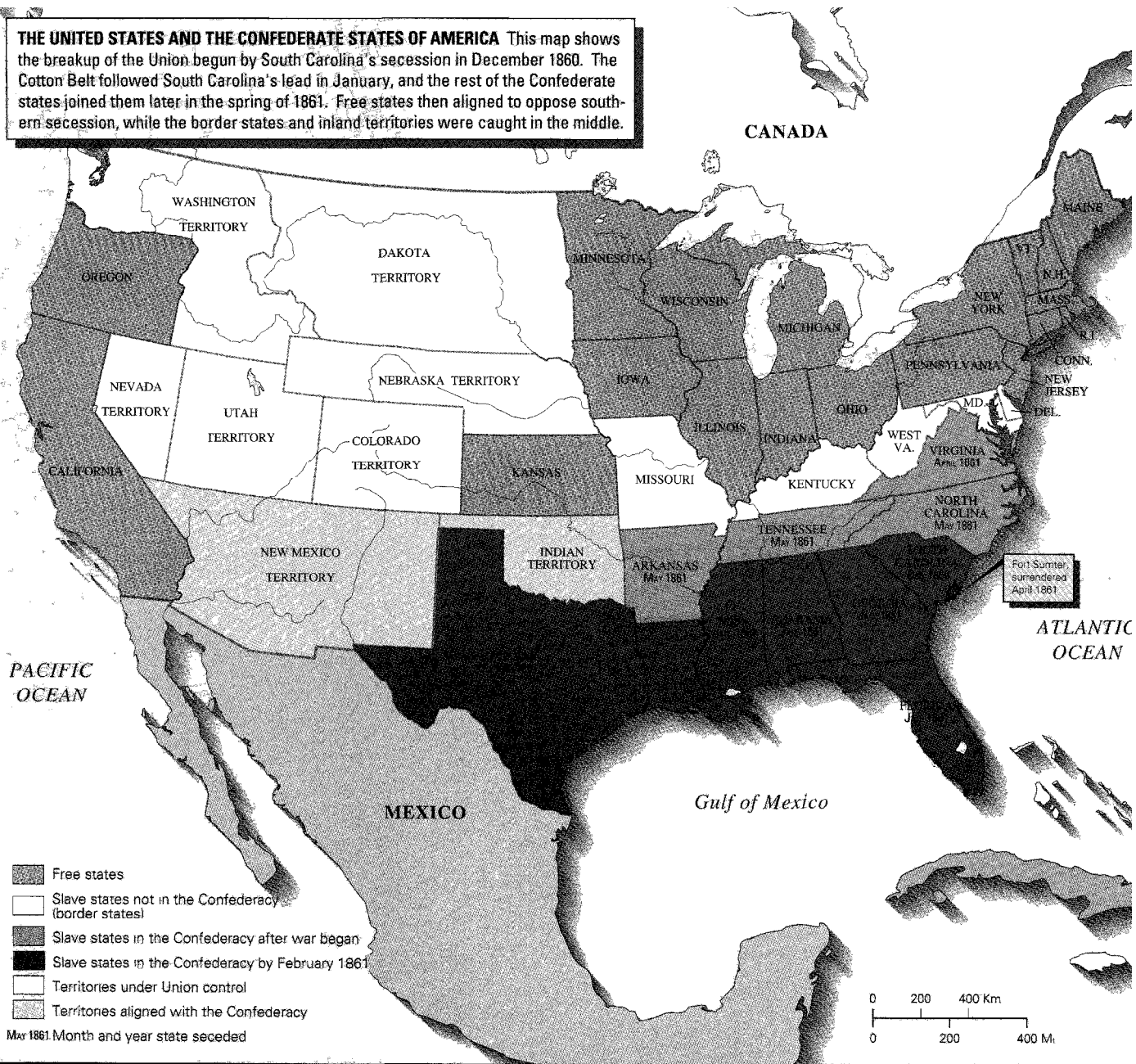
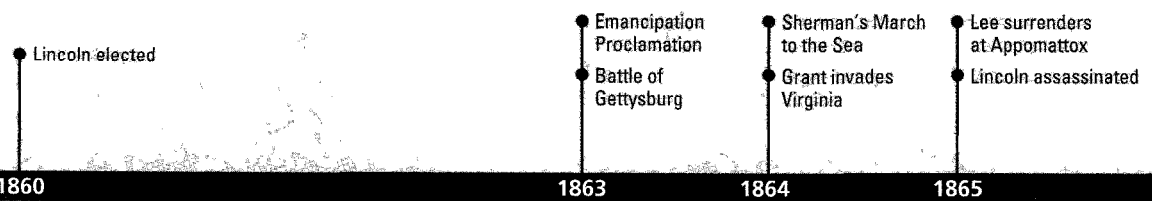
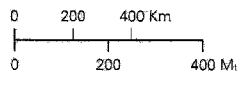




**THE UNITED STATES AND THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA** This map shows the breakup of the Union begun by South Carolina's secession in December 1860. The Cotton Belt followed South Carolina's lead in January, and the rest of the Confederate states joined them later in the spring of 1861. Free states then aligned to oppose southern secession, while the border states and inland territories were caught in the middle.



- Free states
  - Slave states not in the Confederacy (border states)
  - Slave states in the Confederacy after war began
  - Slave states in the Confederacy by February 1861
  - Territories under Union control
  - Territories aligned with the Confederacy
- May 1861. Month and year state seceded



## A Violent Solution:

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# Civil War, 1861-1865

### **The Politics of War**

What constraints did Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis face as they led their respective nations into war?

- How did they choose to deal with those constraints?

- How did military action during the opening years of the war affect the expectations of people in the North and South?

- How did the Emancipation Proclamation change expectations for the war's outcome?

### **From Bull Run to Antietam**

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### **The Human Dimensions of War**

How did constraints created by the war affect society during the course of the fighting?

What choices did individuals and governments make to meet those constraints?

### **Waging Total War**

•What expectations contributed to military choices on both sides after 1862?

•What were the outcomes of those choices?

# ( INTRODUCTION )

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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Union president Abraham Lincoln and Confederate president Jefferson Davis faced serious political, economic, and military *constraints* as they mobilized for war. Lincoln felt *constrained* by an aged army, a tiny navy, and a sluggish economy, yet even that was more than Davis had to work with. Both presidents also had to contend with political disagreements and demands. These *constraints* combined to shape their *expectations* and *choices*. Davis *chose* to pursue a defensive strategy, *expecting* that the North would soon tire of war. Lincoln, blessed with superior manpower, manufacturing capability, and natural resources, *chose* to use the military to squeeze the South economically, *expecting* that the Confederacy would soon sue for peace. When disastrous losses early in the war and political pressure from radicals in the Republican party upset Lincoln's plan, he *chose* a more aggressive approach. Davis was forced to *choose* a more aggressive course also. The *outcome* was total war as Union and Confederate armies clashed across the better part of a continent.

The economy in the North actually grew as industry moved into high gear to supply the troops. The Union Army kept Confederates from disrupting northern production, and the Union Navy kept international commerce flowing. Meanwhile, the southern economy deteriorated. *Expecting* sales of cotton overseas to keep money flowing in for the war effort, southerners were disappointed when Britain stopped buying cotton and remained neutral. Southerners also had to face the unpleasant reality of

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invading troops' marching across their land and pitched battles being fought where corn, beans, and cotton once grew. The *outcome* was economic chaos. Many southern people—black as well as white, loyal as well as rebel—went hungry; some even starved.

In the fall of 1862, Lincoln boldly *chose* to change the direction of the war by announcing the Emancipation Proclamation. Knowing that the South would not sue for peace after that development, Lincoln pressed his generals to deal a death blow to southern resistance. In the summer of 1864, Ulysses S. Grant and William Tecumseh Sherman *chose* military strategies that took a terrible human toll. While Sherman slashed his way through the Deep South, Grant sacrificed tens of thousands of his men's lives to contain the Confederate forces under Robert E. Lee. The *outcome* was Lee's surrender on April 9, 1865.

Lincoln then began planning how to bring the defeated South back into the Union. But the man who had led the nation through the war did not survive to pursue his plans for peace. Lincoln was shot by an actor sympathetic to the South. The president died, leaving the nation in mourning, uncertain what the final *outcome* would be.

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## The Politics of War

Running the war posed complex problems for both Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis. At the outset, neither side had the experience, soldiers, or supplies to wage an effective war. Foreign diplomacy and international trade were vital to both sides. The Union needed to convince the rest of the world that this conflict was a **rebellion** against le-

gitimate authority, the Confederacy that this was a war between nations. The distinction was important. International law permitted neutral nations to trade, negotiate, and communicate with nations engaged in a war. International law forbade neu-

**rebellion** Open, armed, and organized resistance to a legally constituted government.

## War Between the States

1860 Lincoln elected	Battle of Chancellorsville and death of Stonewall Jackson
1861 Lincoln takes office	Union victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg
Fort Sumter falls	Draft riots in New York City
First Battle of Bull Run	1864 Grant invades Virginia
George McClellan organizes the Union army	Sherman captures Atlanta
Union naval blockade begins	Lincoln reelected
1862 Grant's victories in the Mississippi Valley	Sherman's March to the Sea
U.S. Navy captures New Orleans	1865 Sherman's march through the Carolinas
Battle of Shiloh	Lee abandons Petersburg and Richmond
Peninsular Campaign	Lee surrenders at Appomattox
Battle of Antietam	Lincoln proposes a gentle reconstruction policy
African Americans permitted in Union army	Lincoln is assassinated
1863 Emancipation Proclamation takes effect	
Union enacts conscription	

trials from having any dealings with rebels against a legally constituted government.

Perhaps the biggest challenge confronting both Davis and Lincoln, however, was internal politics. Lincoln had to contend not only with northern Democrats and with Copperheads—northerners who sympathized with the South—but also with divisions in his own party. Davis too faced internal political problems. The Confederate constitution guaranteed considerable autonomy to the Confederate states, and each state had a different opinion about war strategy.

