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[Episode 4: Simply Murder](#) from PBS (Public Broadcasting Service, 1990) 61:52.

transcript

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In this army, one hole in the seat of the breeches indicates a captain; two holes a lieutenant; and the seat of the pants all out indicates that the individual is a private.

SHELBY FOOTE Writer

Shelby Foote They both had a particular way of yelling. The northern troops made a sort of "Hurrah." It was called by one soldier as the "deep, generous, manly shout of the northern soldier." The

Confederates of course had what's called a "rebel yell." We, we don't know really know what that sounded like. Ah, one Northerner described it. He said ah, he described it by describing the peculiar corkscrew sensation that goes up your backbone when you hear it. And he said, "And if you've claimed you've heard it and weren't scared, that means you never heard it." It was uhm, it was basically, I think, a sort of fox hunt "yip" mixed up with a sort of banshee squall and it was used on the attack. And ah, an old Confederate veteran after the war was asked at a UDC meeting in Tennessee, somewhere, to give the rebel yell; the ladies had never heard it, and he said ah, "It can't be done except at a run, and I couldn't do it anyhow with a mouth full of false teeth and a stomach full of food," so they, they never got to hear what it sounded like.

THE Civil War EPISODE FOUR

David McCullough The Civil War was fought in 10,000 places. Murfreesboro, Chambersburg, Dranesville, and Opelousas, Apache Canyon, St. Augustine, Paducah, and Brandy Station; on the Red River, the Rappahannock, and the Rapidan; across the Susquehanna and the Monongahela; from Mount Ida and Mount Olive to Mount Zion; from Niniveh and Nickajack Gap to Newburn New Carthage, New Iberia, New Lisbon, and New Hope; from the Yazoo Delta to the Chickasaw Bluffs.

David McCullough By 1863, the Taiping Rebellion in China had entered its 13th year. Civil War broke out in Afghanistan. In America, Eddie Cuthbert of the Philadelphia Keystones stole the first base in professional baseball; the National Academy of Science was founded in Washington; the roller skate was patented; and Henry Ford and William Randolph Hearst were born.

David McCullough In 1863, Confederate General Stonewall Jackson would become a terror to the Union Army and a legend north and south. Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain, a college professor from Maine, would lead his regiment to glory on hillsides in Virginia and Pennsylvania. In the wilderness west of Fredericksburg, Robert E. Lee would device one of the most daring and brilliant battle plans of the war. While a thousand miles to the west, Ulysses S. Grant continued to hammer away at the rebel stronghold at Vicksburg. Confederate Private Sam Watkins would fight at Murfreesboro, Shelbyville, Chickamauga, Lookout Mountain, and Missionary Ridge, and somehow survive; while Elisha Hunt Rhodes would have the best Fourth of July of his life. In 1863, despite a Northern victory at Antietam, despite emancipation, despite a clear superiority in men and material, the Union seemed close to fumbling all it had. Meanwhile, from Vicksburg to Charleston, the fragile Confederate coalition was coming apart. And yet somehow the confederacy stayed alive by the daring, and luck, and genius of its High Command. But the biggest tests were coming that summer, where the Mississippi took a sharp turn at Vicksburg, and at a sleepy corner of Pennsylvania.

1863 Simply Murder

Thomas Warrick Murfreesboro, Tennessee, January the 1st, 1863. "Martha, I can inform you that I have seen the Monkey Show at last and I don't wanna see it no more. I never wanna go on another fight anymore, sister. I wanna come home worse than I ever did before." Thomas Warrick.

Charles Coffin Charles Coffin, Boston Journal. "All the surrounding forests had disappeared, built into huts with chimneys of sticks and mud, or cut for burning in the stone fireplaces. The soldiers were discouraged. They knew that they had fought bravely, but that there had been mismanagement and inefficient generalship."

Elisha Hunt Rhodes Falmouth, Virginia. "This morning we found ourselves covered with snow that had fallen during the night. It is too cold to write. How I would like to have some of those "On to Richmond" fellows out here with us." Elisha Hunt Rhodes.

David McCullough The men of the Army of the Potomac had not been paid for six months. And while Army warehouses at Washington bulged with food, little of it got to the winter camp.

Thomas F. Perley "I do not believe I have ever seen greater misery from sickness than now exists in our Army at the Potomac." Thomas F. Perley, Inspector General.

David McCullough One Wisconsin officer called the winter camp at Falmouth, Virginia, the Union's "Valley Forge." Hundreds died from scurvy, dysentery, typhoid, diphtheria, pneumonia. There were epidemics of measles, mumps, and other childhood diseases; and farm boys crowded with other men for the first time in their lives were especially susceptible. Disease was the chief killer of the war, taking two for everyone who died of battle wounds.

One of the wonders of these times was the Army cough, and it is almost a literal fact that when 100,000 men began to stir at reveille, the sound of their coughing would drown out that of the beating drums.

"The newspapers say the army is eager for another fight. It is false. They are heartily sick of battles that produce no results."

"I don't think I have received half of my letters. It cannot be possible that one is my quota in over three weeks from home. I've written constantly from every place where we have stopped long enough to write and could mail a letter." Edward Hastings Ripley.

David McCullough Two hundred men deserted everyday. By late January, a quarter of the Union Army was absent without leave.

Fredericksburg, Virginia

David McCullough Added to the men's misery were memories of the battle they had fought across the Rappahannock, at Fredericksburg in December.

