CHAPTER 13

A Nation Torn Apart

The Civil War, 1861–1865

> "War for the destruction of liberty must be met by war for the destruction of slavery."
>
> African American leader
> FREDERICK DOUGLASS

The Civil War began in 1861 as a conflict over whether Southern states possessed the right to secede from the Union. But when the Lincoln administration's Emancipation Proclamation took effect on January 1, 1863, it became a war against slavery. The soldiers depicted in this joyous scene were among the 180,000 African American soldiers who contributed to the Union army's successful campaign to defeat the Confederacy. In January 1864, a few weeks after the first anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, the popular magazine, *Harper's Weekly,* published this drawing, "Colored troops under General Wild, liberating slaves in North Carolina." The image reflected not merely a growing acceptance of slavery's demise among Northerners, but also the celebration of emancipation as a noble cause, along with restoration of the Union, that helped the North justify the terrible human cost of the war.

Emancipation was but one of the many extraordinary aspects of the Civil War that make it the most written-about event in American history. The war pitted American against American, in some cases brother against brother. Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky, for example, saw two sons rise to the rank of general, one Confederate and the other Union. Mary Todd Lincoln, the president's wife, lost three brothers who were fighting for the Confederacy. The Civil War was also, for its time, an unusually bloody conflict. The 618,000 Americans who died in the four years of conflict far outnumber the 115,000 lost in World War I and the 318,000 in World War II. The war also brought to the fore larger-than-life personalities such as Generals William Tecumseh Sherman, Ulysses S. Grant, Robert E. Lee, and Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson, and it produced moments of heroism that would become the stuff of legend.

If these aspects of the war explain its popularity as a historical subject, they also indicate why the Civil War has generated so much heated debate. For generations Americans have argued over the true cause of the war and why the North won (or as some like to put it, why the South lost). They have debated the significance and wisdom of crucial decisions such as Lee's move to attack the North in 1863 or Union general Meade's failure to pursue the weakened Confederates after Gettysburg.

Yet for all this debate, few commentators dispute this fact: the Civil War brought profound social, political, and economic change to the United States. Most also agree that while the war ended the contentious question of slavery, it immediately raised equally challenging questions about racial equality.

Why does the Civil War exert such a hold on the American imagination?

Mobilization, Strategy, and Diplomacy p. 376

The Early Campaigns, 1861–1863 p. 381

Behind the Lines p. 388

Toward Union Victory p. 393

Mobilization, Strategy, and Diplomacy

Neither the North nor the South envisioned the character and course of the war that began with the South's firing upon Fort Sumter in April 1861. Both sides had to hastily mobilize, recruit, train, and outfit modern armies. The North possessed overwhelming advantages in population and industry, but the South enjoyed superior military leadership, a white population to a large degree united against invading Union armies, and a hope that France or England would intervene in the conflict on their behalf.

Comparative Advantages and Disadvantages

As North and South prepared for war, both sides believed they would win and win decisively. Journalist Horace Greeley spoke for many Northerners when, speaking of the president of the Confederate States of America and his administration, he boasted that "Jeff Davis and Co. will be swinging from the battlements at Washington at least by the 4th of July." On paper this confidence seemed justified. As the table (**13.1**) illustrates, the Northern states possessed more than twice the population of the Confederacy, giving the North an enormous advantage in soldiers, farmers, and industrial workers. The North also possessed a vast industrial system nine times greater than that of the Confederacy. Producing 97 percent of the nation's firearms, 94 percent of its cloth, and 90 percent of its shoes and boots, this system would be capable of providing the Union armies with an unlimited supply of materiel.

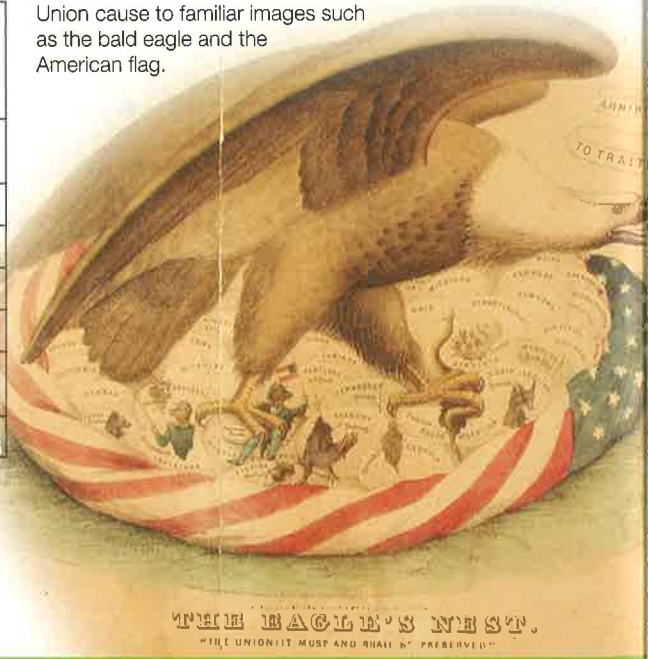
	Union	Confederacy
Population	23,000,000	5,700,000 white 3,500,000 enslaved
Industrial Workers	1,300,000	110,000
Factories	110,000	18,000
Value Goods Manufactured	$1.5 billion	$155 million
Railroad Mileage	22,000	9,000
Weapons Manufacturing (Percent U.S. total)	97%	3%
Banking Capital	$330,000,000	$27,000,000

13.1 Union Advantages on the Eve of War, 1861
The enormous disparities between North and South suggested to many a quick Union victory. But many factors beyond these statistics, notably superior Confederate military leadership, would make for a long and bloody war.

The North also had a modern railroad system twice the size of the Confederacy's and far more integrated.

A final advantage for the North was the firmly held belief among many of its soldiers that they were fighting to uphold the Constitution, the flag, and the Union. This sentiment was stoked by a profusion of speeches, songs, and printed matter like the poster *The Eagle's Nest* (**13.2**), extolling the Union cause. Demonizing secession as treason by invoking the famous 1830 declaration of President Andrew Jackson, a Southerner and slave owner, "The Union! It must and shall be preserved," it also draws on familiar images of patriotism such as the bald eagle and the American flag. Many Northerners shared the belief that they were indebted to the Founding Fathers, whose sacrifices won American independence and established the republic.

13.2 *The Eagle's Nest*
Northerners promoted patriotic sentiment in speeches, songs, and printed matter. This poster, "The Eagle's Nest," linked the Union cause to familiar images such as the bald eagle and the American flag.



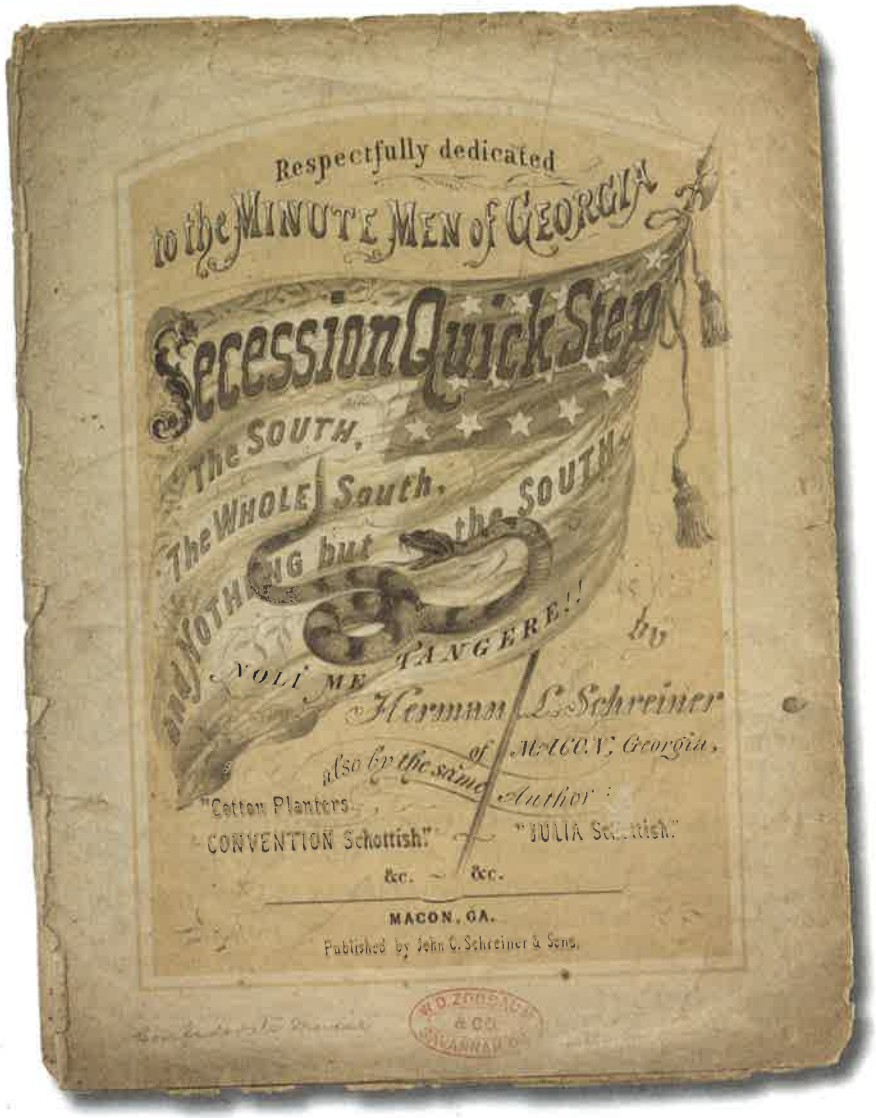
What significant advantages did the North hold over the South on the eve of war?

Southerners, too, sought to boost their wartime morale. As the song sheet "Secession Quick Step" (13.3) shows, they often did so by drawing on the same patriotic images and themes as Northerners. This song and the accompanying image seek to make a connection between the colonists' break from England during the American Revolution and the South's quest for Confederate independence. Note, for example, the reference to "Minute Men" and use of the "Don't Tread on Me" snake, a popular image of defiance used to express colonial resistance to British authority in the 1770s (see Chapter 4).

Southerners also matched Northerners in their confidence about achieving a quick victory. "Just throw three or four shells among those blue-bellied Yankees," boasted one North Carolinian, "and they'll scatter like sheep." Confederates were keenly aware that while they lacked population, industry, and infrastructure, they did possess certain advantages. To begin with, they were fighting a war for independence that carried with it a sense of destiny that would sustain them through the difficult times ahead—just as it had, they reminded themselves, the overmatched colonists in their fight for independence from a superior Great Britain nearly a century earlier.

The South also took heart in its size: to deny Confederate independence the North would have to conquer the South, an area as large as western Europe. Furthermore, this monumental invasion and occupation would very likely unify the South, including poor whites who might otherwise view the conflict as a war to protect the interests of slaveholders. The South could thus fight a defensive war until the North grew tired of the conflict and withdrew, or until a European power, most likely England, which depended heavily on Southern cotton, intervened militarily and forced the North to let the seceded states go.

Finally, whether they knew it or not, in April 1861 Southerners had the upper hand in military leadership. For the first half of the war, generals such as Robert E. Lee and Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson would stymie much larger and better-equipped Northern armies led by inept generals.



13.3 Connecting to the Colonial Cause
As in the North, Southerners fostered unity, emphasizing the connection between the colonists' revolt against English rule during the American Revolution and the Confederate bid for Southern independence.

Mobilization in the North

Mobilization of the Union Army began days after the firing at Fort Sumter with Lincoln's call for seventy-five thousand volunteers for ninety days' service and the imposition of a naval blockade along the Southern coast. Thousands of eager volunteers jammed recruiting stations, convinced the Union would win quickly and with little loss of life. Among those who clamored to join the Army were thousands of free African Americans anxious to play a role in defeating the slaveholding South. Yet they were turned away because of an overabundance of white volunteers and Lincoln's desire to sidestep issues of slavery and race to avoid provoking the slaveholding states that remained in the Union—Kentucky, Maryland, Delaware, and Missouri—from seceding.

Why did Southerners seek to link secession to the American Revolution?

Unfortunately for Lincoln, the Union Army's enthusiasm was no substitute for experience. In 1861 there were only sixteen thousand professional soldiers in the Army, most of them stationed in the West. One-third of the Army's officers quit to join the Confederacy. Of those officers who remained, few possessed any real combat experience. To make matters worse, because state officials named the officers to command the new regiments of volunteers being raised, they invariably chose men whose chief qualifications were their political connections and fondness for parading. One regiment, the 11th New York Volunteer Infantry, was perhaps the most vivid example of this phenomenon. As this print (**13.4**) shows, these volunteers donned flashy uniforms patterned after the Zouaves, France's famous regiments in North Africa, replete with red silk pantaloons and green jackets. The New York Zouaves enjoyed great celebrity at the war's outset, and one of them, Colonel Elmer Ephraim Ellsworth (at right), became the Union's first martyr when he was killed pulling down a Confederate flag in Virginia. Despite their stylishness, however, the 11th New York Zouaves performed disastrously at Bull Run. As the war progressed both armies eliminated special regimental uniforms and replaced them with Union blue and Confederate gray.

13.4 The Zouaves of the 11th New York Many regiments raised to fight for the Union and the Confederacy included inexperienced men whose romantic visions of warfare were expressed in their fanciful uniforms.