### Union Policies and Objectives

Lincoln's first objective was to rebuild an army that was in disarray. When hostilities broke out, the Union had only sixteen thousand men in uniform. Nearly one-third of the officers had resigned to support the Confederacy. The remaining military leadership was aged: General in Chief Winfield Scott was 74 years old. The only two Union officers who had ever commanded a brigade were

in their seventies. Weapons were old, supplies were low, and personnel was limited. On May 3, acting on his executive authority because Congress was not in session, Lincoln called for regular army recruits to meet the crisis.

Lincoln then ordered the U.S. Navy to stop all incoming supplies to the states in rebellion. In 1861, the navy had few resources, but Navy Secretary Gideon Welles quickly turned that situation around. Starting with almost nothing, he built an effective navy that could both blockade the South and support land forces. By 1862, the Union navy had 260 warships on the seas and a hundred more under construction.

Winfield Scott drafted the initial Union military strategy. He advised that the blockade of southern ports be combined with a strong Union thrust

**Copperheads** Derogatory term (the name of a poisonous snake) applied to northerners who supported the South during the Civil War.

down the Mississippi River. This strategy would split the Confederacy in two, separating Confederate states and territories west of the river from the rest of the Confederacy. It also would cut the Confederacy off from trade with the outside world. Scott believed that economic pressure would bring southern moderates forward to negotiate a return to the Union. The northern press sneered at this **Anaconda Plan**, noting that Scott intended to "squeeze the South to military death." A passive strategy did not appeal to war-fevered northerners who hungered for complete victory.

When Congress convened in a special session on July 4, 1861, Lincoln explained the actions he had taken in Congress's absence and outlined his plans. He said that he had no intention of abolishing slavery. Rebellion, not slavery, had caused the war, he said, and the seceding states must be brought back into the Union. On July 22 and 25, 1861, Congress passed resolutions validating Lincoln's actions.

This seemingly unified front lasted only briefly. **Radical Republicans** regarded vengeance as the primary objective of the war. Radical leader **Thaddeus Stevens** of Pennsylvania pressed for and got a law promoting severe penalties against individuals in rebellion. Treason was punishable by death, and anyone aiding the rebellion was to be punished with imprisonment, confiscation of property, and the emancipation of slaves. All persons living in the eleven seceding states, whether loyal to the Union or not, were declared enemies of the Union.

The Radicals splintered any consensus Lincoln might have achieved in his own party, and northern Democrats railed against his accumulation of power. Lincoln attempted to appease both factions and used military appointments to smooth political feathers. Still, his attitudes frequently enraged radical abolitionists. Lincoln maintained his calm in the face of their criticism. Nevertheless, ongoing divisiveness hindered efforts to run the war.

### **Confederate Policies and Objectives**

At the start of the war, the Confederacy had no army, no navy, no war supplies, no government structure, and no foreign alliances. It had less than half the

people of the Union (9 million as opposed to 23 million) and almost none of the Union's manufacturing capabilities. After the attack on Fort Sumter, the Confederate government's main task was amassing supplies, troops, ships, and war materials.

The Union naval blockade posed an immediate problem. The Confederacy had no navy and no capacity to build ships. Nevertheless, Secretary of the Navy Stephen Mallory converted river steamboats, tugboats, and **revenue cutters** into harbor patrol gunboats. He also developed explosive mines that were placed at the entrance to southern harbors and rivers. Commander James D. Bulloch purchased boats from the British. On one occasion, he bought a fast merchant ship, loaded it with military supplies, maneuvered through the Union blockade at Savannah, and then equipped it to ram Union vessels. The C.S.S. *Sumter* captured or burned eighteen Union ships during the first months of the war.

The Confederates pinned their main hope of winning the war on the army. Southerners strongly believed they could "lick the Yankees" despite being outnumbered. Southern boys rushed to enlist to fight the northern "popinjays." By the time Lincoln issued his call for seventy-five thousand militiamen, the Confederates already had sixty thousand men in uniform.

Despite this rush of fighting men, the South faced major handicaps. Even with the addition of the four Upper South states, Confederate industrial capacity and transportation systems were still

**Anaconda Plan** Winfield Scott's plan (named after a snake that smothers prey in its coils) to blockade southern ports and take control of the Mississippi River, thus splitting the Confederacy, cutting off southern trade, and causing an economic collapse.

**Radical Republicans** Republican faction that tried to limit presidential power and enhance congressional authority during the Civil War.

**Thaddeus Stevens** Pennsylvania congressman who was a leader of the Radical Republicans, hated the South, and wanted to abolish slavery.

**revenue cutter** A small, lightly armed boat used by government customs agents to look for merchant ships violating customs laws.

outstripped by the North. The southern states built only 3 percent of all firearms manufactured in the United States in 1860. The North produced almost all of the country's cloth, **pig iron**, boots, and shoes. Early in the war, the South produced enough food but lacked the means to transport it where it was needed.

Josiah Gorgas worked miracles as the Confederate chief of **ordnance**. Gorgas purchased arms from Europe while his ordnance officers bought or stole copper stills to make **percussion caps**, bronze church bells to make cannon, and lead to make bullets. He built factories and foundries to manufacture small arms. But despite all his skill, he could not supply all the Confederate troops. In 1861, more than half of the enlistees were turned away because of lack of equipment.

Internal politics also plagued the Davis administration. Despite the shortage of arms, state governors hoarded weapons seized from federal arsenals for their own state militias. Powerful state politicians with little military experience, such as Henry A. Wise of Virginia, received appointments as generals. Davis contributed to the political problems by constantly interfering with the war department and squabbling with everyone.

Davis favored a defensive war. He thought that by counterattacking and yielding territory, the Confederacy could prolong the war and make it so costly that the Union would finally relent. State leaders, however, demanded that their state's borders be protected. In any case, most southerners preferred an aggressive policy. As one editor put it, "Waiting for blows, instead of inflicting them is altogether unsuited to the genius of our people."

## The Diplomatic Front

Perhaps the biggest challenge facing the Confederacy was gaining international recognition and foreign aid. The primary focus of Confederate foreign policy was Great Britain. For years, the South had been exporting large amounts of cotton to Britain. Many southerners felt that Britain would recognize the Confederacy immediately following the organization of a government. Such was not the case. Although the British allowed southern agents

to purchase ships and goods, they remained neutral and did not recognize the Confederacy. Not convinced that the Confederacy could make good on its bid for independence, the British steered a safe course. They set the tone for other European responses.

Lincoln had to take care not to provoke the British while trying to prevent aid to the Confederacy. Despite his best efforts, an incident at sea nearly scuttled British-American relations. In November 1861, the U.S. warship *San Jacinto* stopped the *Trent*, a British merchant ship carrying two Confederate diplomats, James Mason and John Slidell. The Confederates were then taken to Boston for confinement.

The British were not pleased. They viewed the *Trent* affair as a violation of international law. President Lincoln calmed the British by arguing that the *San Jacinto's* captain had acted without orders. He ordered the release of the prisoners and apologized to the British.

## The Union's First Attack

Confident that the Union could end the war quickly, General Irvin McDowell moved his troops into Virginia in July 1861 (see Map 14.1). McDowell's poorly trained troops ambled along as though they were on a country outing. Their dawdling allowed Confederate General P. G. T. Beauregard enough time to defend a vital rail center near Manassas Junction along a creek called **Bull Run**.

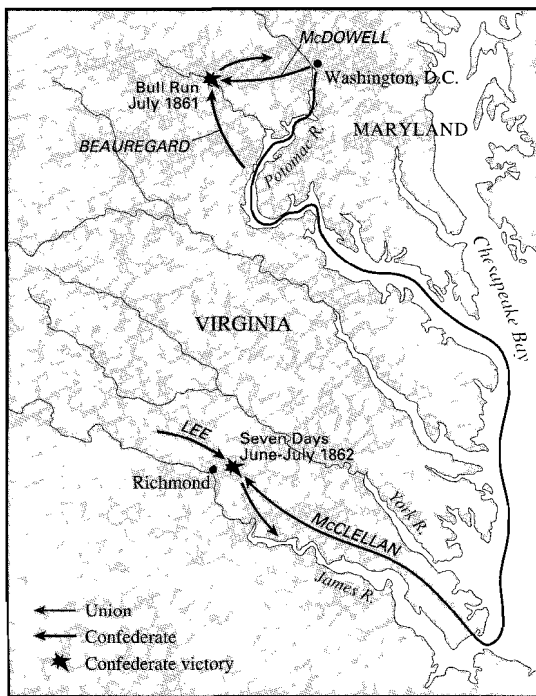
**pig iron** Crude iron, direct from a blast furnace, that is cast into rectangular molds called pigs in preparation for conversion into steel, cast iron, or wrought iron.

**ordnance** Weapons, ammunition, and other military equipment.

**percussion cap** A thin metal cap containing gunpowder that explodes when struck.

**Bull Run** A creek in Virginia not far from Washington, D.C., where Confederate soldiers forced federal troops to retreat in the first major battle of the Civil War, fought in July 1861.





◆ **MAP 14.1 Union Offensives into Virginia, 1861-1862** This map shows two failed Union attempts to invade Virginia: the Battle of Bull Run (July 1861) and the Peninsular Campaign (April-July 1862). Confederate victories embarrassed the richer and more populous Union.

McDowell attacked on Sunday, July 21. He seemed poised to overrun the Confederates until southern reinforcements under Thomas J. Jackson took a position on a hill and, fighting furiously, stalled the Union advance. Jackson's stand at Bull Run turned the tide for the Confederacy and earned him the nickname "Stonewall." Under intense cannon fire, Union troops panicked and began retreating pell-mell toward Washington. The Confederates were also in disarray, and they made no attempt to pursue the fleeing Union forces.

This battle profoundly affected both sides. In the South, the victory stirred confidence that the war would be short. Northerners, disillusioned and embarrassed, pledged that no similar retreats would occur. Lincoln replaced General Scott with George B. McClellan.

General McClellan's strengths were in organizing and in inspiring his troops. Both were sorely

needed. After Bull Run, the army's confidence was badly shaken. Under McClellan, months of training turned the 185,000-man army into a well-drilled and efficient unit. Calls to attack Richmond began anew, but McClellan continued to drill the troops and remained in the capital.

