

Next, players conduct the Immigration and Growth phase, representing population growth in the South, immigration from the north, and ex-Confederate dissatisfaction with the occupation. The Freedmen player places a worker in each space that already has two workers, then Carpetbagger player places workers in border states, as they prepare to move south, and the ex-Confederate player places a cell in a space with black troops. This reflects not only Southern resentment over occupation, but a particular hatred of the USCT regiments. Fortunately for the Southerners, historically, the Army was only too happy to prioritize the demobilization of black units or send them west.⁷⁸ Upon completion of this phase, the next round begins. In this way, the game is able to model aspects of Reconstruction that happened over the course of years, and were the result of policy choices: generating economic resources, mobilizing or demobilizing combat power, and holding elections.

⁷⁷ Foner, *Reconstruction*, chap. 11.

⁷⁸ Bradley, *The Army and Reconstruction 1865-1877*, 16.

Space as a Feature of Reconstruction

The major unit of political activity during Reconstruction was the former states of the Confederacy. Space in the model takes the form of the 11 states of the Confederacy, along with three border states: Missouri, Kentucky, and West Virginia. These states either refused to leave the Union, or in the case of West Virginia, separated from the Confederacy. Maryland and Delaware are excluded from the model, due to their small size, and location in the North. These states had a lower enslaved population (in 1862, only 2,000 people were enslaved in Delaware), and were significantly less dependent on enslaved labor than the rest of the South, along with enough internal divisions to prevent their secession.⁷⁹ Because both Northern and Southern citizens wished to see these states formally reintegrated, however they disagreed on the conditions of readmission, both regarding the enfranchisement or disenfranchisement of Freedmen, and to a lesser extent, the repudiation or repayment of Southern debt incurred during the war. For this reason, they are the major unit of space within the model (see figure 3).

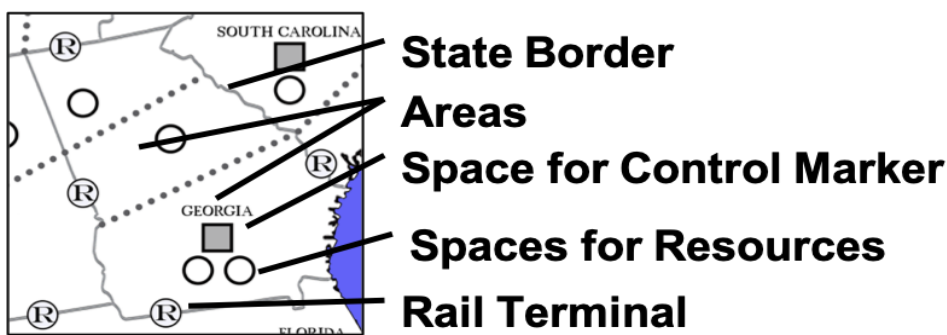


Figure 3. States and Spaces

Source: Created by author.

⁷⁹ Foner, *Reconstruction*, chap. 1.

Each state contains areas of productive capacity, representing the potential for economic activity, generally farms or factories. Some of the states are further subdivided to reflect the differences in demographics or economics in different parts of each state. The majority of these boundaries show where Freedmen had been enslaved prior to the war, and align with productive farmland. For example, Alabama is divided into two regions, reflecting the higher black population in the state's "black belt," while the divisions in Mississippi and the Carolinas represent the economic and demographic differences of areas closer to the Atlantic coast and Mississippi river where fertile land and access to river and sea transport made agriculture more viable.⁸⁰ These demographic differences sometimes depend on the type of crop being grown, with labor intensive crops producing a denser population of Freedmen, or on the style of farming practiced, as with the subsistence agriculture of West Virginia and Northern Georgia, which did not lend itself to slave labor.⁸¹ The divisions also serve to make movement across the South slower, as, historically, until the 1890s, Freedmen rarely moved away from the plantations where they had labored as slaves, while those that did tried to return to families they had been separated from, or to near-by cities to test their new found freedom.⁸²

⁸⁰ Michael W. Fitzgerald, "Terrorism and Racial Coexistence in Alabama's Reconstruction," *Alabama Review* 71, no. 1 (2018): 3; Foner, *Reconstruction*, chap. 4..

⁸¹ Kenneth Chay and Kaivan Munshi, "Black Networks after Emancipation: Evidence from Reconstruction and the Great Migration," (unpublished working paper, December 2015), 1, https://www.histecon.magd.cam.ac.uk/km/Chay_Munshi_December2015.pdf.

⁸² Foner, *Reconstruction*, 3.

Finally, the locations of railroad and productive capacity within states and spaces reflect the economic state of the South following the Civil War. While the destruction visited upon the South during the war was immense, it varied depending on the state. Whereas Texas and rural Georgia emerged from the war intact, northern Alabama, the Shenandoah Valley, and the Union Army's trail through South Carolina and Georgia were scenes of devastation and depopulation.⁸³ This is reflected in the model by the initial placement of infrastructure, with some states starting the game with their farms and factories intact, while others start with no way to generate resources. This is further addressed in the section on Assets.

Like many of their cities at the end of the Civil War, Southern rail and transportation infrastructure lay in shambles. Both sides targeted the other's transport infrastructure, but as the war moved into the South, the Confederacy's ability to manufacture replacement rails rapidly dwindled.⁸⁴ Yet the disruption of Southern transportation infrastructure was not entirely due to its complete physical destruction, as the Union spent considerable time and money to repair militarily important sections, both during and after the war.⁸⁵ A greater problem was that, even at the outset of the war, the Southern railroad was "barely a system at all," but a collection of independent tracks

⁸³ Foner, *Reconstruction*, chap. 4.

⁸⁴ Kevin Duke, "Horse Soldiers Versus the Iron Horse: Cavalry Raids and Their Effect on American Civil War Railroading (and on the Minds of Commanding Generals)," *Against the Odds: A Journal of History and Simulation* (December 2016): 15-24.

⁸⁵ William G. Thomas, *The Iron Way: Railroads, the Civil War, and the Making of Modern America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 182.

meant to transport commodities from farm to port.⁸⁶ Privately owned, even during the height of the war, the South lacked the central coordinating ability of the North. Damage to Southern rails often took the form of the destruction of bridges or depots, leaving the physical rails intact, while making the system as a whole useless.⁸⁷

The model handles this situation by placing railroad terminals between states and sub-regions, which players can rebuild. Rather than building entirely new railway lines, players are presumed to be investing in specific repairs, standardizing gauges, purchasing rail stock, and rebuilding the administrative and technical capital required to run a rail line. This same process applies to transportation infrastructure along the Mississippi river. The placement of these terminals generally follows breaks in the existing rail system, where private rail lines lacked connections to each other, or had suffered serious damage. Players can rebuild the lines to suit their needs, whether for profit, in the case of the Freedmen and ex-Confederates, or to allow for faster movement by the Union and Carpetbagger factions.

Assets as Features of Reconstruction

The key assets players must be able to control in order to model Reconstruction are Union troops, Carpetbagger and Freedmen Workers, ex-Confederate Cells, infrastructure investments, and resources. The initial distribution of these assets on the map reflects their historical distribution in 1865, and provides capabilities to the players in line with historical reality. In addition, players should be able to make ahistorical

⁸⁶ Gabel, *Rails to Oblivion*, 2.

⁸⁷ Fish, *The Restoration of the Southern Railroads*, 6.

actions, such as a Freedmen attack on Union troops. In either case, they must face, historically appropriate costs and counteractions from the model and the other players.

By August of 1865, the Army occupied over 300 military posts across the former Confederacy, manned at its height by around 270,000 soldiers, not including the 800,000 troops who were to be demobilized in the coming months.⁸⁸ Expiring enlistments, the financial burden of the military, and political necessity caused these numbers to decrease rapidly in the first months of Reconstruction, resulting in only 180,000 soldiers on duty by November, 85,000 of which belonged to the segregated regiments of the U.S. Colored Troops (USCT).⁸⁹ To model this, the Union player is able to demobilize troops anywhere on the map. While the play of some Event Cards can force troops to be demobilized, the Union player may choose to keep troops in the field to provide security, at a significant financial and political cost.

These troops took on a wide variety of roles, from keeping the peace as ex-Confederate soldiers returned home, to governing the occupied South through military districts, to staffing the Freedmen's Bureau, which, at first informally, then formally, fell underneath the War Department.⁹⁰ To reflect this, the Union player may use their troops to perform several Operations. They may *Move* troops from area to area, *Arrest* other pieces to temporarily remove them from the board, *Attack* active pieces to permanently

⁸⁸ Downs, *After Appomattox*, 14; Bradley, *The Army and Reconstruction 1865-1877*, 15.

⁸⁹ Downs, *After Appomattox*, 108.

⁹⁰ Richard Fleischman, Thomas Tyson, and David Oldroyd, "The U.S. Freedmen's Bureau in Post-Civil War Reconstruction," *The Accounting Historians Journal* 41, no. 2 (2014): 79.

remove them from the board, and *Enlist* Freedmen and Carpetbagger workers to convert them into troops. In addition, the Union player may conduct several types of Special Activities, unique to their faction, allowing them to *Build* infrastructure, *Demobilize* troops, and *Debate* the readmission of states to the Union. Readmitting states boosts the Union's political support, but comes at a price: as readmission occurred alongside the dissolution of military government, the Union player may no longer arrest pieces in readmitted states. That power then belongs to whichever player controls the state.

At the end of the Civil War, thousands of white Northerners began to move south.⁹¹ Their reasons varied, but, in general, these men and women sought economic opportunities not available to them in the North, and brought with them support for democracy, economic development, and civil rights.⁹² In addition, the Carpetbagger player indirectly represents the poor whites of the South, who had no financial interest in slavery, and were as reliant on the factories and plantation owners for work as the Freedmen were. In the model, the Carpetbagger player controls Carpetbagger Workers that start out in the border states, and gradually moves them south. Their goal is to earn resources by building and operating farms, factories and railroads. Carpetbagger Workers represent the voting population of a state, and may be active or in-active. Active workers are able to conduct Operations, while inactive workers are able to generate resources. Like the Union player, the Carpetbagger player may use their Workers to *Move*, *Attack*,

⁹¹ Ted Tunnell, "Creating 'The Propaganda of History': Southern Editors and the Origins of 'Carpetbagger and Scalawag,'" *The Journal of Southern History* 72, no. 4 (2006): 789-822.

⁹² Foner, *Reconstruction*, chap. 7.

and *Arrest*; in addition they are able to *Organize*—allowing them to politically activate workers—*Build* new infrastructure, hire workers to *Produce* resources, and *Emigrate*—placing more Workers onto the map.

The Freedmen player controls the nearly three million enslaved people residing in the former Confederacy gained their legal, if not practical, freedom with the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation. In time, the passage of the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments would help to enshrine the rights of Freedmen across the entire country, but the struggle for economic, social, and political equality continued. The Freedmen player also controls Workers, with the same distinction between active and inactive pieces that the Carpetbagger Workers have. In addition to being able to *Move*, *Attack*, *Arrest*, *Build*, and *Produce*, they may also get assistance from the Freedmen's Bureau, by attempting to *Call* in adjacent Union Troops to prevent violence. The Freedmen player must also deal with the environment of racism across the South: not only are their Workers be paid less than Carpetbagger Workers, but politically active Freedmen Workers, representing attempts to exercise political power, tends to drive Carpetbaggers Workers, representing poor white laborers into the hands of the ex-Confederate player by converting the Carpetbagger Worker in an ex-Confederate cell. The disparity in pay reflects two historical issues. First, Southern planters and factory owners were hesitant to pay Freedmen wages on a daily, individual basis, frequently holding back pay as collateral. Second, white laborers rapidly realized the depressive effect that slavery, and now

underpaid Freedmen labor had on wages, and formed labor unions to advocate on their behalf and defend the wages of white laborers..⁹³

Finally, the ex-Confederate faction represents the remnants of the Southern ruling elite who had benefited from the system of slavery they maintained and operated. Having lost the war, this faction, composed mainly of large land owners, proved willing to work harder to maintain their economic, political, and social power than the Republicans were willing to work to undo that power. Key to the ex-Confederate plan was “the use of violence on a massive scale,” which neither the Freedmen nor the Union were willing to counter; this violence was not limited to the Freedmen, but extended to white Republicans as well..⁹⁴ While in most cases, the acts of violence were not committed by the planter class, white vigilante groups were led, not by poor whites, but by prominent business men, who enjoyed the benefits of racial solidarity that groups like the Ku Klux Klan helped to create. Chief among these benefits was the ability to focus poor white anger against poor Freedmen, rather than against the economic and political elites..⁹⁵

The centrality of violence to the ex-Confederate strategy is modeled by the use of Cells to execute Operations. Like Workers, Cells can be active or in-active, but are unable to generate resources. Like Workers, they are able to *Move*, *Attack*, and *Arrest*,

⁹³ Merritt, *Masterless Men*, 6.

⁹⁴ Herbert Shapiro, “Afro-American Responses to Race Violence,” *Science & Society* 36, no. 2 (Summer 1972): 158-170; Elaine Frantz Parsons, “Klan Skepticism and Denial in Reconstruction-Era Public Discourse,” *The Journal of Southern History* 77, no. 1 (February 2011): 53-90.

⁹⁵ George C. Rable, *But There Was No Peace: The Role of Violence in the Politics of Reconstruction* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2007), 95.

and have the added Operation of *Terror*, which allows them to turn all Workers belonging to the Freedmen or the Carpetbagger player in once space to in-active, modeling both their determined efforts to keep Freedmen and white Republicans away from the polling booth, and more generally terror as a means of suppressing political activity. This faction also has the option to *Subvert* Carpetbaggers to their cause when there are politically active Freedmen Workers, replacing a Carpetbagger Worker with a Cell. Subversion of Carpetbagger Workers is also possible in response to the actions of the Freedmen and Union players, as, historically, the ex-Confederates frequently defended vigilante violence by claiming it was a natural response to the anarchy and misrule of Reconstruction governments, and they both encouraged and provoked racial animosity between white and black workers.

Resolution as a Feature of Reconstruction

The final necessary features of Reconstruction fall into the category of Resolution, the means by which the model evaluates and responds to player decisions. While nearly all outcomes in the model are deterministic, with the only element of randomness being the order in which the Event Cards are revealed, the model nonetheless reacts to player decisions in ways that decrease the effectiveness of those actions over time. Key to this model are the following interactions: Radicalization, Unrest, and Control.

Republican supporters of Reconstruction were known as Radical Republicans, and were composed largely of the men who had formed the party on an anti-slavery platform. These men frequently found themselves in opposition to the moderate policies

first of Lincoln, then Johnson.⁹⁶ By 1876, however, the party found its desire for Reconstruction satisfied by their initial successes, the demands of national governance, and continued Southern resistance to their aims. The model handles the changing goals of the party by using the Republican Political Tracker to determine the amount of support for Reconstruction within the Republican Party. The track consists of a number of spaces between two ends: Moderate, and Radical. The cost of Union Operations is determined by the location of a marker between these two poles: when the marker is closer to the Moderate end, Operations are more expensive, and they are less expensive when it is closer to the Radical end. This represents the willingness of the Radical Republicans to support Reconstruction, even at the cost of other policy goals. Meanwhile, the increased cost of actions for a more moderate Republican party tends to push the Union player toward focusing on national and international decisions presented by the Event Cards. Balancing this mechanic is the simple rule that, whenever the marker moves toward the Radical end, the ex-Confederates must activate a Cell on the map, and when the marker moves toward the Moderate end, must in-activate a cell. In this way, the game responds to Union decisions and actions by increasing or decreasing the cost of future actions, as well as changing the ability of the ex-Confederate faction to respond to those actions: as the Union player adopts a softer, but less effective, in pursuing Reconstruction, the ex-Confederates are less able to engage in acts of violence across the South, but are less easily hindered in their other activities.

⁹⁶ Patrick W. Riddleberger, "The Radicals' Abandonment of the Negro during Reconstruction," *The Journal of Negro History* 45, no. 2 (1960): 90.