Mobilization in the South

Unlike the North, the Confederacy needed to create an Army from scratch. Immediately after seceding Southern states revived, reorganized, and expanded their militias, many of which were more like social clubs than military units. In March 1861 the Confederate Congress established an army of 100,000 volunteers for one-year terms of service, leading to the merging of most state militia companies into the Confederate Army. To thwart the Union's intended blockade of the Southern coastline, the Confederacy commenced creating a navy and authorizing privateers to seize Union ships.

Equipping their soldiers and sailors proved a far greater challenge. Lacking the industrial base of the North, the South built arms factories that eventually turned out some 350,000 rifles. They also managed to import 700,000 more. Nonetheless, throughout the war Confederate soldiers often needed to scavenge battlefields to find weapons and ammunition. The Confederate effort to thwart the Union blockade was similarly hampered by a lack of shipyards.

The Davis administration also confronted the challenge of paying for the war. Possessing few banks and limited reserves of gold and silver, the government tried several schemes, including requiring individual states to pay for the war and imposing an income tax. When none worked, the Confederate government simply printed huge amounts of paper money. With $1.5 billion in circulation by 1864 (twice the amount issued in the North) the citizens of the Confederacy faced punishing inflation, which reached 9,000 percent by 1865 (as compared with 80 percent in the Union).

Another obstacle to Confederate victory was the South's popular doctrine of states' rights. It envisioned the ideal national government as one that left most power and authority to the states. Even though the Confederacy ultimately managed to overcome states' rights opposition and create a centralized national government and military, its efforts were hindered by a number of vociferous critics. Governors Zebulon M. Vance of North Carolina and Joseph E. Brown of Georgia, for example, opposed the incorporation of their state militias' troops into the Confederate army. Later when the Confederacy enacted a military draft, they raised a loud protest and created hundreds of exemptions for friends and state officials.

How did the doctrine of states' rights hinder the Southern war effort?

The Struggle for the Border States

While both sides readied for war, they also struggled for the loyalty of the **Border States:** Missouri, Kentucky, Delaware, and Maryland, the slave states along the border of the Confederacy that had not seceded (see **13.5**). These held enormous strategic value for both sides. Missouri and Kentucky bordered the vital Mississippi River. Kentucky also controlled key sections of the Ohio and Kentucky Rivers. Delaware controlled access to the city of Philadelphia. If Maryland seceded, Washington, D.C. would be surrounded by Confederate territory and the Union's main railroad route west would be lost.

The Davis administration had strong incentive to lure the Border States into joining the Confederacy. These four states contained nearly half the South's white male population and 80 percent of its industry. Given the South's disadvantages in manpower and industry, the loss of these states would seriously weaken the Confederate war effort.

Nonetheless the Union managed to hold all four states. Delaware, where fewer than 2 percent of the white population owned slaves, proved relatively easy to hold. Kentucky was more problematic, as it remained divided between Union and Confederate sympathies. But Lincoln's subtle approach, along with the eventual arrival of federal troops, secured the state for the Union.

Maryland, where pro-Confederate sentiment ran high, presented a far greater challenge. On April 19, 1861, a large pro-Confederate mob attacked the 6th Massachusetts Regiment as it passed through Baltimore on its way to Washington. The inexperienced soldiers panicked and opened fire, killing twelve. The furious mob then destroyed tracks, railroad bridges, and telegraph lines, prompting Lincoln to declare martial law, arrest dozens of Confederate sympathizers, and suspend habeas corpus—the right of a person to petition a judge for release from unlawful imprisonment.

Note: The western counties of Virginia remained loyal to the Union and were admitted as the state of West Virginia in 1863.

13.5 The Vital Border States
The Border States (Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware) held enormous strategic, military, economic, and symbolic value for both sides. In the end, the Lincoln administration succeeded in keeping them in the Union.

Securing Union control of Missouri likewise required a heavy hand. The situation there resembled that of "Bleeding Kansas" in 1857 (see Chapter 12), with pro-Confederate and pro-Union forces fighting for control of the state. But Union forces under Captain Nathaniel Lyon thwarted the efforts of pro-Confederate state officials to steer Missouri into the Confederacy, allowing pro-Union officials to take control.

The Union's success in preventing the secession of the Border States weakened the Confederate cause in two important ways. First, it deprived the Confederacy of sorely needed soldiers and factories. Second, the retention of four slave states in the Union undermined a primary Confederate justification for secession, namely, that it was necessary to protect the institution of slavery.

What made the Border States so economically and militarily valuable to the Confederacy?

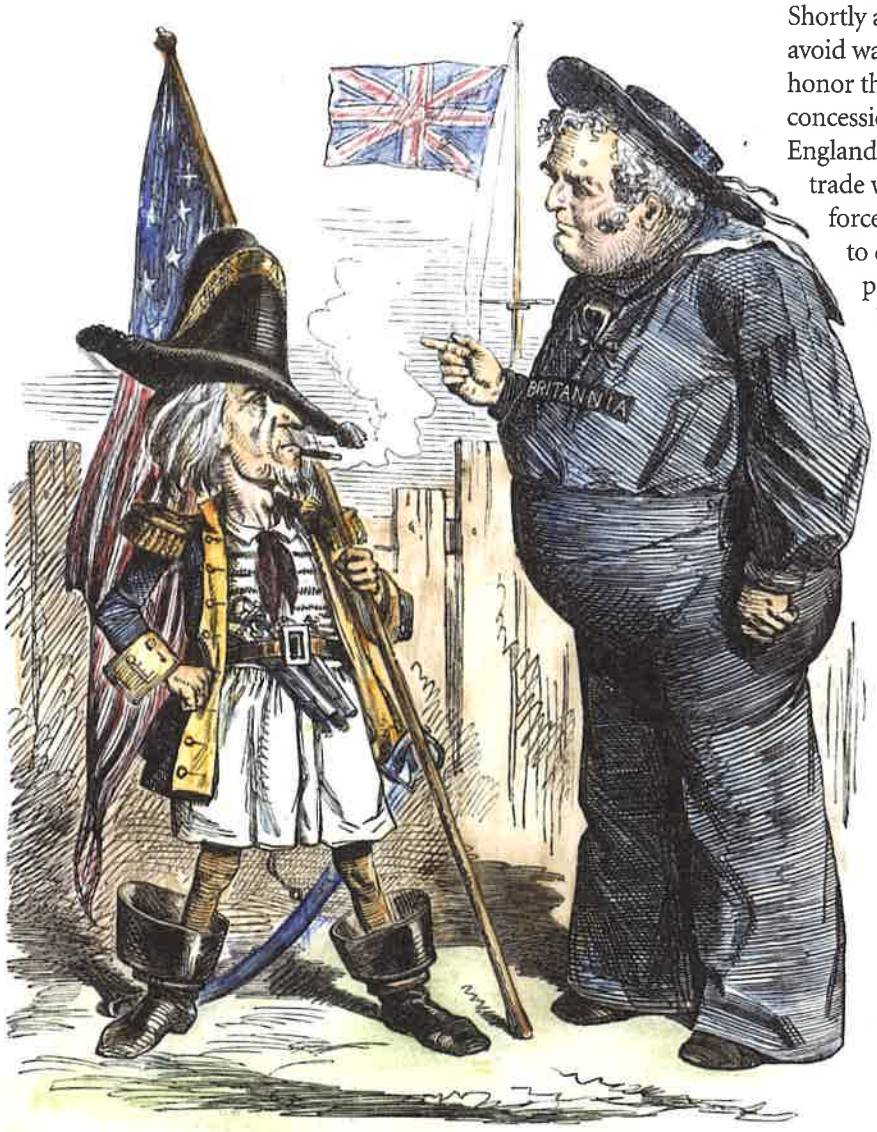
Wartime Diplomacy

Davis hoped to gain from England and France diplomatic recognition for the Confederacy, and perhaps even military intervention. He knew the leaders and aristocracy of both countries sympathized with the Confederate cause and that their economies depended heavily on Southern cotton. Accordingly, Davis sent emissaries to England and France to lobby for recognition.

To increase the chances of foreign intervention, the Confederacy in 1861 also established a **cotton embargo**, a ban on the export of cotton, the South's most valuable commodity. Because the Confederacy wanted to avoid any appearance of blackmailing cotton importing nations like England and France, the embargo was voluntary and unofficial. While the embargo damaged the Southern economy, Confederates believed it a worthwhile risk if it caused enough economic pain in England and France to, in the words of one Charleston newspaper editor, bring about either "the bankruptcy of every cotton factory in Great Britain or France or the acknowledgement of our independence."

Keenly aware that foreign intervention would likely demolish his goal of restoring the Union, Lincoln dispatched his own emissaries to England and France. Shortly after Fort Sumter both nations, seeking to avoid war, declared their neutrality and agreed to honor the Union blockade. Obtaining this latter concession was crucial to the North because had England or France insisted on their right as neutrals to trade with the South, Lincoln would have been forced either to stop their ships—a policy certain to draw them into the war—or allow them to pass and thereby provide the Confederacy with badly needed supplies.

Still, conflict with England did erupt, threatening British neutrality. In November 1861 a U.S. Navy vessel stopped the British ship *Trent* and removed two Confederates heading for Europe to press for intervention. As indicated in this cartoon (**13.6**) from the British magazine *Punch,* England reacted with outrage to the **Trent Affair**, putting its military forces on alert. "You do what is right," Britannia warns a bellicose but smaller America, "or I'll blow you out of the water." Lincoln, unwilling to risk war with England, released the two Confederates, claiming that the captain had acted without authority. The roles were reversed in 1863 when the British government, faced with a Union threat of war, prevented delivery to the Confederacy of two ironclad warships built in a British shipyard.



LOOK OUT FOR SQUALLS.

JACK BULL.—"YOU DO WHAT'S RIGHT, MY SON, OR I'LL BLOW YOU OUT OF THE WATER."

13.6 A Diplomatic Dust-Up
John Bull (Great Britain) threatens Uncle Sam in the wake of the Trent Affair, an incident that nearly prompted the British to intervene in the war.

Why did Lincoln decide to back down and release the Confederates in the Trent Affair?

The Early Campaigns, 1861–1863

Beginning with Bull Run in July 1861, the Confederacy won repeated victories in Virginia, thwarting Union attempts to seize Richmond, the capital of the Confederacy. The Union found some success in the West and moved closer to its goal of securing control of the Mississippi River. By 1862 new technologies in communications, transportation, and armaments transformed warfare, making it more complex, protracted, and deadly. The war also assumed a revolutionary character, as slaves flocked to invading Union armies, eventually convincing the Lincoln administration to embrace emancipation as a goal of the war.

No Short and Bloodless War

In the weeks following Fort Sumter, pressure mounted in both the North and South for a decisive military victory, despite the disorganized state of their armies. While some argued that given the South's limited resources, their best chance of victory lay with a defensive military posture, most Southerners wanted their military to take the offensive, believing that one or two early victories would bring foreign intervention or prompt Lincoln to abandon efforts to restore the Union by force. Northern leaders faced similar demands. General Winfield Scott had devised a grand strategy called the Anaconda Plan to slowly envelop and strangle the South, but popular sentiment demanded an immediate strike to crush the rebellion.

The highly anticipated first clash, the first Battle of Bull Run, came in mid-July 1861. General Irwin McDowell led thirty thousand Union soldiers of the Army of the Potomac south toward the town of Manassas, Virginia, site of an important railroad junction and a small Confederate force there commanded by General P. G. T. Beauregard. Hundreds of curious and confident spectators from Washington, D.C., followed the army, many with picnic baskets in hand, hoping to catch some of the excitement.

Beauregard positioned his army above Manassas on the south side of a small stream named Bull Run. McDowell attacked and nearly drove the Confederates from the field. Beauregard, however, stabilized his troops, and with reinforcements staged a furious counterassault. Lines of exhausted and undisciplined Union soldiers soon disintegrated into a chaotic, humiliating retreat to Washington.

Victory boosted Confederate spirits and confirmed their belief that one Southerner could whip ten Yankees. For the North the stunning humiliation demolished the notion of a short and bloodless war. Within a week of the debacle, Lincoln authorized the enlistment of one million volunteers for three-year terms of service.

To rebuild the demoralized Army of the Potomac, Lincoln turned to General George B. McClellan. Dubbed the "Young Napoleon" by the press, McClellan was an impressive but supremely arrogant man who treated Lincoln with barely disguised contempt. But Lincoln tolerated these traits because he inspired professionalism among his troops and by the spring of 1862 transformed a mass of inexperienced volunteers into a well-trained army numbering some 150,000.

> "I seem to have become the power of the land. I almost think that were I to win some small success now I could become Dictator or anything else that might please me."
>
> GEN. GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN to his wife, 1861

As the Army of the Potomac regrouped, Union forces in the West gained two desperately needed victories. As indicated in the map (**13.7**), in February 1862 Union forces led by a virtual unknown named Ulysses S. Grant seized Fort Henry on the Tennessee River and, ten days later, nearby Fort Donelson.

The twin victories gave the Union control of vital communication and transportation routes on the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers and drove the Confederates out of Kentucky and most of Tennessee. They also created an early hero—Ulysses S. Grant—whose initials, the press suggested, stood for "Unconditional Surrender."