The new year began with Lincoln's taking a much more aggressive stance. On January 27, 1862, he called for a broad offensive, but McClellan ignored the order. Frustrated, Lincoln removed McClellan as general in chief on March 11 but left him in command of the Army of the Potomac.

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## From

### Bull Run to Antietam

After Bull Run and McClellan's rebuilding of the Union army, it became clear that the war would be neither short nor glorious. Military, political, and diplomatic strategies became increasingly entangled as both the North and the South struggled for ways to end the war.

### The War in the West

Both the United States and the Confederacy coveted the western territories. In 1861, Confederate Henry Hopkins Sibley led an expedition in an attempt to gain control of New Mexico and Arizona. Sibley recruited thirty-seven hundred Texans and marched into New Mexico. Although he defeated a Union force at Valverde and Santa Fe, lack of provisions forced Sibley and his troops to retreat to Texas.

Confederate leaders also sought to gain western territory by making alliances with Indian tribes,

**Thomas J. Jackson** Confederate general nicknamed "Stonewall" who commanded troops at both battles of Bull Run and who was mortally wounded by his own troops at Chancellorsville in 1863.

**George B. McClellan** U.S. general who replaced Winfield Scott as general in chief of Union forces; a skillful organizer, he was slow and indecisive as a strategist.

particularly those in the newly settled Indian Territory south of Kansas. Indians who had endured removal to the West had no particular love for the Union. If these tribes aligned with the Confederacy, they not only could supply troops but could form a buffer between Union forces in Kansas and the thinly spread Confederate defenses west of the Mississippi.

Although one Cherokee leader, Stand Watie, became a Confederate general and distinguished himself in battle, Confederate Indian troops never provided the kind of assistance hoped for. They disliked army discipline and became disgusted when promised supplies failed to materialize. Many Indian troops defected when ordered to attack other Indians. Still, several battles, such as the 1862 Battle of Pea Ridge in Arkansas, pitted Indian troops against each other. The divisions between Indian groups allied with the North and with the South often reflected long-standing tribal animosities.

### Struggle for the Mississippi

While McClellan stalled in the East, one Union general finally had some success in the western theater. Ulysses S. Grant moved against southern strongholds in the Mississippi valley in 1862. On February 6, he took Fort Henry along the Tennessee River and ten days later captured Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River (see Map 14.2). Grant's army suffered few casualties and took more than fifteen thousand prisoners of war. As Union forces approached Nashville, the Confederates retreated to Corinth, Mississippi. In this one stroke, Grant brought Kentucky and most of Tennessee under Federal control.

At Corinth, Confederate general Albert Sidney Johnston finally reorganized the retreating southern troops. Early on April 6, to Grant's surprise, Johnston attacked at Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee, near a small country meetinghouse called Shiloh Church. Union forces under General **William Tecumseh Sherman** were driven back, but the Confederate attack soon lost momentum. The **Battle of Shiloh** raged until midafternoon. When Johnston was mortally wounded, General Beauregard took command. Believing the enemy de

feated, he ended the action at the end of the day. Union reinforcements who arrived during the night enabled Grant to counterattack the next morning and to push the Confederates back to Corinth.

Losses on both sides were staggering, by far the heaviest to date in the war. The Union had 13,047 men killed, wounded, or captured, while the Confederacy suffered a loss of 10,694 men. The Battle of Shiloh made the reality of war apparent to everyone. After Shiloh, one Confederate wrote: "Death in every awful form, if it really be death, is a pleasant sight in comparison to the fearfully and mortally wounded." The number of casualties at Shiloh stunned people in the North and South alike.

Farther south, Admiral David G. Farragut's fleet of U.S. Navy gunboats captured New Orleans on April 25. Farragut then sailed up the Mississippi. He scored several victories until he reached Port Hudson, Louisiana, where Confederate defenses and shallow water forced him to halt. Meanwhile, on June 6, Union gunboats destroyed a Confederate fleet at Memphis, Tennessee, and brought the upper Mississippi under Union control. Vicksburg, Mississippi, remained the only major obstacle to Union control of the entire river (see Map 14.2).

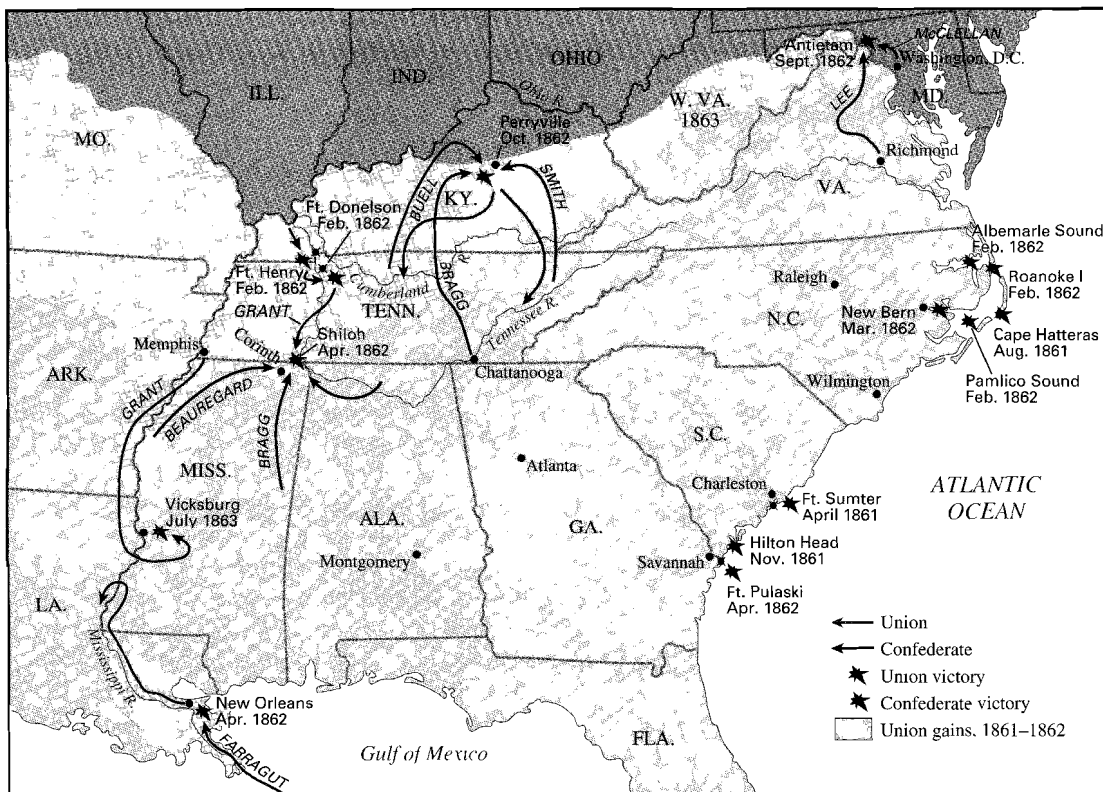
Grant launched two attacks against Vicksburg in December 1862, but Confederate cavalry and the cannon defending Vicksburg thwarted his offensives. Grant had to come up with a new strategy for taking the city. Union efforts along the Mississippi stalled, but by the close of 1862, Union forces

**Ulysses S. Grant** U.S. general who became commander in chief of the Union army in 1864 after the Vicksburg campaign; he later became president of the United States.

**William Tecumseh Sherman** U.S. general who captured Atlanta in 1864 and led a destructive march to the Atlantic coast.

**Battle of Shiloh** Battle in Tennessee in April 1862 that ended with an unpursued Confederate withdrawal; both sides suffered heavy casualties for the first time, and neither side gained ground.

**Vicksburg** Confederate-held city on the Mississippi River that surrendered on July 4, 1863, after a siege by Grant's forces.



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**AP 14.2 The Anaconda Plan and the Battle of Antietam** This map illustrates the Anaconda Plan at work. The Union navy closed southern harbors while Grant's troops worked to seal the northern end of the Mississippi River. The map also shows the Battle of Antietam (September 1862), in which Confederate troops under Robert E. Lee were finally halted by a Union army under General George McClellan.

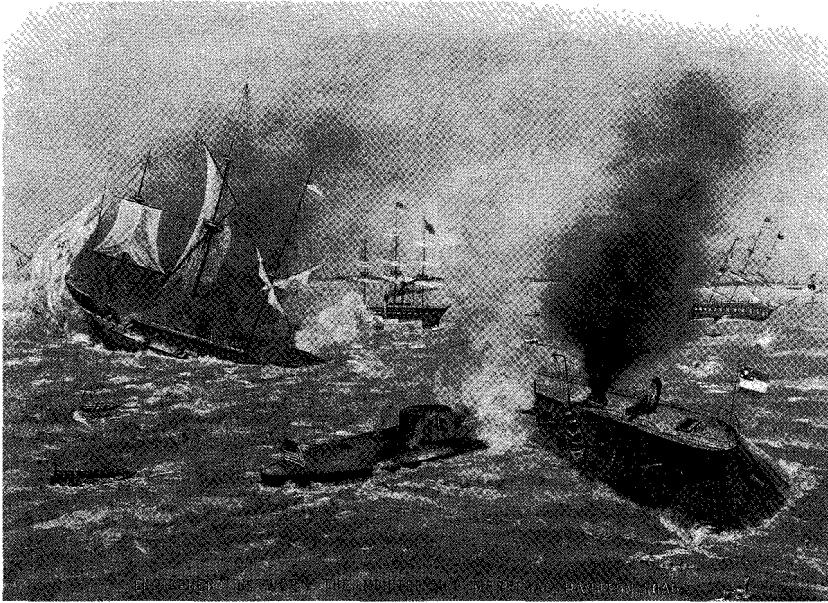
had wrenched control of the upper and lower ends of the river away from the Confederacy.

### Lee's Aggressive Defense of Virginia

Although Winfield Scott's Anaconda Plan was well on its way to cutting the Confederacy in two, the northern public thought that the path to victory led to Richmond, the Confederate capital. To maintain public support for the war, Lincoln needed victories over the Confederates in the East. Confederate leaders responded by making the defense of Richmond the South's primary military goal. More supplies and men were assigned to Virginia than to defending Confederate borders elsewhere.