When individuals are unable to satisfy their needs through the *status quo*, they turn to politics to achieve their demands. In reality and the model, *Unrest* is the result of factions agitating for political change in excess of what the political system is able to handle peaceably. Demonstrations were frequent in the Reconstruction South, and these frequently devolved into violence as the political system was unable to meet the competing demands of parties within a city or region. Notable among these was the Brooks-Baxter war in 1872, when the loser of a gubernatorial election attempted to oust his rival from the position.⁹⁷ Even more violent were the frequent massacres of Freedmen across major cities in the South, including Memphis (1866), Mobile (1867), and Colfax (1873).⁹⁸ The Union's inability to put an end to this violence and complete the work of Reconstruction began to weigh upon the Republican Party, as it began to transition from ideologically to professionally managed politics.⁹⁹

This model replicates this shift using the *Unrest* mechanism: as factions continue their political struggles in the Southern states, *Unrest* is generated. If the Union is unable to eliminate the unrest by arresting or inactivating workers and cells, they will see a corresponding decrease in political support during the election round, which ultimately prevents them from achieving their goals. Eliminating all political activity within a state, especially of Freedmen Workers, will cede control of the state to the Democrats. Thus,

⁹⁷ Bradley, *The Army and Reconstruction 1865-1877*, 66.

⁹⁸ Art Carden and Christopher J. Coyne, "The Political Economy of the Reconstruction Era's Race Riots," *Public Choice* 157, no. 1/2 (October 2013): 57-71.

⁹⁹ Foner, *Reconstruction*, chap. 10.

the Union player must seek a balance between Unrest, political activity, security, and economic needs.

The final resolution mechanism in this model is *Control*. *Control* describes which political party has been elected to run a state in the Election Round: Democrat, or Republican. *Control* only comes into play in states that have been readmitted to the Union, and allows the controlling faction to use the *Arrest* Operation to maintain law and order within the state. In order to gain control, a player must have more politically active pieces in a state than any other player. States dominated by ex-Confederate cells will be controlled by Democrats, those dominated by Freedmen by Republicans, and dominated by Carpetbaggers at the choice of the Carpetbagger player. It is not enough that a player has more total (active and inactive) pieces in a space than any other, because a key aim of white supremacist groups was to discourage Freedmen from voting, modeled in the game through the ex-Confederate players ability to terrorize politically active Freedmen Workers into their inactive state.

Key Historical Events in Reconstruction

The game models key historical events for three reasons: first to provide the context in which all other actions take place, second, to force dilemmas on players as they progress toward their operational objectives, and third, to control the tempo of the game. Providing context to actions is how the wargame is able to teach players about the important events that occurred during Reconstruction. Key events are covered in depth in appendix E.

When an eligible player is given the option to execute an Event Card, they are presented with a choice: execute the Event at the expense of conducting some other operation, or forgo the Event, and risk an opponent taking advantage of the Event Card. Each Event Card provides two options for players to take, one representing the historical outcome, and the other representing an ahistorical outcome. If the outcome of an event was historically good for a faction, the ahistorical option on the card will instead negatively affect the faction, presenting the player with a dilemma.

It is this dilemma between events and operations that allows the Event Cards to control the tempo of the game. Players cannot progress straight to their goals, but must navigate unforeseen catastrophes and opportunities, while managing their opponents' exposure to the same. This requirement to manage strategy to achieve policy is one of the main educational objectives of the game, and is discussed further in the next section.

Key Educational Features

The final necessary feature of the model is that it must be able educate players on those topics or abilities desired by the designer. Learning in *Modeling Reconstruction* is intended to occur in the cognitive domain, and to cover three broad fields: (1) provide historical context, (2) describe doctrinal concepts, and (3) exercise decision-making.¹⁰⁰

Successful play of the game allows players to learn the historical context of Reconstruction at the Knowledge level, and does so primarily through the text of the Event Cards. Historical events were selected for the cards either because of their

¹⁰⁰ Benjamin S. Bloom, ed., *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives: The Classification of Educational Goals*, vol. 1 (London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1956), 8.

importance in current scholarship, or because they highlight particular aspects of the period. An example of the former would be the ratification of the 13th Amendment (Card #2—13th Amendment), as its outcome—the abolition of chattel slavery—addressed reason the Civil War was fought. An example of the latter highlighting a particular aspect, Card #31—Oeste Paulista covers the flight of ex-Confederates to pro-slavery Brazil during and after the war, where they entertained the fantasy of rebuilding their Cotton Kingdom. A good mix of the two types of events provides additional benefits beyond historical context, because a knowledge of major events provides the player with the terminology required to continue to their education, either through self-study or in an institutional setting, while the lesser known events aim to provide curious players with the motivation to study more about the subject.

After successfully playing the game, players should be able to understand the DIME framework for national policy tools at the Application level. Players' actions correspond to options in the framework, and an educator facilitating the game will be able to draw out these connections. The game requires that players deploy these actions sequentially across turns, executing a strategy to achieve their faction's policy goals. Again, a facilitator should be able to help the players develop their strategy, and could even this as an opportunity to introduce the Ways, Means, Ends, Risk model of strategy..¹⁰¹

Lastly, the game allows players to practice their ability to make timely, meaningful decisions. This ability, John Schmitt observes, is composed of two distinct

¹⁰¹ Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), Joint Publication (JP) 5-0, *Joint Planning* (Washington, DC: Department of Defense, 2020), I-1.

skills: “the intuitive skill to recognize the essence of a given problem . . . [and] . . . the creative ability to devise a practical solution to it.”¹⁰² Successful play of *Modeling Reconstruction* encourages players to do of these activities at the Synthesis level, and most importantly, to do so in a repeatable, analyzable environment without risk to force or mission. Additionally, the game provides benefits over other tools used to practice decision making, in that player strategies are competing against each other—it is just as important for a player to attempt to determine their opponents’ strategies in order to find weaknesses in them as it is to develop their own. Here facilitators could segue into topics such as Center of Gravity analysis or Intelligence Indicators.¹⁰³

Summary

Using the TSAR model, the essential features of Reconstruction can be identified and modeled. It is essential that the model begin in 1865, contain state and national elections, require a meaningful distinction between political unrest and economic satisfaction, and allow for the building of infrastructure across spaces distinguished by differing demographics and resources. Each faction must have unique, historically appropriate options for the execution of strategy, as well as correct costs associated with accepting or deviating from that strategy: The Union should be able to mobilize and demobilize troops, the ex-Confederates to suppress political activity, the Freedmen to draw support from the Union, and the Carpetbaggers to focus on resource generation. The

¹⁰² John F. Schmitt, “Observations on Decisionmaking in Battle,” in John F. Schmitt, *Mastering Tactics: A Tactical Decision Games Workbook* (Quantico: Marine Corps Association, 1994), 6-8.

¹⁰³ JCS, JP 5-0, IV-25.

combined result is a model in which players can gain insight into Reconstruction by wrestling with versions of the dilemmas and pressures faced by their historical counterparts.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

The purpose of this paper was to determine the whether or not Reconstruction could be modeled as a wargame for the purpose of educating leaders. To accomplish this, the paper examined the various academic approaches to the field, the methodology of wargaming, and existing systems that could be used to model Reconstruction. Through a study of the period, specifically including lesser known perspectives, this paper filled an existing gap in wargaming literature by providing a model of Reconstruction that allows players to understand the historical context behind Reconstruction, the key decisions made by actors during the period, and the dynamics of asymmetric conflicts at the tactical, operational, and strategic levels. This chapter will present observations learned during playtesting, and make recommendations for future researchers, specifically, the applicability of the game to in-unit professional development training, and additional features that should be included in future iterations of the model.

During the development of the game, play testers¹⁰⁴ provided vital feedback on the historical accuracy of the game, the suitability of the mechanisms to the model, the difficulty of determining the starting distribution for each factions' resources and pieces, and the asymmetric style of play required of each player. Play testers brought varying

¹⁰⁴ My sincere appreciation goes out to MAJ Ryan Hovatter, Maj Ted Dossev, and the inimitable MAJ Spencer French for the many hours they devoted to playtesting, as well as to all the Art of War Scholars who allowed me to slowly cover every flat surface in our seminar room with maps, dice, and rule books.

levels of experience to the tests, ranging from professional wargamers, to experienced hobbyists, to those who had rarely or never played a wargame previously. Additionally, play testers were informed by their familiarity with the Reconstruction period, with some play testers having professional expertise in the subject, and others (both American and foreign) being unable to recall ever learning about the subject. Play tester comments came back again and again to the asymmetries between the different factions, noting that playing as the different factions was like playing a completely different game, despite following the same core rules. One play tester remarked that the incentive structure of the game was able to show how erstwhile allies sometimes had to work against each other, while enemies often found themselves working toward common objectives. Finally, as players became more comfortable with the system, two desirable behaviors emerged. First, players began negotiating with each other to achieve mutually beneficial goals, like ensuring enough inactive workers remained on a space to *Produce* during a future turn. Since the negotiations are explicitly non-binding in the rules, it is interesting to see the players take the risk required to make deals. Second, players began to ask for more context on specific Event Cards in the deck, and displayed the genuine curiosity the game hopes to elicit as an educational tool.

The purpose of *Modeling Reconstruction* is just that: to describe the interactions of people and events through the lens of asymmetric warfare, using a post-American Civil War setting. While players should be able to draw parallels between this conflict and operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, facilitators should make the differences between these wars, in context, technology, and ideology clear. The model's value lies in teaching leaders (especially junior leaders) about a little-known aspect of their history, and

allowing players to see for themselves the key features of asymmetric conflict.

Facilitators can incorporate the game into history a curriculum as the Concrete Experience stage of the Army Experiential Learning Model, or as one of several games used to train leaders in decision making.¹⁰⁵

Recommendations for Future Research

The following areas of research are recommended as ways to improve or refine the model as a teaching tool. While the game is an accurate model of the time period, several elements needed to be simplified, and the overall scope limited, in order to complete the project.

First, the model does not directly address the political desires of voters in the Northern states. Future models should incorporate Union workers in to the model, able to generate resources for the Union player and to suffer Unrest. This would allow the game to model the tensions between white Northern laborers and their black counterparts, as black labor moved north, and found Northerners to be just as hostile to their existence as Southerners.¹⁰⁶ While, historically, this did not occur until the Great Migration of the 1890s, players could use this mechanism to explore a Southern strategy that refused to tolerate the Freedmen's existence, rather than one that relied on their violent domination.

Second, the model should take into account the changing economy of the United States, specifically the ways in which the Union and Confederate militaries financed the

¹⁰⁵ Center for Teaching and Learning Excellence, *Adult Teaching and Learning Users Guide*, 3rd ed. (Fort Leavenworth: The Army University, n.d.), 10.

¹⁰⁶ Joe William Trotter Jr., *Workers on Arrival: Black Labor in the Making of America* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2021), 108.

war, and then attempted to repay debts once the conflict had ended. The resource mechanism used by the model should do more to replicate the Federal government's ability to raise funds through the monetary policy. An excellent starting source for this would be Sharkey's *Money, Class, and Party: An Economic Study of Civil War and Reconstruction*.¹⁰⁷

Third, the model should incorporate the border states of Maryland and Delaware into the map. Currently, these states are abstracted due to the small number of enslaved people in those states. Nevertheless, they should be included as border states for the purpose of education. As the map stands now, it gives the impression that Maryland and Delaware were not border states, when, in fact, they defined the Mason-Dixon line.

Fourth, while the asymmetry of the game is largely handled by the Operations and Special Activities allowed to each faction, the causes that these asymmetries result from is not fully described or modeled. As an example, the Freedmen player is able to commit violence under the same costs and conditions as the other factions, despite the fact that, during Reconstruction, Freedmen as a group were hesitant to employ violence, either because of unfamiliarity, or the fear of massive retaliation from white vigilantes. The dilemma for the designer here is to build a system that allows players to make historical choices, while ensuring they understand the costs and limitations under which the historical decisions maker made them. Historically, Freedmen (and their allies) made few attempts at armed resistance against Southern vigilante groups, and those few that did were ruthlessly suppressed, thanks to their opponents' access to weapons and comfort

¹⁰⁷ Robert P. Sharkey, *Money, Class, and Party: An Economic Study of Civil War and Reconstruction* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1967).

with violent activities. The model allows the Freedmen to explore the ahistorical approach, but is not completely developed to ensure the reaction to such a strategy is also fully modeled.

Fifth, the game avoids modeling native-Southern, Democrat-leaning whites as their own faction. While wealthy Southerners are represented by the ex-Confederate faction, and whites less inclined to return to the slave-plantation system are handled by the Carpetbagger, a gap exists for the bulk of white Southerners who did not own property, did work for wages, and were motivated by racial animus to see the Freedmen returned to a subservient position in Southern society. Future research should examine the motivations of these men, who, as Rabel notes, came from a wide variety of backgrounds and professions, and not “the dregs of society.”¹⁰⁸ Future designers should consider two possibilities: first, modeling these men as their own faction, focused on maintaining a racial hierarchy while dependent on the ex-Confederates for resources, and second, modeling them as a new asset for the ex-Confederate player to represent this class. Here, ex-Confederate cells would be used to organize and employ vigilante violence, which, without leadership, could spiral into violence the Planter class feared they could not control.

Conclusion

The Reconstruction period following the end of the U.S. Civil War can be effectively modeled as an asymmetric conflict for the purpose of educating leaders. In designing the model, this project relied heavily on the DIME framework to develop the

¹⁰⁸ Rabel, *But There Was No Peace*, 94.

ways in which factions could seek to fulfill their policy goals, as well as the COIN system as a framework for player interaction at the tactical, operational, and strategic levels. Wargame methodology was vital to this process, providing steps for testing and analysis, while historical research and document analysis structured this paper's approach to understanding the key events and themes of Reconstruction, as well as the ways in which other designers have modeled related historical periods.

The success and usefulness of this project depend upon the following: on players being introduced to the broad themes of Reconstruction through faction activities, and being able to tie them to the key events of the period. By requiring this, the model ensures that players learn about the struggles of the factions as they competed for their vision of America. In addition, the details of the Event Cards provide an opportunity to tell a few of the stories of individuals within those facts, whose own visions often diverged from that of the whole. Players can thus link historical context to individual decisions, and apply the decision-making process used in asymmetric conflict to their analysis of past and future conflicts. While wargaming remains a niche field for many in the military community, the tools and skills used during game design are no different than those used by organizational and strategic leaders during planning: the identification of the relevant factors of a system, the relationships between those systems, and the creation of a coherent model to analyze and predict the behavior of that system. Wargaming allows leaders to practice the Commander's Visualization process: if a leader can model Reconstruction, they can certainly describe it to their commander. Staff leaders should seek to model their problems, not just during the Military Decision Making Process, but in the course of their everyday work. Even if it does not meet the

definition of a game, the process allows them to create a coherent model of the decisions and dilemma they face, both in garrison and at war.

APPENDIX A

PARTS LIST

Components.

- 1 map of the southern United States
- A deck of 79 event cards
- 212 wooden pieces
 - 11 grey wooden octagons with stars
 - 33 black wooden octagons with stars
 - 22 white wooden octagons with stars
 - 22 grey wooden discs with stars
 - 10 black wooden discs with stars
 - 10 blue wooden discs with stars
 - 33 white wooden discs with stars
 - 2 grey wooden cylinders
 - 2 black wooden cylinders
 - 2 blue wooden cylinders
 - 2 white wooden cylinders
 - 5 black wooden cubes
 - 15 blue wooden cubes
- 51 cardboard markers
 - 15 cardboard markers with “Republican” and “Democrat” faces
 - 15 cardboard “Terror” markers
 - 15 cardboard “Unrest” markers
 - 3 cardboard victory markers, marked “U”, “F”, and “X”
 - 1 cardboard debt marker
- One player-aid for each faction

(X) (U) (C) (F)

Arch Duke Maximilian

***French Forces
Occupy Mexico:***
Move 2 Troop cubes from
Available or Map to West.

***Cordial Relationships
with Confederates:***
-1 Republican Support.
Add 1 Ex-Confederate Cell to
any space in Texas

1865 / International

1

(C) (F) (U) (X)

13th Amendment

Ratified:
Flip Freedmen Workers to
Active in any spaces
containing Ex-Confederate
Cells.

States Add Caveats:
Flip all Freedmen Workers to
Inactive.
Move Republican support 1
space toward Radical.

1865 / National

2

(F) (X) (U) (C)

Black Labor Movement

Structural Change:

In one state, Freedmen
activate and in-activate
Freedmen Workers as
desired.

Conservative Backlash:

In one state, Conservatives
activate and inactivate
Carpetbagger Workers as
desired.

1865 / Border States

3

(U) (C) (F) (X)

N. Carolina Proclamation

Governor Appointed:

Place Carpetbagger Workers
in North Carolina equal to
Union Troops.

People's War Begins:

In one space, replace 1
Carpetbagger Worker with 1
Ex-Confederate Cell

1865 / North Carolina

11

U X F C

Sea Island Colonies

Edisto Island Blockaded:

In 1 space, replace 1 Ex-Confederate Disk with 1 Freedmen Disk and Activate 1 Ex-Confederate Cell

Land Returned:

In 1 space, replace 1 Freedmen with 1 Ex-Confederate Disk and activate all Freedmen Workers.