Northern Lights

Shelby Foote At Fredericksburg, there was ah, an exchange across Rappahannock. One of them hollered, "Hey Reb," he said, "Yeah?" "When are you fellows gonna come over?" He said, "When we get good and ready. What do you want?" And he said, "We want Fredericksburg." "Don't you wish you may get it?" A, and things like that. There were a lot of those exchanges.

David McCullough A line of hills overlooked Fredericksburg, Virginia, a key Confederate transportation link midway between Richmond and Washington. Union General Ambrose E. Burnside's plan had been to cross the Rappahannock by pontoon, occupy the town, then take the thinly-defended heights. Bold action did not come naturally to Ambrose Burnside, though he had led his men to Fredericksburg determined to display the fighting spirit his predecessor, George McClellan, had so conspicuously lacked.

David McCullough But now, the War Department failed him, and 17 days passed waiting for pontoon bridges to arrive. By the time the bridge was in place, Lee had 75,000 men waiting in the hills, Stonewall Jackson was on the right, James Longstreet was on the left along a bluff called Marye's Heights. From the top of the Heights, Lee could just see Chatham Mansion across the river on the Union side, where 30 years before he had courted his wife, Mary Custis. It was now Burnside's headquarters.

David McCullough On December 11th, Union guns began shelling Fredericksburg, setting much of the town on fire. Then the troops started to cross the river. Some wondered why the Confederates did not make it harder for them to cross. "They wanna get us in," one private said, "getting out won't be quite so smart and easy." While waiting to attack the Heights, Union men looted what was left of the town.

[sil.]

David McCullough The great assault came two days later, on December 13th. Federal forces advanced towards Marye's Heights. Lee could not believe the enemy would be so foolish; his artillery covered all the approaches. Four lines of riflemen waited behind a stone wall that ran along the base of the hill. General and officer assured James Longstreet, "A chicken could not live in that field when we open on it."

"How beautifully they came on. Their bright bayonets glistening in the sunlight made the line look like a huge serpent of blue and steel. We could see our shells bursting in their ranks making great gaps, but on they came as though they would go straight through us and over us. Now, we gave them canister and that staggered them. A few more paces onward and the Georgians in the road below us rose up and let loose a storm of lead in to the faces of the advancing brigade."

George Pickett "The brilliant assault of their Irish Brigade was beyond description. We forgot they were fighting us and cheer after cheer, their fearlessness went up along our lines." General George Pickett.

David McCullough It was suicide. They came forward, one man said, as though they were breasting a storm of rain and sleet; Faces and bodies half-turned to the storm, shoulders shrugged. The Irish Brigade got within 25 paces of the wall. The men of the 24th Georgia who shot them down were Irish, too. A Union officer watching from a church steeple saw brigade after brigade charge the stone wall. "They seemed to melt," he said, "like snow coming down on warm ground."

Shelby Foote They had still believed that to take a position, you matched your men and moved up and gave 'em the bayonet, but there were practically no bayonet wounds in the Civil War, much more than there were in the First World War or the Second. They, they never came in that kind of contact, or at least very seldom came in that kind of contact. But they still thought that to match their file they had to match their men, so they lined up and marched up toward an entrenched line and got blown away.

[sil.]

David McCullough Fourteen assaults were beaten back from Marye's Heights before Burnside decided it could not be taken. Nine thousand men fell before the Confederate guns.

Shelby Foote More credit for valor is given to Confederate soldiers. They are supposed to have had more lan and dash. Ah, actually, I know of no braver men in either army than the Union troops at Fredericksburg, which is a serious defeat, but to keep charging that wall at the foot of Marye's Heights after all the failures they have been, and they were all failures ah, is a singular instance of a valor.

David McCullough Watching from above, even Robert E. Lee was moved. "It is well," he said, "that war is so terrible. We should grow too fond of it."

David McCullough Colonel Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain and his 20th Maine were among the thousands of Union men pinned down at the foot of the Heights. That night, the temperature fell below freezing and the stiff wind blew. Men now froze, as well as bled to death. Night brought quiet.

Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain But out of that silence rose new sounds more appalling still; a strange ventriloquism of which you could not locate the source. A smothered moan, as if a thousand discords were flowing together into a key note; weird, unearthly, terrible to hear and bear, yet startling with its nearness. The riding concord broken by cries for help, some begging for a drop of water, some calling on God for pity and some unfriendly hands to finish what the enemy had so horribly begun. Some with delirious dreamy voices, murmuring love names as if the dearest were bending over them. And underneath, all the time, the deep, bass note from closed lips, too hopeless or too heroic to articulate their agony. At last, out-wearied and depressed, I moved two dead men a little and lay down between them, making a pillow of the breast of a third, drew the flap of his overcoat over my face, and tried to sleep. Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain.

David McCullough They were stuck there all night and all the next day, crouching behind a wall of their own dead, trying not to hear the Confederate bullets thudding into the corpses of their friends. Burnside, openly weeping, declared that he himself would lead the new attack. Subordinates talked him out of it. That night, Chamberlain and his men scraped out shallow graves for the dead. As they worked, the Northern Lights began to dance in the winter sky.

Who would not pass on as they did? Dead of their country's life, and lighted to burial by the meteor splendors of their native sky.

Shelby Foote It was very unusual to see the Northern Lights that far south, but the whole heavens were lit up with streamers of fire, and whatever the Northern Lights are, and uhm, the Confederates took it as a sign that God Almighty himself was celebrating a Confederate victory.

