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[Episode 5: The Universe of Battle](#) from PBS (Public Broadcasting Service, 1990) 95:24.

transcript

A FLORENTINE FILMS PRODUCTION SHELBY FOOTE Writer

Shelby Foote There's a photograph I am very fond of. It shows three Confederate soldiers who were captured at Gettysburg; and they have posed in front of or alongside of snake rail fence; and you see exactly how the Confederate soldier was dressed. You see something in his attitude toward the camera that's revealing of his nature; and one of them has his, ah, arms like this. As if he's having his picture made, but he is determined to be the individual that he is; and there's something about that picture that draws me strongly as an image of the war.

[sil.]

David McCullough More than once during the Civil War, newspapers reported a strange phenomenon. From only a few miles away, a battle sometimes made no sound, despite the flash and smoke of cannon and the fact that more distant observers could hear it clearly. These eerie silences were called acoustic shadows.

THE CIVIL WAR EPISODE FIVE

David McCullough In the summer of 1863, a Union warship hunting a Confederate commerce raider off Yokohama, attacked a Japanese fleet for harassing the colony of Westerners there. The United States won its first naval battle against the empire of Japan, but the Confederates got away.

[sil.]

David McCullough In Paris that year, new paintings by Cezanne, Whistler, and Monet were shown in the special exhibit for outcasts. In Russia, Dostoevsky finished Notes from the Underground; and in London, Karl Marx labored to complete his masterpiece, Das Kapital. For the first six months of 1863, Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson had carried out one of the most extraordinary military campaigns in history. Smashing huge Federal armies at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, and winning the undying love of the South. But by late May, Confederate luck had changed. Jackson was dead. A thousand miles to the West, Ulysses S. Grant's siege of the rebel stronghold at Vicksburg had gone on so long that Grant himself had taken to the battle out of boredom. As June began, the Confederates inside the town somehow managed to hold on. Now, to draw Federal troops away from Vicksburg, Lee led his army onto Northern soil again looking for the right moment to attack. When it came on the morning of July 1, 1863, it would be in the most ordinary of places. For three days, 150,000 men would make war on each other in the gentle farm land of South Pennsylvania. When the third day was over, it would prove to have been the most crucial day of the entire war. In the South, the war had ruined the economy and yet the Southern fighting spirit was stronger than ever before. In the North, where industry was booming, angry working men would soon take to the streets in protest against emancipation and the war. At the end of the year, Abraham Lincoln would travel to the now quiet fields at Gettysburg and struggle to put into words what was happening to his people.

BARBARA FIELDS Historian

Barbara Fields When a Black soldier in New Orleans said, "Liberty must take the day, nothing shorter." He said in effect that when we count up those who have died, when we surveyed the carnage, it must be for something higher than Union and free navigation of the Mississippi River. During the summer of 1863, a convention of free Black people demanded the right for Black men to take part in the struggle as soldiers. And their key resolutions said, "It is time now for more effective remedies to be thoroughly tried in the shape of warm lead and cold steel duly administered by 100,000 Black doctors."

[sil.]

David McCullough Early in the war, a fugitive slave named Alex Turner had made his way North and join the 1st New Jersey cavalry. In the spring of 1863, he guided his Regiment back to his old plantation at Port Royal, Virginia and killed his former overseer. When the war was over, he went to

New England and found work as a logger. In 1883, his daughter, Daisy, was born.

DAISY TURNER Age 104

Daisy Turner Dear Madam, I am a soldier and my speech is rough and plain. I'm not much used to writing and I hate to give you pain; but I promised I would do it; and he thought it might be so. If it came from one that loved him, perhaps it would ease the blow. By this time, you must surely guess the truth I feign would hide; and you'll pardon me for rough soldier words while I tell you how he died.

1863 The Universe of Battle

PVT. WILLIAM CHRISTIAN "This army has never done such fighting as it will do now. We must conquer a piece. We will show the Yankees this time how we can fight," Private William Christian.

David McCullough Late in May, Lee's army marched toward Pennsylvania. Union troops sent to see what they're up to completely surprised J.E.B. Stuart and his Confederate cavalry at Brandy Station, Virginia; 21,000 mounted men clashed along the Rappahannock for 12 hours. It was the biggest cavalry engagement in American history and it was a standoff; but the North had learned the Confederates were on the move. The flamboyant Stuart embarrassed at having been caught off guard and determined to redeem himself, now took off on another daring ride around the Union Army, with strict orders to stay in close touch with Lee. Lee's 70,000 men were divided into three corps. The first was commanded by James Longstreet, Old Pete, what Lee called "my war horse." The second corps, Stonewall Jackson's old command, was under Richard "Baldy" Ewell who had lost a leg at Second Manassas. The third was led by A.P. Hill, a new corps commander from Virginia who would help stave off disaster at Sharpsburg in 1862. On June 16, Lee's advance column crossed the Potomac into Maryland; an even larger Union Army followed, careful to keep between the Confederates and Washington.

[sil.]

David McCullough The new Union commander was George Meade. Blunt and bookish, he was referred to by subordinates as a "damned old goggle-eyed snapping turtle." If the Union generals were not sure where Lee was going, Lee had no idea where the Union army even was. J.E.B. Stuart's cavalry had ridden too far from the advancing army to keep him informed.