1865 / South Carolina

12

C X F U

Tennessee Readmitted

In Tennessee:

Place an active cell or worker from any faction.

Determine Control and place marker.

1865 / Tennessee

13

(X) (F) (U) (C)

**Trans-
Mississippi**

***Confederate Forces
Surrender:***

In 1 space, place 1 Inactive
Ex-Confederate Cells.

+2 Republican Support

***Grand Review
Interrupted:***

Move 3 Union Troop Cubes
from Available to Texas.

1865 / Texas

14

(F) (X) (C) (U)

**107th USCI
Garrisons DC**

6th Cavalry Attacks:

Move 1 Blue Troop Cube
from Map or Available to
Texas, and 1 Black Troop
Cube from Map or Available
to Washington, D.C.

***Too Few Officers,
Too Much Free Time:***

In any 1 space with both
Blue and Black Troop
Cubes, place 1 unrest
marker.

1865 / Virginia

15

(C) (U) (X) (F)

Fenians Invade North

***Arrested Without
Firing a Shot:***
Remove 2 Carpetbagger
Workers to Available.

Neutrality Violated:
Decrease Political Support
by 1.

Shift Polarization tracker 1
space toward Moderate. Do
not remove Cell.

1866 / National

16

(C) (X) (F) (U)

Fullerton Report

***Public Dismisses
Report:***
+1 Republican Support.

***Generals Claim
Corruption:***
Set any two Ex-Confederate
Cells or Carpetbagger
Workers to Active, and take
1 Union Resource.

1866 / National

17

(C) (U) (F) (X)

***Ex Parte
Milligan***

Martial Law Prevails:

Union executes 2 Free
Arrests.

-1 Political Support.

Milligan Released:

Union ineligible through
next card.

1866 / Border States

18

(C) (F) (X) (U)

***“Make Kansas
district No. 6”***

***Free-Staters Call for
Cavalry:***

Move any 2 Troop Cubes
from Map to West.

***Jayhawkers Lynch
Prisoners:***

Move 2 Active Freedmen
Workers from Available to
Missouri.

-1 Republican support.

1867 / West

19



USCT in Alabama

Black Militias Disarmed:

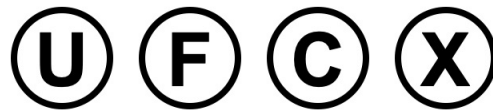
Remove 1 USCT Cube from
Map to Available.

Johnson Ignores Complaints:

In 1 space with ex-
Confederate cell and black
troop, Cell to Active.

1866 / Alabama

20



Peace in Atlanta

"We Cannot Recall the Past":

Each faction gains 1
Resource for every disk they
own in Georgia.

Army Provides Essential Services:

Union transfers equal
resources to each faction,
then increases political
support by that number.

1866 / Georgia

23

(X) (F) (C) (U)

Mississippi “black codes”

***Crude Legislation,
Never Enforced:***
Flip 1 Ex-Confederate cell,
and 1 Carpetbagger worker
Active.

“Vagrants” Targeted:
Flip all Freedmen Workers in
1 state to Inactive.

1866 / Mississippi

25

(X) (C) (U) (F)

Forsyth Co. Executions

Crimes Forgotten:
In 1 space, move all ex-
Confederate cells into
adjacent spaces and set to
in-active.

Crimes Forgiven:
Set all cells and workers in 1
state to in-active.

Move Polarization tracker 1
space toward Radical.

1866 / North Carolina

26

U C F X

Crop Failures

Hunger in South Carolina:

Set all disks in 1 state and
one other space to used.

Planters Refuse to Pay:

In 1 space, free produce. Do
not pay workers.

1866 / South Carolina

27

X C F U

Ku Klux Formed

Secret Society:

Replace an Ex-Confederate
Disk in Tennessee with a
Carpetbagger Disk

Terror Begins:

Place an Active Ex-
Confederate Cell in 1 space
where Ex-Confederate Cells
outnumber Freedmen
Workers.

1866 / Tennessee

28

U X C F

Food Aid

1.34 Million Rations:

Union allocates 10
resources between
Carpetbaggers and
Freedmen.

Set 1 Worker to Inactive.

System Abused:

Ex-Confederates allocate 10
resources between ex-
Confederates and
Carpetbaggers.

Set 1 worker or cell to active.

1866 / Virginia

30

F X C U

Oeste Paulista

A Shrewd Game:

Remove 1 ex-Confederate
Disk to Available.

Ex-Confederates gain 3
resources.

A Cotton Kingdom in São Paulo:

Replace 1 ex-Confederate
cell with an ex-Confederate
disk. Remove cell to out of
play.

1866 / International

31

Ⓒ Ⓕ Ⓐ ⓧ

Enlistments Expire

Army Shrinks:
Move any 2 Troop Cubes
from Map to Available.

***High Costs of
Occupation:***
-2 Union Resources.

1867 / National

32

Ⓒ Ⓕ ⓧ Ⓐ

Nebraska Statehood

Leans Republican:
+3 Republican Support.

Leans Democratic:
Union ineligible through
next card.

1867 / West

34

(C) (X) (F) (U)

Mobile Riots

Barred from Streetcar:

Set all Freedmen Workers in
1 space to Active.

Shots Fired:

In 1 Space:
Remove 1 Freedmen Worker
and 1 Ex-Confederate Cell or
Carpetbagger Worker to Out
of Play.

Place 1 Unrest Marker

1867 / Alabama

35

(U) (F) (X) (C)

Harsh Measures

Sheridan Dismisses Mayor:

In Louisiana: Place 1 Unrest,
and set all Ex-Confederate
Cells and 1 Carpetbagger
Worker to Inactive.

Griffin Dismisses Governor:

In Texas: Place 1 Unrest,
and set all Ex-Confederate
Cells and 1 Carpetbagger
Worker to Inactive.

1867 / Louisiana

39

U X F C

Delta Plantations

Freedmen Clash with Troops:

In 1 space, place a
Freedmen Disk, and move 1
Troop Cube from an
adjacent space to that space

Planter Rights Recognized:

Replace 1 Union or
Freedmen Disk with 1 Ex-
Confederate Disk.

1867 / South Carolina

42

C X F U

Memphis Riot

Drunk and Disorderly:

Replace 1 USCT Cube 2
Active Freedmen Workers.

Women and Children Targeted:

Remove 1 in-active
Freedmen Worker to Out of
Play.

1867 / Tennessee

43



80th USCI

Leaves Texas

“Our people would prefer...”:

Set all ex-Confederate disks in a state with a black troop cube to in-active.

“...the presence of white men”:

In 1 state, replace all black troop cubes with blue troop cubes from map or available.

1867 / Texas

44



Richmond

Rent Strike

Strikers Suppressed:

Move any number of adjacent Blue Cubes into 1 state.

Replace 1 Freedmen Disk with 1 ex-Confederate Disk.

Freedmen Refuse to Pay Rent:

Replace 1 Ex-Confederate Disk with Freedmen Disk.

1867 / Virginia

45

U C X F

Tenure of Office Act

Johnson Impeached:
Move Political Polarization 1
space toward Radical.

One Vote Short:
Move Political Polarization 1
space toward Moderate.

1868 / National

47

U F X C

Economic Paradise

***Radical Calls for
Readmission:***
Place 1 disk in Alabama.

***Stevens Demands
Suffrage:***
-3 Union Resources.

Adjust Republican Politics 1
space toward Radical.

1868 / Alabama

50

(X) (U) (F) (C)

“A feeling of dread”

Martial Law Declared:

Set all ex-Confederate Cells
in 1 state to Inactive,
OR
Remove 1 Active ex-
Confederate Cell.

Klan Comes to Arkansas:

In 1 space, move all
Freedmen Workers to an
adjacent space, and set to
inactive.

1868 / Arkansas

51

(X) (C) (F) (U)

Assassination in Columbus

Army Investigates:

Remove 1 Carpetbagger
Worker, 1 Freedmen Worker,
and 1 ex-Confederate Cell to
Available.

Unsolved Murder:

Remove 1 Carpetbagger
worker to Out of Play.
-1 Republican Support.

1868 / Georgia

53

(F) (X) (U) (C)

St. Landry Volcano

Election Day Security:

In 1 space, set 1 Freedmen
Worker to Inactive and move
a Troop Cube to same
space.

Freedmen School Teacher Beaten:

Ex-Confederates free Terror
in 1 space.
Remove 1 Worker or Cell to
out of play.

1868 / Louisiana

54

(C) (X) (F) (U)

2nd District Abolished

In North Carolina or South Carolina:

Place an active cell or
worker from any faction.

Determine Control and place
marker.

1868 / North Carolina

56

(X) (C) (U) (F)

The K.K. Alphabet

Local Reach

In 1 state, consolidate all ex-Confederate Cells into 1 space, and set to inactive.

Local Secrecy

In a space with troops, set Cells to inactive.

Union ineligible through next card.

1869 / South Carolina

57

(C) (X) (F) (U)

Manpower Reduction Act

Budget Tightens:

Remove 1/3 of Union Troop Cubes from Map to Available, rounded Down.

+1 Union Resource for each Cube removed.

Cavalry Hit Hardest:

Move 2 Troop Cubes from Map to West.

Union loses resources equal to 1/3 of Troop Cubes on Map, rounded down.

1869 / National

62

U X F C

Ogeechee Rebellion

Revolt Suppressed:

Move any number of adjacent Blue Troop Cubes into 1 state.

Replace 1 Freedmen Disk with 1 ex-Confederate Disk in that State.

Freedmen Claim Land:

In 1 space, replace 1 ex-Confederate Disk with 1 Freedmen Disk and place 1 Unrest.

1869 / Georgia

68

C U X F

N.O. & Opelousas RR

Government

Subsidies:

Place Disks on up to 2 available adjacent rail lines. Transfer 1 resource to Union for each Disk placed.

Small Farmers Lose Land:

Remove any 1 non-Rail Road Disk.

Union transfers 1 resource to losing player.

1869 / Louisiana

69

U F C X

Married- Women's Laws

Freed from Marriage:

In spaces with 3 or more of a faction's workers, move third worker into an adjacent, empty space, or activate if no space available.

Texans Vote No:

Ex-Confederates conduct three Free Moves and remain eligible.

1869 / Texas

74

F C X U

"learning from their mothers"

Family Contracts:

In 1 space with a Disk and Freedmen Workers:
+1 Resource for each Freedmen Worker.
Set all Freedmen to Inactive.

Exchanging One Master for Another:

In 2 spaces with 3+ Freedmen Workers, move 1 to an adjacent space with no other Freedmen Workers.

1870 / National

77

(X) (F) (U) (C)

Carpetbaggers and Scalawags

Carpetbagger:

Place Carpetbagger workers
on any two border states
from Map or Available.

Scalawag:

Ex-Confederates free Arrest
or Attack Carpetbagger
workers in any two spaces.

1870 / Alabama

80

(C) (U) (F) (X)

Florida Rails

State Support:

Place a blue disk on either
terminal adjacent to Florida.

Union and Carpetbaggers
pay 1 resource each.

Derailed!:

Remove 1 rail disk from the
map to out of play.

Owning faction loses 1
Resource.

1870 / Florida

82

(C) (X) (F) (U)

3rd District Abolished

***In Alabama, Florida,
or Georgia:***

Place an active cell or
worker from any faction.

Determine Control and place
marker.

1870 / Georgia

83

(F) (C) (U) (X)

Ninth US Census

Minority-Majority:

In 1 state, add two Freedmen
workers from Available.

***Tyranny of the
Majority:***

In 1 state, add 1 Freedmen
Worker from the Map, and
set 1 ex-Confederate Cell to
active.

1870 / Louisiana

84

Ⓒ ⓧ Ⓕ ⓤ

4th District Abolished

***In Arkansas or
Mississippi:***
Place an active cell or
worker from any faction.

Determine Control and place
marker.

1870 / Mississippi

85

Ⓕ ⓤ ⓧ Ⓒ

Kirk-Holden War

Company H:
Place 1 black troop cube in
North Carolina.

Freedmen remain eligible.

Invisible Empire:
In 1 state: Place a troop
cube from available and
move all ex-Confederate
cells into spaces adjacent to
that space. Ex-Confederates
remain eligible.

1870 / North Carolina

86

U C F X

Enforcement Acts

Federal Raids:

Set all Cells to active.

Ex-Confederates ineligible
though next card.

Threat Overstated:

Set all Cells to inactive.

Union ineligible through
next card.

1870 / South Carolina

87

C X F U

5th District Abolished

In Louisiana or

Texas:

Place an active cell or
worker from any faction.

Determine Control and place
marker.

1870 / Texas

89

(C) (X) (F) (U)

1st District Abolished

In Virginia:

Place an active cell or
worker from any faction.

Determine Control and place
marker.

1870 / Virginia

90

(U) (C) (X) (F)

Korea Expedition

Successful Assault:

Remove three blue cubes
from map to available.

Increase Republican
Political Support by 1.

Koreans Refuse Negotiations:

Remove three blue cubes
from available to out of play.
Union ineligible through
next card.

1871 / International

91

(C) (U) (X) (F)

Southern Rail Debts

Prompt Payment:

For each ex-Confederate
Disk on a rail line, transfer 1
resource from ex-
Confederate to Union, or
exchange ex-Confederate
and Union Disks if unable.

Relief Act Passed:

-1 ex-Confederate Resource.
-3 Union Resources

1871 / National

92

(F) (C) (X) (U)

Black Labor Leagues

Strike!:

Carpetbaggers or ex-
Confederates ineligible
through next turn.

Strike Funds

Exhausted:

Carpetbaggers or ex-
Confederates free Produce
in 1 space. If used,
Freedmen earn nothing.

1871 / Florida

97

(X) (F) (C) (U)

Ascension Parish

Black-Jewish Solidarity:

In a space with Freedmen
and Carpetbagger Workers,
remove Unrest or Cell to
available.

Freedmen-Democrat Coalition:

In a space where Freedmen
workers exceed cells, set
both factions to inactive and
remove unrest.

1871 / Louisiana

99

(C) (F) (X) (U)

Methodist Missionaries

Northern Shepherds:

In one state containing
Freedmen and Carpetbagger
workers, remove unrest,
setting workers (not cells) to
in-active, if necessary.

Southern Flocks:

Move 2 Freedmen workers
into adjacent spaces already
containing a Freedmen
worker.

1871 / Mississippi

100

U X C F

The *Alabama* Claims

***Union Accepts
Arbitration:***

+5 Union Resources.

***Indirect Claims
Pressed:***

+1 Republican Support.

**+1 Carpetbagger and ex-
Confederate resources.**

1872 / International

106

C X U F

U.S. v. Cruikshank

***Anarchy in
Louisiana:***

**Set a total of 5 Freedmen
Workers to Active.**

**Move Republican Politics 1
space toward Radical.**

***14th Amendment
Applies to States not
Individuals.***

**Move 3 Active ex-
Confederate Cells from
Available to any 1 state.**

1872 / National

107

(F) (X) (C) (U)

***Bureau
Investigated***

Howard Exonerated:
Increase Republican political
support by 1.

Bankruptcy.
Decrease Republican
political support by 1.

Shift Political Polarization 1
space toward moderate, do
not remove cell.

1872 / West

107

(F) (X) (C) (U)

Panic of 1873

***Economic
Depression:***
All Factions, -1 Resource

***Investors
Overleveraged:***
Faction with the most
resources -3 resources.
If factions are tied, -3 from
all tied factions.

1873 / National

122

(X) (F) (C) (U)

Black Militias Formed

Black Enlistment Skyrockets:

In 1 state, replace every two
Freedmen workers with a
black troop cube.

Radicalism Doomed:

In 1 state, set all Freedmen
workers and ex-Confederate
Cells to active.

1874 / South Carolina

132

(F) (X) (U) (C)

Texas State Police

Civ-Mil Integration:

Move a troop cube from the
map to a space with a
Freedmen worker, and
remove any ex-Confederate
cells in the same space to
Available.

Bureau Agent Murdered:

In 1 space, in-activate all
workers.
Union or Freedmen
ineligible through next turn.

1874 / Texas

134

U C F X

Hookworm

***Disease Linked to
Poverty:***

-1 ex-Confederate,
Carpetbagger, and
Freedmen Resources

***Occupying Troops
Bring Supplies:***

-1 Union Resources.
+1 Republican Support.

1874 / National

137

X U C F

Brooks- Baxter War

***Grant Supports
Baxter:***

Move 1 Troop Cube from
adjacent space to Arkansas.
If Black Troop Cube moved,
place 1 unrest.