The slaughter is terrible; the result disastrous. Until we have good generals, it is useless to fight the battles.

David McCullough The Union had lost 12,600 men. The South had lost 5,300 men, but many of them were only missing; gone home for Christmas. The battered Union Army limped back across the river. Icy rain began to fall. From the ruins of Fredericksburg, Confederate soldiers openly taunted the Union troops huddled miserably on the far side of the Rappahannock.

[sil.]

Shelby Foote After the Battle of Fredericksburg, the Confederates went back into the town, and they

saw all the damage that's been done during the Union occupation of the town. It was ah, great deal of damage, real vandalism. And they were shocked, and ah, someone on Jackson's staff said, "How are we gonna put an end to all this kind of thing." And Jackson said, "Kill 'em, kill 'em all."

Nanny Haskins Clarkesville. those hateful gunboats. They look like they were from the lower regions. Now, this is the second night the four of 'em have been anchored in the river opposite our house. I see the men crawling about on the boats like so many black snakes." Nanny Haskins.

David McCullough Fifteen hundred Union men were now stationed at Clarkesville, Tennessee. No one could enter or leave the town without a military pass. Everyday, Mrs. Dee Anne Kennedy(ph) wrote to her husband in Georgia, "The reins are tightened."

[sil.]

David McCullough On Deer Isle, Maine, the parents of Private Harlton Powers(ph) learned that he was among the missing at Fredericksburg. In fact, his fellow soldiers were certain he was dead, but had been unable to recognize his body among the swollen, blackened Union corpses. His father placed a stone to his memory, anyway, in the little cemetery at Southwest Harbor. Private Alfred Robins(ph), aged 20, collapsed and died while on his way to mail a letter in camp near Port Hudson, Louisiana. The cause was never discovered. In March, Corporal Farnum Haskell's coffin came home from Louisiana and was buried at Mount Adams Cemetery, despite the difficulty of digging a grave in the frozen ground.

[sil.]

David McCullough During the long, cold, rainy winter of 1863, Confederate forces huddled in defensive positions south of the Duck River near Tullahoma, Tennessee. Confederate officers liked to explain that Tullahoma came from the Greek word "tulla," meaning mud, and "homa," meaning more mud.

David McCullough The Confederacy was on the move. Confederate General John C. Pemberton beat back Union forces trying to take the Chickasaw Bluffs north of Vicksburg. John Morgan's Confederate cavalry raided Kentucky burning bridges, twisting train tracks, and taking 2,000 Union prisoners. And Nathan Bedford Forrest was driving the Union Army mad everywhere he went, stealing horses, harrying supply lines, attacking armies four times the strength of his, then disappearing without a trace. In two weeks Forrest stole 10,000 rifles, wrecked \$3 million worth of equipment, cut U.S. Grant's lifelines and forced him to retreat.

[sil.]

In Texas, General John B. Magruder captured a Union flotilla at Galveston. After the bombardment was over, Confederate Major A.M. Lee went aboard the badly hit USS Harriet Lane, there he found his son, a Federal lieutenant dying on the deck.

[sil.]

Elisha Hunt Rhodes January 24 near Falmouth, daylight showed a strange scene. Men, horses, artillery, pontoons and wagons were stuck in the mud. Rebels put up a sign mock, "Burnside stuck in

the mud." We can fight rebels but not in the mud. Elisha Hunt Rhodes.

Oh! Be Joyful

Tom Chamberlain I wish you could hear Joshua give off a command and see him ride among the battalion on his white horse. He look so splendidly. He told me last night that he never felt so well in his life. Tom Chamberlain.

What makes it strange is that I should have gained 12 pounds living on worms.

[sil.]

We live so mean here that hard bread is all worm and the meat stinks like hell and rice two or three times a week and worms as long as your finger. I liked rice once but goddamn(ph) the stuff now.

It was no uncommon occurrence for a man to find the surface of his pot of coffee swimming with weevils after breaking up hardtack in it. But they were easily skimmed off and left no distinctive flavor behind.

Benjamin Franklin Jackson Tell Ma that I think of her beans and collards often and wish for some. But wishing does no good. Benjamin Franklin Jackson.

David McCullough Union troops were issued beans, bacon, pickled beef called "Salt Horse" by the men, desiccated compressed mixed vegetables and hardtack, square flour and water biscuits, hard enough, some said, they could stop bullets.

In the Southern Army, I ate something called a "slosh." You got issued cornmeal and bacon and you fry the bacon which left a great deal of grease in the pan and you took the cornmeal and swirled it around in the grease to make the dough, and then you might take the dough and make a snake of it and put it around your ramrod and cook it over the camp fire. That was called a slosh. I ate a lot of that.

David McCullough Coffee was the preferred drink of both armies. Union troops crushed the beans with their rifle butts, drank four pints of it a day strong enough, one man said, to float in the iron wedge. And when they could not build a fire, were content to chew the grounds. Southerners made do substitutes brewed from peanuts, potatoes and chicory.

We have been living on the contents of those boxes you sent to us, nothing was spoiled except that card of biscuits, those were molded some but we used over half of them in a soup. Thank Mr. Burdix(ph) a thousand times for me, also Mrs. Maxson(ph) for those pies and those fried cakes and gingersnaps are first rate and the dried berries, they're nice and the dried beef and apple sauce, that was first rate.