A naval battle early in 1862 cleared the way for a Union offensive against Richmond. Early in the war, Confederate forces had captured a Union ship, the

*Merrimac*. Hoping to break the Union naval blockade around Norfolk, Virginia, Confederate naval architects redesigned the *Merrimac* in a revolutionary way. They encased the entire ship in iron plates and renamed it the *Virginia*. Operating out of Norfolk, the Confederate ironclad sank several nearly defenseless wooden Union blockaders in a single day. The Union navy countered with the *Monitor*, a low-decked ironclad vessel with a revolving gun turret. In March, the *Virginia* and the *Monitor* shelled each other for five hours in the first battle between ironclad ships. Both were badly damaged but still afloat when the *Virginia* with-



Desperate to break the grip of the Union anaconda, the Confederate navy captured the U.S.S. *Merrimac* and converted it into the ironclad C.S.S. *Virginia*. Virtually immune to any weapon carried by Union frigates, the *Virginia* dominated the sea-lanes out of Norfolk. Eager to launch an invasion up the Chesapeake, Union officials commissioned their own ironclad, the U.S.S. *Monitor*, and sent it into battle against the *Virginia*. After five hours of repeated ramming and artillery pounding, the *Virginia* was so badly damaged that it retreated to Norfolk and never saw action again. "Engagement Between Monitor and Merrimac" by J. G. Tanner. National Gallery of Art, Gift of Edgar William and Bernice Chrysler Garbisch.

drew, and limped back to Norfolk, never to leave harbor again. Nevertheless, the age of wooden battleships was over.

Taking advantage of the *Monitor's* success and Union naval superiority, McClellan transported the entire Army of the Potomac by ship to Fort Monroe, Virginia. The army then marched up the peninsula between the York and James rivers to begin what became known as the Peninsular Campaign. McClellan expected to surprise the Confederates by attacking Richmond from the south (see Map 14.1). In typical fashion, he proceeded cautiously. The outnumbered Confederate forces bluffed McClellan into thinking that he was facing a whole army and slowly retreated to Richmond. On May 31, General Joseph E. Johnston, commander of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia, attacked at Seven Pines, hoping to surprise his opponent. Johnston was severely wounded, forcing Jefferson Davis to find a replacement.

Davis named Robert E. Lee as that replacement. Lee had previously advised Davis and helped organize the defense of the Atlantic coast. Daring, bold, and tactically aggressive, he enjoyed combat, pushed his troops to the maximum, and was well liked by those serving under him. Lee had an uncanny ability to read the character of his oppo

nents, predict their maneuvers, and turn their mistakes to his advantage.

As McClellan worked his way toward Richmond, Stonewall Jackson staged a brilliant diversionary thrust up the Shenandoah Valley toward Washington. Jackson seemed to be everywhere at once. In thirty days, he and his men marched 350 miles, defeated three Union armies in five battles, captured a fortune in provisions and equipment, inflicted twice as many casualties as they received, and confused and immobilized Union forces in the region.

Following Jackson's brilliant campaign, Lee launched a series of attacks to drive McClellan away from the Confederate capital. Over a seven-day period in late June and early July, he forced McClellan to abandon the Peninsular Campaign.

**Army of the Potomac** Army created to guard the U.S. capital after the Battle of Bull Run in 1861; it became the main Union army in the East.

**Peninsular Campaign** McClellan's attempt in the spring and summer of 1862 to capture Richmond by advancing up the peninsula between the James and York rivers.

Fed up with McClellan, Lincoln gave command of the Army of the Potomac to General John Pope. In the Second Battle of **Bull Run**, fought on August 30, 1862, Lee soundly defeated Lincoln's new general. Thoroughly disappointed with Pope's performance and not knowing whom else to turn to, Lincoln once again named McClellan commander of the Army of the Potomac.

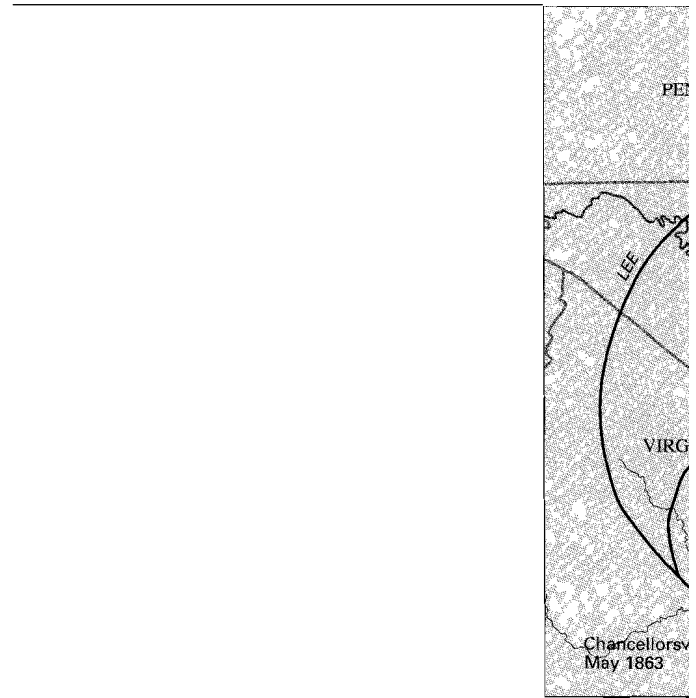
### Lee's Invasion of Maryland

Feeling confident after the victory at Bull Run, Lee devised a bold offensive against Maryland. His plan had three objectives: (1) to move the fighting out of war-torn Virginia so that farmers could harvest food, (2) to acquire volunteers from Maryland, and (3) to gain diplomatic recognition of the Confederacy by Europe. He hoped to force the Union to sue for peace. On September 4, Lee crossed the Potomac into Maryland, dividing his army into three separate attack wings. McClellan learned of Lee's plans when Union soldiers found a copy of Lee's detailed instructions wrapped around some dropped cigars.

If McClellan had acted swiftly on this intelligence, he could have crushed Lee's army piece by piece, but he waited sixteen hours before advancing. By then Lee had learned of the missing orders. After bitter fighting at Fox's Gap, Lee reunited some of his forces at Sharpsburg, Maryland, near Antietam Creek (see Map 14.2). There, on September 17, the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia engaged in the bloodiest single-day battle of the Civil War.

The casualties in this one battle were more than double those suffered in the War of 1812 and the Mexican War combined. One Union soldier said of the Battle of Antietam, "The whole landscape turned red." Both armies were exhausted by the bitter fighting, which ended in a virtual draw. After a day of rest, Lee retreated across the Potomac. For the first time, Lee had been stopped.

Nevertheless, Lincoln was displeased with the performance of his army's leadership. He felt that Lee's force could have been destroyed if McClellan had attacked earlier or pursued the fleeing Confederate army. He fired McClellan again, this time for good, and placed Ambrose E. Burnside in command of the Army of the Potomac.



MAP 14.3 Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg  
This map shows the campaigns that took place during the winter of 1862 and spring of 1863, culminating the Battle of Gettysburg (July 1863). General Meade's victory at Gettysburg may have been the critical turning point in the war.

Burnside moved the army to the east bank of the Rappahannock River overlooking Fredericksburg, Virginia (see Map 14.3). On December 13, in one of the worst mistakes of the war, Burnside ordered a daylong frontal assault against Lee's heavily

Second Battle of Bull Run Union defeat near Bull 1

Run in August 1862; Union troops led by John Pope were outmaneuvered by Lee.

Antietam Creek Site of a battle that occurred in 1  
September 1862 when Lee's forces invaded Maryland; both sides suffered heavy losses, and Lee retreated into Virginia.

Fredericksburg Site in Virginia of a Union defeat in December 1862, which demonstrated the incompetence of the new Union commander, Ambrose E. Burnside.

fortified positions. Federal troops suffered tremendous casualties, and once again the Army of the Potomac retreated to Washington.

## **Diplomacy and the Politics of Emancipation**

The year 1862 ended with mixed results for both sides. Union forces in the West had scored major victories, taking Memphis and New Orleans. But the failure of the Army of the Potomac outweighed the Union's success in the West. Lee's victories, however, carried heavy casualties. A long, drawn-out conflict favored the Union unless Jefferson Davis could secure help for the Confederacy from abroad.

The Confederacy still expected British aid, but nothing seemed to shake Britain's commitment to neutrality. The brilliant diplomacy of Charles Francis Adams, Lincoln's ambassador in London, and the fact that Britain possessed a surplus of cotton helped prevent British recognition of the Confederacy. Finally, any prospects the Confederacy had of recognition disappeared with Lee's failure at Antietam.

Five days after the battle, Lincoln unveiled the Emancipation Proclamation. The proclamation, which went into effect on January 1, 1863, abolished slavery in rebellious areas. Ironically, the proclamation actually freed no slaves. The four slave states that remained in the Union and Confederate territory under Federal control were exempt from its terms. Moreover, Lincoln had no power to enforce emancipation in areas still controlled by the Confederacy. Lincoln's wording of the proclamation, however, was quite deliberate. He knew that he could not afford to antagonize the slaveholding border states and drive them into the Confederacy. For that reason, the proclamation was not a resounding moral denunciation of slavery.

Still, many northerners considered it a monumental step forward. Frederick Douglass wrote, "We shout for joy that we live to record this righteous decree." Others, however, thought it carried little significance. Confederate leaders argued that the proclamation merely demonstrated Lincoln's hypocrisy. Conservative British newspapers pointed to the paradox of the proclamation: it de-

dared an end to slavery in areas where Lincoln could not enforce it, but it had no effect on slavery in areas under Lincoln's control. British abolitionists, however, applauded the document, as did Radical Republicans.

Lincoln's new general in chief, Henry Halleck, understood the underlying significance of the proclamation. He explained to Grant that the "character of the war has very much changed within the last year. There is now no possible hope of reconciliation." The war was now about slavery as well as secession. As Lincoln told one member of his cabinet, the war would now be "one of subjugation."