***Brooks Keeps
Fighting:***

Ex-Confederate takes 2 free
Operations in Arkansas,
then sets all Cells in
Arkansas to Inactive.

1874 / Arkansas

141

(C) (X) (U) (F)

White League Takes Control

Ex-Confederates See a Dark Future:

In any space, replace 1 ex-Confederate cell with a Carpetbagger worker

Democratic Paramilitaries:

In 1 space with 2 Carpetbagger workers, replace 1 with a Cell and activate the other.

1875 / Louisiana

144

(C) (F) (U) (X)

Jury Nullification

500 Trials:

In any spaces with a Union Troop Cube, Freedmen player executes a total of 2 free Arrest Operations.

1 Conviction:

Move 1 Carpetbagger Worker or ex-Confederate Cell from Available to any space.

1875 / National

152

(X) (F) (U) (C)

More Than Just A Car

Slavery Undeniable:

In 1 space:

Freedmen activate 2
workers,

OR

Freedmen execute free
Produce Special Activity.

Myth Takes Root:

In 1 space, activate 1 ex-
Confederate cell and 1
Carpenter worker.

1875 / West

154

(F) (X) (C) (U)

The Defeated Generation

Free Labor

Undependable:

Set two ex-Confederate
farms or factories to used.

Labor Costs:

Set 1 ex-Confederate farm or
factory with two Freedmen
Workers to used.

Ex-Confederates and
Freedmen each gain 2
resources.

1875 / West

158

(F) (X) (C) (U)

Democratic Rifle Clubs

Militia Retakes Yazoo City:

In 1 space, replace two
Workers with a Troop Cube.
Set all ex-Confederate Cells
to Inactive

White Liner Massacre:

Set 1 ex-Confederate Cell
and 1 Carpetbagger Worker
to Active. Set 1 Freedmen
Worker to Inactive.

1875 / Mississippi

160

(C) (U) (X) (F)

Trade With Japan

Italian Silkworm Disease:

Increase Union Resources
and Political Support by a
total of 5.

New Sources Found: Increase ex-Confederate or Carpetbagger Resources by 5.

1876 / International

166

U C X F

Plot to Steal Lincoln's Body

***Conspirators Caught
by Secret Service:***

+1 Republican Support.
Remove a Carpetbagger
Worker from a space with a
rail terminal.

***Conspirators
Ransom the
Emancipator:***

+3 Carpetbagger or ex-
Confederate Resources.

1876 / National

167

C F X U

Colorado Statehood

Leans Republican:
+3 Republican Support.

Leans Democratic:
Union ineligible through
next card.

1876 / West

169

(X) (U) (F) (C)

Centralization & Retrenchment

Federal Interference in Elections:

In 1 space, remove an ex-Confederate cell to Available.

All White Juries:

In 1 space, remove a Freedmen or Carpetbagger worker to Available.

1876 / Louisiana

169

(U) (F) (C) (X)

Counter Moonshine Ops.

Military Supports the Revenue Department:

In 1 space with a disk, remove the disk and turn all workers and cells in the space to in-active

Officers Shun Police Work:

Move all troops out of any space with a disk.

1876 / North Carolina

176

(F) (X) (C) (U)

Hamburg Massacre

Militia Fights Back:

In 1 space:

Remove 1 Freedmen Worker
and 1 ex-Confederate Cell to
Out of Play.

Place 1 unrest marker.

Red Shirts Open Fire:

In 1 space:

Remove 1 Freedmen Worker
to Out of Play.

Move all other Freedmen
Workers to adjacent spaces.

1875 / South Carolina

177

(X) (C) (F) (U)

ELECTION

6.1 VICTORY CHECK

6.2 POLITICS

6.2.1 ACTIVATE / IN ACTIVATE WORKERS

6.2.2 REMOVE UNREST

6.2.3 INCREASE POLITICAL SUPPORT

6.2.4 SHIFT TO MODERATE

6.3 RESOURCES

6.3.1 USED DISKS

6.3.2 UNUSED DISKS

6.3.3 FREEDMEN'S BUREAU

6.3.4 SOUTHERN DEBT

6.4 UNREST

6.4.1 SET EXCESS WORKERS TO ACTIVE

6.4.2 MOVE WORKERS AND CELLS,

6.4.5 ADJUST UNREST

6.4.6 DECREASE POLITICAL SUPPORT

6.5 GROWTH

6.5.1 PLACE WORKERS

6.5.2 PLACE CELLS

6.5.3 OUT OF PLAY TO AVAILABLE

6.6 RESET

6.6.1 MOVE FACTIONS TO ELIGIBLE

6.6.2 REVEAL NEXT CARD

181



ELECTION

6.1 VICTORY CHECK

6.2 POLITICS

6.2.1 ACTIVATE / IN ACTIVATE WORKERS

6.2.2 REMOVE UNREST

6.2.3 INCREASE POLITICAL SUPPORT

6.2.4 SHIFT TO MODERATE

6.3 RESOURCES

6.3.1 USED DISKS

6.3.2 UNUSED DISKS

6.3.3 FREEDMEN'S BUREAU

6.3.4 SOUTHERN DEBT

6.4 UNREST

6.4.1 SET EXCESS WORKERS TO ACTIVE

6.4.2 MOVE WORKERS AND CELLS,

6.4.5 ADJUST UNREST

6.4.6 DECREASE POLITICAL SUPPORT

6.5 GROWTH

6.5.1 PLACE WORKERS

6.5.2 PLACE CELLS

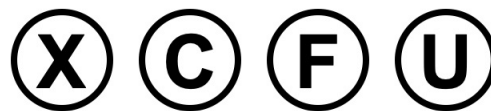
6.5.3 OUT OF PLAY TO AVAILABLE

6.6 RESET

6.6.1 MOVE FACTIONS TO ELIGIBLE

6.6.2 REVEAL NEXT CARD

182



ELECTION

6.1 VICTORY CHECK

6.2 POLITICS

6.2.1 ACTIVATE / IN ACTIVATE WORKERS

6.2.2 REMOVE UNREST

6.2.3 INCREASE POLITICAL SUPPORT

6.2.4 SHIFT TO MODERATE

6.3 RESOURCES

6.3.1 USED DISKS

6.3.2 UNUSED DISKS

6.3.3 FREEDMEN'S BUREAU

6.3.4 SOUTHERN DEBT

6.4 UNREST

6.4.1 SET EXCESS WORKERS TO ACTIVE

6.4.2 MOVE WORKERS AND CELLS,

6.4.5 ADJUST UNREST

6.4.6 DECREASE POLITICAL SUPPORT

6.5 GROWTH

6.5.1 PLACE WORKERS

6.5.2 PLACE CELLS

6.5.3 OUT OF PLAY TO AVAILABLE

6.6 RESET

6.6.1 MOVE FACTIONS TO ELIGIBLE

6.6.2 REVEAL NEXT CARD

183



ELECTION

6.1 VICTORY CHECK

6.2 POLITICS

6.2.1 ACTIVATE / IN ACTIVATE WORKERS

6.2.2 REMOVE UNREST

6.2.3 INCREASE POLITICAL SUPPORT

6.2.4 SHIFT TO MODERATE

6.3 RESOURCES

6.3.1 USED DISKS

6.3.2 UNUSED DISKS

6.3.3 FREEDMEN'S BUREAU

6.3.4 SOUTHERN DEBT

6.4 UNREST

6.4.1 SET EXCESS WORKERS TO ACTIVE

6.4.2 MOVE WORKERS AND CELLS,

6.4.5 ADJUST UNREST

6.4.6 DECREASE POLITICAL SUPPORT

6.5 GROWTH

6.5.1 PLACE WORKERS

6.5.2 PLACE CELLS

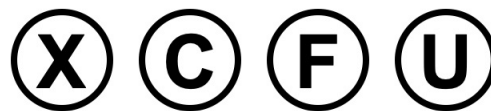
6.5.3 OUT OF PLAY TO AVAILABLE

6.6 RESET

6.6.1 MOVE FACTIONS TO ELIGIBLE

6.6.2 REVEAL NEXT CARD

184



ELECTION

6.1 VICTORY CHECK

6.2 POLITICS

6.2.1 ACTIVATE / IN ACTIVATE WORKERS

6.2.2 REMOVE UNREST

6.2.3 INCREASE POLITICAL SUPPORT

6.2.4 SHIFT TO MODERATE

6.3 RESOURCES

6.3.1 USED DISKS

6.3.2 UNUSED DISKS

6.3.3 FREEDMEN'S BUREAU

6.3.4 SOUTHERN DEBT

6.4 UNREST

6.4.1 SET EXCESS WORKERS TO ACTIVE

6.4.2 MOVE WORKERS AND CELLS,

6.4.5 ADJUST UNREST

6.4.6 DECREASE POLITICAL SUPPORT

6.5 GROWTH

6.5.1 PLACE WORKERS

6.5.2 PLACE CELLS

6.5.3 OUT OF PLAY TO AVAILABLE

6.6 RESET

6.6.1 MOVE FACTIONS TO ELIGIBLE

6.6.2 REVEAL NEXT CARD

185



ELECTION

6.1 VICTORY CHECK

6.2 POLITICS

6.2.1 ACTIVATE / IN ACTIVATE WORKERS

6.2.2 REMOVE UNREST

6.2.3 INCREASE POLITICAL SUPPORT

6.2.4 SHIFT TO MODERATE

6.3 RESOURCES

6.3.1 USED DISKS

6.3.2 UNUSED DISKS

6.3.3 FREEDMEN'S BUREAU

6.3.4 SOUTHERN DEBT

6.4 UNREST

6.4.1 SET EXCESS WORKERS TO ACTIVE

6.4.2 MOVE WORKERS AND CELLS,

6.4.5 ADJUST UNREST

6.4.6 DECREASE POLITICAL SUPPORT

6.5 GROWTH

6.5.1 PLACE WORKERS

6.5.2 PLACE CELLS

6.5.3 OUT OF PLAY TO AVAILABLE

6.6 RESET

6.6.1 MOVE FACTIONS TO ELIGIBLE

6.6.2 REVEAL NEXT CARD

APPENDIX B

RULES

1.0 Introduction

1.1. Map.

1.1.1. Cities and States. The map is divided into the eleven states of the former Confederacy, the three border states to their north, a blue area representing the Northern states, and a tan area representing the western territories. Within the states are dotted lines dividing some of the states into spaces. Some states are composed of a single space. Operations and Special Activities have their effects limited to spaces, but control is dependent on the State as a whole. Bordering the map are several tracks: the General Resource track, the Republican Polarization track, and the Sequence of Play track, as well as holding boxes for pieces for available and out of play pieces. In addition, there is a single city, Washington, DC, which acts as a state, but does not count toward control.

1.1.2. Railroads and Rivers. Railroads connect Washington, D.C., states, and spaces across the map, and begin the game having been largely destroyed during the war. Over the course of the game, each of the factions may repair them, or in the case of the Ex-Confederates, sabotage them. Factions may use certain operations to move across them more quickly than across State and space boundaries.

1.1.3. Productive Resources. Smaller circles across the map are sources of production, generally productive farmland or sites where a factory could be built.

1.1.4. Adjacency. Spaces and states that touch each other are considered adjacent. Spaces that can trace a line through rebuild railroad and river transport infrastructure are considered adjacent for the purpose of rail and river travel.

1.2. Players, Factions, and Powers.

1.2.1. The Union. Blue pieces represent troops loyal to the United States. The Union player takes on the role of the Republican Party, which is attempting to maintain control of the national government.

1.2.2. Freedmen. Black pieces represent formerly enslaved Americans and the limited infrastructure under their control. Unlike the Union player, the Freedmen player does not represent a specific leader or party, and instead represents the desire of a group of people to seek and retain the franchise to ensure economic and physical security. For this reason, it is more difficult for the Freedmen player to coordinate their activities across multiple states.

1.2.3. Carpetbaggers. White pieces represent both white Northerners who emigrated south in search of greater economic opportunity (Carpetbaggers), and white Republican Southerners who either worked against, or later repudiated the Confederacy (Scalawags), as well as poor southern whites who had fought for the Confederacy, but had no economic tie to slavery. For the sake of simplicity, these pieces are called Carpetbaggers. Like the Freedmen player, the Carpetbagger player does not represent a specific leader or party, and instead represents the wide variety of beliefs held by southern whites after the end of the Civil War. For this reason, it is more difficult for the Carpetbagger player to coordinate their activities across multiple states.

1.2.4. Ex-Confederates. Grey pieces represent the surviving elements of the Confederate political, economic, and military ruling class, as well as infrastructure under their control. Like the Freedmen and Carpetbagger player, the ex-Confederate player does not represent a specific leader or party, and instead represents the willingness of a group of people to use violence to regain political power, and reinstitute a racial hierarchy in the United States. For this reason, it is more difficult for the ex-Confederate player to coordinate their activities across multiple states.

1.2.5. Negotiations. Negotiations are allowed, but are non-binding. Resources may only be transferred from one player to another when allowed by the rules, or by an event card.

1.3. Forces.

1.3.1. Troops. Troops are represented by cubes, which can be generated and disbanded through Union operations and activities, and the play of certain event cards. Troops are the primary means through which the Republican Party executed its national policy goals during Reconstructions. Cubes come in two colors: blue, representing Northern Volunteers, and black, representing regiments of U.S. Colored Troops. Blue cubes may only be moved by the Union player, while black cubes may be moved by the Freedmen player under certain circumstances.

1.3.2. Active and In-active. Workers, Cells, and disks are marked on the obverse with a star, and are blank on the reverse.

1.3.2.1. Workers. Workers with a star showing are considered active, while workers without the star showing are considered in-active. Certain actions, operations, and events can flip workers from their active to their in-active side, and vice versa. Active workers represent those members of their faction who are participating in the political process, either through the government, or extra-legal activities. Generally, Active pieces are required to execute several of each faction's operations and activities. In-active workers represent those members of their faction who are not politically active, and are available to work in order to generate resources.

1.3.2.1.1. Ex-Confederate Cells. Grey workers represent the remnants of the Confederate economic, political, and military ruling class. Active cells represent those ex-Confederates who are prepared to organize violence to further their political goals. In general, grey workers must be active in order to affect other factions, but are more difficult to target when they are in-active. Unlike workers, ex-Confederate cells do not have the ability to generate resources by working on farms and factories.

1.3.2.2. Factories and Farms. Disks represent economic infrastructure, and are used to generate resources. Disks with a star showing are considered to have been productive, while disks without the star showing have not yet generated resources this turn. Disks without a star are available to generate resources.

1.3.3. Availability, Removal, Out of Play.

1.3.3.1. Availability. Workers, cells, troops, and disks in each faction's available holding box represent possible immigrants, future population growth, capacity to raise troops, and capacity to build infrastructure. They may be moved to and from the map via certain operations and activities, event cards, and election rounds.

1.3.3.2. Out of Play. Pieces may be moved to Out of Play through Operations and certain Event Cards. Under certain circumstances, Out of Play pieces may move back into the Available box during Election Rounds.

1.3.4. Stacking. In general, there are no stacking limits, however no more disks may be placed in a space, or railroad than the number of circles available. This represents the productive capacity of each state, or in the case of railroads and river terminals, a functioning line.

1.4. Resources. Resources represent the sum total of political and economic power controlled by each faction. Factions spend resources to execute operations, to fulfill requirements of event cards, and to gain political power during election rounds. Factions gain resources by playing certain event cards, the labor of in-active workers in farms and factories, or by passing during a turn. Resources may only be transferred from one player to another when allowed by the rules, or by an event card.

1.5. Control. The faction with the most active pieces in a state is said to have control of that state. Spaces controlled by the Freedmen faction are marked with a "Republican" marker. Space controlled by the ex-Confederates, or not controlled by any factions are marked with a "Democrat" marker. Spaces controlled by the Carpetbagger faction are marked with a "Republican" marker by default, but this may be changed by the use of the Carpetbagger "Organize" Operation.

1.6. Order and Unrest. Spaces where the total number of active workers and cells are greater than two times the number of disks are said to be in a state of unrest, and receive an "Unrest" marker. Spaces that remain in unrest will eventually decrease

Northern support for the Republican Party. Unrest markers are removed by Union and Freedmen Operations and Special Abilities, and remain after the number of active workers and cells returns below two times the number of disks.