George McClellan No one agent so much obstructs this Army as the degrading vice of drunkenness. Total abstinence would be with 50,000 men to the armies of the United States. General George McClellan.

David McCullough If the soldier couldn't buy it, he made it. One Union recipe called for "bark juice,

tar-water, turpentine, brown sugar, lamp oil and alcohol." Southerners sometimes dropped in raw meat and let the mixture ferment for a month or so to add what one veteran remembered as an old and mellow taste. The men called their home-brew "Knock 'em Stiff, Popskull and Oh! Be Joyful."

I invited my comrades to assist me in emptying three canteens of Oh! Be Joyful, then spent the balance of the evening singing. Then we parted in good spirits.

David McCullough In March 1863, John Mosby's Confederate rangers raided Fairfax courthouse, Virginia capturing two captains, 30 privates, 58 horses and Brigadier General Edwin Stoughton. "For that, I am sorry," Lincoln said when told of the capture, "for I can make brigadier generals but I can't make horses." General Mosby had made life miserable for northern commanders throughout the war. No other Confederate officer was mentioned favorably as many times in Robert E. Lee's dispatches as John Singleton Mosby.

Shelby Foote There were no medals in the Confederate Army, not one, in the whole course of the war. The confederate reason for that given was that they were all heroes and it would not be good to single anyone out, that they were not all heroes. But there was a suggestion made ah, to Lee that there be a role of honor for the Army of Northern Virginia and Lee disallowed it. The highest honor you could get in the Confederate Army was to be mentioned in dispatches. And that was considered absolutely enough.

Frederick Douglass March 5th, 1863, the arm of the slaves is the best defense against the arm of the slaveholder. Who would be free themselves must strike the blow. I urge you fly to arms and smite with death, the power that would bury the government and your liberty in the same hopeless grave. This is our golden opportunity. Frederick Douglass.

Abraham Lincoln The colored population is the great available and yet unavailed of force for restoring the Union. The bare sight of 50,000 armed, and drilled Black soldiers from the banks of the Mississippi, would end the rebellion at once. And who doubts that we can present that sight, if we but take hold in earnest. Abraham Lincoln.

BARBARA FIELDS Historian

Barbara Fields The people most affected by the Emancipation Proclamation obviously, ah, did not receive it as news because they knew before Lincoln though that the war was about emancipation. And moreover, they knew, as perhaps Lincoln did without fully realizing it and certainly as many people today do not realize that the Emancipation Proclamation did nothing to get them their freedom. It's sad that they had a right to go and put their bodies on the line if they had the nerve to believe in it. And many of them had the nerve to believe in it and many suffered from that.

David McCullough To Lincoln it was now clear that harsher measures were needed to destroy the Confederacy. He called for more troops and in February, pushed the Conscription Act through Congress. The Emancipation Proclamation had already authorized the arming of freed slaves.

As to the politics of Washington, the most striking thing is the absence of personal loyalty to the president. It does not exist. He has no admirers, no enthusiastic supporters, no one to bet on his The fall elections had not gone well. Fredericksburg only made matters worse and in Washington talk of the disaster was everywhere. "If there was a worse place than hell," Lincoln told a visitor, "I'm in it."

STEPHEN B. OATES Historian

Stephen B. Oates The single most unpopular act of Lincoln's administration was the Emancipation Proclamation. It not only was harm, horribly unpopular in the Confederacy, which Jefferson Davis called it ah, the most wicked thing that the dark side of humankind had ever come up with, but millions of Northerners responded to it as well. Ah, they did not really want the ah, a great many Northerners did not want the war to be changed to a war for slave liberation.

David McCullough Opposition to the war was spreading especially among democrats in the heartland, Michigan, Ohio, Iowa, Indiana and the southern half of Lincoln's own Illinois. The proclamation ignited an anti-war movement in the North. All but 35 men of the 138 Illinois deserted over Emancipation declaring they would lie in the woods until moss grew in their backs rather than help free the slaves. Groups with names like the Knights of the Golden Circle and Sons of Liberty met in secret and muttered of forcing an end to the war. Their enemies called them "copper heads" and they wore on their lapels the head of liberty, snipped from a copper penny. Their leader was Congressman Clement Vallandigham of Ohio. Lincoln had him thrown in jail and later banished to the Confederacy.

You have not conquered the South, you'll never will. War for the Union was abandoned, war for the Negro openly begun and with stronger battalions than before with what success, let the dead at Fredericksburg answer.

JAMES SYMINGTON Former Congressman

James Symington All of these things pour in on him plus the fact that the South had a strong army and a good leadership in which, but, you know, but then he would pick up a Richmond newspaper and he'd say, "Here's what they're saying about Jeff Davis, down here." You know, I don't look so bad because the South had a free press too and you realize, you know, that Jeff was not doing any better than he was of course; they weren't concerned.

SHELBY FOOTE Writer

Shelby Foote Davis was walking down the street in Richmond one day and a Confederate soldier, who was in Richmond on furlough, passed him and stopped him and said, "Sir, Mister, Be'ent you Jefferson Davis?" And Davis said that he was. The soldier said, "Well, I thought so. You look so much like a Confederate postage stamp."

The Kingdom of Jones

David McCullough Jefferson Davis was trying to win a war while forging a nation out of 11 states, suspicious of even the most trivial move towards centralized government. When Davis called for a day of national fasting, the governor of Georgia ignored it then named a different fast day of his own.