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## **The Human Dimensions of War**

The Civil War placed tremendous stress on American society, both North and South. As men marched off to battle, women faced the task of caring for families and property alone. As casualties increased, the number of voluntary enlistments decreased. The armies consumed vast amounts of weapons, ammunition, food, clothing, and hardware. Government spending was enormous, hard currency was scarce, and inflation soared as both governments printed paper money to pay their debts. Society in both North and South changed to meet an array of constraints as individuals attempted to carry on their lives in the midst of the war's devastation.

### **Instituting the Draft**

By the end of 1862, heavy casualties, massive desertion, and declining enlistments had depleted both armies. Although the North had a much larger population than the South, military fortunes sagged during 1862 and enlistments were low.

Emancipation Proclamation Lincoln's order abolishing slavery in states "in rebellion" but not in border territories still loyal to the Union as of January 1, 1863.

Over a hundred thousand Union soldiers were absent without official leave. State drafts netted few replacements because the Democrats, who made tremendous political gains in 1862, at times refused to cooperate. In March 1863, Congress passed the Conscription Act to ensure enough manpower to continue the war. The law declared all single men between the ages of 20 and 45, and married men between 20 and 35, eligible to be drafted. Draftees were selected by a lottery.

The conscription law offered two ways for draftees to avoid military service. They could hire an "acceptable substitute" or pay a \$300 fee to purchase exemption. In effect, the wealthy were exempt from the law. The burden of service thus fell on farmers and urban workers who were already suffering from high taxation and inflation. Together, conscription and emancipation, which touched on long-standing racial resentments, created a sense of alienation among the urban poor that exploded in the summer of 1863.

Some of the worst urban violence in American history began on July 13 in New York City. Armed demonstrators protesting unfair draft laws rioted for five days, during which many blacks were beaten and six were lynched. Businesses owned by blacks and by people who employed African Americans were ransacked. Thousands of poor Irish Americans and other groups who competed for jobs with blacks joined in the riot.

The rioters vented their rage against Republican spokesmen and officials as well. They hanged Republican journalist Horace Greeley in effigy and sacked the homes of other prominent Republicans. After five days of chaos, a rain of rifle fire from Federal troops put an end to the riots, during which at least 105 people had died. Fearful of more violence, the New York City Council voted to pay the \$300 exemption fee for all poor draftees who chose not to serve in the army.

Conscription in the South also met with considerable resentment and resistance. Believing that slaves would not work unless directly overseen by masters, Confederate officials in 1862 exempted planters owning twenty or more slaves from military service. Like Union exemptions, the southern policy fostered the feeling that the poor were going off to fight while the rich stayed safely at home.



◆ Angered by the fact that rich men were virtually exempt from the draft, frightened by the prospect of job competition from freed southern slaves, and frustrated by the lack of resolution on the battlefield, workingmen took to the streets in New York City during the summer of 1863 to protest against the war. Well-dressed men, African Americans, and leading war advocates were the main targets of mob violence during five days of uncontrolled rioting. Many homes and businesses and the Colored Orphan Asylum were burned. At least 105 people died and many more were injured. *Library of Congress.*

Conscription Act Law passed by Congress in 1863 that established a draft but allowed wealthy people to escape it by hiring a substitute or paying the government a \$300 fee.

**Horace Greeley** Journalist and politician who helped found the Republican party; his newspaper, the *New York Tribune*, was known for its antislavery stance.  
effigy A likeness or image, usually three-dimensional. I

Confederate conscription laws also ran afoul of states'-rights advocates. Southerners developed several forms of passive resistance to the draft laws. Thousands of draftees simply never showed up, and local officials, jealously guarding their political autonomy, made little effort to enforce the draft.

## **Wartime Economy in the North and South**

Although riots, disorder, and social disruption plagued northern cities, the economy of the Union actually grew stronger as the war progressed. Manufacturers of war supplies benefited from government contracts. Textiles and shoemaking boomed as new laborsaving devices improved efficiency and increased production. Congress stimulated economic growth by means of railroad subsidies and land grants to support a transcontinental railroad and higher tariffs to aid manufacturing.

The South began the war without an industrial base and in desperate need of outside help if it was to have any chance of winning. In addition to lacking transportation, raw materials, and machines, the South lacked managers and skilled industrial workers. The Confederate government intervened more directly in the economy than did its Union counterpart, offering generous loans to companies that would produce war materials. Josiah Gorgas started government-owned production plants in Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. These innovative programs, however, could not compensate for inadequate industrialization.

The supply of money was another severe problem in the South. The South printed paper money, eventually issuing more than \$1 billion in unbacked currency. The outcome was runaway inflation. By 1865, a pound of bacon cost \$10.

Southern industrial shortcomings severely handicapped the military. Many Confederate soldiers went barefoot because shoes were in such short supply. Ordnance was always in demand. Northern plants could produce over five thousand muskets per day; Confederate production never exceeded three hundred. The most serious shortage, however, was food. Although the South was an agricultural region, most of its productive farmland was devoted to commercial agriculture. Supplies of corn and rice, the primary food products, were continually reduced by military campaigns and Union occupation. Southern cattle were range stock grown for hides and tallow rather than for food. Hog production suffered because of the war. Hunger became part of daily life for the Confederate armies. Before the war ended, many Union soldiers referred to their opponents as "scarecrows."

Southern civilians suffered from shortages as well. Distribution of goods became almost impossible as invading Union forces cut the few Confederate rail lines. The flow of cattle, horses, and produce from the West diminished when Union forces gained control of the Mississippi. Although some blockade runners made it through, their number decreased as the war continued. The fall in 1862 of New Orleans, the South's major port, was devastating to the southern economy. Cities faced food shortages, newspapers were printed on wallpaper, clothes were made from carpet, and pins were made from dry thorns. Cut off from the outside world, the South consumed its existing resources and found no way to obtain more.

## **Women in Two Nations at War**

Because the South had fewer men than the North, a larger proportion of southern families were left in the care of women. Some women worked farms, herded livestock, and supported their families. Others found themselves homeless. Some tried to persuade their husbands to desert. The vast majority, however, fully supported the war effort despite the hardships at home. Women became responsible for much of the South's agricultural and industrial production. As one southern soldier wrote, women bore "the greatest burden of this horrid war."

Women in the North served in much the same capacity as their southern counterparts. They maintained families and homes alone, working to provide income and raise children. Although they did not face shortages of goods or the ravages of battle, they did work in factories, run family businesses, teach school, and supply soldiers. Women assumed new roles that helped prepare them to



become more involved in social and political life after the war.

Women from both sections actively participated in the war. In addition to serving as nurses, they served as scouts, couriers, and spies. More than four hundred even disguised themselves as men and served as active soldiers until they were discovered. General William S. Rosecrans expressed dismay when one of his sergeants was delivered of "a bouncing baby boy." Army camps frequently included officers' wives, female camp employees, and camp followers. One black woman served the 33rd U.S. Colored Troops for years without pay. She taught the men to read and write and bound up their wounds.

### **Free Blacks, Slaves, and War**

The Civil War opened new choices and imposed new constraints for African Americans, both free and slave. At first, many free blacks attempted to enlist in the Union army but were turned away. In 1861, General Benjamin F. Butler began using runaway slaves, called contrabands, as laborers. A few other northern commanders also adopted the practice.

After the Emancipation Proclamation, however, Union officials began recruiting former slaves, forming them into regiments known as the U.S. Colored Troops. Some northern state governments sought free blacks to fill state draft quotas. Agents offered generous bonuses to those who signed up. By the end of the war, about 180,000 African Americans had enlisted in northern armies, and over 200,000 had served in the armed forces. By the end of the war, African Americans accounted for about 10 percent of the Union's military manpower.

Army officials discriminated against African-American soldiers in many ways. Units were segregated, and until 1865 blacks were paid less than whites. All black regiments had white commanders, for the government refused to allow blacks to lead blacks. Only one hundred were commissioned as officers, and no African-American soldier ever received a commission higher than major.

At first, African-American regiments were used as laborers or kept in the rear. But when they were finally sent into battle, they performed so well that

they won grudging respect. These men fought in every theater of the war and had a casualty rate 35 percent higher than that of white soldiers. Still, acceptance by white troops was slow, and discrimination was the rule.

As the war progressed, the number of African Americans in the Union army increased dramatically. By 1865, almost two-thirds of Union troops in the Mississippi valley were black. Some southerners violently resented the Union's use of these troops. African-American soldiers suffered atrocities because some Confederate leaders refused to take black prisoners. At Fort Pillow, for example, Confederate soldiers massacred more than a hundred black soldiers who were trying to surrender.

Probably no other unit acquitted itself better than the 54th Massachusetts. On July 18, 1863, it led a frontal assault on Confederate defenses at Charleston harbor. Despite sustaining heavy casualties, the black troops gained the parapet and held it for nearly an hour before being forced to retreat. Their conduct in battle had a large impact on changing attitudes toward black soldiers.

The war effort in the South relied heavily on the slave population, mostly as producers of food and as military laborers. Slaves constituted over half of the work force in armament plants and military hospitals. The use of slave labor freed southern whites for battle.

### **Life and Death at the Front**

Many volunteers on both sides had romantic notions about military service. Most were disappointed. Life as a common soldier was anything but glorious. Letters and diaries written by soldiers tell of long periods of boredom in overcrowded camps, punctuated by furious spells of dangerous action and long marches when they had to carry 50- to 60-pound packs.

**courier** A messenger carrying official information, sometimes secretly.

**54th Massachusetts** Regiment of black troops from Massachusetts commanded by Robert Gould Shaw; it led an assault on Fort Wagner in Charleston harbor.



◆ The 54th Massachusetts Regiment was an all-black volunteer unit raised, in part, by Frederick Douglass. This Currier & Ives print shows the daring charge that took the parapet of Fort Wagner, South Carolina. Such bravery won grudging respect for African-American soldiers during the war. *Collection of William Gladstone.*

Although life in camp was tedious, it could be nearly as dangerous as time spent on the battlefield. Problems with supplying safe drinking water and disposing of waste constantly plagued military leaders. Dysentery and typhoid fever frequently swept through unsanitary camps. And in the overcrowded conditions that often prevailed, smallpox, pneumonia, and malarial fevers passed rapidly from person to person. At times, as many as a quarter of the uninjured people in camps were disabled by these diseases.