Grant continued south along the Tennessee River to seize control of additional railroad lines as part of the larger Union strategy of taking control of the

Why did the First Battle of Bull Run take place before either army was adequately prepared?

13.7 Major Battles in the West, 1862–1863
Grant's army and Farragut's naval force moved swiftly in 1862 to seize control of the Mississippi in order to cut the Confederacy in half.

Mississippi to divide the Confederacy and open the Deep South to invasion. While encamped near Shiloh Church, Tennessee, Confederates under Johnston and Beauregard surprised Grant on the morning of April 6, nearly destroying his army. But timely reinforcements allowed Grant to hold his position. He counterattacked the next day and drove the Confederates off in retreat. Grant's victory secured Union control of the Mississippi River south to Memphis, Tennessee (see **13.7**).

The Confederacy suffered another setback that same month when David G. Farragut's Union fleet of wooden and ironclad vessels forced their way past Confederate forts at the mouth of the Mississippi River and captured New Orleans. This loss deprived the Confederacy of its largest city and chief source of credit and closed the mouth of the Mississippi to Confederate shipping.

The Peninsular Campaign

Lincoln welcomed the successes in the West, but recognized that defeat of the Confederacy required victory over its armies in Northern Virginia. Accordingly, he pressed McClellan to begin an offensive early in the spring of 1862. Despite his gallant image, however, McClellan seemed unwilling to fight, claiming his troops were not yet sufficiently prepared. Only after weeks of goading did he agree to move.

The **Peninsular Campaign**, as his plan was known, reflected McClellan's flamboyant style. Rather than a traditional overland march on the Confederate capital, he designed a complex plan whereby four hundred ships deposited 120,000 soldiers on a long peninsula just east of Richmond at Fortress Monroe, between the James and York Rivers (**13.8**). To Lincoln's frustration it was three weeks before the soldiers were in place. Then McClellan delayed some more.

The Confederates exploited McClellan's delays by sending a force of seventeen thousand under General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson into the Shenandoah Valley. There between early May and early June he defeated several larger Union forces, raising fears that he would soon take Washington. Lincoln responded by withholding a large force that was scheduled to join McClellan.

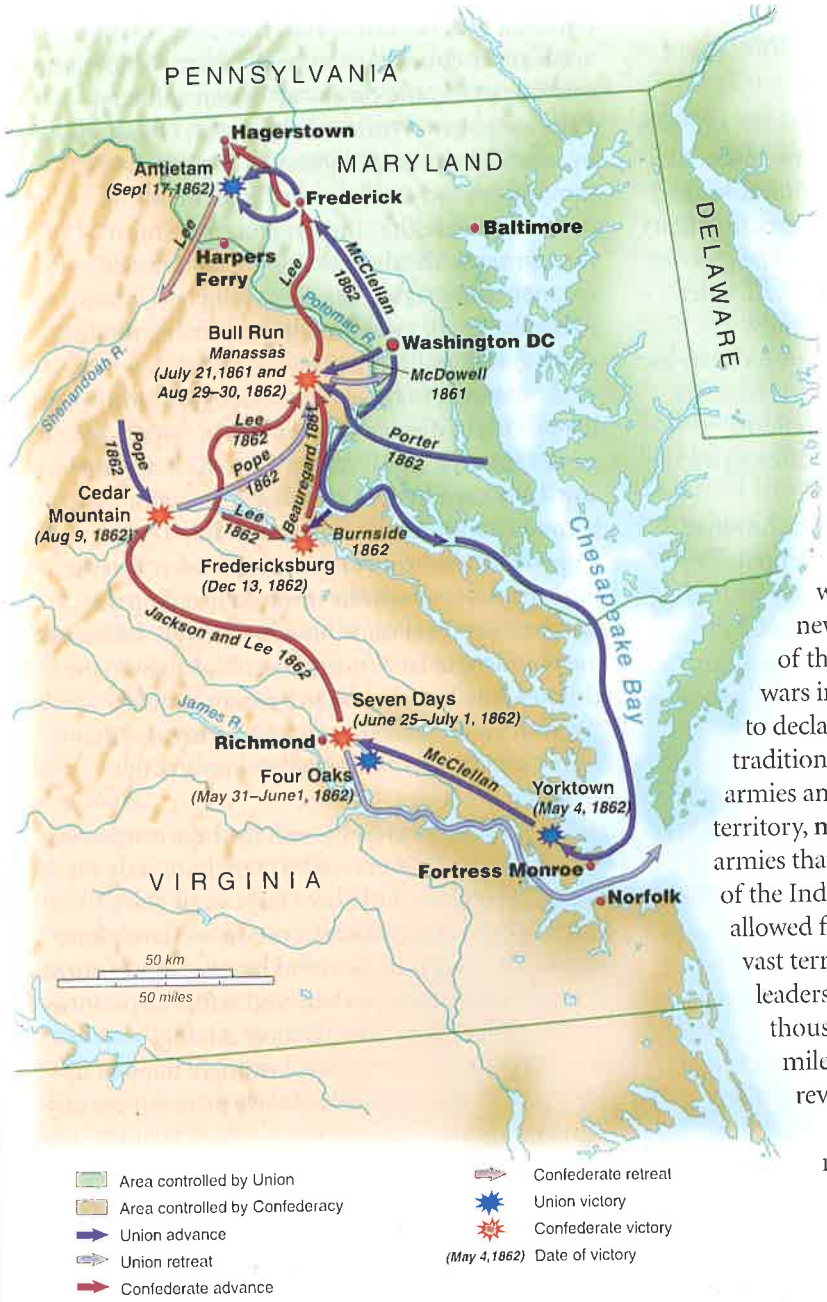
When McClellan finally began to inch his army of 110,000 toward Richmond in late May, he confronted Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston in the Battle of Fair Oaks on May 31–June 1, 1862. Although technically a Union victory (since Johnston failed to dislodge McClellan's army), the battle proved inconclusive. Yet it was a turning point in the war because Johnston, severely injured, was replaced by General Robert E. Lee.

Lee proved a brilliant commander and strategist who made the most of the Confederacy's limited resources to bedevil and often defeat much larger Union forces. Often this meant taking the offensive as in the Battle of Seven Days (June 25 through July 1, 1862). Lee attacked with 85,000 troops against McClellan's 110,000 and forced the Union commander to retreat to a secure location on the James River.

The carnage of the weeklong clash was staggering, but McClellan's losses were proportionately smaller than Lee's and his army lay just

Why did the Peninsular Campaign fail?

25 miles from Richmond. He refused, however, to move on Lee's weakened army, claiming inadequate intelligence, supplies, and men. Thoroughly frustrated, Lincoln ordered McClellan to abandon the Peninsular Campaign, remove his forces to northern Virginia, and unite with Pope's army for a traditional overland assault on Richmond. Lee prevented this deadly combination by defeating Pope in the Second Battle of Bull Run (August 29–30, 1862) before McClellan could join him. Lincoln removed Pope from command and, lacking any alternative, placed McClellan in charge of all Union forces in northern Virginia. Vainglorious and ineffective as he was, McClellan still commanded the loyalty of his soldiers.



13.8 Major Battles in the East, 1861–1862
McClellan devised an elaborate plan to land his army on the Virginia peninsula below Richmond. But his slowness in moving his army and hesitancy in attacking handed the initiative to the Confederates and led to defeat.

A New Kind of War

By this time Confederate and Union soldiers had grown accustomed to the rigors of army life. Most of the more than three million who served in the two armies were young men from small farms and towns. One of their first challenges was learning to accept the discipline and authority of military life. They likewise had to set aside their romantic visions of glory and get used to spending most of their time attending to routine duties, drilling, and enduring long periods of inactivity. Soldiers also suffered from bad food and from disease that raged in the camps and claimed three lives for every one lost due to actual combat.

Boredom, disease, and hardship, while difficult to endure, were not new to military life. But certain aspects of the Civil War set it apart from previous wars in ways that have led many historians to declare it the first modern war. While traditional warfare used relatively small armies and emphasized seizing and holding territory, **modern warfare** employed enormous armies that utilized the emerging technologies of the Industrial Revolution. The telegraph allowed for instant communication across vast territory between armies and civilian leaders. Railroads made it possible to shift thousands of reinforcements hundreds of miles in less than a day. Ironclad ships revolutionized naval strategy.

Yet what made this war truly modern was the level of carnage made possible by advances in weaponry. Artillery became more accurate and deadly, while both armies used improved rifled muskets capable of killing a man 400 to 500 yards away (versus 100 yards for traditional muskets).

Why is the Civil War considered the first modern war?

13.9 The Minie Ball
The conical-shaped minie ball (left) replaced round musket balls (right) and greatly increased the accuracy of rifle fire. Its widespread adoption during the Civil War contributed significantly to the high death toll in combat.

The key technological breakthrough for the rifle was the minie ball, invented in France in the 1840s. As these photographs (**13.9**) show, the conical-shaped minie ball (left) replaced round musket balls (right) and were the forerunners of the bullet. The grooves inside the rifle barrel caused the minie ball, when fired, to spiral much like a football, greatly increasing its accuracy. Other aspects of modern war included the emphasis on destroying the enemy's army rather than merely seizing and holding territory and a willingness to inflict suffering on the civilian population.

Military commanders on both sides, however, were slow to adjust to these changes. Schooled in traditional warfare at military academies such as West Point, most were reluctant to abandon the strategy of attacking entrenched enemy positions with massed infantry. When defenders of these positions trained their modern weaponry on charging soldiers, the results were horrific.

Toward Emancipation

The issue of slavery also shaped the Civil War. At the outset of the conflict, moderates like Lincoln insisted the goal of the war was the preservation of the Union, not the abolition of slavery. They realized that many Northerners not only opposed slavery, but also the idea of racial equality. They also feared that talk of emancipation would cause one or more Border States to secede and alienate pro-Union residents of the South who Lincoln hoped would someday overthrow Confederate rule and return their states to the Union. Abolitionists, however, argued that because the Southern states seceded in order to protect slavery, reunion could occur only after slavery was destroyed.

Not content to wait for official word of emancipation, enslaved African Americans took matters into their own hands by taking advantage of the chaos caused by the war and fleeing to Union Army lines. Only weeks after the war began, in May 1861 an angry Virginia slaveholder demanded the Union Army observe the terms of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act and return his three escaped slaves. General Benjamin Butler refused, declaring fugitive slaves **contraband of war**, or seized property. The Lincoln administration endorsed the contraband policy as a shrewd war tactic likely to cause havoc in the South. As this painting (**13.10**) illustrates, this assessment proved accurate as countless slaves left their white masters and flocked to the camps of Union soldiers. Painted just two years after the war, *On to Liberty*, by artist Theodore Kaufmann, depicts slaves moving toward the smoke of a battle in the distance, aware that the presence of Union forces meant the destruction of slavery. Self-emancipating slaves began arriving at Union Army camps in ever-growing numbers, totaling close to one million by the war's end.

In response to these events, Congress slowly began the process of dismantling slavery. In August 1861 it passed the First Confiscation Act, which declared free any slaves used in the Confederate war effort. A Second Confiscation Act passed in July 1862 empowered the army to seize and render "forever free" the slaves of anyone involved in aiding the Confederacy. That same month Congress authorized the president to let African Americans fight in the Union Army. These measures demonstrated a growing understanding among Northerners that winning the war would somehow involve the abolition of slavery.

The threat to slavery posed by these actions was not lost on Southerners, who feared not only the loss of their slaves but also a large-scale slave insurrection. Slave escapes, rumors of slave plots, and the increased tendency of many slaves to speak disdainfully to their masters and refuse to perform certain tasks led to rising anxiety among Southerners. Southerners accordingly stepped up slave patrols and scrutinized slave behavior for any sign of ill intent.

Lincoln gradually came to see emancipation not merely as inevitable but also as essential for Union victory, as it would "strike at the heart of the rebellion" and prevent British intervention. On July 22, 1862, he informed his entire cabinet of his intent to issue a decree of emancipation. But to avoid the appearance of acting in desperation, Lincoln waited for a Union victory before issuing this decree.

How did the actions of slaves push Lincoln toward emancipation?

It came two months later in mid-September at the Battle of Antietam, in Maryland. Lee, choosing to wage a bold offensive, led his army north into Maryland. McClellan, even after acquiring a copy of the Confederate battle plan, reacted slowly, allowing Lee to consolidate his troops. Finally, on September 17, 1862, McClellan attacked Lee's army and would likely have won a decisive victory but for the last-minute arrival of Confederate reinforcements. The next day, McClellan chose not to attack, despite superior numbers and the shattered condition of Lee's army. The following day Lee led his army back into Virginia, handing McClellan a technical victory. The battle, as discussed in *Images as History: Photography and the Visualization of Modern War* (page 386), claimed six thousand lives and left seventeen thousand wounded, making it the deadliest single day of the war.

Shortly after the victory at Antietam in September 1862, Lincoln issued his preliminary **Emancipation Proclamation**. Unless the seceded states and parts thereof that were not under Union Army control returned to the Union by January 1, 1863, the decree warned, their slaves "shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free." Even though the decree left slavery intact in the Border States and areas held by the Union Army, Lincoln knew conservatives, Northern Democrats, and Border State unionists would react negatively and that Republicans might suffer at the polls that November. Still, he reasoned, the benefits of emancipation far outweighed the risks as it would cause chaos by encouraging slaves to flee their masters and make it highly unlikely that England would intervene in the conflict.