Joseph Brown I entered into this revolution to contribute my might to sustain the rights of states and to prevent the consolidation of the government, and I am still a rebel no matter who may be in power. Governor Joseph Brown of Georgia.

Mary Chestnut The Confederacy has been done to death by politicians. Mary Chesnut.

David McCullough "Pardon Me," a South Carolinian wrote his congressman, "is the majority always drunk?" Vice President Alexander Stevens believed Davis weak and vacillating, timid, petulant, pettish, obstinate. Stevens left Richmond in 1862 rarely to return.

David McCullough "I make no terms," Davis once said, "I accept no compromise." He refused to unbend in public or to curry favor with the press. Privately, he commuted nearly every death sentence for desertion that reached his desk, explaining that the poor excuse of a soldier was to shoot him.

Shelby Foote He's, ah, often described as a bloodless pedant ah, a man who filled all his time with small-time paperwork and have(ph) anything else, an icy-cold man, who had no afriendliness in him. I found the opposite to be true in all those respects. Davis is an outgoing, friendly man, ah, a great family man, loved his wife and children, ah, infinite store of compassion. And Lee said it best, he said, ah, "I don't think anyone could name anyone who could've done a better job than Davis did, and I personally don't know of anyone who could've done as good a job." That's from Robert Ridley, which is pretty good at the art.

Stephen B. Oates Davis may well have been the only Southerner who understood Southern nationality, who understood what sacrifices had to be made if the Confederacy was ever going to gel as a nation. He kept saying, "I need the kind of powers that Lincoln got. I need the kind of, ah, resources that he got in the draft laws, I need to be able to suspend the writ of habeas corpus like he did." He would've said, "We can't live by the dogmas of the quiet passed along." He didn't say that but he acted that out. He said I have to be given the kinds, this, Confederate Government needs the kind of national authority, national power that the Union had in order to win. And they didn't get it because the states' right shall kill the Confederacy.

David McCullough A single cake of soap now cost a dollar and 10 cents, a tenth of the soldier's monthly pay. At the beginning of 1863, a barrel of flour costs \$70 in the South. By years end, it costs 250. The Confederate Treasury cranked out millions of dollars and notes unbacked by gold. Southern printing was so primitive that counterfeiters were sometimes caught because their work was too good.

Stephen B. Oates By 1862 and '63 the South suffered from terrible inflationary currency. What was really at a premium was a Union gold dollar so that the Confederate people could never get away from the Union, not even economically.

If the Confederacy is defeated, it will be by the people at home. Atlanta Southern Confederacy.

David McCullough Thousands of women infuriated by soaring prices storm through downtown Richmond shops, smashing windows and gathering up armfuls of food and clothing. Troops tried to stop them. And Jefferson Davis himself came out, throwing what money he had in his pockets to the crowd and begging them to blame the Yankees, not the government. Then he warned the troops would open fire if they did not disperse, the women straggled home.

Louis T. Wigfall Patriotic planters would willingly put their own flesh and blood into the Army, but when they were asked for a Negra it was like drawing an eye tooth. Senator Louis T. Wigfall, Texas.

David McCullough Farmers were called upon to contribute one-tenth of their produce and the Confederate Army was empowered to impress male slaves as laborers, provided a monthly fee was

paid to their masters. Planters moved their slaves inland, away from the government and the fighting. One hundred fifty thousand slaves were marched all the way to Texas, hundred, perhaps thousands, died along the way.

Benjamin Franklin Jackson Wartrace, Tennessee, June 10th, 1863. I have just heard from Heriod's(ph) legion. They're deserting everyday, they say they don't get enough to eat. I have just bought New Testament, I gave two dollars for it. Everything is high here. Benjamin Franklin Jackson.

Thomas Warrick I saw a sight today that made me feel mighty bad. I saw a man shot for deserting. There were 24 guns at him and they shot him all to pieces. He went home and they brought him back and then he went home again so they shot him for that. Martha, it was one sight that I did hate to see.

David McCullough By the end of the year, two-fifths of the Southern Army would be absent with or without leave. Deserters sometimes banded together, often fed and clothe by Union sympathizers. In North Carolina, the pro-Union heroes of America had over 10,000 members. By the end of the war, Unionists from every Confederate State except South Carolina had sent regiments to the North. In Jones County, Mississippi, a guerilla band ran off tax collectors, burned bridges and ambushed Confederate columns for three years. Reporters called the region "The Kingdom of Jones."

How I wish you could hear the music of this encampment tonight. Just stand out in the open air a little while and listen. All seems happy and all seems gay but still could you look into their hearts, you would see thoughts of their loved ones that they have left at home rise above their mirth and gaiety, yet they are contented, though not happy. Contented to do their duty, contented to bear their part in this war and sing sad thoughts away.

Dear Fanny(ph), I don't know what we should've done without our band. It's acknowledged by everyone to be the best in the Division. Every night about sundown, Gilmore gives us a splendid concert, playing selections from the operas, and some very pretty marches, quicksteps, waltzes and the like.

[sil.]

David McCullough Troops sang in camp and on the way to battle. Confederates favored Dixie and the Bonnie Blue Flag.

[sil.]

David McCullough Union soldiers still preferred an old Methodist tune. Mostly, they liked sentimental songs: "Just Before the Battle Mother," "The Vacant Chair," "All Quiet Along the Potomac," and "Home Sweet Home." In many camps, the men were forbidden to play a song called "Weeping, Sad and Lonely"; officers considering it destructive of morale. Both sides loved "Lorena."