1.7. Republican Polarization Tracker. The Republican Polarization tracker represents radicalization or moderation of the Republican Party. In general, a Republican party controlled by radicals will pay fewer resources to execute operations and Special Activities in the South, while a moderate Republican party will pay more. Numbers on the track represent the resources to be paid when conducting operations. The Republican party can be radicalized or moderated through the play of event cards, and certain operations and activities. Ex-Confederates must activate a cell any time the tracker moves toward Radical, and must in-activate a cell any time the tracker moves toward Moderate.

1.8. Victory Markers. Victory markers are used by the Union, Freedmen, and ex-Confederate players to track their progress toward meeting their victory condition. The Carpetbagger player uses their resource cylinder for this purpose.

2.0 Sequence of Play.

2.1. Set Up and Start. Pieces and markers are set up according to the rules in section 9.0.

2.2. Event Cards. To begin, deal and reveal the top card from the event card deck. Then, reveal the next card and place it on top of the event card deck. The dealt card will be played this turn, while the revealed card will be played next turn.

2.2.1. Faction Order. Faction order is determined by the order of the circled letters along the top of the event card. U for Union, F for Freedmen, C for Carpetbaggers, and X for ex-Confederates. In order, factions in the Eligible box may select to take a turn or pass. Not all eligible factions may be able to take an action during each card.

2.2.2. Passing. Eligible factions not wishing to take an action may instead pass, moving their cylinder to the bottom edge of the Eligible Box. A player who chooses to pass gains 1 resource, and remains eligible next turn. Only one player may elect to pass each turn.

2.2.3. Options for Eligible Factions. The first eligible faction may select any of the following actions by moving their cylinder to the appropriate box: Operation Only, Operation + Activity, or Event. They may also choose to pass. The second eligible faction selects actions based on the first eligible faction's choice. The second eligible faction may only select an action to the right of the first eligible faction's choice. Otherwise they must pass. If the first or second eligible faction chooses to pass, a third eligible faction may select and action as if they had been second eligible, with the exception that they may not pass.

2.2.3.1. Operation Only. If an eligible faction moves their cylinder to Operation Only, the player must execute one of their faction's Operations in as many spaces as allowed by the rules and resources. They may not select a corresponding Activity. The next eligible faction must select Limited Operation, or if no faction has done so yet this turn, Pass.

2.2.3.1.1. Limited Operation. If a subsequent eligible faction moves their cylinder to Limited Operation, the player must execute one of their faction's Operations in exactly once space as allowed by the rules and resources.

2.2.3.2. Operation + Activity. If an eligible faction moves their cylinder to Operation + Activity, the player must execute one of their faction's Operations in at least one space, and up to as many spaces as allowed by the rules and resources. At any one point during their turn they must also execute a corresponding Activity as allowed by the rules. This means the corresponding Activity may happen before or after the Operation, or may interrupt an Operation in progress, which continues after the completion of the Activity. The next eligible faction must select Limited Operation or Event, or if no faction has done so yet this turn, Pass.

2.2.3.2.1. Limited Operation or Event. If a subsequent eligible faction moves their cylinder to Limited Operation or Event, the player must either execute one of their faction's Operations in exactly once space as allowed by the rules and resources, or execute an event listed on this turn's card.

2.2.3.3. Event. If an eligible faction moves their cylinder to Event, the player must execute an event listed on this turn's card. The next eligible faction must select Operation + Activity, or if no faction has done so yet this turn, Pass.

2.2.3.3.1. Operations + Activity. If a subsequent eligible faction moves their cylinder to Operation + Activity, the player must execute one of their faction's Operations in at least one space, and up to as many spaces as allowed by the rules and resources. At any one point during their turn they must also execute a corresponding Activity as allowed by the rules. This means the corresponding Activity may happen before or after the Operation, or may interrupt an Operation in progress, which continues after the completion of the Activity.

2.2.3.4. Limited Command. A Limited Command, whether chosen by an eligible faction or allowed by an event card may only occur in one space. For move actions, this means there may be only one origin, and one destination space.

2.2.4. Adjust Eligibility. At the conclusion of each turn, cylinders that began the turn in the Ineligible Box are moved to the Eligible Box, the factions who elected to take actions move their cylinders to the Ineligible Box, and the cylinder on the pass space (if any), returns to the Eligible Box.

2.2.5. Next Card. Once eligibility has been adjusted, discard this turn's event card, and place the card previously revealed to the side of the event deck. This is now the current event card. Then, reveal the top card of the event deck, and place it on top of the event deck. This will be next turn's event. If the current turn's event card is an Election Card, conduct an election round. When the second Election Card is played, conduct the final election round.

2.3. Election Cards. An Election Round is triggered by the play of an Election Card from the deck. Election rounds represent local, state, and national elections, and are the only time when a player can win the game. This may occur if a faction meets their victory requirement at the beginning of the election round. If more than one player has met their faction's victory condition, the player who exceeds it by the greatest amount wins. In the unlikely event that more than one player exceeds their victory condition by the same amount, ties are decided in the following order: Freedmen, Carpetbaggers, ex-Confederates, Union.

2.3.1. Final Election. When the second Election Card is played, conduct an election round. If no player has met their faction's victory condition, the player who is closest to it wins. In the unlikely event no player has reached their victory condition, and more than one player is the same distance from their victory count, ties are decided in the following order: Freedmen, Carpetbaggers, ex-Confederates, Union.

3.0 Operations.

3.1. Operations in General. Operations are the main way in which factions execute their policy goals. They represent the varied ways each faction has to pass laws and execute the functions of civil government, influence the other factions, use violence to coerce or suppress, generate income or build infrastructure, and move between spaces on the map. Each faction has four choices when conducting an operation: Move, Attack, Arrest, and an operation unique to each faction.

3.2. Ex-Confederate Operations.

3.2.1. Move. Move relocates cells into or out of states, spaces, or railroads. Ex-Confederate cells must stop after crossing state lines, if they are not traveling by rail. Cells that can trace a path between two spaces connected by rail or river terminals may move as if those spaces were adjacent. Select origin spaces with Ex-Confederate cells. Pay 1 resource per origin space, and transfer 1 resource to the owning player for each railroad traveled on. Flip used terminals to marked side, if not already marked.

3.2.2. Attack. Attack removes troops, activated workers and cells, or disks. In each space selected for Attack, remove one activated enemy piece to Out of Play for every active Ex-Confederate cell (remove disk last), or troop cube for every 2 active ex-Confederate cells. Pay 1 resource per selected space. For every two enemy pieces removed, shift Republican Polarization 1 space toward Radical. If a disk is removed,

Union may then move an adjacent cube into the selected space. Finally, Carpetbaggers and Freedmen may move remaining pieces into adjacent spaces.

3.2.3. Arrest. Arrest removes in-active enemy workers in spaces with Democrat control. In each selected space, remove one in-active worker to available for every active ex-Confederate cell, then disks last. Pay one resource per selected space.

3.2.4. Terrorize. Terrorize flips workers from active to in-active in spaces with active ex-Confederate cells. In each selected space, turn active workers from one faction in-active. Place terror marker. Pay one resource per selected space.

3.3. Freedmen Operations.

3.3.1. Move. Move relocates workers into adjacent spaces, or black cubes into adjacent spaces. Workers must stop after crossing state lines, if they are not traveling by rail. Workers that can trace a path between two spaces connected by rail or river terminals may move as if those spaces were adjacent. Select origin spaces with Freedmen workers. Pay 1 resource per origin space, and transfer 1 resource to the owning player for each railroad traveled on. Freedmen may not move Troop Cubes by Rail. For every Troop cube moved, shift Republican Polarization tracker 1 space toward Moderate. Flip used terminals to marked side, if not already marked.

3.3.2. Attack. Attack removes Union troops and activated enemy pieces. In each space selected for Attack, remove one enemy piece to out of play for every two active Freedmen workers (remove factory or farm last). Pay 1 resource per selected space. For every two enemy pieces removed, shift Republican Politics +1 toward Moderate. If disk removed, Union may move an adjacent cube into the selected space. Pay one resource per selected space. If Carpetbagger piece removed, pay 1 resources to Subvert in the same space.

3.3.3. Arrest. Arrest removes in-active enemy pieces in spaces with Republican control. In each selected space, remove one in-active worker or cell to available for every active Freedmen worker (then disks last). Pay one resource per selected space. If Carpetbagger worker removed, ex-Confederate may pay 1 resource to subvert in the same space.

3.3.4. Agitate. Agitate activates in-active Freedmen workers and removes terror markers. In each selected space, remove one terror marker, and if none, activate one Freedmen worker. Pay one resource per selected space. Adjust control and unrest markers.

3.4. Union Operations.

3.4.1. Move. Move relocates troops into adjacent spaces. Troops that can trace a path between two spaces connected by rail or river terminals may move as if those spaces

were adjacent. Select origin spaces with troop cubes, and any adjacent destination spaces. Transfer 1 resource to the owning player for each railroad traveled on. Pay resources per origin space according to the Republican Polarization Track. Flip used terminals to marked side, if not already marked.

3.4.2. Attack. Attack removes disks and activated enemy pieces. In each space selected for Attack, remove one activated enemy piece to out of play for every troop cube (remove disk last). Pay 1 resource per selected space. Adjust Republican Polarization Track 1 toward Moderate. Pay resources per space according to the Republican Political Tracker. If Carpetbagger worker or disk removed, ex-Confederate may pay 1 resource to Subvert in same space. Finally, Carpetbaggers and ex-Confederates may move remaining workers or cells into adjacent spaces.

3.4.3. Arrest. Arrest removes disks and in-active enemy pieces in spaces with Troops. In each selected space, remove one in-active worker or cell to available for every Troop. Pay one resources per space according to the Republican Political Tracker. If Carpetbagger worker removed, ex-Confederate may pay 1 Resource to Subvert in same space.

3.4.4. Enlist. Enlist creates troop cubes from Available, or replaces workers with troop cubes. In selected spaces, replace two active Carpetbagger workers with one blue cube, **or** replace two active Freedmen workers with one USCT cube, **or** place one blue cube in Washington, D.C. For every cube placed in Washington, D.C., increase Political Support by 1.

3.5. Carpetbagger Operations.

3.5.1. Move. Move relocates workers to adjacent spaces. Workers that can trace a path between two spaces connected by rail or river terminals may move as if those spaces were adjacent. Select origin spaces with Carpetbagger workers. Pay 1 resource per origin space, and transfer 1 resource to the owning player for each railroad terminal traveled on. Flip used terminals to marked side, if not already marked.

3.5.2. Attack. Attack removes disks and enemy pieces. In each space selected for Attack, remove one activated enemy piece to out of play for every active Carpetbagger worker (remove disks last), or 1 Troop Cube for every two active Carpetbagger workers. Pay 1 resource per selected space. For every two enemy pieces removed, Union may shift Republican Polarization 1 toward Radical or Moderate. If disk removed, Union may move an adjacent cube into the selected space. Finally, ex-Confederates and Freedmen may move remaining pieces into adjacent spaces.

3.5.3. Arrest. Arrest removes disks and in-active enemy workers or cells in spaces where active Carpetbagger workers are the majority, with Democrat or Republican Control. In each selected space, remove one in-active worker to available for every active Carpetbagger worker. Pay one resource per selected space.

3.5.4. Organize. Agitate activates in-active Carpetbagger workers in spaces with active Carpetbagger workers. In each selected space, activate one Carpetbagger worker for each active Carpetbagger worker present in the space. Pay one resource per selected space. If necessary, Adjust control and unrest markers. If Carpetbaggers have the most activated workers and the state has been readmitted, they may select Democrat or Republican Control.

4.0 Special Activities.

4.1. Activities in General. Activities may only be selected in conjunction with its corresponding Operation. At any one point during their turn they must also execute a corresponding Activity as allowed by the rules. This means the corresponding Activity may happen before or after the Operation, or may interrupt an Operation in progress, which continues after the completion of the Activity. Each faction has three choices when conducting an Activity, Build, and two other options unique to each faction.

4.2. Ex-Confederate Special Activities.

4.2.1. Build. Build places a farm, factory, or railroad disk on an available space. In one space with Ex-Confederate cells, pay 1 resource to replace a Confederate cell with a disk.

4.2.2. Produce. Produce generates resources for workers and owners. For each unused ex-Confederate farm or factory in a space with two in-active Freedmen or Carpetbagger workers, gain +3 resources, then: for each Carpetbagger worker employed, Carpetbaggers gain +1 resource, and for each Freedmen worker employed, Freedmen gain +½ resource, rounded down. Mark selected farms and factories as used.

4.2.3. Subvert. Subvert converts Carpetbagger workers and disks into Ex-Confederate cells and disks. In one selected space with Carpetbaggers and active Ex-Confederates, replace one active Carpetbagger piece with the same ex-Confederate piece

4.3. Freedmen Special Activities.

4.3.1. Build. Build places a farm, factory, or railroad disk on an available space. In one space with Freedmen workers, pay 1 resource to replace two workers with one farm, factory, or railroad disk.

4.3.2. Produce. Produce generates resources for workers and owners. For each unused Freedman farm or factory in a space with two in-active Freedmen or Carpetbagger workers, gain +3 resources, then: for each Carpetbagger or Freedman worker employed, Carpetbaggers or Freedmen gain +1 resource. Mark selected farms and factories as used.

4.3.3. Call. Call moves Union cubes into spaces with terror markers. Move one cube into any adjacent space with a terror marker. If no cube available, move Republican Polarization Tracker 1 toward Radical and decrease Political Support by 1. If troops > terror markers, remove 1 terror marker.

4.4. Union Special Activities.

4.4.1. Build. Build places a railroad on a railroad space. In one space with Union cube, pay 3 resources to place a railroad disk.

4.4.2. Demobilize. Demobilize removes troops to available. In any space with troops: replace one blue cube with two active Carpetbagger workers, or replace one USCT cube with 2 active Freedman workers, or remove one cube from Washington, DC, and increase Political Support by +1.

4.4.3. Debate. Debate adjusts political tracks, suppresses unrest, or re-admits states. In one space or track: adjust Republican Political Tracker by +1 in either direction, or increase Political support by +3, or set one faction's active pieces to in-active in a single state, or readmit one state to the Union. To readmit a state to the union, set two of three factions in the state to in-active and mark control.

4.5. Carpetbaggers.

4.5.1. Build. Build places a farm, factory, or railroad on an available space. In one space with a Carpetbagger worker and space for a disk, pay three Resources to place a disk.

4.5.2. Produce. Produce generates resources for workers and owners. For each active Carpetbagger farm or factory in a space with two in-active Freedmen or Carpetbagger workers, gain +3 resources, then: for each Carpetbagger or Freedman worker employed, Carpetbaggers or Freedmen gain +1 resource. Mark selected farms and factories as used.

4.5.3. Migrate. Migrate brings Carpetbaggers into the South. In one border state, place two in-active Carpetbagger workers.

5.0 Events.

5.1. Executing Events. In order to execute an event listed on the current event card, an eligible player must move their faction's cylinder to a space marked with "Event" or "Event or Activity".

5.2. Dual Use. Most event card lists two events, one shaded, and one unshaded. In general, the unshaded event will benefit the Union and Freedmen faction, while the

shaded event will benefit the ex-Confederate faction. However, players may choose either listed event as they see fit.

6.0 Election Rounds. During Election Rounds, execute the following events in order:

6.1. Victory Phase. If one, and only one, player has met their victory condition, that player is declared the winner, and the game ends.

6.1.1. Victory Conditions.

6.1.1.1. Union. The Union player has met their victory condition if Political Support is equal to or greater than 30.

6.1.1.2. Ex-Confederates. The ex-Confederate player has met their victory condition if eight or more states are Democrat controlled.

6.1.1.3. Freedmen. The Freedmen player has met their victory condition if eight or more states are Republican Controlled.

6.1.1.4. Carpetbaggers. The Carpetbagger player has met their victory condition if their resources are equal to or greater than 40.

6.2. Politics Phase. Ex-Confederates, then Carpetbaggers, then Freedmen may pay to activate or inactivate their faction's workers or cells in any space. Factions pay 1 resource per worker or cell. Union player may then activate any faction's workers or cells, paying 2 resources per worker or cell, and pay to remove Unrest for 1 Resource per tile. Adjust control and unrest. Finally, the Union player may pay three resources to increase Republican support by 1, then must shift Republican Polarization track two spaces toward Moderate.

6.3. Resources Phase. Ex-Confederates, then Carpetbaggers, then Freedmen gain one resource each of their corresponding faction's used disks on the map. The Union then gains resources for each unused disk. The Union may then transfer any number of resources to the Freedmen. Decrease ex-Confederate resources by the amount under the debt marker. If ex-Confederate resources are > 0 , move the debt marker one space toward 0.