Though some radicals and abolitionists expressed dismay over the fact that the proclamation freed slaves only in the seceded states, they recognized that Lincoln's simple, tersely worded statement of military policy had transformed the meaning of the conflict. If Northerners by late 1862 realized the war was no mere "insurrection," they also understood that its goal was something greater than simply a restored Union. It was now a war of subjugation. Reunion would occur only after the destruction of the fabric of Southern society.

Slaughter and Stalemate

Restoring the Union and abolishing slavery, of course, depended entirely upon victory on the field of battle. But the Army of the Potomac, now commanded by General Ambrose E. Burnside, suffered a devastating defeat at the Battle of Fredericksburg on December 13, 1862. Burnside tried one more offensive on January 22, 1863, a disastrous mid-winter effort that became mired in muddy, impassible roads. The failure of the "Mud March" led a despondent Lincoln to replace Burnside with General Joseph Hooker.

Not all the news from the Union battlefields in late 1862 was negative. On December 31 Union troops under General William S. Rosecrans turned back an attempt by Confederate General Braxton Bragg to regain western Tennessee and Kentucky in the Battle of Murfreesboro. Bragg's retreat on January 2, 1863, left the West firmly in the hands of the Union Army for the rest of the war.

Lee and his Army of Northern Virginia, however, continued to thwart the Union effort to take Richmond. In the Battle of Chancellorsville, April 30–May 6, 1863, despite commanding a force half the size of Union General Joseph Hooker, Lee scored a smashing victory. But it came at a high price: the man Lee had come to count on most, Stonewall Jackson, was killed, accidentally, by his own men.

13.10 Theodore Kaufmann's *On to Liberty* (1867) Widespread self-emancipation by slaves in the early years of the war eventually prompted the Lincoln administration to make emancipation official policy. [*Source:* Theodor Kaufmann (1814–1896), "On to Liberty," 1867, Oil on canvas, 36 × 56 in (91.4 × 142.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift of Erving and Joyce Wolf, 1982 (1982.443.3) Photograph © The Metropolitan Museum of Art./Art Resource, NY]

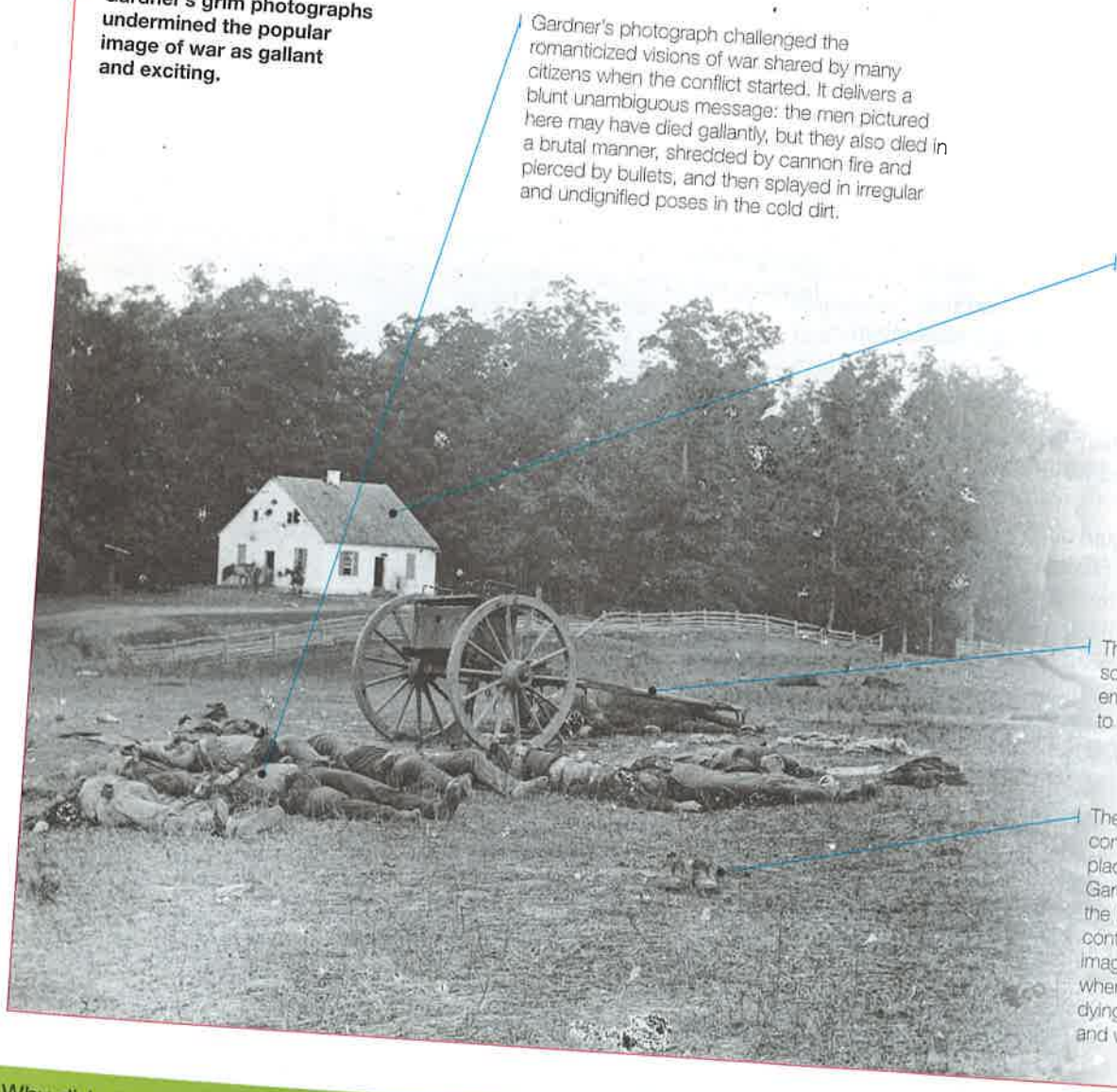
How did Lincoln expect the Emancipation Proclamation to benefit the Union War effort?

Images as History

PHOTOGRAPHY AND THE VISUALIZATION OF MODERN WAR

Not all technological innovations that shaped the Civil War were military in nature. Great advances in photography allowed Americans to see what traditionally had been left to the imagination or an artist's pen or brush: actual images of war's carnage and destruction. The first great demonstration of wartime photography came in September 1862 when America's leading studio photographer, Mathew Brady, sent two of his assistants to photograph the aftermath of the Battle of Antietam. Alexander Gardner and James F. Gibson took hundreds of photographs. Most like the one by Gardner shown here focused on the bleak landscape littered with fallen soldiers. Note the contrast with the popular Currier & Ives (right) illustration of the First Battle of Bull Run published one year earlier, when most Americans still believed that the war would be short, glorious, and victorious. How did Gardner's grim image compare to the romantic visions of war Northerners and Southerners expressed at the outset of the conflict? How do you imagine such images shaped the public's attitude toward this and future wars?

Gardner's grim photographs undermined the popular image of war as gallant and exciting.



Gardner's photograph challenged the romanticized visions of war shared by many citizens when the conflict started. It delivers a blunt unambiguous message: the men pictured here may have died gallantly, but they also died in a brutal manner, shredded by cannon fire and pierced by bullets, and then splayed in irregular and undignified poses in the cold dirt.

Including the Dunker church in the background added irony to the scene because the Dunkers were a religious sect that believed in pacifism.

The indignity of the dead soldiers' condition is emphasized by their proximity to the dead horse.

The chaos of battle is conveyed by the intentional placement (probably by Gardner) of a pair of shoes in the foreground. Note the contrast with the artist's imagined scene at Bull Run where even the dead and dying retain their equipment and weapons.

Why did photography have a more powerful impact on the public than artists' depictions of battles?

Currier & Ives's depiction of the Battle of Bull Run showed war as a glorious and seemingly bloodless event.

Unlike Gardner's brutal scene of death, the artist's depiction of war shows several Zouaves who have fallen, but their uniforms remain spotless, with no trace of blood.

Note how the caption's reference to the "Gallant charge" emphasizes the image of war as romantic and heroic. An uninformed viewer might be surprised to learn that many Zouaves died that day, and the Union lost the battle.

Brady put the grim collection of photographs on display in his New York gallery under the title "The Dead of Antietam." Tens of thousands paraded by the exhibit in astonishment. For generations people on the home front had relied upon writers and artists like the one employed by Currier & Ives to convey the scenes of conflict and carnage. Now photographers could capture such images in unprecedented detail and realism. "The dead of the battle-field come up to us very rarely, even in dreams," commented the *New York Times*. "We see the list in the morning paper at breakfast, but dismiss its recollection with the coffee ... Mr. Brady has done something to bring home to us the terrible reality and earnestness of war. If he has not brought the bodies and laid them in our door-yards and along streets, he has done something very like it."

How did photography change the way Americans saw war?

Behind the Lines

The war brought challenges and hardships to the Union and Confederate home fronts. Civilians faced shortages of goods, soaring inflation, and conscription. These conditions were more severe in the South where civilians in many areas also came under Union military rule. These problems, coupled with mounting death tolls, led to sagging morale and rising criticism of political leaders in both regions. Occasionally discontent exploded into violent riots. The demands of war placed an especially great demand on women, who assumed new occupational and civic roles.

Meeting the Demands of Modern War

While war raged in the East and West, Republicans took advantage of their dominant position in Congress to enact legislation that Southerners had long opposed. Most were policies designed to promote industrialization (a high tariff) and westward settlement (the Homestead and Pacific Railway Acts). Several laws, however, were part of an unprecedented effort to outfit and finance a modern army. The National Bank Acts of 1863 and 1864 established a national banking system whereby member banks could issue treasury notes, or "greenbacks," as currency.

The nation's first income tax, the sale of $400 million in bonds to the public, and the borrowing of $2.6 billion from banks helped pay for the war. The cost of the war increased the federal budget twenty-fold during the war, from $63 million in 1861 to $1.3 billion in 1865. All told, the war effort greatly expanded the size and scope of the federal government.

In contrast to the Union's ability to adopt policies necessary to sustain the war effort, Davis and other Confederate leaders soon discovered that there were limits to how far Southerners were willing to go in adapting to the demands of modern warfare. In response to the need for more soldiers and revenue for the war, the Confederate Congress established a military draft and an income tax in April 1862. Public officials across the Confederacy denounced the measures as gross violations of states' rights. Among the loudest protestors was Alexander Stephens, Davis's own vice president. In the coming years of warfare, Southerners evaded both the draft and income tax to such an extent that neither measure produced the needed men or money. Draft and tax evasion occurred on a large scale in the North, to be sure, but greater supplies of men and money there diminished the significance of their impact.

These limits were compounded by the leadership style of President Davis. Despite his extensive political and military experience, he proved an ineffective leader for a time of crisis. Unlike Lincoln, he selected a weak cabinet to prevent challenges to his authority and bristled when anyone raised the slightest disagreement. He also micromanaged the War Department, successively firing or driving to resignation five secretaries of war in four years. The Confederate Army's success in the war's first two years obscured Davis's leadership flaws, but as the Army's fortunes declined after 1862, the president's leadership style sparked political rancor and disunity.