Lacking in resources, organization, and expertise, the South did little to upgrade camp conditions. In the North, however, women drew on the organizational skills they had gained as antebellum reformers and created voluntary organizations to address the problem. Mental health advocate Dorothea Dix (see page 229) was one of these crusaders. In June 1861, President Lincoln responded to their concerns by creating the United States Sanitary Commission, a government agency responsible for advising the military on public health is

sues. "The Sanitary," as it was called, put hundreds of nurses into the field, providing much-needed relief for overburdened military doctors.

Nurses on both sides, most of whom were women, showed bravery and devotion. Often working under fire at the front and with almost no medical supplies, these volunteers nursed sick and wounded soldiers and offered as much comfort and help as they could. Clara Barton, a famous northern nurse known as the "Angel of the Battlefield," called the soldiers her "boys." Unlike Barton, most nurses labored in relative obscurity.

United States Sanitary Commission Government commission established by Abraham Lincoln to improve public health conditions in military camps and hospitals.

Clara Barton Organizer of a volunteer service to aid sick and wounded Civil War soldiers; she later founded the American branch of the Red Cross.

Hospitals were unsanitary, overflowing, and underfunded. One northern nurse noted that the daily food allowance was a mere "eight cents per day" per man.

The problem of dealing with the wounded was unprecedented. New rifled muskets had many times the range of the old smooth-bore weapons used during earlier wars. The effective range of the Springfield rifle used by many Union soldiers was 400 yards, and a stray bullet could still kill a man at 1,000 yards. Waterproof cartridges, perfected by gunsmith Samuel Colt, made these weapons much less prone to misfire and much easier to reload. And at closer range, the revolver, also perfected by Colt, could fire six shots without reloading. Rifled artillery also added to the casualty count, as did exploding artillery shells, which sent deadly shrapnel ripping through lines of men. Many surgeons on the frontlines could do little more than amputate limbs to save lives.

The war exacted a tremendous emotional toll on everyone, even on those who escaped physical injury. As one veteran put it, soldiers had seen "so many new forms of death" and "so many frightful and novel kinds of mutilation."

Conditions were even worse in prison camps. Throughout much of the war, an agreement provided for prisoner exchanges, but as the war dragged on, the exchange system broke down. The major reason was the refusal by Confederate officials to exchange African-American prisoners of war. Those who were not slaughtered like the men at Fort Pillow were enslaved. Also, late in the war, Union commanders suspended all prisoner exchanges in hopes of depriving the South of much-needed replacement soldiers.

The most notorious of the Civil War prison camps was Andersonville in northern Georgia, where thousands of Union captives languished in an open stockade with only a small creek for water. Designed to house 10,000 men, Andersonville held more than 33,000 prisoners during the summer of 1864. As many as 100 men died of disease and malnutrition there each day, and estimates put the death toll at that one prison at nearly 14,000 during the war. In the North, a camp at Elmira, New York, had a similar record for atrocities.

Death became all too familiar to Americans between 1861 and 1865. Eight percent of the white

male population in the United States between the ages of 13 and 43 died in those years. "Death does not seem half so terrible as it did long ago," one Texas woman reported. "We have grown used to it."

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## Waging Total War

As the war entered its third year, Lincoln faced severe challenges on several fronts. The losses to Lee and Jackson in Virginia and the failure to catch Lee at Antietam had eroded public support. Many northerners resented the war, conscription, and abolitionism.

### Lincoln's Generals and Northern Successes

Lincoln had replaced McClellan with Burnside, but the results had been disastrous. Lincoln then elevated General Joseph Hooker. Despite Hooker's reputation for bravery in battle, Lee soundly defeated "Fighting Joe" Hooker at Chancellorsville in May 1863 (see Map 14.3). Lincoln replaced Hooker with General George E. Meade.

Chancellorsville was a devastating loss for the North, but it was perhaps more devastating for the Confederates. On the evening after the battle, Confederate troops mistook Stonewall Jackson's party for Union cavalry and opened fire, wounding Jackson. Doctors amputated Jackson's arm. "He has lost his left arm," said Lee, "but I have lost my right." Eight days later, Jackson died of pneumonia.

In the West, Union forces were mired during the first half of 1863. General Rosecrans was bogged down in a campaign to take Chattanooga, Tennessee. Grant had settled in for a long, drawn-out siege at Vicksburg (see Map 14.4). Nowhere did

**Andersonville** Confederate prisoner-of-war camp in northern Georgia where some fourteen thousand

Union prisoners died of disease and malnutrition.

**Chancellorsville Site** in Virginia where, in May 1863, Confederate troops led by Lee defeated a much larger Union force; Stonewall Jackson was mortally wounded in this battle.

there seem to be a prospect for the dramatic victory Lincoln needed.

The summer of 1863, however, turned out to be a major turning point in the war. When Confederate leaders met in Richmond to weigh their options, Davis and his cabinet considered sending troops to relieve Vicksburg. Lee, however, advocated another major invasion of the North. Such a maneuver, he believed, would allow the Confederates to gather supplies and encourage the northern peace movement. Confederate leaders agreed and approved Lee's plan.

Confederates met only weak opposition as they marched into Maryland and Pennsylvania, where they seized livestock, supplies, food, clothing, and shoes (see Map 14.3). Then, on June 30, a Confederate brigade searching for shoes encountered a Union cavalry unit west of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Meade, who had been trailing behind Lee's army, moved his forces into Gettysburg. On July 1, Lee forced the Union army to fall back.

Meade took up an almost impregnable defensive position on Cemetery Ridge. The Confederates hammered both ends of the Union line on July 2 but could gain no ground. On the third day, Lee ordered a major assault on the middle of the Union position. Over thirteen thousand men, led by Major General George E. Pickett, tried to cross open ground and take the hills held by Meade. Pickett's charge was one of the few tactical mistakes Lee made during the war. Meade's forces drove off the attack. The whole field was "dotted with our soldiers," wrote one Confederate officer. Losses on both sides were high, but Confederate casualties during the three-day battle exceeded twenty-eight thousand men, more than a third of Lee's army. Lee retreated, his invasion of the North a failure.

On the heels of Gettysburg came news from Mississippi that Vicksburg had finally fallen. Union forces had been shelling the city continuously for nearly seven weeks, driving residents into caves and shelters, but it was starvation and disease that finally laid waste to the city. On July 4, Vicksburg surrendered. Then on July 9, Port **Hudson** followed suit. The Mississippi River was now totally under Union control. The "Father of Waters," said Lincoln, "again goes unvexed to the sea."

The losses at the battles of Gettysburg and Vicksburg devastated the Confederates. Cut off from al

most any hope of foreign intervention and low on food, munitions, uniforms, shoes, and weapons, Confederate morale plummeted. As Josiah Gorgas wrote in his diary after the battles of Gettysburg and Vicksburg, "The Confederacy totters to its destruction." But the Confederacy proved more resilient than many expected.

Meade, like McClellan, failed to pursue Lee and his retreating troops, allowing them to escape into Virginia. When he learned of Lee's escape, Lincoln grumbled, "Our Army held the war in the hollow of their hand and they would not close it."

Nor was General Meade Lincoln's only source of irritation. In Tennessee, Rosecrans had moved no closer to Chattanooga. The war, which had appeared to be nearly over, was, in Lincoln's words, "prolonged indefinitely." Lincoln needed a general with killer instincts.

### **Grant, Sherman, and the Invention of Total War**

Two generals rose to meet Lincoln's needs: Ulysses S. Grant and William Tecumseh Sherman. These two men invented a new type of warfare—total war—that brought the South to its knees. Both were willing to wage war not only against the government and armed forces of the Confederacy but also against the civilian population. Their goal was to destroy the South's means and will to continue the struggle.

Lincoln placed Grant in charge of all Union forces in the West on October 13. Grant's immediate goal was to relieve Union forces that had captured Chattanooga but had then been besieged by Confederate forces under Braxton Bragg. Grant

Gettysburg Site of a major battle that occurred in Pennsylvania in July 1863 when Lee led Confederate forces in an unsuccessful invasion of the North.

**Port Hudson** Confederate garrison on the Mississippi River that surrendered to Union forces in July 1863, thus giving the Union unrestricted control of the Mississippi.

total war War waged not only against enemy troops but also against the civilian population to destroy morale and economic resources.



- ◆ Disliked by most of his fellow officers because of his coarse behavior and unfounded rumors of binge drinking, Ulysses S. Grant had the right combination of daring, unconventionality, and ruthlessness to wear down Robert E. Lee's forces in Virginia and finally defeat the Confederate army. *National Archives.*

first relieved the pressure on Chattanooga by sending Sherman's troops there. Troops under Sherman and General George H. Thomas then stormed the Confederate strongholds that overlooked the city and drove Bragg's forces out of southern Tennessee. Confederate forces also withdrew from Knoxville in December, leaving the state under Union control. Delighted with Grant's successes, Lincoln promoted him again on March 10, 1864, this time to general in chief. Grant immediately left his command in the West to prepare an all-out attack on Lee and Virginia. He authorized Sherman to pursue a campaign into Georgia.

Grant also suspended prisoner-of-war exchanges. Realizing that the Confederates needed

soldiers badly, he understood that one outcome of this policy would be slow death by starvation for Union prisoners. Cruel though his policy was, Grant reasoned that victory was his primary goal and that suffering and death were unavoidable in war. Throughout the remainder of the war, this single-mindedness pushed Grant to make decisions that cost tens of thousands of lives on both sides but led to Union victory.

On May 4, 1864, Grant marched toward Richmond. The next day, Union and Confederate armies collided in a tangle of woods called The Wilderness near Chancellorsville. Two bloody days of fighting followed, broken by a night during which hundreds of wounded burned to death in brushfires between the two lines. Grant decided to skirt Lee's troops and head for Richmond, but Lee anticipated the maneuver and blocked Grant's route at Spotsylvania. Twelve more days of fighting brought neither side a victory.

Casualties on both sides at Spotsylvania were staggering, but Union losses were especially high. As one Confederate officer put it, "We have met a man, this time, who either does not know when he is whipped, or who cares not if he loses his whole army."