[sil.]

Elisha Hunt Rhodes April 14th, 1863, Rappahannock River, Virginia, near Franklin's Crossing. General Thomas J. Jackson came down to the riverbank today with a party of ladies and officers. We raised our hats to the party and, strange to say, the ladies waived their handkerchiefs in reply. General Jackson took his field glasses and coolly surveyed our party. We could have shot him with a revolver,

but we have an agreement that neither side will fire as it does no good, and in fact, it was simply murder. Elisha Hunt Rhodes.

Under The Shade of The Trees

Abraham Lincoln General, I have placed you at the head of the Army of the Potomac. I have heard in such a way as to believe it of your recently saying that both the Army and the government needed a dictator. Of course, it was not for this but in spite of this that I have given you the command. Only those generals who gain successes can set up as dictators. What I now ask of you is military success, and I will risk the dictatorship. Abraham Lincoln.

David McCullough Again, Lincoln turned to a new general. He replaced Burnside with Joseph Hooker, a tenacious West Pointer called "Fighting Joe" who drank and talked too much for his own good. It was absolutely necessary, Lincoln told him, to destroy Lee's Army.

Joseph Hooker My plans are perfect. May God have mercy on General Lee, for I will have none.

David McCullough Hooker's plans called for one part of his enormous army to feign an assault on Lee's front, still at Fredericksburg, while the rest marched up to Rappahannock, cross the river, and attack Lee from the rear. On April 30th, Hooker's main force, 70,000 strong, reached Chancellorsville, a lone house in a clearing surrounded by a thick forest called "The Wilderness." Hooker and his officers moved in downstairs and continued to map out the assault they were sure would trap Lee.

Joseph Hooker The enemy must either ingloriously fly, or come out from behind his defenses and give us battle upon our own ground, where a certain destruction awaits him.

Abraham Lincoln The hen is the wisest of all the animal creation because she never cackles until after the egg is laid.

David McCullough But Robert E. Lee, outnumbered nearly two to one, was not fooled by Hooker's plan. Defying all military convention, he divided his own, much smaller force, leaving only a quarter of his men at Fredericksburg before rushing west to shore up his flank. When Lee's Confederates reached the edge of the Wilderness, Union troops moved out to engage them.

(inaudible [00:45:02.15])

[sil.]

Fire!

[sil.]

David McCullough But the fighting is hardly begun when Fighting Joe Hooker inexplicably ordered his forces back to defensive positions around the Chancellor house. "To tell the truth," he later tried to explain, "I just lost confidence in Joe Hooker." Lee sensed Hooker's confusion and the next day, divided his army a second time, sending 28,000 men under Stonewall Jackson on an extraordinary 14-mile march through the dense wilderness, and around the Union's right flank.

[sil.]

David McCullough Hooker somehow persuaded himself that Jackson was actually retreating, and despite the skeletal rebel force remaining in front of him, chose to stay in camp. All day long came reports from terrified Union pickets of a huge rebel force moving just beyond the screen of trees to the west. They were ignored. Late that afternoon, Union troops were boiling coffee and playing cards when deer came bounding out of the forest and through their camp. Jackson's Army was right behind them.

[sil.]

David McCullough "It was a perfect whirlwind of men," a survivor said. The enemy seemed to come from every direction.

[sil.]

David McCullough The Federals stole(ph) back nearly two miles before darkness stopped the Confederates' sweep.

Shelby Foote Chancellorsville, in many ways, is Lee's masterpiece. It's where the odds were longest; it's where he took the greatest risk in dividing his army in the presence of a superior enemy and, ah, kept the pressure on. The real fault at Chancellorsville was the attack was staged so late in the day that they were not able to push it to the extent that Jackson had intended to, and he was even attempting to make a night attack, a very rare thing in the Civil War, because he knew that he hadn't finished up what he'd started to begin.

David McCullough Eager to fight on, Jackson rode up between the lines that evening to scout for a night attack. When he turned back toward his men, nervous Confederate pickets opened fire. Two of his aides fell dead. Jackson was hit twice on the left arm. His shattered arm was amputated the next morning. Lee was horrified. "He has lost his left arm," he said, "but I have lost my right."

David McCullough Hooker continued to bumble. As he nervously watched the fighting from the porch of the Chancellor house, a shell split the pillar he was leaning against and knocked him senseless. Groggy all day, he refused to relinquish command. Finally, he ordered retreat. The defeat was total.

[sil.]

David McCullough Again, the Union Army withdrew across the Rappahannock. Hooker had lost 17,000 men, even more than at Fredericksburg. "My God! My God!" said Lincoln when he got the news. "What will the country say?"

[sil.]

David McCullough Chancellorsville was Lee's most brilliant victory and one of the costliest. Thirteen thousand of his men were dead or out of action. But it was the loss of one man that concerned him most. Stonewall Jackson seemed to be recuperating; then on Sunday, May 10th, he took a turn for the worse.