6.4. Unrest Phase. In each state, flip in-active workers exceeding two times the number of disks to active. Ex-Confederates, then Carpetbaggers, then Freedmen then may move their faction's activated pieces in states with unrest to adjacent spaces without Unrest, or to the Available box if no space is available. Once all factions are complete, adjust unrest and replace terror markers with unrest. If unrest remains, decrease Republican Political Support by one for each unrest marker on the map and shift Republican Polarization 1 towards Radical. If no Unrest remains, shift 1 toward Moderate instead.

6.5. Immigration and Growth Phase. Freedmen place one in-active worker from Available in each space with two inactive Freedmen workers. Carpetbaggers place one inactive worker from Available in any two border states. Ex-Confederates place one inactive cell from Available in each space with a black cube, and one space with a blue cube. Freedmen then move half of all pieces from Out of Play to Available, rounding down.

6.6. Reset Phase. Move each faction's cylinder to the Eligible Box, discard this turn's election card, and place the card previously revealed to the side of the event deck. This is now the current event card. Then, reveal the top card of the event deck, and place it on top of the event deck. This will be next turn's event.

7.0 Victory.

7.1. Ranking Wins and Breaking Ties. Ties are resolved according to **2.3** and **6.1**.

7.2. Victory during an Election Round. During an election round, players may only win according to **6.1**.

7.3. Victory after the Final Election Round. At the conclusion of the final Election Round, players win according to **2.3** and **6.1**.

7.3.1. Ex-Confederates. Southern elites convince Northern politicians and voters that the goals of Reconstruction are not worth the cost of occupation and enforcement. White southern governments are given a free hand to control the lives and labor of black Americans: Jim Crow is the law of the land. Meanwhile, white academics and fraternal organizations begin a campaign to rewrite the history of reconstruction, promoting the myths of the War against Brothers, the corruption of the Freedmen's Bureau, and States Rights. The implications of Reconstruction's denied revolution continue to echo through American history, from the Civil Rights movement to the world we live in today.

7.3.2. Freedmen. Black organizers and politicians manage to hang on to the reins of power in state houses across the South. Black families, now armed with rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, begin forging a new way of American life. All is not perfect though. With decades of legislation and legal precedent relegating them to second class citizens, will black politicians be able to secure equality under the Federal government? Or will the new black elite find they have more in common with Northern politicians and businessmen than with their constituents. Have the Freedmen simply replaced a white master for a black politician?

7.3.3. Union. With the successful completion of Reconstruction, Southern citizens, both white and black have set down their arms, if not their prejudices, and set themselves to the task of rebuilding the South in the North's image. But with the majority of the population and productive capacity residing in the North, Southerners find

themselves increasingly dominated by Northern interests. Meanwhile, the Federal government, freed from the ongoing costs of occupation and Reconstruction, turns its attention away from the South, and toward the West, where the pace of settlement and native displacement rapidly increase.

7.3.4. Carpetbaggers. White citizens of all stripes, from missionaries and teachers, to businessmen and laborers have tied their futures to the success of the South, and culture of the South, defined by its peculiar institution, is slowly dying. In its place, liberalism, strong legal traditions, and wage labor come to dominate the former Confederacy. To those in their new positions of power, and their Northern financial backers, this is seen as progressive, with the benefits of peace and equality accruing to all—though some more than others. The rest of society is free to work as they see fit, and equality under the law ensure that both the rich and poor are forbidden to sleep under bridges. While there are some grumblings that this new system serves to extract resources from the South for Northern benefit, who can argue against this new prosperity, after over a decade of war and conflict?

8.0 Counter Manifest. See Appendix A.

9.0 Setup.

9.1. Deck Preparation. Divide cards up into sets based on the years: 1865-66, 1867-68, 1869-70, 1871-72, 1873-74, 1875-76. For each set, randomly deal six cards face down, and shuffle in an Election Card. In order, stack each set on top of each other, so that the 1865-66 cards are on top, and the 1867-77 cards are on the bottom. Place the remainder of the cards back in the box.

9.2. Map, Pieces, and Markers.

9.2.1. General Records Track

9.2.1.1. Republican Political Support Marker. 25.

9.2.1.2. Republican Controlled States. 3.

9.2.1.3. Democrat Controlled States. 0.

9.2.1.4. Ex-Confederate Debt. -2.

9.2.1.5. Resources. Republicans – 30, ex-Confederates – 5, Freedmen – 3, Carpetbaggers – 10.

9.2.2. Political Polarization Track. 3, closest to Radical.

9.2.3. Sequence of Play Track. All markers Eligible.

9.2.4. Available Box.

9.2.4.1. Union. 2 blue cubes, 1 black cube.

9.2.4.2. Freedmen. 25 workers, 9 disks.

9.2.4.3. Carpetbaggers. 19 workers, 10 disks.

9.2.4.4. Ex-Confederates. 7 cells, 7 disks.

9.2.5. Out of Play Box. None.

9.3. Initial Array. First the Union, then the Freedmen, then the Carpetbaggers, then the ex-Confederate set up their pieces according to the following limitations:

9.3.1. Union. Place 9 blue cubes and 3 black cubes on any spaces on the map, no more than 2 cubes per space.

9.3.2. Freedmen. Place 7 workers and one disk in any spaces on the map. No more than 2 workers per space. Place disks and workers so that they are showing their unmarked side.

9.3.3. Carpetbaggers. Place 1 worker in Missouri and Tennessee, and 2 workers and 1 disk in West Virginia. Place disks and workers so that they are showing their unmarked side.

9.3.4. Ex-Confederates. Place 4 disks in any available spaces other than Georgia, Kentucky, Missouri, North Carolina and South Carolina, Virginia, and West Virginia. Place 4 cells in any spaces other than those selected for disks. Place disks and cells so that they are showing their unmarked side.

APPENDIX C

PLAYER AIDS

Union	
Operations Move Purpose: Move Troops. Location: Any spaces. Cost: Republican Polarization Track per origin space. Procedure: Move cubes into adjacent spaces, or along operational rail-roads to adjacent spaces, paying 1 resource for each terminal passed. Attack Purpose: Eliminate Disks and activated pieces. Location: Any spaces with unrest or terror and cubes Cost: Republican Politics Tracker per space selected. Procedure: In each space, remove one activated piece to out of play per Troop Cube (Disks last). Shift Republican Politics +1 toward Moderate. If Carpetbagger removed, ex-Confederate may pay 1 resource to Subvert in the same space. Arrest Purpose: Remove disks and Inactive Pieces Location: Any spaces with Troop Cubes and without Control Cost: Republican Polarization Track per space. Procedure: In each space, remove one in-activated piece for every cube to available. If Carpetbagger removed, ex-Confederates may pay 1 resource to Subvert in same space. Enlist Purpose: Place Troop Cubes Location: Any spaces. Cost: Republican Polarization Track per space. Procedure: In each space: -Replace two active Carpetbaggers with one blue cube, or two active Freedmen with one black cube, or -place one blue cube from available in Washington, D.C. and increase Republican Political Support by 1.	Special Activities Build max 1 space Purpose: Build Infrastructure. Location: Any spaces with Troops and available space. Procedure: In once space, replace 2 cubes with 1 Disk. Disband max 1 cube Purpose: Remove Union Troops. Location: Any spaces with Union Troops Procedure: In once space: -Replace a black cube with 1 activated Freedman, or -Replace a blue cube with 1 activated Carpetbagger, or -Move a cube from Washington, D.C., to Available, and increase Northern Political Support by +1. Debate max 1 track or space Purpose: Adjust political markers, re-admit states. Location: Any Tracks or Spaces Procedure: In one space or tracker: -Adjust Republican Political Tracker by +1. -Increase Northern Support by +3. -Set any 1 active Worker to inactive, or activate a cell. -Admit a state into the Union. Set Workers and Cells to inactive, as desired. Mark Control Victory Union: Republican Support > 30 Ex-Confederates: Dem. control > 7 States Carpetbaggers: Res. > 40 Freedmen: Rep. control > 7 States

Ex-Confederate Forces

Operations

Move

Purpose: Move Cells.

Location: Any spaces.

Cost: 1 Resource per origin space

Procedure: Move cells into adjacent spaces, or along operational rail roads to adjacent space, paying 1 resource to the owner of each terminal passed. Unless moving along rail roads, stop after crossing state borders.

Attack

Purpose: Eliminate disks and activated pieces.

Location: Any spaces with active Ex-Confederates.

Cost: 1 Resource per space

Procedure: In each space, remove one active worker to out of play for every active cell (then disks last), or 1 Troop Cube for every two active cells. For every two pieces removed, shift Republican Polarization 1 toward Radical. If disk removed, Union or Freedmen may move adjacent cube into space. Carpetbaggers and Freedmen may then move remaining pieces into adjacent spaces.

Arrest

Purpose: Remove inactive workers.

Location: Any spaces with active Ex-Confederates and Democratic Control

Cost: 1 Resource per space

Procedure: In each space, remove one inactive piece (then disks last) for every active friendly piece to available.

Terrorize

Purpose: Suppress active workers.

Location: Any spaces with active cells and without Troops.

Cost: 1 Resource per space selected

Procedure: In each space turn all workers from one faction inactive. Place Terror marker.

Special Activities

Build

max 1 space

Purpose: Build Infrastructure.

Location: Any spaces with cells, and space for a Disk.

Procedure: In once space, replace 1 cell with 1 Disk. Pay 1 Resource.

Produce

max 1 space

Purpose: Generate Resources.

Location: Any spaces with Ex-Confederate Capital and inactive Workers

Procedure: For each unused Ex-Confederate Disk with two active Freedmen or Carpetbagger workers in space, gain 3 resources, then:

-For each Carpetbagger employed, Carpetbaggers gain 1 Resource.

-For each Freedmen worker employed, Freedmen gain $\frac{1}{2}$ Resource, rounded down.

-Mark Disk used.

Subvert

max 1 space

Purpose: Remove Carpetbagger pieces, gain ex-Confederates.

Location: Any spaces with Carpetbagger pieces and Ex-Confederate Cells

Procedure: In each space, remove one Carpetbagger piece, and replace with one the same Ex-Confederate piece.

Victory

Union: Republican Support > 30

Ex-Confederates: Dem. control > 7 States

Carpetbaggers: Res. > 40

Freedmen: Rep. control > 7 States

Freedmen

20210511

Operations

Move

Purpose: Move Troops and pieces.
Location: Any spaces.
Cost: 1 Resource per origin space
Procedure: Move workers and/or Black cube into adjacent spaces, or along operational rail roads to adjacent spaces, paying 1 resource to the owner of each terminal passed. For every Black Troop Cube moved, move Republican Polarization Tracker 1 space toward moderate.

Attack

Purpose: Eliminate disks and activated pieces.
Location: Any spaces with active Freedmen and without blue cubes.
Cost: 1 Resource per space
Procedure: In each space, remove one active worker to out of play for every active cell (Disks last), or 1 Troop Cube for every two active workers. For every two pieces removed, shift Republican Polarization 1 toward Moderate. If disk removed, Union may move adjacent cube into space. If Carpetbagger removed, ex-Confederate may pay 1 resource to Subvert in the same space.

Arrest

Purpose: Remove disks and inactive pieces.
Location: Any spaces with more active Freedmen than Carpetbaggers and Republican Control.
Cost: 1 Resource per space
Procedure: In each space, remove one inactive Worker or Cell to available for every active friendly Worker in same space. If Carpetbagger removed, ex-Confederate may pay 1 resource to Subvert in the same space.

Agitate

Purpose: Activate friendly Workers.
Location: Any spaces
Procedure: In each space remove 1 terror marker, or if none, activate 1 Freedman worker.

Special Activities

Build

max 1 space

Purpose: Build Infrastructure.
Location: Any spaces with Freedmen, and space for a disk
Procedure: In once space replace 2 Freedmen workers with 1 disk.

Produce

max 1 space

Purpose: Generate Resources.
Location: Any spaces with inactive workers and Freedmen disk.
Procedure: In one space:
 1. For each Freedmen Disk with two available Freedmen or Carpetbagger workers in space, gain +3 resources, then:
 -For each Freedman or Carpetbagger employed, that faction gains 1 Resource.
 -Mark disk as used.

Call

max 1 space

Purpose: Resist Terror.
Location: Any spaces with Terror marker
Procedure: Move one cube into any adjacent space with a terror marker. If no cubes available, move Republican Polarization Tracker +1 toward Radical. If Troops > Terror markers in space, remove 1 Terror marker.

Victory

Union: Republican Support > 30
Ex-Confederates: Dem. control > 7 States
Carpetbaggers: Res. > 40
Freedmen: Rep. control > 7 States

Carpetbaggers

20210511

Operations

Move

Purpose: Move workers.

Location: Any spaces.

Cost: 1 Resource per origin space

Procedure: Move workers into adjacent spaces, or along operational rail roads to adjacent spaces, paying 1 resource to the owner of each terminal passed.

Attack

Purpose: Eliminate active pieces.

Location: Any spaces with active Carpetbaggers and without Troops.

Cost: 1 Resource per space

Procedure: In each space, remove one active worker or cell to out of play for every active worker (Disks last), or 1 Troop Cube for every two active workers. For every two pieces removed, shift Republican Polarization 1 toward Radical. If disk removed, Union or Freedmen may move adjacent cube into space. Freedmen and ex-Confederates may then move pieces into adjacent spaces.

Arrest

Purpose: Remove inactive pieces.

Location: Any spaces where active Carpetbagger workers are the majority, and Democrat or Republican Control.

Cost: 1 Resource per space

Procedure: In each space, remove one disk or inactive piece for every active friendly piece to available.

Organize

Purpose: Activate friendly workers.

Location: Any spaces with active Carpetbagger workers.

Cost: 1 Resource per space selected

Procedure: In each space activate 1 Carpetbagger worker for each Carpetbagger worker already active.

-If State has been readmitted, and Carpetbagger pieces outnumber all others, select Democrat or Republican control.

Special Activities

Build

max 1 space

Purpose: Build Infrastructure.

Location: Any spaces with Carpetbagger workers and space for disk

Procedure: In once space, pay three resources and place a disk.

Produce

max 1 space

Purpose: Generate Resources.

Location: Any spaces with inactive workers and Carpetbagger disk.

Procedure: In one space:

For each Carpetbagger Capital with two available Freedmen or Carpetbagger workers in space, gain +3 resources, then:

-For each Freedman or Carpetbagger employed, that faction gains 1 Resource.
-Mark disk as used.

Migrate

max 1 space

Purpose: Gain workers.

Location: Any spaces.

Procedure: Place two inactive Carpetbagger workers in any one border state.