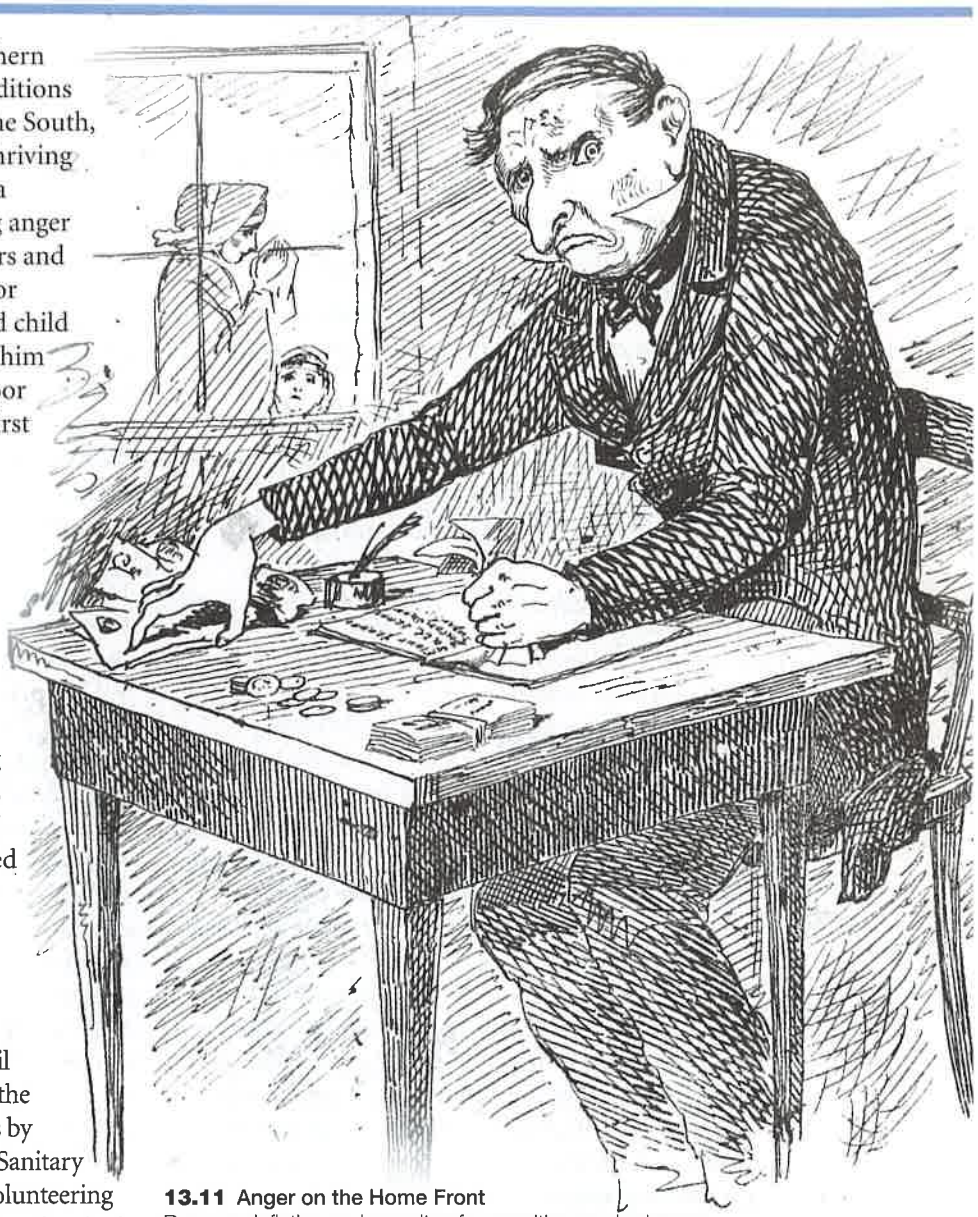
Hardships on the Home Front

The most apparent impact of the war on the lives of civilians in the North and South came in the form of many hardships. In the North the arms manufacturing, metalworking, boot making, and shipbuilding industries boomed, but the scarcity of cotton caused widespread layoffs and closures in the textile industry. Workers' wages rose by as much as 40 percent, but prices rose even faster as inflation averaged 15 percent annually. In response many workers formed and joined craft unions, but appeals to patriotism and the use of strikebreakers discouraged strikes.

Similar problems plagued the people of the South. The Southern economy was hard-hit by the cessation of trade with the Northern states and Europe due to the Union blockade. Southern industry and agriculture were hindered by both chronic labor shortages due to military service and the flight of slaves, as well as the destruction or seizure of farms and factories by advancing Union armies. As a result the production of goods and agricultural produce in the South decreased by 30

What steps did the Union take to provide funding for the war?

percent during the war. By contrast Northern output increased significantly. These conditions led to shortages of nearly everything in the South, including food, and the emergence of a thriving black market. The cartoon (**13.11**) from a Richmond newspaper captured the rising anger among Southerners directed at speculators and black marketers. A cold-hearted speculator counts his profits as a hungry mother and child look through his window. "Anathema on him who screws and hoards / who robs the poor of wheat, potatoes, and bread," read the first two lines of the accompanying poem.



13.11 Anger on the Home Front
Runaway inflation and scarcity of necessities sparked angry accusations that speculators were hoarding supplies and selling them at extortionate prices. Here a speculator counts his profits while a starving mother and child look on.

New Roles for Women

The war changed the lives of millions of women in both the North and South who remained behind the lines during the conflict. Because so many hundreds of thousands of men left to fight, women assumed new roles running farms and shops and working in factories and offices. Many did so out of a sense of duty to the war effort, while others worked to earn badly needed income, as military pay was low and inflation pushed up the cost of living.

The war also provided women with an opportunity to enter previously male-dominated professions such as teaching, civil service, and nursing. In the case of nursing, the shortage of men and the recruitment efforts by women like Dorothea Dix, head of the U.S. Sanitary Commission, led to thousands of women volunteering to serve as nurses in field hospitals. In so doing they had to overcome opposition from male doctors and others who disapproved of women working in such indelicate situations. Supporters countered by arguing that women brought to the profession nurturing and domestic skills. By 1900 nursing would be an almost exclusively female profession. As Clara Barton, Civil War nurse and future founder of the American Red Cross, put it, at the end of the war the American woman "was at least fifty years in advance of the normal position which continued peace would have assigned her." Many women also joined organizations that actively supported the Union cause, such as the Women's Central Association of Relief, whose seven thousand chapters across the North raised money and sent supplies to the soldiers in the field.

Southern women experienced similar changes during the war. They took on new responsibilities such as running farms and plantations, managing stores, working in government, and serving as nurses. Many worked in factories, including more than five hundred employed by the Confederate Ordnance Department to fill cartridges, dangerous work that killed dozens in explosions. Their jobs grew more demanding as the war demolished the Southern economy and sent food prices soaring. The Union Army's sweep across the South in late 1864 and early 1865 left Southern women and their children destitute and hungry.

Many Southern women also faced the challenge of maintaining the slave labor system, an increasingly

What new opportunities did the war open up for women?

difficult task as thousands of slaves fled to Union lines, leaving farms and plantations with inadequate labor. Many slaves who did not flee took advantage of the planter's absence and challenged the authority of women unaccustomed to the role of master. As one exasperated wife wrote to her husband, "The Negroes are all expecting to be set free very soon and it causes them to be very troublesome."

> "You have given your boys to die for their country, now you can give your girls to nurse them."
>
> MARY STENEBAUGH-BRADFORD, convincing her father to let her care for Union soldiers

Copperheads

One group that stood to benefit from the hard times in the North was the Democratic Party. Even though many Northerners associated it with secession and the Confederacy, it remained a viable political power in the North during the war. After all, it had received 44 percent of the popular vote there in the presidential election of 1860. Many Democrats supported the war against secession, but **Copperheads** (or "peace Democrats") argued in favor of a cease-fire, followed by a negotiated peace settlement even if it resulted in an independent Confederacy. A few Copperheads even expressed support for the Confederacy.

Lincoln viewed the opposition of Copperheads to the Union war effort as seditious, if not treasonous, behavior and he took steps early in his administration to squelch it. In the aftermath of the pro-Confederate rioting in Baltimore in 1861, he suspended habeas corpus, citing the section of the Constitution providing "the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it." In so doing, Lincoln established a principle he would follow for the rest of the war. In the name of saving the Union and the Constitution, he would not hesitate to suppress Constitutional guarantees of free speech and the right to a speedy trial. Over the next few years, scores of Copperheads were arrested and jailed for lengthy periods of time without trial. Copperheads initially attracted few followers, but dissatisfaction with the war rose in the winter of 1862–1863 in the wake of repeated Union Army failures and the enactment of the controversial Emancipation Proclamation and military draft. Led by former Ohio congressman Clement Vallandigham, Copperheads denounced Lincoln as a tyrant who abused his power and suppressed free speech by shutting down opposition newspapers and arresting hundreds of people who voiced hostility toward the Union war effort or sympathy for the Confederacy. Copperheads gained support among farmers in the West by claiming the new Republican tariff hurt them economically and among urban workers and immigrants by stoking racial fears of social chaos and job competition that would result from emancipation.

To counter rising Copperhead sentiment, pro-Union speakers, editors, and cartoonists vilified Copperheads as dangerous, disloyal men who threatened the Union. In February 1863, *Harper's Weekly* printed the cartoon shown in *Competing Visions: Civil Liberties in a Civil War*. The cartoonist shows the goddess Liberty, bearing a shield labeled "Constitution" and a drawn sword, being prevented from engaging in battle against the Confederacy by three peace Democrats depicted as copperhead snakes. As part of this effort to squelch Copperhead activism, the Lincoln administration stepped up arrests. On May 5, 1863 a local Union Army commander in Ohio arrested Vallandigham after he delivered a speech denouncing the war and the draft.

Conscription and Civil Unrest

Despite the Lincoln administration's crackdown on Copperhead dissent, opposition to the war among Northerners increased in 1863, especially among those expected to fight. The poor performance of the Union Army in the field, coupled with staggering numbers of killed and wounded, extinguished much of the early enthusiasm for war. Despite offers of cash bonuses and time off in exchange for reenlistment, Union Army soldiers were heading home as their enlistment terms expired and recruitment offices now went begging for new recruits.

To solve the manpower problem, in March 1863 Congress passed the **Conscription Act**, a law that declared all male citizens (and immigrants who had applied for citizenship) aged twenty to forty-five eligible for draft into the Union Army. Each state was assigned a quota of men to fill. If drafted a man had ways to avoid service. He could buy his way out by paying a "commutation fee" of $300 to the

What prompted the Lincoln administration to impose a draft in early 1862?

Competing Visions

CIVIL LIBERTIES IN A CIVIL WAR

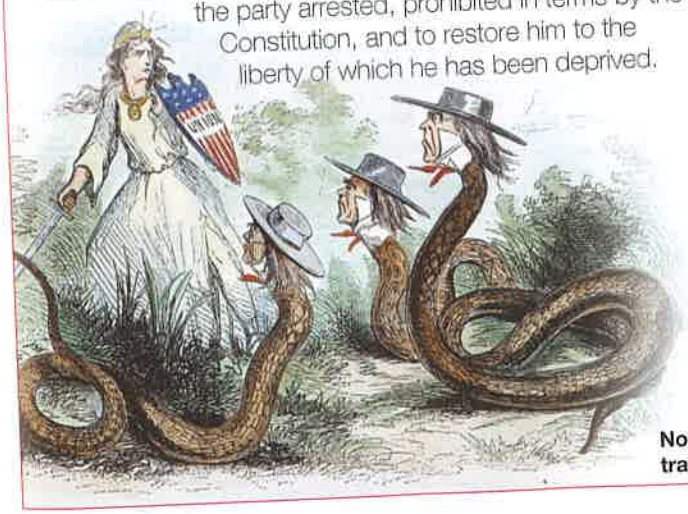
The following opinions present opposing views on the constitutionality of Lincoln's policy toward Copperheads. One is a series of resolutions adopted and sent to Lincoln by a group of Democrats. The other is Lincoln's formal response. As you read these excerpts, note what the parties define as the greatest threat to civil liberties and the Constitution. Were Lincoln's actions justified? Are principles such as civil liberties subject to different treatment during times of national crisis such as war?

On May 19, 1863, a meeting of Democrats, including former Congressman Erastus Corning, in Albany, New York, passed and delivered to Lincoln a series of resolutions accusing the administration of having acted unconstitutionally in placing military authority over civil authority.

... Resolved, ... we denounce the recent assumption of a military commander to seize and try a citizen of Ohio, Clement L. Vallandigham, for no other reason than words addressed to a public meeting, in criticism of the course of the administration, and in condemnation of the military orders of that general.

Resolved, That this assumption of power by a military tribunal, if successfully asserted, not only abrogates the right of the people to assemble and discuss the affairs of government, the liberty of speech and of the press, the right of trial by jury, the law of evidence, and the privilege of habeas corpus, but it strikes a fatal blow at the supremacy of law, and the authority of the State and federal constitutions.

Resolved, ... That, regarding the blow struck at a citizen of Ohio as aimed at the rights of every citizen of the north, we denounce it as against the spirit of our laws and Constitution, and most earnestly call upon the President of the United States to reverse the action of the military tribunal which has passed a "cruel and unusual punishment" upon the party arrested, prohibited in terms by the Constitution, and to restore him to the liberty of which he has been deprived.



Northern Unionists depicted Copperheads as traitors who threatened the Republic.

On June 12, 1863, Lincoln sent his reply in which he defended his actions as both constitutional and necessary for the preservation of the Union.

GENTLEMEN: ...Ours is a clear, flagrant, and gigantic case of rebellion; and the provision of the Constitution that "the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it," is the provision which specially applies to our present case. ...

... Mr. Vallandigham avows his hostility to the war on the part of the Union; and his arrest was made because he was laboring, with some effect, to prevent the raising of troops; to encourage desertions from the army; and to leave the rebellion without an adequate military force to suppress it. He was not arrested because he was damaging the political prospects of the administration, or the personal interests of the commanding general, but because he was damaging the army, upon the existence and vigor of which the life of the nation depends. He was warring upon the military, and this gave the military constitutional jurisdiction to lay hands upon him.

Long experience has shown that armies cannot be maintained unless desertion shall be punished by the severe penalty of death. ... Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of a wily agitator who induces him to desert? ... I think that in such a case, to silence the agitator and save the boy is not only constitutional, but withal a great mercy.

I ... [am un]able to appreciate the danger apprehended by the meeting [in Albany] that the American people will, by means of military arrests during the rebellion, lose the right of public discussion, the liberty of speech and the press, the law of evidence, trial by jury, and habeas corpus, throughout the indefinite peaceful future, ... any more than I am able to believe that a man could contract so strong an appetite for emetics during temporary illness as to persist in feeding upon them during the remainder of his healthful life.

How did Lincoln justify the suspension of habeas corpus?

government or hiring a substitute to serve in his place. Those who lacked such substantial sums of money ($300 was equivalent to a year's pay for a common laborer) could simply disappear—something that more than 20 percent of draftees did.