Shelby Foote The scene is in a bedroom in which, ah, he is coming in and out of consciousness. Pneumonia is what he died of, not the loss of his arm. And, ah, his wife got there to be with him, and the surgeon, Dr. McGuire, told, ah, Mrs. Jackson that her husband would die that day. And, ah, she told him, said to him, "The doctor says that you won't last a day on." He said, "Oh, no, my child, it's not that serious." And then finally, she said, "You'll be with the Lord this day," and he went off into some sort of sleepy delirium. Pneumonia affects people in strange ways. And he called the doctor and he says, "Dr. McGuire, my wife tells me I'm gonna die today. Is that true?" And the doctor said, ah, "Yes, indeed." And he said, uh, "Good, very good. I always wanted to die on a Sunday." And when they offered him brandy or morphine, he said, "No, I wanna keep my mind clear." And the last thing he said, sort of he wandered in his mind, he was calling on A.P. Hill and prepare for action. And then all of a sudden he was quiet, and very quiet for a spell, and he said in a clear and distinct voice, "Let us cross over the river and rest under the shade of the trees," and then died.

The death of our pious, brave, and noble General Stonewall Jackson is a great blow to our cause.

A Dust-covered Man

David McCullough Winfield Scott, Henry Halleck, Irvin McDowell, George McClellan, John Pope, George McClellan again, Ambrose Burnside, Joseph Hooker. Lincoln could not find the general he needed. He now knew that to win the war, the Southern armies had to be crushed. He had the men, but he needed a general with the will to use them.

Abraham Lincoln No general yet found can face the arithmetic, but the end of the war will be at hand when he shall be discovered. Vicksburg is the key. The war can never be brought to a close until the key is in our pocket.

A long line of high, rugged, irregular blush clearly cut against the sky, crowned with cannon which appeared ominously from them braziers to the right and left, as far as the eye could see. That is Vicksburg.

David McCullough For two and a half months, Ulysses S. Grant doggedly attempted to dig, or hack, or float his army through the tangled bayous and seize the town of Vicksburg. Nothing worked. The press accused him of sloth and stupidity; hinted he was drinking again. Finally, Grant decided on a daring plan. He would march downriver through the swamps on the western side, cross below Vicksburg, and without hope of re-supply or reinforcement come up from behind and attack the city.

[sil.]

David McCullough By early May, Grant had crossed the river.

Forward march.

Ulysses S. Grant When this was effective, I felt a degree of relief scarcely ever equal since. I was now in the enemies' country, with a river and a strong hold of Vicksburg between me and my base of supply. But I was on dry ground, on the same side of the river with the enemy.

Shelby Foote The men knew they were cut loose from their base, knew they were going to be

dependent for supplies on a very tenuous supply line, but Grant himself gave them confidence. They'd believe Grant knew what he was doing. And one great encouragement for that, believing in that was quite often on the march, whether at night or in the daytime, they'd be moving along a road, over a bridge, and right beside the road, there'll be Grant on his horse ah, a dust-covered man on a dust-covered horse saying, "Move on; close up." So they felt very much that he personally was in charge of their movement, and it, it gave them the added confidence.

[sil.]

David McCullough In three weeks, Grant's army, cut off from all communication with the outside world, marched 180 miles, fought and won five battles at Port Gibson, Raymond, Jackson, Champion's Hill, and Big Black River, and finally surrounded Vicksburg itself, trapping 31,000 Confederates. On May 19th, Grant tried to take the town by direct assault but was beaten back.

[sil.]

William Lovelace Foster May 19th. Thanks be to the Great Ruler of the universe, Vicksburg is still safe. The first great assault has been most successfully repelled. All my fears in reference to taking the place by storm now vanished. Reverend William Lovelace Foster, Chaplain, 35th Mississippi Volunteers.

David McCullough Grant settled in for a siege; resolved, he said, to out-camp the enemy.

It is such folly for them to waste their ammunition like that. How can they ever take a town that has such advantages for defense and protection as this? We'll just burrow into these hills and let them batter away as hard as they please.

[sil.]

David McCullough On May 15th, Jefferson Davis summoned General Lee to Richmond. Something had to be done about Grant. Davis wanted to send part of Lee's Army to relieve Vicksburg. Lee was against it. He had a bolder plan. The Army of Northern Virginia should invade the north again, striking this time into Pennsylvania. Lee will attack Harrisburg and Philadelphia, and force Grant north to defend Washington. With luck, Washington itself might fall. It might even force Lincoln to sue for peace and recognize the Confederacy. Davis agreed. Everything now hung on Vicksburg in the west and Pennsylvania in the east. As Grant pressed his siege of Vicksburg, Lee moved north.

To be continued A Film by KEN BURNS Produced by KEN BURNS and RIC BURNS Written by GEOFFREY C. WARD and RIC BURNS with KEN BURNS Edited by PAUL BARNES BRUCE SHAW TRICIA REIDY Narrated by DAVID McCULLOUGH Voices SAM WATERSTON Abraham Lincoln JULIE HARRIS Mary Chestnut JASON ROBARDS Ulysses S. Grant MORGAN FREEMAN Frederick Douglass PAUL ROEBLING Joshua L. Chamberlain, etc. GARRISON KEILLOR Walt Whitman, etc. GEORGE BLACK Robert E. Lee ARTHUR MILLER William T. Sherman CHRIS MURNEY Pvt. Sam Watkins HORTON FOOTE Jefferson Davis GEORGE PLIMPTON George Templeton Strong PHILIP BOSCO Horace Greeley, etc. TERRY COURIER George McClellan JODY POWELL Stonewall Jackson, etc. STUDS TERKEL Benjamin F. Butler With DEREK JACOBI PAMELA REED JEREMY IRONS RONNIE GILBERT KURT VONNEGUT M. EMMET WALSH GENE JONES HOYT AXTON JEROME DEMPSEY JOHN HARTFORD