Victory

Union: Republican Support > 30

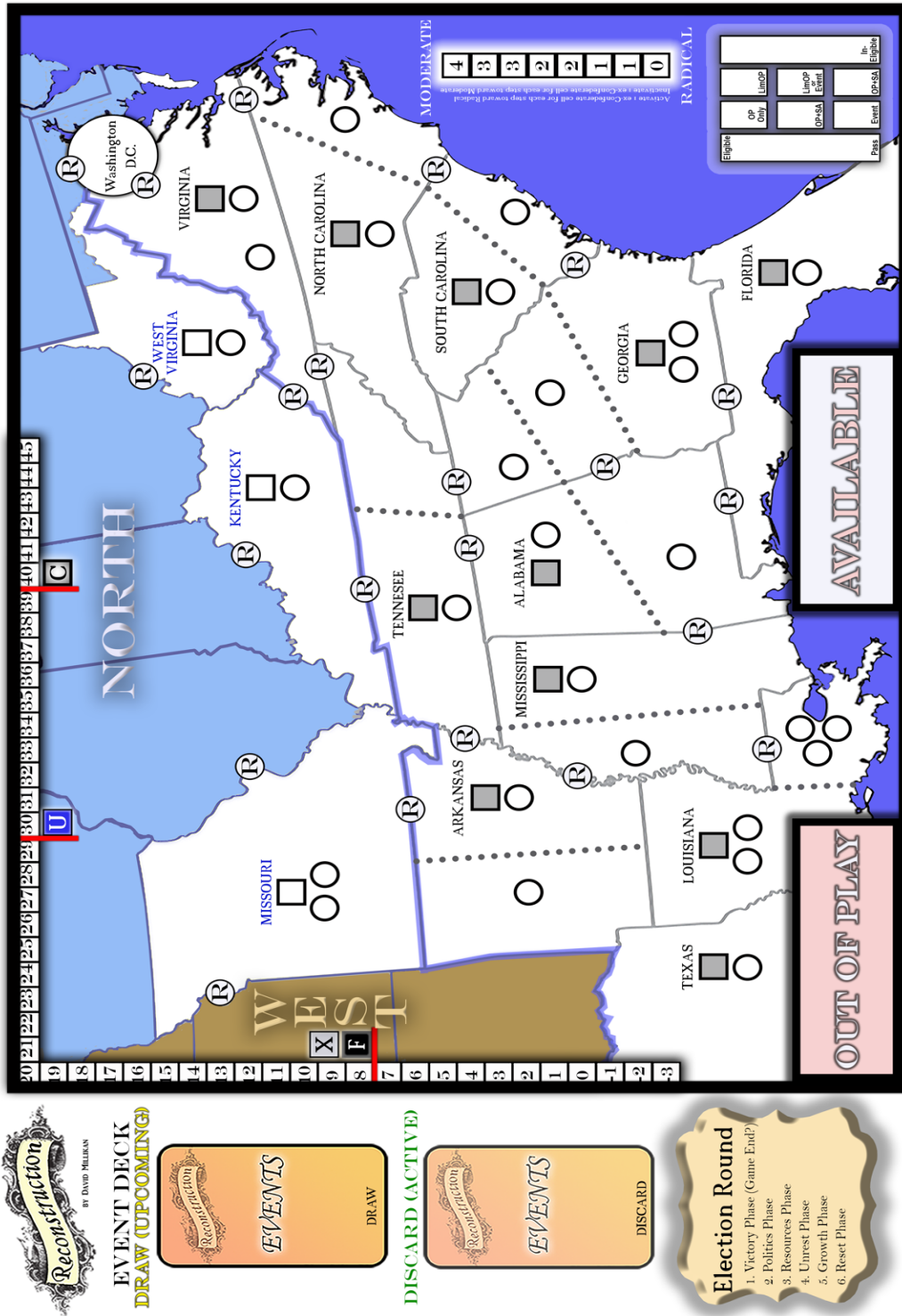
Ex-Confederates: Dem. control > 7 States

Carpetbaggers: Res. > 40

Freedmen: Rep. control > 7 States

APPENDIX D

GAME MAP



APPENDIX E

EVENT CARD DESCRIPTIONS

1865

#1 – Archduke Maximilian (XUCF)

Background: Mexico, ruled by the Austrian Arch Duke Maximilian stationed troops on the border with Texas. Union politicians feared indirect French support to the Confederate Army, and the threat of a French backed invasion..¹⁰⁹

#2 – 13th Amendment (CFUX)

Background: The 13th Amendment abolished slavery and granted congress broad power to enforce the amendment. Southern Democrats would quickly find ways to subvert the intent of the amendment, resulting in the “Black Codes.” Of note, slavery remains legal to this day as a punishment for crime..¹¹⁰

#3 – Black Labor Movement (FXUC)

Background: Black leaders in the North saw in Southern Emancipation, and opportunity to radically reshape the relationship of Freedmen to the economy. This took the form of calls for land reform, labor co-operatives, and civil equality. Predictably, conservative elements, both in the North and in the South, had other ideas..¹¹¹

#11 – North Carolina Proclamation (UCFX)

Unshaded Event:

Shaded Event:

Background: Relying on his experience as governor of Tennessee, President Johnson appointed William Holden as provisional governor of North Carolina. Johnson used Holden to keep pardons for ex-Confederates at arm’s length..¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ Bradley, *The Army and Reconstruction 1865-1877*, 14.

¹¹⁰ W.E.B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America: Toward a History of the Part of Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2012), chap. 7.

¹¹¹ Benjamin T. Lynerd, “Republican Ideology and the Black Labor Movement, 1869-1872,” *Phylon* 56, no. 2 (Winter 2009): 19-36.

¹¹² Jonathan Truman Dorris, “Pardoning North Carolinians,” *The North Carolina Historical Review* 23, no. 3 (1946): 364.

#12 – Sea Island Colonies (UXFC)

Unshaded Event:

Shaded Event:

Background: In early 1865, Sherman’s Special Field Order No. 15 allowed the newly emancipated Freedmen to take possession of coastal plantations in Georgia and South Carolina. However, it soon became apparent that Johnson intended to return these holdings to their pardoned owners. Freedmen resisted this violently, clashing with both ex-Confederate owners and Union Troops.¹¹³

#13 – Tennessee Readmitted (CXFU)

Background: Tennessee was the first state readmitted to the Union, ratifying the 14th Amendment. Congress, however, failed to layout a standard path for readmission for the rest of the states.¹¹⁴

#14 – Trans-Mississippi (XFUC)

Background: By mid-May, only the Confederates of Trans-Mississippi had yet to surrender. This threat, along with French forces stationed along the border with Mexico, compelled Grant to send Sheridan to deter further fighting. By the time he arrived though, the Confederate Army had devolved into plundering gangs. Sheridan’s invading army quickly turned to establishing order.¹¹⁵

#15 – 107th USCI Garrisons D.C. (FXCU)

Background: Black troops were also recipients of violence from their white fellow soldiers. In 1965, the 6th US Cavalry attacked the 107th USCI while waiting to depart for Texas, killing one soldier. Five regiments were ultimately called in to quell the violence.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ James S. Allen, “The Struggle for Land during the Reconstruction Period,” *Science & Society* 1, no. 3 (Spring 1937): 378-401.

¹¹⁴ Foner, *Reconstruction*, chap. 6.

¹¹⁵ Bradley, *The Army and Reconstruction 1865-1877*, 14.

¹¹⁶ Dobak, *Freedom by the Sword*, 466.

#16 – Fenians Invade Canada (CUXF)

Background: Starting in 1866, Irish Americans launched several unsuccessful attempts to invade Canada as part of a campaign for Irish Independents. Nearly 50,000 Irish Americans served in the Union army during the Civil War, and many saw in the Freedmen's struggle for emancipation, possibilities for their own.¹¹⁷

#17 – Fullerton Report (CXFU)

Background: Despite the Freedmen's hope that the Federal government would secure their freedom with both force and law, Johnson wasted no time in trying to undermine any support they received. In 1866, he sent Generals Joseph Fullerton and James Steedmen to inspect the work of Reconstruction in the South, looking for complaints about the Freedmen's Bureau. What they found instead was near universal praise from Freedmen, for their Bureau, exceeding even that of the Army.¹¹⁸

#18 – *Ex parte Milligan* (CUFX)

Background: The Supreme Court frequently worked against the goals of the Radical Republicans. In the case *Ex parte Milligan*, the justices reversed the military tribunal conviction of a Northern man, stating that military tribunals could not convene where civilian courts were still functioning.

#19 – “Make Kansas District No. 6” (CFXU)

Background: While Kansans promoted their state as a land of freedom and justice, acts economically-motivated violence, in which white laborers attempted to drive off their black counterparts were widespread. Many Kansans were horrified that the “Southern Phenomenon” had arrived in their state.¹¹⁹

#20 – USCT in Alabama (UCFX)

Background: Southern whites in every state complained of the garrisoning of black troops in their towns. The Army frequently acquiesced to their demands rather than deal with unrest. 13 Regiments of the USCT raised from northern black communities were returned north in 1865.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Mitchell Snay, “The Imagined Republic: The Fenians, Irish American Nationalism, and the Political Culture of Reconstruction,” *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 112, no. 2 (October 2002): 292.

¹¹⁸ Foner, *Reconstruction*, chap. 4.

¹¹⁹ Brent M.S. Campney, ““Light Is Bursting upon the World!”: White Supremacy and Racist Violence against Blacks in Reconstruction Kansas,” *The Western Historical Quarterly* 41, no. 2 (July 2010): 171-194.

¹²⁰ Bradley, *The Army and Reconstruction 1865-1877*, 17.

#23 – “We Cannot Recall the Past” (UFCX)

Background: Atlanta was able to avoid the violence experienced in other Southern cities in the Summer of 1866, partly due to the commitment to avoid partisanship on the part of the mayor, James Williams, and partly due to the fact that the Sherman’s destruction of the city now required a massive military presence to provide civil services to the refugees now flocking there.¹²¹

#25 – Black Codes (XFCU)

Background: Drawing on ante-bellum laws for free blacks, Roman legal tradition, and regulations imposed by the Union Army, Black Codes sought to return the formerly enslaved to a condition of bondage, if by another name.¹²²

#26 – Forsyth County Executions (XCUF)

Background: As the Confederate Army continued to unravel at the end of the war, small unit leaders took out their frustrations on internal enemies: deserters and unionists. In North Carolina’s Piedmont, a company of the 1st Battalion, North Carolina Sharpshooters executed five accused deserters in broad daylight, horrifying onlookers. By 1866, the government would attempt to try leaders of this unit for murder, but the legislature had other ideas, passing an amnesty bill for crimes committed during the war.¹²³

#27 – Crop Failures (UCFX)

Background: Crop failures in 1866 saw planters respond by refusing to pay wages to Freedmen workers, or to give them what crops were available as payment in-kind. Many Freedmen sought to move out of agriculture, and seek employment in factory and construction work.¹²⁴

¹²¹ Jason Wieczorek, “The Successes and Failures of Military Occupation in Atlanta, Georgia 1865-1871,” (master’s thesis, US Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS, 2017), 47.

¹²² William J.F. Meredith, “The Black Codes,” *Negro History Bulletin* 3, no. 5 (1940): 76.

¹²³ David C. Williard, “Executions, Justice, and Reconciliation in North Carolina’s Western Piedmont, 1865-67,” *The Journal of the Civil War Era* 2, no. 1 (March 2012): 31-57.

¹²⁴ Foner, *Reconstruction*, chap. 3.

#28 – Ku Klux Formed (XCFU)

Background: Founded by returning soldiers bored with life in Pulaski Tennessee, the Ku Klux was one of many fraternal organizations Americans of all backgrounds joined in the 1860s. Innocuous seeming, members seemed content to wear costumes and play pranks, but by 1876, “ex-Confederate generals, Democratic politicians, and renowned vigilantes” began to fill the ranks, and start it down the path to violence.¹²⁵

#30 – Food Aid (XUCF)

Background: A common thread in the early years of Reconstruction was the work the Freedmen’s Bureau, along with the Army, did to support stability and humanitarian efforts across the occupied South. From June 1865 to September 1866, the Federal government was responsible for issuing almost 30,000 meals per day.¹²⁶

1867

#31 – Oeste Paulista (FXCU)

Background: With slavery abolished in America, some ex-Confederates turned their eyes (and chains) toward Brazil, where slavery remained legal and vital to the coffee industry. Invited to settle by the Brazilian emperor, these men believed they could rebuild their plantations in the farmlands of São Paulo. What they didn’t know was that the Brazilian government, after watching the turmoil of the American Civil War, intended to use the ex-Confederates’ technical knowledge to phase out slavery.¹²⁷ (See also, Southerland 1985.)

#32 – Enlistments Expire (CFUX)

Background: In the last six months of 1865, the number of troops remaining in the South decreased by almost two-thirds. By 1867, most remaining troops were volunteers: the War Department sought to cut the budget by eliminating Cavalry Regiments. This left what troops remained unable to move quickly across the huge areas they were ordered to secure.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ Paul D. Brister, “Ku Klux Rising: Toward an Understanding of American Right Wing Terrorist Campaigns,” (Ph.D. dissertation, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, 2011), 64.

¹²⁶ William H. Burks, “The Freedmen’s Bureau, Politics, and Stability Operations During Reconstruction in the South” (master’s thesis, US Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS, 2009), 48.

¹²⁷ Roberto Saba, “American Mirror: The United States and the Empire of Brazil in the Age of Emancipation” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA, 2017), 192.

¹²⁸ Bradley, *The Army and Reconstruction 1865-1877*, 15.

#34 – Nebraska Statehood (CFXU)

Background: Black men living outside established states faced different legal challenges in securing their freedom. By 1867 though, Congress had enfranchised black men in the District of Colombia, and made male suffrage a requirement for territories to become states..¹²⁹

#35 – Mobile Riots (XUCF)

Background: During a speech from Radical Congressman William Kelly, Freedmen reacted negatively to the Army Post Commander's order that they not ride the street car to avoid conflicts with ex-Confederates. Kelly told the crowd to ignore the commander's order, at which point white men began heckling him. The scene soon devolved into chaos, as shots were fired and troops attempted to regain control. One white man, and one Freedman were shot to death..¹³⁰

#39 – Harsh Measures (UFXC)

Background: The military government of the 5th District, comprising Texas and Louisiana, operated with the least interference from civil authorities, until Sheridan's Removal by Johnson over his treatment of ex-Confederates..¹³¹

#42 – Delta Plantations (XUCF)

Background: During wartime Reconstruction, military commanders unilaterally distributed confiscated land to the Freedmen living there. General Sherman's Special Field Order No. 15 allowed Freedmen to take possession of coastal islands and rice plantations in parts of South Carolina and Georgia. President Johnson's lenient amnesty policy would attempt to reverse this, and Freedmen soon came into conflict with both the former owners, and the troops sent to enforce their property rights..¹³²

#43 – Memphis Riots (CXFU)

Background: One of many racially motivated riots in Southern cities in the Summer of 1866, the Memphis riots began with conflicts between black veterans and white laborers over housing and jobs, and culminated with acts of violence, including murder, arson, and robbery committed against the black community.

¹²⁹ Zuczek, *Encyclopedia of the Reconstruction Era*, 81.

¹³⁰ Bradley, *The Army and Reconstruction 1865-1877*, 34.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 36.

¹³² Allen, "The Struggle for Land during the Reconstruction Period."

#44 – 80th USCI Leaves Texas (XUCF)

Background: The 80th US Colored Infantry was garrisoned in Marshall, Texas from 1866 to 1867, drawing widespread anger from the community and media, despite one newspaper's admission that they were "behaved very well, and there has been no reason to complain of their conduct." The presence of black troops was a frequent complaint of white communities across the South, feared they would cause crime, and inspire the local Freedmen to act out of place. This last issue was especially present when black troops dared to arrest white citizens.¹³³

1868

#47 – Tenure of Office Act (UCXF)

Background: Johnson is impeached after firing the Secretary of War without Congressional Approval. While the Senate fails to convict him, the Democratic Party decides not to nominate at the upcoming election. The acquittal also sets up the Moderate Grant as the leading Republican candidate.¹³⁴

#50 – Economic Paradise (UFXC)

Background: Republicans were not uniform in their desire to see the South brought to its knees; divisions within the party, between the ideologically minded Radicals and the more liberal Stalwarts often fell long economic lines. Party members who saw economic opportunities in rebuilding the South were at odds with those who wanted to prioritize Black suffrage.

#51 – "A feeling of dread" (XUFC)

Background: White resentment over the extension of suffrage to black men found an outlet in KKK violence, resulting in over 200 murders that summer and the declaration of martial law in November.¹³⁵

#53 – Assassination in Columbus (XCFU)

Background: In March, a group of Klansmen murdered George Ashburn, a local scalawag. Local officials conducted a cursory investigation, which failed to find the culprits. The military governor, General Meade then stepped in, ultimately arresting thirteen men. The tribunal was unable to reach a verdict before the transition from military to civil government, and no one was ever punished for the murder.

¹³³ David Work, "United States Colored Troops in Texas during Reconstruction, 1865-1867," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 109, no. 3 (January 2006): 353.

¹³⁴ Bradley, *The Army and Reconstruction 1865-1877*, 46.

¹³⁵ Brooks Blevins, "Reconstruction in the Ozarks: Simpson Mason, William Monks, and the War That Refused to End," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 77, no. 3 (Autumn 2018): 201.

#54 – St. Landry Volcano (FXUC)

Background: Members of the Seymour Knights, a white vigilante order beat a teacher at a local Freedmen's school, leading to an exchange of gunfire between white and black groups. Local police responded by arresting several Freedmen for disturbing the peace, leading to the men being lynched later that night.

#56 – 2nd District Abolished (CXFU)

#57 – The K.K. Alphabet (XCUF)

Background: Despite attempts to present themselves as a unified organization, descended from the Tennessee Klan, and operating across the South, the Klan, and the violence they committed, were exclusively local operations. Surviving records, including written constitutions, member rolls, and a letter written in cipher, show local and state-level organizing, mirroring business and political structures.¹³⁶

1869

#62 – Manpower Reduction Act (XUCF)

Background: From 1868-1869, the Manpower Reduction Act reduced the size of the army by 1/3, leaving little more than 11,000 on Occupation duty. Since most cavalry regiments were already serving on the border, the work of occupation fell mainly to immobile Infantry and Artillery units. To counter this, Grant began to support the arming units under State control.¹³⁷

#68 – Ogeeche Rebellion (UXFC)

Background: Despite having just fought to emancipate the Freedmen, Union troops were often called upon to put down Freedmen attempts to claim a right to the land they had spent their lives working. Freedmen were prepared to, and in fact did, give their lives to defend that right.¹³⁸

#69 – New Orleans & Opelousas Rail Road (CUXF)

Background: Northern investment in Southern infrastructure came at a price: the Federal government both subsidized construction, and used its powers of eminent domain to evict small landholders who stood in the way of progress.¹³⁹

¹³⁶ Bradley D. Proctor, “‘The K. K. Alphabet’: Secret Communication and Coordination of the Reconstruction-Era Ku Klux Klan in the Carolinas,” *The Journal of the Civil War Era* 8, no. 3 (2018): 455-487.