The first draft held in July touched off widespread protest. Disturbances broke out in Boston; Troy, New York; Wooster, Ohio; Portsmouth, New Hampshire; and other cities. Opposition to the draft was greatest in New York City, where on July 13, 1863, the city erupted in four days of unprecedented violence known as the **Draft Riots**. Mobs of mostly poor, immigrant, and working-class rioters attacked draft offices, Union Army recruiting stations, institutions associated with the Republican Party or abolition, and symbols of wealth and privilege, reflecting animosity toward the inequity of the draft law that allowed the rich to pay a $300 fee to avoid the draft. Rioters also focused their fury against African Americans. As the image (**13.12**) illustrates, they lynched at least eighteen. Rioters blamed blacks as the cause of the war and feared them as potential labor competition.

The riots raged for four days, resulting in at least 119 deaths and $5 million in property damage. In the weeks and months that followed, New York officials defused opposition to the draft by raising money to pay the $300 commutation fee or hire substitutes for draftees not willing to join the Army and allowing easy exemptions for reasons of health or family considerations.

Discontent and unrest also rocked the Confederate home front. In October 1862 the Confederate Congress passed what came to be known as the "Twenty Negro Law." It exempted from the draft one white man per plantation that held twenty or more slaves. Supporters argued that it was a measure vital to maintaining order and productivity on plantations, but to poor white Southerners it engendered similar levels of anger and protest as the commutation provisions in the North. Many cited the law as the reason why they deserted from the Confederate Army.

Another source of discontent was the shortage of food brought about by drought, the blockade, and Union conquest of Southern territory. When shortages and high prices reached critical proportions in 1863, Southern women led food riots in several towns and cities, including most dramatically in the Confederate capital Richmond. "Bread! Bread!" they cried, "Our children are starving while the rich roll in wealth!" The reference to the rich reflected the widespread belief that Confederate leaders and merchants were profiting from the war.

13.12 Opposition to the Draft Turns Violent Poor New Yorkers rioted against the draft in July 1863, venting their anger on army recruiting stations and against African Americans, whom they blamed for the war.

Why did residents of New York riot against the draft?

Toward Union Victory

Despite many setbacks in the early years of the war, by mid-1863 the North's superior industrial strength, large population, and improved military leadership gave the Union the advantage. So, too, did the decision to allow African Americans to serve in the army, for they provided the Union with badly needed manpower at a time of declining enlistments. Military success at Gettysburg, Vicksburg, and Atlanta boosted morale in the North and led to Lincoln's reelection in 1864. Relentless military offensives by General Ulysses S. Grant in Virginia and General William T. Sherman in Georgia led to the Confederate surrender in April 1865. The assassination of President Lincoln, however, quickly dampened the North's joy.

Turning Point: 1863

While the scenes of destruction and antiwar sentiment in New York City shocked Lincoln, events elsewhere in 1863 gave him cause for hope. Back in May, Lee had convinced Davis to approve another invasion of the North. It was risky, but they believed it might cause such alarm in the North as to force Lincoln to pull troops out of the western theater where Grant was threatening to seize the entire lower Mississippi. Even better, a victory on Northern soil would demoralize the Lincoln administration and strengthen the hand of Copperheads and Peace Democrats who were calling for a negotiated settlement. It might even convince France or England to intervene.

In the first week of June, Lee headed north through Virginia's Shenandoah Valley into Maryland and continued north into Pennsylvania. Although slow to react, the Army of the Potomac, now under General George G. Meade, eventually caught up with Lee in central Pennsylvania. On July 1 the two armies collided at Gettysburg, a small town at the junction of several major roads. Although outnumbered ninety thousand to seventy-five thousand, the Confederates made significant advances that day. The following day the battle's momentum swung back and forth all day before Union forces pushed the Confederates back to the previous day's position. On the third and decisive day, Lee recklessly ordered an all-out assault on the heavily fortified Union center. "Pickett's Charge," as it became known, proved gallant, but suicidal. Union forces devastated General George Pickett's twelve thousand men as they tried to cross a mile of open field and ascend Cemetery Ridge. "Picket's division just seemed to melt away," recalled one witness. "Nothing but stragglers came back." With 23,000 Union and 28,000 Confederate soldiers killed and wounded, Gettysburg was by far the bloodiest battle of the war.

The next day, July 4, having lost one-third of his men, Lee removed his tattered army back toward Virginia. Although Lincoln expressed frustration that Meade failed to pursue, he nonetheless recognized that the Union had just won a major victory. Never again would the Confederate Army threaten the North.

That same day Lincoln received news of a vital victory in the West. In May Grant had begun a siege of the town of Vicksburg, the Confederacy's last stronghold on the Mississippi River. It fell on July 4, severing the Confederacy in two and giving the Union complete control over the Mississippi River.

African Americans Under Arms

Despite the twin victories of early July 1863, the Union Army was a long way from ultimate victory. It still faced the big challenge of finding new recruits. Thousands of free African American men already toiled in the service of the Union Army, performing support tasks such as moving supplies and building fortifications. Declining enlistments of whites, however, and steady lobbying by black leaders eventually convinced Union officials to form African American regiments.

One of the first and the most famous of all the African American regiments was the 54th Massachusetts, organized in the spring of 1863 by leading black abolitionists. "I urge you to fly to arms and smite with death the power that would bury the government and your liberty in the same hopeless grave," read a recruitment pamphlet written by another organizer, Frederick Douglass. Among the

Why did Lee decide to invade the North a second time?

13.13 Held Back by Racism
Believing African Americans lacked the courage to fight under fire, Union commanders initially relegated them to noncombat roles. Eventually, however, blacks fought in 449 battles, including the Battle of Milliken's Bend on June 7, 1863 (center).

regiment's members were two of Douglass's sons, Lewis and Charles, and the grandson of Sojourner Truth, James Caldwell. Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, son of a leading white Massachusetts abolitionist family, commanded the regiment.

African American soldiers experienced many forms of racism within the Union Army. They served in strictly segregated units under white officers and, as this drawing (**13.13**) indicates, initially served in noncombat duty as guards and laborers. Many also charged that they received substandard medical care in comparison with whi soldiers. Most galling, as seen in *Choices and Consequences: Equal Peril, Unequal Pay* (page 396), was that African American soldiers received considerably lower pay than white soldiers.

African American soldiers also faced the prospec of brutal treatment at the hands of Confederate soldiers if captured. The Davis administration announced that African American soldiers taken prisoner would be subject to execution as rebellious slaves. Lincoln's threat of retaliation prevented the Confederacy from carrying out this policy on a wide scale, but acts of murder, torture, and mutilation against African Americans did occur. In the most egregious incident (**13.14**), the Fort Pillow Massacre in Tennessee, Confederate troops murdered dozens of captured black soldiers at Fort Pillow in April 1864. This image, which ran in a popular Northern magazine, was one of many that depicted Confederates as brutal and inhumane. Seeking to influence public opinion, Southern publications ran similar images that alleged Northern atrocities.

> "We ... have dyed the ground with blood, in defense of the Union, and Democracy. ... We have done a Soldier's Duty. Why can't we have a Soldier's pay?"
>
> Letter of CORPORAL JAMES HENRY GOODING of 54th Massachusetts to President Lincoln, September 1863

How were African American soldiers treated in the Union Army?

The creation of all-black units in the Union Army raised another critical issue beyond the question of equality of pay or the assignment of white officers to lead. Would these units be sent into actual combat? Racist notions held by whites led them to question whether African Americans possessed the necessary courage to fight. Others cautioned that if black regiments were not used judiciously, critics would charge the army with using them for cannon fodder.

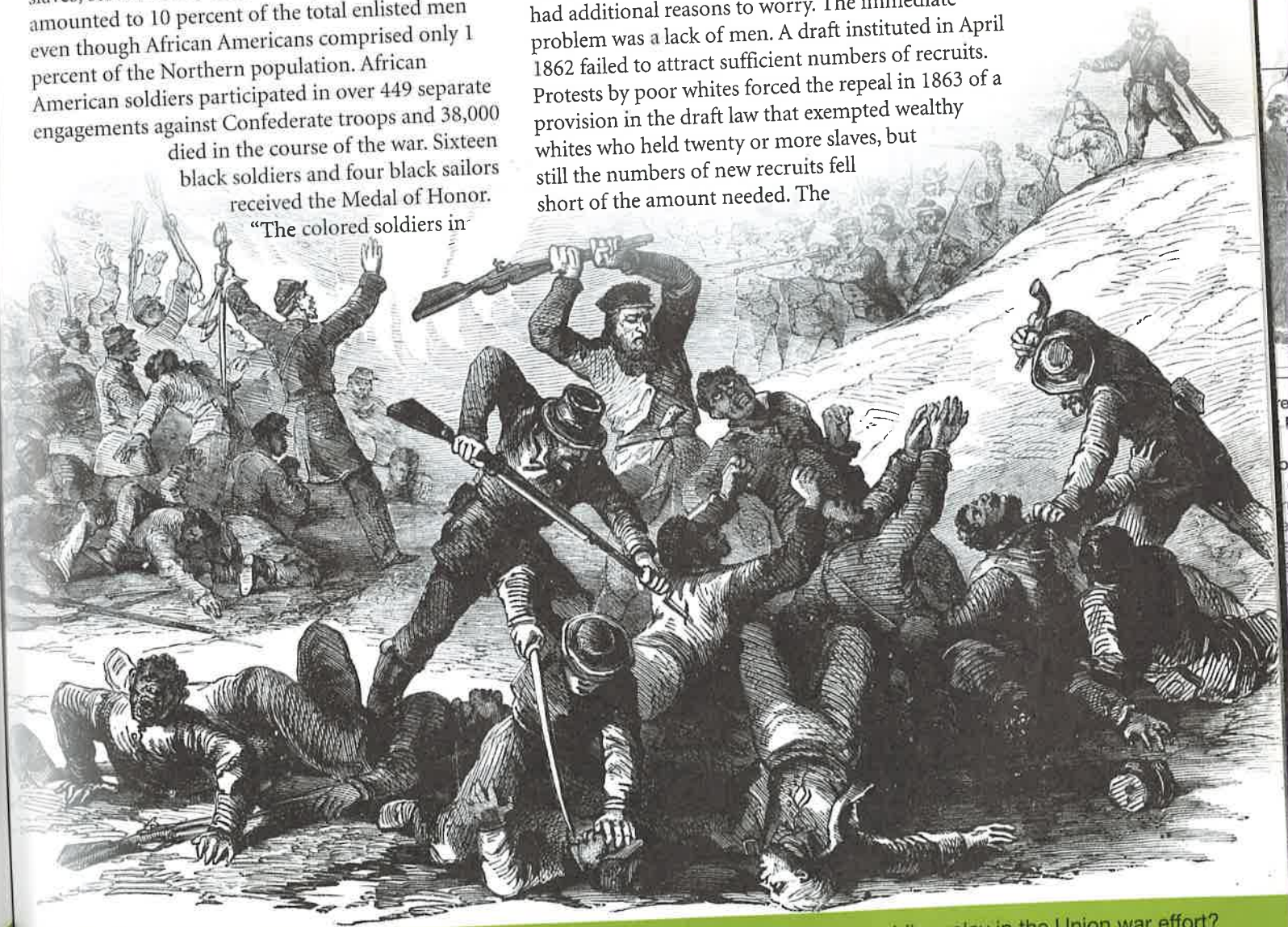
The first well-publicized test of African American soldiers came on July 18, 1863, when the 54th Massachusetts led a nighttime assault on Fort Wagner, a key Confederate outpost that guarded Charleston harbor. The Confederates repulsed their attack. But the courage exhibited by the soldiers under fire—the unit lost 100 dead and 146 wounded—won them universal praise and did much to undermine the racist belief that blacks would not stand and fight.

All told 180,000 blacks, including 144,000 former slaves, served in the Union Army. This number amounted to 10 percent of the total enlisted men even though African Americans comprised only 1 percent of the Northern population. African American soldiers participated in over 449 separate engagements against Confederate troops and 38,000 died in the course of the war. Sixteen black soldiers and four black sailors received the Medal of Honor. "The colored soldiers in this four years' struggle," wrote one African American soldier, "have proven themselves in every respect to be men." Their contribution to the Union war effort proved vital.

Most significant, African American service in the war empowered them to make a claim on full citizenship rights after the war. "Once let the black man get upon his person the brass letters, U.S., let him get an eagle on his button and a musket on his shoulder and bullets in his pocket," said Frederick Douglass, "there is no power on earth that can deny that he has earned the right to citizenship."

The Confederacy Begins to Crumble

News of the losses in the East and West caused dismay across the South. Beyond the setbacks in the field, however, Davis and the Confederate leadership had additional reasons to worry. The immediate problem was a lack of men. A draft instituted in April 1862 failed to attract sufficient numbers of recruits. Protests by poor whites forced the repeal in 1863 of a provision in the draft law that exempted wealthy whites who held twenty or more slaves, but still the numbers of new recruits fell short of the amount needed. The



13.14 The Massacre at Fort Pillow In April 1864 Confederate soldiers overran Union troops at Fort Pillow in Tennessee and slaughtered dozens of captured African American soldiers.

What role did African American soldiers play in the Union war effort?