Grant withdrew and attempted to move around Lee, but again Lee anticipated his approach. On June 1, the two armies met once again at Cold Harbor, Virginia. Grant ordered a series of frontal attacks against the entrenched Confederates. Lee's veteran troops waited patiently as Union soldiers marched toward them. Many of the young attackers had pinned their names on their shirts so that they might be identified after the battle. The Confederates fired volley after volley until dead Union soldiers lay in piles. One southerner described Grant's assaults as "incredible butchery."

**The Wilderness** Densely wooded region of Virginia that was the site, in May 1864, of a devastating but inconclusive battle between Union forces under Grant and Confederates under Lee.

**Cold Harbor** Area of Virginia, about 10 miles from Richmond, where Grant made an unsuccessful attempt to drive his forces through Lee's center and

1 capture Richmond.

During the three campaigns, Grant lost sixty thousand troops, more than Lee's entire army. In a single day of frontal assaults at Cold Harbor, Grant lost twelve thousand men. Said Lee, "This is not war, this is murder." But Grant's seeming wantonness was calculated, for the Confederates lost over twenty-five thousand troops. And Grant knew, as did Lee, that the Union could afford the losses but the Confederacy could not. He also saw no other way to end the conflict. Despite diminished manpower and resources, Lee refused to surrender. And so the killing continued.

Now near Richmond, Grant guessed that Lee would expect him to assault the city. Instead, he swung south of Richmond and headed for Petersburg. His objective was to take the vital rail center and cut off the southern capital. Shaken by devastating losses, Grant's generals advanced cautiously, allowing Lee time to respond. Lee rapidly shifted the vanguard of his troops and occupied Petersburg. Grant bitterly regretted the indecision of his generals, feeling that he could have ended the war. Instead, the campaign settled into a siege.

## The Election of 1864 and Sherman's March to the Sea

Lincoln was under fire from two directions. On May 31, 1864, a splinter group of Radical Republicans, concerned that Lincoln would be too soft on southerners after the war, nominated John C. Fremont as their presidential candidate. Lincoln's wing of the party, which began calling itself the Union party, renominated Lincoln in June. To attract Democrats who still favored fighting for a victory, Union party delegates dumped Vice President Hannibal Hamlin and chose Andrew Johnson, a southern Democrat, as Lincoln's running mate.

In August, the Democratic National Convention selected McClellan as its presidential candidate. The Democrats included a peace plank in their platform. Thus Lincoln sat squarely between one group that criticized him for pursuing the war and another group that rebuked him for failing to punish the South vigorously enough.

Confederate president Jefferson Davis also had political problems. As military losses mounted, resistance to the war increased. Several states refused

to comply with the Confederate congress's call for a new draft. Governors in Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina kept troops at home and defied Davis to enforce conscription. Like Lincoln, Davis was under growing pressure to end the war.

The two sides did have several conversations about negotiating a settlement. Lincoln stated his terms: reunion, abolition, and amnesty for Confederates. Davis responded that "amnesty" implied criminal behavior, which he categorically denied, insisting that "independence" or "extermination" was the only possible outcome for the South.

Sherman gave Lincoln the push he needed to win the election. During the summer of 1864, he advanced his army slowly toward Atlanta, one of the South's few remaining industrial centers (see Map 14.4). Only General Joseph E. Johnston's skillful retreats kept Sherman from annihilating his army. But the continuous retreats prompted President Davis to replace Johnston with the more aggressive John Bell Hood. Hood attacked, but Sherman inflicted such serious casualties that Hood had to retreat to Atlanta.

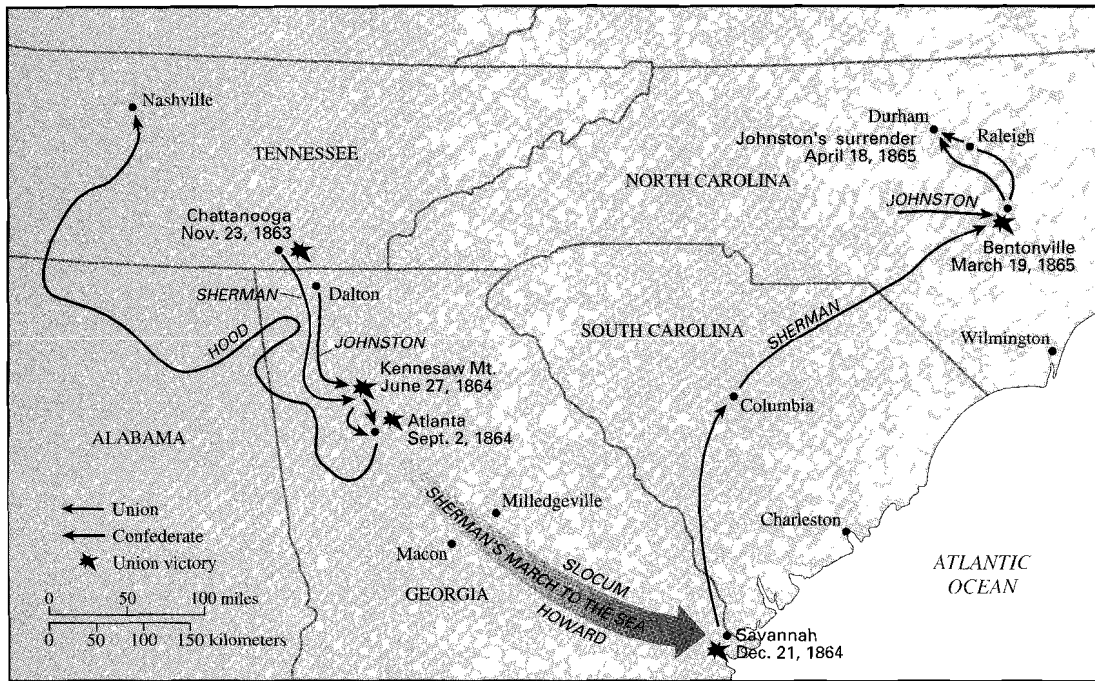
For days, Sherman shelled the city. When a last-ditch southern attack failed, Hood evacuated Atlanta on September 1. Union troops occupied the city the following day. This victory caused despair among Confederates and gave great momentum to Lincoln's re-election campaign.

Lincoln's re-election efforts were also given a boost by General Phil Sheridan's campaign in the Shenandoah Valley. In June, Confederate commander Jubal Early led a raid into Maryland. Sheridan headed off Early's offensive and then pursued him down the Shenandoah. Sheridan's men lived off the land and destroyed both military and civilian supplies whenever possible. Sheridan drove Early from the region in October and laid waste to much of Lee's food supplies.

These victories proved the decisive factor in the election of 1864. They defused McClellan's

**vanguard** The foremost position in any army advancing into battle.

**Andrew Johnson** Tennessee senator who became Lincoln's running mate in 1864 and who succeeded to the presidency after Lincoln was killed. I



◆ **MAP 14.4 Sherman's Campaign in the South** This map shows how William Tecumseh Sherman's troops slashed through the South, destroying both civilian and military targets and reducing the South's will to continue the war.

argument that Lincoln was not competent to direct the Union's military efforts and quelled much antiwar sentiment in the North. These victories also caused the Fremont candidacy to disappear before election day. Lincoln defeated McClellan by half a million popular votes but won in the Electoral College by an overwhelming margin of 212 to 21.

The southern peace movement had viewed a Democratic victory as the last chance to reach a settlement. Now all hope of negotiation appeared lost. Despite the bleak prospects, Lee's forces still remained in Petersburg, as did Hood's in Georgia. Southern hopes were dimmed but not extinguished.

Sherman grew frustrated with the occupation of Atlanta and posed a bold plan to Grant. He wanted to ignore Hood, leave the battered Confederates loose at his rear, go on the offensive, and "cut a swath through to the sea." "I can make Georgia howl," he promised. Despite some misgivings, Grant agreed and convinced Lincoln.

A week after the election, Sherman began preparing for his 300-mile March to the Sea (see Map 14.4). His intentions were clear. "We are not only fighting hostile armies, but a hostile people," he stated. By devastating the countryside and destroying the South's ability to conduct war, he intended to break down southerners' will to resist. "We cannot change the hearts of those people of the South," he concluded, but we can "make them so sick of war that generations would pass away before they would again appeal to it." With that, he burned most of Atlanta and then set out for Savannah. His troops plundered and looted farms and

**March to the Sea** Sherman's march from Atlanta to Savannah from November 16 to December 20, 1864, during which Union soldiers carried out orders to destroy everything in their path.

towns on the way, foraging for food and supplies and destroying everything in their path.

As Sherman began moving toward Savannah, Hood seized the opportunity by drawing on Nathan Bedford Forrest's Confederate cavalry for reinforcements to attack General George H. Thomas's Union force at Nashville. Hood struck at Franklin, Tennessee, on November 30, but Thomas's troops shattered the attacking force, leaving the Confederate Army of Tennessee in fragments.

Sherman entered Savannah unopposed on December 20. The March to the Sea completed, Sherman turned north toward Columbia, South Carolina. Sherman's "bummers," so called because they lived off the land, took special delight in ravaging the countryside of South Carolina, which they regarded as the seat of the rebellion. When they reached Columbia, flames engulfed the city. Whether Sherman's men or retreating Confederates started the blaze is not clear.

With the capital in flames, Confederate forces abandoned South Carolina and moved north to join Joseph E. Johnston's army in North Carolina. Union forces quickly moved into abandoned southern strongholds, including Charleston. Major Robert Anderson, who had commanded Fort Sumter in April 1861, returned to raise the Union flag over the fort that he had surrendered four years earlier.

### **The Fall of Lee and Lincoln**

Sherman's marches were the centerpiece of a Union strategy that was a brutal variation on Winfield Scott's Anaconda Plan. In concert with Sherman's efforts, other Union armies attacked various southern strongholds. Admiral Farragut had already closed the port of Mobile, Alabama. The primary target, however, was Lee. Grant maintained the siege at Petersburg while Sherman moved north. His goal was to join Grant in defeating Lee and ending the war.

Hoping to keep the Confederacy alive, Lee made a desperate move in early April 1865. Fearing encirclement by Grant's forces, Lee advised Davis to evacuate Richmond. Lee then abandoned his stronghold in Petersburg and moved west as rapidly as possible, toward Lynchburg. From Lynchburg, Lee hoped to use surviving rail lines to move his troops south to join Johnston's force in North Carolina.