¹³⁷ Bradley, *The Army and Reconstruction 1865-1877*, 58.

¹³⁸ Allen, “The Struggle for Land during the Reconstruction Period,” 396.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

#74 – Married-Women’s Laws (XUCF)

Background: By 1868, no state, North or South, had unconditionally granted the women the right to vote. Some radical legislatures, however, took up Married-Women’s Laws, granting property rights in a time when a Husband’s rights usually subsumed the wife’s. In states across the South, these laws allowed politicians to avoid the issue of expanding franchise to both women and Black women at the same time.¹⁴⁰

1870

#77 – “learning from their mothers” (XUCF)

Background: One form black labor took during Reconstruction was the “Family Contract”, where the male head of the family negotiated wages with the land owner. In the eyes of many Freewomen, this arrangement did little more than replace the master-slave relationship with one of husband and wife. This led to an increase in both the early marriage and divorce rates among Freedpeople, leading many women to develop more independent attitudes about their economic security.¹⁴¹

#80 – Carpetbaggers and Scalawags (XUCF)

Background: Part of the ongoing Southern effort to rewrite history in a more favorable light was to label Union-supporting whites with the term Carpetbagger (a Northerner who came south), and Scalawag (a Southern who turned their back on the Confederacy). While the origin of the term Scalawag is unknown, “Carpetbagger” was first used by the Montgomery Daily Mail in 1867, and had gained acceptance by 1870.¹⁴²

#82 – Florida Rails (CUFX)

Background: Railroads had been a prime target of both sides during the Civil War, as testified to by the damaged state of many lines by the end of the war. One seventh of Florida’s rail infrastructure had been damaged or destroyed by 1865, and during Reconstruction, the state government would step in to charter and loan money to restart rail transport. Often, the charters stipulated limitations to the operation of the line, as in the case of the Jacksonville, Pensacola & Mobile Rail Road, which was prohibited from operating within fifteen miles of the border, out of fear it would link up with lines in Georgia, and take business out of the state.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ Suzanne D. Lebsack, “Radical Reconstruction and the Property Rights of Southern Women,” *The Journal of Southern History* 43, no. 2 (1977): 195-216.

¹⁴¹ Deirdre Bloome and Christopher Muller, “Tenancy and African American Marriage in the Postbellum South,” *Demography* 52, no. 5 (October 2015): 1409-1430.

¹⁴² Tunnell, “Creating ‘The Propaganda of History,’” 799.

¹⁴³ George W. Pettengill and B. F. Simmons, “The Story of the Florida Railroads 1834 - 1903,” *The Railway and Locomotive Historical Society Bulletin*, no. 86 (July 1952): 36.

#83 – 3rd District Abolished (CXFU)

#84 – Ninth US Census (FCUX)

Background: By 1860, South Carolina and Mississippi were majority Black. By 1870, this group probably included Louisiana, with Florida not far behind. With the implementation of universal male suffrage, the ex-Confederate's worst nightmare had come true..¹⁴⁴

#85 – 4th District Abolished (XUCF)

#86 – Kirk-Holden War (FUXC)

Background: State attempts to stop Klan violence erupted in North Carolina's Kirk-Holden War, with state militias, including segregated units of Freedmen, battling loosely affiliated white supremacist groups around Raleigh. Governor Holden's heavy approach made the moderate Grant Administration hesitant to offer support, but ultimately destroyed the Klan in that state..¹⁴⁵

#87 – Enforcement Acts (UCFX)

Background: A series of three laws passed to allow the Federal government to enforce the provisions of the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments, the Enforcement acts would lead to the practical destruction of the Klan by 1872, and would be used in the prosecution of the Freedom Rider murderers in 1964. The secretive nature of the Klan, however, led many to conclude that the organization was more myth than reality - a fiction that became harder to maintain, as the number of bodies that continue to pile up across the south..¹⁴⁶

#89 – 5th District Abolished (CXFU)

#90 – 1st District Abolished (XUCF)

¹⁴⁴ Forrest G. Wood, "On Revising Reconstruction History: Negro Suffrage, White Disfranchisement, and Common Sense," *The Journal of Negro History* 51, no. 2 (1966): 99.

¹⁴⁵ Samuel B. McGuire, "The Making of a Black Militia Company: New Bern Troops in the Kirk-Holden War, 1870," *North Carolina Historical Review* 91, no. 3 (July 2014): 288-322.

¹⁴⁶ Parsons, "Klan Skepticism and Denial in Reconstruction-Era Public Discourse."

#91 – Korean Expedition (XUCF)

Background: In 1870, the Navy’s Asiatic fleet sailed to Korea to investigate the whereabouts of the merchant marine ship *General Sherman*, which had disappeared in 1866. Unbeknownst to the Americans, it had been destroyed by the Koreans after violating their borders. During the investigation, Korean forts opened fire on the USS *Colorado*. In response, US Marines went ashore, capturing the main fort Kwangsongchin, with 243 Koreans and three Americans killed in the fighting. Despite this the Koreans refused to negotiate, and instead sent a larger army to the region, forcing the Navy to withdraw.¹⁴⁷

#92 – Southern Rail Debts (CUXF)

Background: After the war, the Union subsidized purchase and running of Southern Rail Lines. Southern owners frequently tried to tie-up repayment in the courts, claiming they should be compensated for the seizure and use of their rolling stock during the war. The Army Quartermaster sought relief through Congress, but the bill that was ultimately passed settled Southern debts for a half to a third of their value.¹⁴⁸

#97 – Black Labor Leagues (FCXU)

Background: In the 1870s, black union members shut down nearly all of Jacksonville’s mills, after employers refused union demands. The strike was unsuccessful due to white strikebreakers, but showed that Freedmen were willing to accept economic risk and work together as a class.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ Carolyn A. Tyson, *Marine Amphibious Landing in Korea, 1871* (Washington, D.C.: Naval Historical Foundation, 1966).

¹⁴⁸ E. G. Campbell, “Indebted Railroads - A Problem of Reconstruction,” *The Journal of Southern History* 6, no. 2 (May 1940): 167.

¹⁴⁹ David H. Jackson and Kimberlyn M Elliott, “African Americans in Florida, 1870-1920: A Historiographical Essay,” *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 95, no. 2 (Fall 2016): 178.

#99 – Ascension Parish (XUCF)

Background: Freedmen were more than willing to cross racial and class lines to form alliances they hoped would help them to achieve local policy goals. In Ascension Parish, Freedmen rioted after the murder of Marx Schoenberg, a member of Donaldsonville's small Jewish community. On the other hand, those Freedmen frustrated by the lack of progress the Republican party was making toward Reconstruction had no issues building coalitions with Democrats, splitting the black vote, much to the delight of the Planter class.¹⁵⁰

#100 – Methodist Missionaries (CFXU)

Background: Carpetbaggers were motivated by more than economics. At the conclusion of the war, the northern Methodist church sent missionaries south to found congregations. By 1871, the church could count on 135,000 members, and more than 600 preachers, more than half of which were black men. Many Freedmen remained suspicious though, leaving the southern Methodist church to join an African Methodist or black-led Baptist church.¹⁵¹

1872

#106 – The *Alabama* Claims (UXCF)

Background: In response to Great Britain's violation of its status as a neutral power during the Civil War, an international tribunal awarded monetary damages to the U.S. Both sides accepted arbitration, avoiding war, and laying the groundwork for international cooperation.¹⁵²

#107 – U.S. v. Cruikshank (CXUF)

Background: After the Colfax Massacre, the Federal Government attempt to prosecute three white conspirators under the Enforcement Act.¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ Stuart Rockoff. "Carpetbaggers, Jacklegs, and Bolting Republicans: Jews in Reconstruction Politics in Ascension Parish, Louisiana," *American Jewish History* 97, no. 1 (January 2013): 39-64.

¹⁵¹ William W. Sweet, "Methodist Church Influence in Southern Politics," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 1, no. 4 (March 1915): 548.

¹⁵² Bingham, "The Alabama Claims Arbitration."

¹⁵³ Foner, *Reconstruction*, chap. 11.

#109 – Freedmen’s Bureau Investigated (FXCU)

Background: While Otis Howard, the head of the Freedmen’s Bureau, was assisting the Secretary of the Interior on peace negotiations with the Apaches, the Bureau went bankrupt, and congress declined to appropriate additional funding. The organization was subsumed by the War Department, and after a review of the records, the Secretary of War, William Belknap, investigated Howard for mishandling the organization’s funds. Howard would not be exonerated until 1874..¹⁵⁴

1873

#122 – Panic of 1873 (FXCU)

Background: At the time, known in the US as the “Great Depression”, the Panic of 1873 was caused by war, monetary policy, and massive property damage from fires in Chicago and Boston..¹⁵⁵

#132 – Black Militias Formed (XFCU)

Background: In attempting to maintain the gains of Reconstruction, Radical Governments turned to the Federal government to arm militias - precursors to the National Guard. In 1873, Congress provided assistance to the States in the form of a yearly quota of weapons and equipment. Some states, like South Carolina even arranged for a 20-year advance on arms shipments. Meanwhile, Freeman flocked to the units. Those that didn’t were frequently kicked out of their churches, or given the Lysistrata treatment by their wives..¹⁵⁶

#134 – Texas State Police (FXUC)

Background: In the absence of Federal troops, the Texas State Police were created to enforce state laws being ignored by local governments. These agents relied on the relationship the Freedmen’s Bureau had with their constituents. Black and white policemen were responsible for “thousands of arrests between 1870 and 1873.”¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ Burks, “The Freedmen’s Bureau, Politics, and Stability Operations during Reconstruction in the South,” 98.

¹⁵⁵ Sharkey, *Money, Class, and Party*.

¹⁵⁶ Otis A. Singletary, “The Negro Militia during Radical Reconstruction,” *Military Affairs* 19, no. 4 (1955): 179.

¹⁵⁷ Edward Valentin, “Local Knowledge: Black Texans, the Freedmen’s Bureau, and Military Occupation in Reconstruction Texas,” *Civil War History* 67, no. 1 (2021): 55.

#137 - Hookworm (XUCF)

Background: Poor living conditions across the South during Reconstruction led to an increase in disease, and a corresponding decrease in Agricultural output lasting until well after the end of Reconstruction.¹⁵⁸

#141 – Brooks-Baxter War (XUCF)

Background: Two years after a contentious gubernatorial election, the losing candidate, Joseph Brooks, assembled a militia to oust his rival, Elisha Baxter. After first being told not to interfere, the local Army Post Commander erected barricades to keep the two camps apart. Armed clashes across the state led to Baxter being evicted from the state house, and 200 deaths on both sides. Ultimately, Grant threw his support behind Baxter, and he was restored to the governor's office.¹⁵⁹

#144 – White League Seizes Control (XUCF)

Background: As ex-Confederate soldiers returned home after the Civil War, and tried to restart their lives, many became disillusioned by the values of the new society growing around them. Ezekiel John Ellis was one such man, a captain in the 16th Louisiana Infantry. Writing to his brother at the end of the war, Ellis commented “how dark the future is,” but by 1874, he had found new meaning in organizations like the White League, openly-operating paramilitary groups which advocated (and committed violence) on behalf of white men. Eventually this group would form the basis for the Louisiana National Guard.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ Garland L. Brinkley, “The Decline in Southern Agricultural Output, 1860-1880,” *The Journal of Economic History* 57, no. 1 (March 1997): 116-138.

¹⁵⁹ Bradley, *The Army and Reconstruction 1865-1877*, 66.

¹⁶⁰ David Christopher Williard, ““What a Fall Was There - My Country Ruined!”: Confederate Soldiers and Southern Society, 1861-1880” (doctoral thesis, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC, 2012), 196; Hogue, “The 1873 Battle of Colfax: Paramilitarism and Counterrevolution in Louisiana,” 21.

#152 – Jury Nullification (XUCF)

Background: During Reconstruction, white juries almost never convicted white defendants of crimes against Freedmen, preferring to acquit in the face of facts, a practice known as “nullification.” With the passage of the 14th Amendment, courts sharply limited the right of juries to nullify, relying on the “self-executing” power of the amendment.¹⁶¹

#154 – More than Just a Car (XUCF)

Background: As soon as the guns grew silent, ex-Confederates and their sympathizers began to build the myth of the lost cause. More than just a reason to explain their defeat, the lost cause was manifested in the naming of schools, statues, military bases, and even one of the redwood trees at Sequoia national park in California, named after General Lee in 1875. In fact, California once had more Confederate monuments and memorials than any state in the South.¹⁶²

#158 – The Defeated Generation (FXCU)

Background: Southern landowners struggled to transition to free labor. Between the rising cost of wages, and the belief that Freedmen laborers were lazier than their fathers had been, many white farmers found themselves working unfamiliar jobs previously carried out by the men they had enslaved.¹⁶³

#166 – Trade with Japan (CUXF)

Background: Throughout Reconstruction, Italy’s silk industry suffered from blight; American diplomats saw this as an opportunity to reenter the world stage by improving relations with Italy. Businessmen, on the other hand, looked to Japan as a new source of trade goods.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ Jonathan Bresslerf, “Reconstruction and the Transformation of Jury Nullification,” *The University of Chicago Law Review* 78, no. 4 (Fall 2011): 1133-1201.

¹⁶² Kevin Waite, “The ‘Lost Cause’ Goes West,” *California History* 91, no. 1 (2020): 42.

¹⁶³ Ted Ownby, “The Defeated Generation at Work: White Farmers in the Deep South, 1865-1890,” *Southern Studies* 4, no. 23 (Winter 1984): 328.

¹⁶⁴ Paige Weaver, “Reconstructing A Nation through Silk and Diplomacy: American Material Culture and Foreign Relations during the Reconstruction Era,” *The Journal of American Culture* 43, no. 3 (September 2020): 246.

#167 – Plot to Steal Lincoln’s Body (UCXF)

Background: Source Needed.¹⁶⁵

#169 – Colorado Statehood (CFXU)

#174 – Centralization and Retrenchment (XUCF)

Background: Efforts at implementing the goals of Reconstruction were “marked by a brief surge of national centralization, followed by a conservative retrenchment and return to traditional patterns of federalism.” While the Department of Justice frequently cases of racial discrimination, they could only catch what they could find.¹⁶⁶

#176 – Counter Moonshine Operations (UFCX)

Background: One of the military’s earliest duties during reconstruction was the suppression of illegal distilling, a task which some officers took to more willingly than others. Much like with the Freedmen’s Bureau though, the Army soon found itself aiding civil government in the collection of taxes throughout the South.¹⁶⁷

#177 – Hamburg Massacre (FXCU)

Background: Racial violence reached its crescendo in the run up to the 1876 election, as white vigilante groups committed organized, rather than impromptu violence against Freedmen in order to suppress their vote. Beginning with an attack on the largely Black National Guard, it would continue with the torture and murder of six black men. Although 94 men were indicted for the massacre, none were convicted.

¹⁶⁵ Nancy Hill, “The Transformation of the Lincoln Tomb,” *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association* 27, no. 1 (Winter 2006): 39-56.

¹⁶⁶ Mark Leon de Vries, “Between Equal Justice and Racial Terror: Freedpeople and the District Court of DeSoto Parish during Reconstruction,” *Louisiana History* 56, no. 3 (Summer 2015): 271.

¹⁶⁷ Craig J. Currey, “The Army and Moonshiners in the Mountainous South during Reconstruction” (master’s thesis, US Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS, 1994), 55.

#179 – Kickapoo Raids (FUXC)

Background: Native American nations along the western border frequently used Mexico as sanctuary from which to attack settlers. This began to change in 1876, when segregated units like the 24th Infantry were given permission to follow raiders across the border. As the Mexican government was preoccupied with their own revolution, these incursions did not provoke a diplomatic response..¹⁶⁸

#181-186 – Election Round (XCFU)

¹⁶⁸ William S. Squire III, “The 24th Infantry Regiment and the Racial Debate in the U.S. Army” (master’s thesis, US Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS, 1997), 44.

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