Choices and Consequences

EQUAL PERIL, UNEQUAL PAY

In the early stages of enlisting African American soldiers, the War Department planned to pay them the same $13 per month (plus $3.50 for clothes) as white soldiers. Indeed, as the early recruitment poster below shows, many early black recruits received equal pay. But in June 1863 the Lincoln administration, fearing a backlash among white soldiers who did not see African Americans as their equals, adopted a two-tier wage scale that paid black soldiers just $7 per month (plus $3 for clothes). Outraged, African American officers and enlisted men of the 54th and 55th Massachusetts (Colored) Infantry pondered their options.

Choices

1. Quietly accept the lower wages as a regrettable but unavoidable trade-off that allowed them to enlist in the Union Army and fight to end slavery.
2. Accept the unequal wages as better than nothing and necessary to maintain their families, while openly protesting the injustice and lobbying for equal pay.
3. Reject the lower wages on principle, despite the financial hardship on their families, while fulfilling their duties as soldiers, openly protesting the injustice, and lobbying for equal pay.
4. Lay down their arms and refuse to obey orders until they receive equal pay.

Decision

The men of the 54th and 55th Massachusetts (Colored) Infantry chose the third option, rejecting the lower wages on principle, despite the financial hardship on their families. They even rejected an offer by the governor of Massachusetts to pay the six dollars per month difference out of the state treasury, citing the principle of equality that was at stake. Meanwhile they fulfilled their duties as soldiers, openly protested the injustice, and lobbied the Lincoln administration for equal pay.

Consequences

The soldiers and their families hung on for more than a year until Congress in June 1864 authorized an equal pay scale for all soldiers regardless of race. By then, given the well-documented professionalism and courage exhibited by black soldiers on the battlefield, the distinction in pay had become an embarrassment to Lincoln's administration. Not all black regiments, however, made the same decision as the Massachusetts 54th and 55th, and the consequences of their actions were starkly different. Sergeant William Walker of the 21st U.S. Colored Infantry had his men lay down their arms in protest over unequal pay. He was convicted of mutiny and executed.

Continuing Controversies

How were African Americans in the military treated after the Civil War?

The U.S. army eradicated the two-tier pay scale, but not racial segregation. African American leaders protested segregation, but for all subsequent wars through World War II, black soldiers and sailors served in segregated units under mostly white officers. President Harry Truman ordered the military desegregated in 1948.

Why did Lincoln initially agree to pay African American soldiers less than white soldiers?

continued loss of Southern territory to the Union Army only exacerbated this trend. So too did a sharp rise in desertions, which topped a hundred thousand by late 1864.

By mid-1863 the inherent weaknesses of the Confederate economy began to show. The Union blockade of the Southern coastline, which had stopped only one in eight Confederate ships in 1862, grew increasingly effective. By 1864 it stopped one out of every three Confederate blockade-runners and half of them by 1865. Increasingly, Confederate blockade-runners were forced to ply ever riskier waters, leading to wrecks such as this one (**13.15**) off the coast of South Carolina. The impact on the import-dependent Southern economy was devastating. Civilians and soldiers alike suffered shortages of food, clothing, and equipment.

The growing success of the Union blockade also exposed a critical miscalculation made by the Davis administration in 1861. The embargo on cotton exports failed because England possessed a surplus of cotton in 1861 and later found alternative sources of cotton in Egypt and India. Moreover English workers, including an estimated 500,000 thrown out of work due to cotton shortages, expressed strong sympathy for the Union and thereby made British intervention on behalf of the Confederacy politically impossible. When the South finally lifted the embargo in 1862, the Union blockade was stronger and the price of cotton had fallen.

The Emancipation Proclamation also shook Southern society, as Lincoln had hoped it would. Inspired by word that freedom was at hand, thousands of slaves left their places of bondage and headed for the Union Army or to the Northern states, exacerbating the Confederacy's labor shortage and further weakening Southern agriculture.

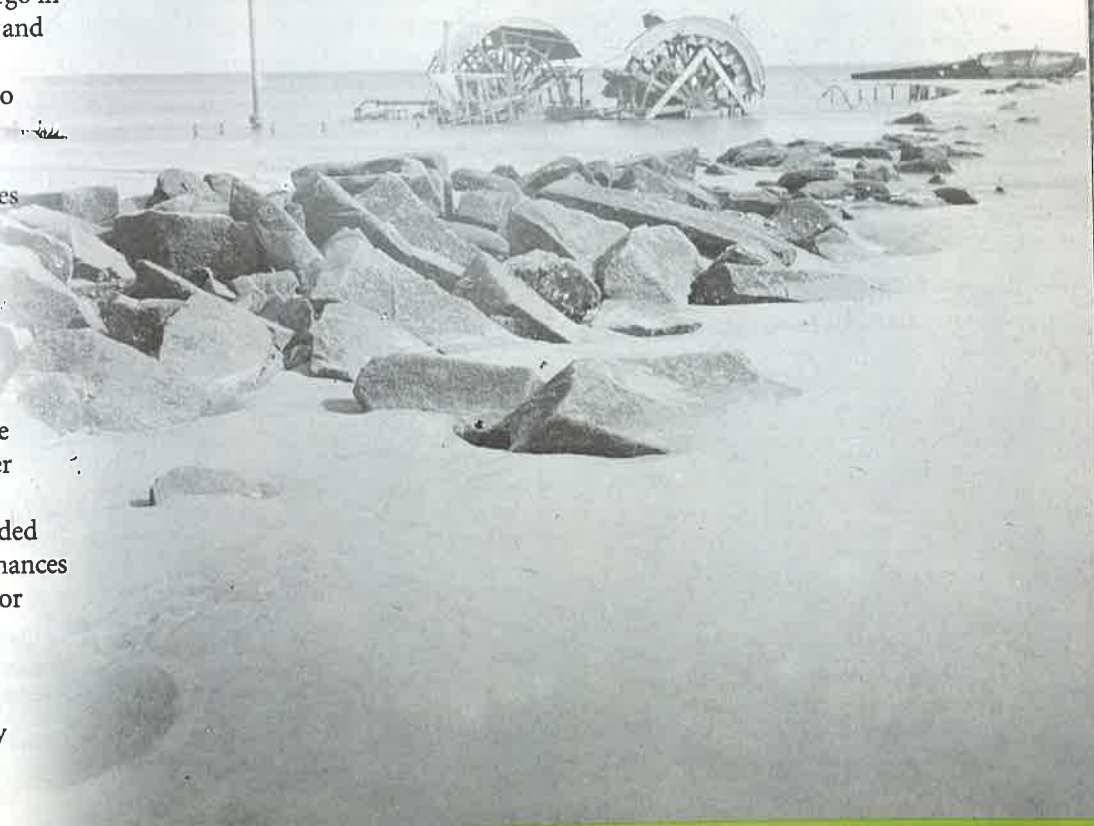
Despite these hardships, the Confederacy remained undefeated. The Confederacy would not likely surrender solely due to hunger, exhaustion, and inflation. Indeed the longer they defended their independence, the greater their chances of success. Even as the Union won major victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg, discontent and war weariness among Northerners grew. If Lincoln was to preserve the Union, he needed military victories—and soon.

> "The state of despondency that now prevails among our people is producing a bad effect upon the troops. Desertions are becoming very frequent."
>
> ROBERT E. LEE, February 24, 1865

Victory in Battle and at the Polls

The key to winning the war, Lincoln realized, was effective military leadership. After suffering many disappointments and near disasters with a succession of poor generals, Lincoln finally found his man in Ulysses S. Grant who at the end of 1863 delivered yet another badly needed victory for the Union at the Battle of Chattanooga.

On November 23 Grant and the general he increasingly counted on, William T. Sherman, drove General Braxton Bragg's army from Tennessee into Georgia, putting most of eastern Tennessee and the vital Tennessee River under Union control. Already cut in two after the fall of Vicksburg, the Confederates now faced the prospect of



13.15 The Blockade Tightens Ineffective at first, the Union blockade of the Confederate coast eventually grew strong enough to force blockade runners to take risky routes that often ended in disasters like this one off Sullivan's Island in South Carolina in 1865.

What impact did the Union blockade have on the Confederate war effort?

being sliced into thirds. Their main hope was that growing Northerner dissatisfaction with the war might lead to Lincoln's defeat in the election of 1864, or at least force him to accept peace negotiations.

In early 1864 Lincoln named Grant commander of all the Union armies. He did so over the objections of many in the War Department, who argued that the rough-hewn soldier who had left the Army in disgrace in 1854 for heavy drinking was an alcoholic who could not be entrusted with a major assignment. But Lincoln had seen enough of generals with impressive résumés and martial airs. He saw in Grant a commander who understood the key to victory in modern warfare—seek out and destroy the enemy's army.

Grant pursued this policy with single-minded determination. In his Virginia Campaign of 1864, he planned a two-pronged attack to finish off the Confederacy. As shown in the map (**13.16**), he would send the Army of the Potomac, now swollen to nearly 120,000, south to destroy Lee's army of 66,000 and take Richmond. General William T. Sherman, a man who shared Grant's understanding of modern warfare, would take an army of 90,000 from Tennessee and push east to destroy General Joseph E. Johnston's force of 60,000 and seize Atlanta (**13.17**).

The first clash of this campaign, the Battle of the Wilderness, began with Lee attacking Grant on May 5. Over the next two days, aided by the rough, wooded terrain and sluggish Union leadership, the Confederates successfully survived the clash with Grant's vastly superior numbers. The inconclusive battle left eighteen thousand federals and ten thousand Confederates killed, wounded or missing. Normally after so great an engagement Union commanders pulled back and spent weeks, if not months, repairing their armies. But Grant was not like his predecessors. The next day he ordered his army to move against Lee. Possessing total confidence in his overall strategy, he also knew that, unlike Lee, he could replace his fallen soldiers. On May 8 the two armies clashed again, ten miles closer to Richmond in the Battle of Spotsylvania Court House, an epic

13.16 The Final Battles in Virginia Campaign, 1864–1865
Grant's strategy for defeating Lee was to combine superior strength and a relentless offensive. It resulted in extremely high casualties, but eventually cornered Lee at Petersburg. Lee surrendered at nearby Appomattox Courthouse on April 9, 1865.

13.17 Sherman's March to the Sea, 1864–1865
Sherman dealt a decisive blow to the Confederate cause by waging a scorched-earth campaign across Georgia, destroying vital supplies and weakening Southern morale.

What distinguished Grant's approach to war from his predecessors'?

struggle that played out for days and left another thirty thousand casualties between the two armies.

Still Grant remained resolute, driving the Union Army southward, trying to draw Lee out for a final, decisive battle. Lee kept his army between Grant and Richmond, playing for time and avoiding total defeat. On June 3 at Cold Harbor, Grant again ordered a massive assault against Lee's smaller but heavily entrenched force. The result was the greatest loss of life since Fredericksburg. Many Northerners, appalled at the fifty-five thousand Union casualties (to thirty thousand Confederate) in a single month, questioned Grant's competence; others simply called him a butcher. Peace Democrats renewed their calls for an end to the conflict.

Grant quickly changed his strategy. He moved his army south past Richmond to seize the vital railroad junction at Petersburg and cut Richmond off from the rest of the Confederacy. But Lee kept his exhausted army on the move and managed to dig in around Petersburg just before Grant arrived. By now Grant recognized the futility of staging frontal assaults against entrenched troops and settled down for a prolonged siege. It was not the aggressive form of warfare he preferred, but the fall of Petersburg and Richmond seemed only a matter of time.

Rising popular dissatisfaction with the seemingly endless bloodshed in the summer of 1864, however, imperiled Lincoln's chances for reelection (his counterpart, Davis, was serving a six-year term). Democrats tried to capitalize on the dour mood by nominating former Union General George B. McClellan for president and issuing a platform calling for a cease-fire and peace conference. They also hoped McClellan's outspoken criticism of Lincoln's emancipation policy would draw votes from racist Northerners.

The Republican Party recognized its vulnerability (it lost many seats in the 1862 congressional elections) and took several steps to broaden its appeal heading into the 1864 election. First, Republicans adopted the name Union Party, a symbolic gesture intended to draw support from pro-war Democrats. Second, they replaced Lincoln's vice president with Senator Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, a pro-Union Democrat and the only Southern senator not to resign during the secession winter of 1861. Finally, as this campaign broadside (**13.18**) illustrates, Lincoln's campaign argued that a vote for McClellan was a vote for slavery and military defeat. While Lincoln shakes hands with an artisan (representing the "free labor" North), McClellan shakes hands with Jefferson Davis who stands beneath the flag of an independent Confederate nation. Behind Lincoln white and black children enjoy the benefits of freedom and education, while the background scene to McClellan shows a slave auction. As late as August 1864, however, Lincoln and many of his supporters fully expected him to lose.

In early September 1864, however, Lincoln received welcome news that Grant's counterpart in the West, Sherman, had captured Atlanta on September 2. This crushing blow all but doomed the Confederacy to collapse. It also boosted morale across the North and weakened the peace strategy of the Democrats. Two months later Lincoln soundly defeated McClellan, winning every state except for Kentucky, New Jersey, and Delaware to garner 55 percent of the popular vote. Still his margin of victory—just 10 percent—demonstrated just how essential military success was to political victory.