Grant ordered an immediate assault as Lee's forces deserted Petersburg. Lee had little ammunition, almost no food, and only thirty-five thousand men. As they retreated westward, hundreds of Confederates collapsed from hunger and exhaustion. By April 9, Union forces had surrounded Lee's broken army. Saying, "There is

nothing left for me to do but go and see General Grant, and I would rather die a thousand deaths," Lee sent a note offering surrender.

The two generals met at the courthouse in Appomattox, Virginia. Grant offered generous terms, allowing Confederate officers and men to go home "so long as they observe their paroles and the laws in force where they reside." This guaranteed them immunity from prosecution for treason and became the model for surrender. Grant sent the starving Confederates rations and allowed them to keep their horses.

Lee's surrender did not end the war. Joseph E. Johnston's forces did not surrender until April 18, at Durham Station, North Carolina. Even then, Jefferson Davis remained in hiding and called for continued resistance. But one by one, the Confederate officers surrendered to their Union opponents. On May 10, Davis and the Confederate postmaster general were captured near Irwinville, Georgia. The last Confederate general to lay down his arms was Cherokee leader Stand Watie, who surrendered on June 23, 1865.

The price of victory was high for both the winner and the loser. Over 360,000 Union soldiers were killed in action, and at least 260,000 Confederates died in the failed cause of southern independence. The war wrecked the economy of the South. Union military campaigns wiped out most southern rail lines, destroyed the South's manufacturing capacity, and severely reduced agricultural productivity. Both sides had faced rising inflation during the war, but the Confederacy's actions had bled the South of most of its resources and money.

Soldiers and civilians on both sides had faced tremendous adversity. The war exacted a tremendous emotional toll on everyone, even on those who escaped physical injury. Perhaps Carl Schurz, a Union general who fought at Chancellorsville,



Gettysburg, and Chattanooga, best summed up the agony of the Civil War: "There are people who speak lightly of war as a mere heroic sport. They would hardly find it in their hearts to do so, had they ever witnessed scenes like these, and thought of the untold miseries connected with them that were spread all over the land."

But the nation had one more horror to face. On April 11, Lincoln addressed a crowd outside the White House about his hopes and plans for rebuilding the nation, urging a speedy reconciliation between the two sections. Three days later, he joined his wife and some friends for a relaxing evening at the theater. At about ten o'clock, an actor and southern sympathizer named **John Wilkes Booth** entered the president's box and shot him behind the ear. Lincoln died the next morning, leaving the nation with no clear sense of what to expect next.

John Wilkes Booth Actor and southern sympathizer who on April 14, 1865, five days after Lee's 1 surrender, fatally shot President Lincoln at Ford's Theater in Washington.

## S U M M A R Y )

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

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Both the Union and the Confederacy entered the war in 1861 with glowing *expectations*. Jefferson Davis *chose* to pursue a defensive strategy, certain that northerners would soon tire of war and let the South withdraw from the Union. Abraham Lincoln *chose* to use the superior human, economic, and natural resources of the North to strangle the South into submission. But many *con-*

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## SUGGESTED READINGS

Abel, Annie Heloise. *The Slaveholding Indians*, 3 vols. (1919-1925; reprint, 1992-1993).

This long-ignored classic work focuses on Indians as slaveholders, participants in the Civil War, and subjects of

*straints* frustrated both leaders during the first year of the war.

For Lincoln, the greatest *constraint* was military leadership. Union forces seemed unable to win any major battles despite their numerical superiority. Although Ulysses S. Grant scored victories in the Mississippi valley, Robert E. Lee and "Stonewall" Jackson defeated every Union general that Lincoln sent to oppose them.

The war's nature and direction changed after the fall of 1862. Lee *chose* to invade Maryland and was defeated at Antietam. After that Union victory, Lincoln *chose* to issue the Emancipation Proclamation, *expecting* that it would undermine southern efforts and unify northern ones. After the proclamation, there could be no *choice* for either side but total victory or total defeat.

Union forces turned the tide in the war by defeating Lee's army at Gettysburg and by taking Vicksburg after a long siege. With an election drawing near, Lincoln spurred his generals to deal the death blow to the Confederacy, and two rose to the occasion. During the summer and fall of 1864, William Tecumseh Sherman made Georgia howl. And Grant, in a brutal campaign in northern Virginia, drove Lee into a defensive corner. In November, buoyed by Sherman's victories in Georgia, Lincoln was re-elected.

In the spring of 1865, Lee made a desperate *choice* to keep the Confederacy alive, racing to unify the last surviving remnants of the once-proud southern army. But Grant surrounded Lee's troops, forcing surrender. Lincoln's assassination a short time later left the nation in shock and a southern Democrat, Andrew Johnson, as president. In North and South, the *outcome* of the Civil War was uncertainty about what would follow.

Reconstruction. Its three volumes have been updated by historians Theda Purdue and Michael

Green. Each volume can stand on its own and will reward the patient reader.

Catton, Bruce. *This Hallowed Ground: The Story of the Union Side of the Civil War* (1956).

Catton is probably the best in the huge company of popular writers on the Civil War. This is his most comprehensive single-volume work. More detailed, but still very interesting, titles by Catton include *Glory Road: The Bloody Route from Fredericksburg to Gettysburg* (1952), *Mr. Lincoln's Army* (1962), *A Stillness at Appomattox* (1953), and *Grant Moves South* (1960).

Escott, Paul D. *After Secession: Jefferson Davis and the Failure of Confederate Nationalism* (1978).

An excellent overview of internal political problems in the Confederacy by a leading Civil War historian.

Joseph, Alvin M. *The Civil War in the American West* (1991).

An excellent overview of an often forgotten chapter in the Civil War. A former editor for *American Heritage*, Joseph writes an interesting and readable story.

McPherson, James. *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (1988).

Hailed by many as the best single-volume history of the Civil War Era; comprehensive and very well written.

Thomas, Emory M. *The Confederate Nation* (1979).

A classic history of the Confederacy by an excellent southern historian.

Wills, Garry. *Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words That Remade America* (1992).

A prizewinning look at Lincoln's rhetoric and the ways in which his speeches, especially his Gettysburg Address, recast American ideas about equality, freedom, and democracy. Exquisitely written by a master biographer.

*Gettysburg*

Ronald Maxwell directed this four-hour epic detailing one of the Civil War's most famous battles. Based on Michael Shaara's Pulitzer Prize-winning novel *The Killer Angels*, this ambitious film seeks to capture not only the historical events but also the atmosphere and personalities of the era.

# MAKING HISTORY: USING SOURCES FROM THE PAST

## The Choice for Emancipation

### The Context

When Abraham Lincoln became president in 1861, he swore to the nation that he had no intention of interfering with the institution of slavery. But the pressure of war and of politics made that promise difficult to keep. By March 1862, the president was asking Congress to pass a bill compensating slaveholders for the value of their human property if the war brought the institution down. Over the next several months, he discussed various approaches to the thorny problem with members of his cabinet, but publicly he resisted any suggestion of a unilateral presidential order emancipating slaves. Finally, on September 22, 1862, he made an official announcement that shook the nation. The southern states had one hundred days to put down their weapons, or he would use his powers as commander in chief of the U.S. Army and Navy to free every slave in every region of the country that was still at war with the United States. This announcement was the Emancipation Proclamation. (For further information on the context, see page 301.)

### The Sources

**1** In his first inaugural address, Abraham Lincoln swore that he would not threaten the institution of slavery where it existed. He even denied that he had the legal right to do so. Here is what he said:

*I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. . . ."*

*I now reiterate these sentiments; and, in doing so, I only press upon the public attention the most con-*

### The Historical Question

During the years following the Civil War, Republicans heralded the Emancipation Proclamation as the ultimate expression of their party's commitment to American principles and Abraham Lincoln's commitment to liberty. But many questions surround Lincoln's choice to issue the proclamation. If this was a long-standing commitment, why did he wait so long? Why did he choose to free only some slaves and not all slaves? Was there another agenda beyond a commitment to freedom?

### The Challenge

Using the sources provided, along with other information you have read, write an essay or hold a discussion on the following question. Cite evidence in the sources to support your conclusions.

What were Abraham Lincoln's **purposes for issuing** the Emancipation Proclamation when and in **the form that** he did?

*elusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming administration.*

**2** On August 19, 1862, the *New York Tribune* published an open letter to President Lincoln claiming that 20 million people in the United States were "sorely disappointed and deeply pained by the policy you seem to be pursuing with regard to the slaves of rebels." Lincoln replied:

*My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy Slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about Slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save this Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors; and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views. I have here stated my purpose according to my view of official duty.*

**3** Less than a month later, Lincoln received a delegation representing Christian interests in Chicago, who echoed the *Tribune's* earlier complaint. Lincoln explained:

*What good would a proclamation of emancipation from me do, especially as we are now situated? I do not want to issue a document that the whole world will see must necessarily be inoperative. . . . Would my word free the slaves, when I cannot even enforce the Constitution in the rebel states? Is there a single court, or magistrate, or individual that would be influenced by it there? And what reason is there to think it would have any greater effect upon the slaves than the late law of Congress, which I approved, and which offers protection and freedom to the slaves of rebel masters who come within our lines? Yet I cannot learn that that law has caused a single slave to come over to us. . . .*

*I admit that slavery is the root of the rebellion, . . . I will also concede that emancipation would help us in Europe, and convince them that we are incited by something more than ambition. I grant, further, that it would help somewhat at the North, though not so much, I fear, as you and those you represent imagine. . . .*

**4** Four days after Lincoln told the Chicago delegation that an emancipation proclamation would be futile, the Union won a major victory at Antietam. Five days after that, Lincoln issued the preliminary draft of the Emancipation Proclamation, giving the southern states one hundred days to stop the war. When the South refused to surrender, Lincoln made the following statement:

*Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, so, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose to do so, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day first above mentioned, order and designate [the following] as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof, respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States. . . .*

*And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States, and parts of States, are, and hence forward shall be free. . . .*

*And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.*