LARRY FISHBURNE WALT MACPHERSON SHELBY FOOTE COLLEEN DEWHURST BETSY APPLE LATANYA RICHARDSON CAROL CRAVEN BRADFORD WASHBURN MARISSA COPELAND JESSE CARR HALO WINES WENDY TILGHMAN DAVID MARKS JOE MATTYS and LIBRARY OF CONGRESS EX-SLAVE RECORDINGS Cinematography KEN BURNS ALLEN MOORE BUDDY SQUIRES Assistant Editors PHOEBE YANTSIOS MEREDITH WOODS Apprentice Editors JOSHUA LEVIN ED BARTESKI Coordinating Producer CATHERINE EISELE Associate Producer/Post-Production LYNN NOVICK Co-Producers STEPHEN IVES JULIE DUNFEY MIKE HILL Consultants SHELBY FOOTE BARBARA J. FIELDS C. VANN WOODWARD DON FEHRENBACHER STEPHEN SEARS WILLIAM MCFEELY JAMES MCPHERSON RICHARD SNOW MIKE MUSICK BERNARD WEISBERGER ERIC FONER STEPHEN B. OATES ROBERT JOHANNSEN DANIEL AARON WILLAM E. LEUCHTENBURG TOM LEWIS CHARLES FULLER CHARLEY MCDOWELL IRA BERLIN GENE SMITH ROBERT PENN WARREN JEROME LIEBLING DAYTON DUNCAN AMY STECHLER BURNS Senior Creative Consultant DAVID McCULLOUGH Associate Producers CAMILLA ROCKWELL SUSANNA STEISEL Additional Cinematography FOSTER WYLIE Research Assistant LOVEL RICHARDSON Assistant Camera AMY STECHLER BURNS BRUCE KERN JEFFREY VICTOR Post Production Coordinator PHOEBE YANTSIOS Editing Interns MIKE BALABUCH JONATHAN BARON ROBERT BLUMENFIELD JENNIFER BROWN DAVID CANTOR CHRISTINE COSCIONI VIDA FRITZGERALD MICHAEL FOXWORTH ELISA HABER LINDA KONG PATRICK McGUINN DAVID McQUILING ROBERT MOWEN ERIC MORTENSON DAVID NELSON MYRA PACI Animation Stand Photography THE FRAME SHOP EDWARD JOYCE & EDWARD SEARLES CARLOS SANCHEZ Map Animation BALSMEYER & EVERETT, INC. Still Photography ROBERT BURGESS STEPHEN PETEGORSKY Traditional Music JACQUELINE SHWAB Piano JAY UNGAR Fiddle, Mandolin MATT GLASSER Fiddle JESSE CARR Guitar, Recorder, Vocals MOLLY MASON Guitar, Bass PEGGY JAMES Violin YONATHAN MALIN Flute PETER AMIDON Banjo PETER ECKLUND Coronet DON BROOKS Guitar, Mandolin RUSS BARENBERG Harmonica And THE OLD BETHPAGE BRASS BAND DR. KIRBY JOLLY, DIRECTOR Musical Direction KEN BURNS JOHN COLBY Engineer DON WERSHBA Music recorded at SOUNDESIGN Brattleboro, Vermont and SOUNDTRACK NY New York City "ASHOKAN FAREWELL" Composed by: JAY UNGAR Courtesy of Flying Fish Records "WE ARE CLIMBING JACOB'S LADDER" Arranged & Performed by: BERNICE JOHNSON REAGON Songtalk Publishing Co. Courtesy of Flying Fish Records "BATTLE HYMN OF THE REPUBLIC" Performed by: THE SANCTUARY CHOIR of THE ABYSSINIAN BAPTIST CHURCH DR. JEWEL T. THOMPSON, DIRECTOR "HAIL TO THE CHIEF", "LISTEN TO THE MOCKING BIRD", "PALMYRA SCHOTTISCHE", "HAIL COLUMBIA", "FREISCHUTZ QUICKSTEP", "PARADE", "DIXIE", "BONNIE BLUE FLAG", "LUTO QUICKSTEP", "CHEER BOYS, CHEER", "WALTZ NO. 19", AND "MARYLAND, MY MARYLAND" Performed by FREDERICK FENNEL and THE EASTMAN WIND ENSEMBLE Courtesy of PolyGram Special Products A Division of PolyGram Records, Inc. "DIXIE" Performed by BOBBY HORTON "THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER" Performed by the UNITED STATES MARINE BAND Courtesy of RCA Records "FUNERAL MARCH NO. 1" and "BATTLE HYMN QUICKSTEP" Performed by THE HERITAGE AMERICANA BRASS BAND ROBERT GAROFALO, CONDUCTOR Additional Sound Effects Courtesy of TURNER ENTERTAINMENT CO. Sound Recording CHARLES MEYER ZACK KRIEGER TOM NELSON ALEX GRISWOLD DENNIS TOWNS FRANK STETNER Negative Matching NOELLE PENRAAT Title Design JAMES MADDEN Titles and Opticals EASTERN OPTICAL EFX INC. Color DU ART FILM LABS Voice-Over Recording A&J RECORDING STUDIOS LOU VERRICO RODELL STUDIOS FULL HOUSE PRODUCTIONS Sound Editors IRA SPIEGEL PAUL BARNES BRUCE SHAW MARJORIE DEUTSCH Sound

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