War Is Hell

Six weeks after Lincoln won reelection, Sherman began to march his army across the state of Georgia (see 13.16b) to deprive the Confederate Army of badly needed supplies and to demoralize the Southern people. Simultaneously, he sent a force under General George H. Thomas that all but destroyed the Confederate army under General John B. Hood at the Battle of Nashville (December 15–16, 1864). One week later, Sherman's army captured Savannah.

Known as **Sherman's March to the Sea**, the "scorched earth" campaign traversed 285 miles

13.18 Lincoln Promises Victory and Union Lincoln's 1864 presidential campaign suggested that while he stood for liberty, his opponent, Democrat George B. McClellan, would make peace with the Confederates and preserve slavery.

What steps did the Republican Party take to improve Lincoln's chances for victory in 1864?

across Georgia. Sherman's soldiers lived off the land, taking what agricultural produce and livestock they could use and destroying the rest. They also destroyed Southern infrastructure, tearing up railroad tracks, burning bridges, and pulling down telegraph wires to impair the Confederacy's ability to move goods, soldiers, and information. Sherman's army caused additional damage to the Southern economy by enticing thousands of slaves to leave their masters and flock to its camps. By the time they reached the coast, Sherman's men left a 60-mile-wide swath of destruction that cost the Confederate army a major source of supplies. More important, the campaign demonstrated the effectiveness of a tactic that would become central to modern warfare in the twentieth century: bringing the conflict to the civilian population to undermine its willingness to continue supporting the war. "We are not only fighting hostile armies," Sherman told his men, "but a hostile people, and we must make old and young, rich and poor, feel the hand of war, as well as their organized armies."

> "If slaves make good soldiers our whole theory of slavery is wrong."
> CONFEDERATE MAJOR GENERAL HOWELL COBB, Georgia

Sherman compounded the horror felt by the citizens of Georgia with his policy toward the state's freed slaves. After a January meeting with Secretary of War Edwin Stanton and twenty African American ministers to discuss the fate of the freed slaves, Sherman issued **Special Field Order No. 15**. This directive set aside more than 400,000 acres of seized Confederate land for distribution to former slaves in 40-acre plots. Congress soon followed with the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished slavery everywhere in the United States (it would be ratified eleven months later).

With Georgia now in ashes, the stage was set for the final phase of Grant's plan—the crushing of Lee's army between his and Sherman's forces. On February 1 Sherman left Savannah and headed north into the heart of South Carolina. He faced almost no opposition, a sign Southern resistance had begun to disintegrate. As this photograph (**13.19**) indicates, fire destroyed more than half of Columbia, the state capital of South Carolina. Evacuating Confederates and liberated slaves set some of the fires, but some were also started by Union soldiers motivated by vengeance against the state that for decades leading up to the war represented Southern nationalism and ultimately, secession. Sherman's men kept moving northward into North Carolina where the meager opposition provided by General Joseph E. Johnston's force slowed him only slightly.

As the situation grew critical for the Confederacy, its leaders tried several desperate measures. Among them were secret peace negotiations held in February 1865 at Hampton Roads, Virginia, which failed: Union representatives insisted on unconditional surrender (with gradual and compensated emancipation), while their Southern counterparts demanded recognition of Confederate independence. Confederate officials also began drafting soldiers as young as 17 and as old as 50. The depth of Confederate desperation was revealed in March 1865 when the Confederate Congress authorized a draft of up to 300,000 slaves to serve as soldiers (two regiments raised in Richmond never saw combat).

13.19 Total War and Vengeance Fires set by retreating Confederates, freed slaves, and undisciplined members of Sherman's army left half of Columbia, South Carolina, in ruins.

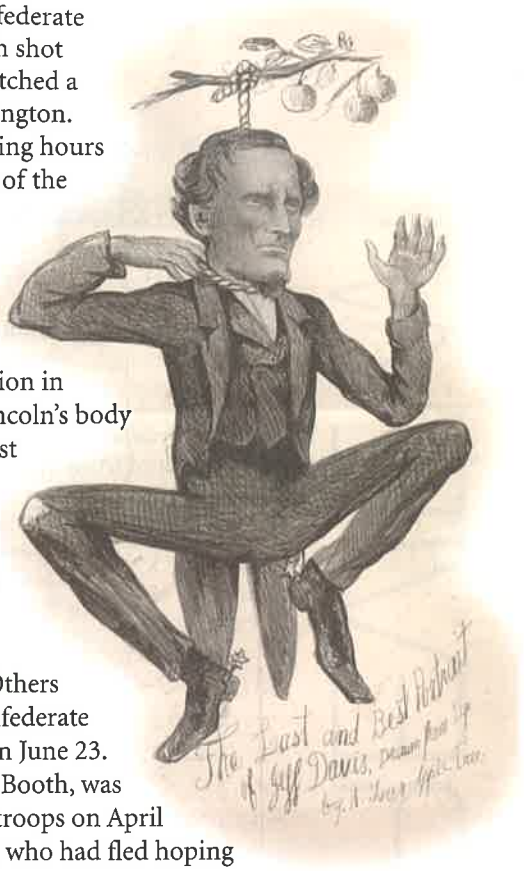
Why did Sherman deem it necessary to destroy so much property in Georgia?

By now Grant's nearly nine-month-long siege of Lee's army at Petersburg began to take its toll. Cut off from supplies, Lee's men were starving. Thousands had deserted. On April 1 in the Battle of Five Forks, General Philip Sheridan's cavalry and a large force of infantry attacked Lee's right flank and cut off the only remaining railroad line into Petersburg. When Grant attacked all along the Confederate line the next day, he forced Lee to retreat from both Richmond and Petersburg. Lee's remaining hope was to slip his ragged army west and south to join forces with Johnston in North Carolina. To prevent this Grant dispatched Sheridan's cavalry, which headed them off at a small town named Appomattox Courthouse, Virginia. On April 8 Lee made one last attempt to break out, but failed. "There is nothing left for me to do," Lee sadly informed his officers, "and I would rather die a thousand deaths." The next day, April 9, 1865, Lee surrendered.

Lincoln had set a tone of reconciliation in his second inaugural address a month earlier. Accordingly, Grant gave generous terms. The thirty thousand men in Lee's army were permitted to go home, providing they swore never again to take up arms against the federal government. Grant also ordered they be given three days' rations of food and stopped his men from firing their weapons in victory celebration. Over the next few weeks, the remaining armies of the Confederacy would surrender, bringing the Civil War to a close.

Celebrations broke out all across the North as people, weary of four years of war, reveled in both the victory and the peace. The exultation quickly changed to despair. On the night of April 14, just five days after Lee's surrender, Confederate sympathizer John Wilkes Booth shot Lincoln at close range as he watched a play at Ford's Theatre in Washington. Lincoln died in the early morning hours of the following day. The news of the tragedy elicited an enormous outpouring of grief for the martyred president among citizens of the North and freed slaves in the South. After a somber funeral procession in Washington, a train carried Lincoln's body back to Springfield, Illinois, past some seven million people who lined the tracks.

In the coming weeks the last vestiges of the Confederate rebellion ended. On April 26 Sherman accepted Johnston's surrender in North Carolina. Others followed suit, with the last Confederate units laying down their arms on June 23. Lincoln's assassin, John Wilkes Booth, was cornered and killed by federal troops on April 26. On May 10 Jefferson Davis, who had fled hoping to establish a new Confederate government in Texas, was captured and cast in prison. As this image (**13.20**) shows, the popular anger over the war and Lincoln's assassination focused on Davis, with many Northerners demanding his execution for treason. Passions eventually cooled, however, and Davis was released from prison after two years, never to be brought to trial.



13.20 A Thirst for Vengeance
In the aftermath of the war many Northerners called for Jefferson Davis and other high-ranking Confederates to be hanged as traitors.

Conclusion

When the Civil War began, both sides expected that they would emerge victorious in a few months. But the conflict lasted four years, claiming more than 618,000 lives, and leaving the South in total subjugation. It also emancipated some four million slaves. Despite these unanticipated outcomes, the war did settle three key long-standing questions. First, it established the supremacy of federal authority over state sovereignty. Second, the war answered with a firm no the question of whether a state possessed the right to secede. Finally, it resolved the question of whether slavery would persist in a nation founded on the principle that "all men are created equal."

But in answering these key questions, the Civil War raised additional ones that would prove equally vexing and divisive. What was the status of the now defeated ex-Confederate states? How would they be restored to full membership in the Union? What was the civil and legal status of the freedmen? How far would the federal government go in protecting their freedom and rights?

What conciliatory measures toward the Confederates did Grant adopt at Lee's surrender?

CHAPTER REVIEW

1861

First Battle of Bull Run
Confederacy wins in a clash of inexperienced armies

Confederate diplomats removed from the British ship *Trent*
Nearly causes a war between the Union and Great Britain

1862

Gen. Grant captures Forts Henry and Donelson in Tennessee
Boosts Union morale and brings attention to Grant's military skill

Lee repulses McClellan's Peninsular Campaign
Exposes again the poor military leadership in the Union Army

1862

McClellan defeats Lee at Battle of Antietam
Victory allows Lincoln to issue the Emancipation Proclamation

Lee defeats Union General Ambrose Burnside at Battle of Fredericksburg
Northern morale, boosted after Antietam, sags once again

Review Questions

1. What advantages did the Confederacy possess that allowed it to enjoy considerable military success in the early years of the war?
2. Why did both North and South consider the Border States vital to their success in the war?
3. What new technologies emerged during the war and how did they affect its character and outcome?
4. How did African Americans contribute to emancipation?
5. What was the basis of the criticisms leveled at Abraham Lincoln by his critics in the North, including the Copperheads? How did he respond?
6. In what ways did the war change Northern society? How did it change the federal government?
7. What approach to warfare set Generals Ulysses S. Grant and William T. Sherman apart from less successful Union military leaders?
8. How did social, economic, and class differences in Southern society eventually contribute to the Confederacy's defeat?

1863

Lee defeats Hooker at the Battle of Chancellorsville
Confederate victory is offset by death of Gen. Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson

Meade defeats Lee at Battle of Gettysburg
Turning point in the war, ends the Confederate gamble of invading the North

Clement Vallandigham arrested
Prompts outrage from Copperheads but Lincoln defends action as necessary to win the war

1863

Grant seizes Vicksburg
Entire length of Mississippi River under Union control, severing the Confederacy in two

Bread riots break out in Confederacy. Draft Riots erupt in New York City
Reveal growing discontent over the cost and duration of the war

The 54th Massachusetts participates in attack on Fortress Wagner
Their courage undermines the belief that African Americans will make poor soldiers

1864

Grant defeats Lee in the Battles of the Wilderness, Spotsylvania, and Cold Harbor
Lee's army digs in at Petersburg near Richmond; Grant begins siege

Union General William T. Sherman captures Atlanta
Sherman begins his "March to the Sea," destroying Georgian agriculture and infrastructure

Lincoln wins reelection
Ensures the Union war effort will continue

1865

Thirteenth Amendment passed
Abolishes slavery (ratified late 1865)

Grant captures Petersburg and Richmond
Lee surrenders, ending the war

Lincoln assassinated by John Wilkes Booth
Lincoln becomes a martyr figure

Key Terms

Border States The four slave states, Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware, that bordered the Confederacy. The Lincoln administration succeeded in keeping them in the Union. **379**

cotton embargo A ban imposed by Confederates in 1861 on the export of cotton, the South's most valuable commodity, to prompt cotton-importing nations like England and France to intervene to secure Confederate independence. **380**

Trent Affair A diplomatic incident in November 1861 when a U.S. Navy vessel stopped the British ship *Trent* and removed two Confederates heading for Europe to press for British and French intervention. **380**

Peninsular Campaign The complex plan developed by General George B. McClellan to capture the Confederate capital, whereby four hundred ships deposited 120,000 soldiers just east of Richmond at Fortress Monroe between the James and York Rivers. **382**

modern warfare Military conflict involving enormous armies that utilize the technologies of the Industrial Revolution in the areas of communications, transportation, and firearms. Victory is secured by destroying the enemy's army and inflicting suffering on civilian populations. **383**

contraband of war The term introduced by General Benjamin Butler to justify his refusal to return fugitive slaves to their owners because they were seized property. **384**

Emancipation Proclamation The decree announced by Lincoln in September 1862 and taking effect on January 1, 1863, declaring slaves in the seceded states not under Union army control "forever free." **385**

Copperheads Northern Democrats (sometimes called "Peace Democrats") who opposed the war and the Lincoln administration and favored a negotiated settlement with the Confederacy. **390**

Conscription Act A law passed by Congress in March 1863 to offset declining volunteers to the Union Army. It declared all male citizens (and immigrants who had applied for citizenship) aged twenty to forty-five eligible to be drafted into the Union Army. The rich could pay a $300 fee to avoid the draft. **390**

Draft Riots Four days of rioting in New York City in July 1863 by mostly poor, immigrant, and working-class men who opposed the draft. **392**

Sherman's March to the Sea The 285-mile "scorched earth" campaign of General William T. Sherman across Georgia in late 1864 and early 1865. Sherman's soldiers seized or destroyed $100 million in goods, hurting Southern morale and depriving the Confederate army of supplies. **399**

Special Field Order No. 15 The directive announced by General Sherman in January 1865 during his March to the Sea that set aside more than 400,000 acres of seized Confederate land for distribution to former slaves in 40-acre plots. **400**