Shelby Foote The Confederates marched through Maryland on and Pennsylvania. It's a very handsome country there. The bonds are magnificent and the green fields and everything, and people watching these Confederates go by and there was a Black body servant in the column and they stopped to, just a halt; and the people in the house asked him what he thought of this country around here; and he said, "This is a beautiful country but it didn't come up to home in my eyes."

[sil.]

David McCullough Panic spread throughout the countryside. Lee's men ceased livestock, food, wagons, and clothing from civilians. Giving them worthless Confederate script in exchange. They also ceased to free Blacks and sent them South into slavery. My friends of Southern officer asked the frighten inhabitants of one Pennsylvania town, "How do you like this way of our coming back into the

Union?"

[sil.]

Daisy Turner It was in the maw of battle. Fast rained the shot and shell. I was standing close beside him and I saw him when he fell. So I took him in my arm and laid him on the grass. It was going against orders, but they think, let it pass. [00:10:44.00]It was a mini ball that struck him. It entered at his side, but we didn't think it's fatal 'til this morning when he died.

Gettysburg: The First day

David McCullough The greatest battle ever fought in the Western Hemisphere began as a clash over shoes. At dawn on July 1, a Confederate infantry officer led his men toward the little crossroads town of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Within view of a Lutheran Seminary, whose high cupula, offered a fine prospect of the surrounding farms in rolling hills. There was rumored to be a supply of shoes at Gettysburg and the foot sewer rebels were there to come and dear them. The South came in from the North that day, and the North came in from the South. On the out skirts of town, the Confederates ran headlong into General John Buford's Union cavalry. While both sides sent couriers pounding off for reinforcements, Buford tried desperately to hold his ground; but the Confederates finally overwhelmed him and pushed the Union forces back toward town.

SALLY BROADHEAD "People were running here and there, screaming that the town would be shelled. No one knew where to go or what to do. My husband went to the garden and then picked the massive beans for he declared the rebels should not have won," Sally Broadhead.

David McCullough Every Confederate and Union division in the area now converged on Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.

[sil.]

David McCullough By mid afternoon, Confederate troops occupied Gettysburg and Union forces had been driven back south of the town. There, Major General Winfield Scott Hancock managed to rally the fleeing troops into defensive positions on Culp's Hill and Cemetery Ridge. A sign near the cemetery's gateway read, "All persons found using firearms in these grounds will be prosecuted with the utmost rigor of the law."

[sil.]

David McCullough During the battle, the artist Alfred Waud sketched the action. Sending his drawings back to New York for engraving. Meanwhile, Sam Wilkerson of the New York Times filed dispatches, sitting next to the fresh grave of his son. Lee arrived in the middle of the afternoon, set up headquarters and urged Ewell to renew the attack before night fall. Ewell chose not to. His men needed rest. By the end of the day, the Union army held the high ground. Rather than attack at headlong, Confederate General Longstreet, wanted to swing around the union position and take a stand between Meade's army and Washington. Then, let the Union attack. Without knowing the enemy's strength, Lee overruled Longstreet. "No," said Lee, "I'm going to whip them here or they are going to whip me."

Shelby Foote He had always counted on Stuart and his cavalry for intelligence as to enemy positions and movements, and he was lacking that. He was groping around, around the landscape blind; and people would come up to him in the field all through those days; and he said, "Can you tell me where Stuart is? Have you seen my cavalry?" Very strange thing for a commander to have to ask. So when Stuart arrived, all he had to show for all these was a couple of hundred wagons and mules and everything else; and he, he saw Lee standing starting looking at him arriving late; and he, he blew the thing by making his announcement at the start and said, "General, I brought you 200 brand new wagons;" and Lee said, "General, they are an impediment to me now. I skewed to hit me with these people." And it was a severe admonishment from Lee; and Lee saw he hurt his feelings so he said, "Come, it will be all right."

SALLY BROADHEAD "I cannot sleep. We know not what tomorrow will bring forth. I think little has been gained so far. Has our army been sufficiently reinforced?" Sally Broadhead.

David McCullough Compared to what was coming, the day had been a skirmish.

[sil.]

THOMAS BATCHELOR "My dear son Albert, I received your affectionate letter yesterday and I assure you, my dear son, it gives me great relief of mind to hear that you and your dear brothers were still in the land of the living. I have not heard one word from you since Barlow Rodgers returned home. May God bless you my dear Albert. Your devoted father, Thomas Batchelor."

Gettysburg: The Second Day

David McCullough Through the night, the two armies continued to gather. After 35-mile all-night march, Union General John Sedgwick arrived with his 6th Corps. By morning, 65,000 Confederates faced 85,000 Federal troops commanded by General George Meade. Hills overlooked the Federal position at either end. To the north, on the Union right, Culp's Hill and Cemetery Hill. To the south, the Big and Little Round Tops. Lee wanted them taken. Meade was no less determined to hold his ground.

All commanders are authorized to order the instant death of any soldier who fails in his duty at this hour.

David McCullough It took Longstreet all morning and most of the afternoon to shift two divisions into position for the assault on the Round Tops. Assigned to hold the Union position was General Dan Sickles, a turbulent, ex-Tammany Hall politician best known before the war for having shot and killed his wife's lover. Now, Sickles disobeyed orders and marched his men further out from Little Round Top to the Devil's Den, the Wheatfield, and into the Peach Orchard beyond. He was half a mile in front of the Union line on a flat exposed position that left the Round Tops completely undefended.

The rest of the army was amazed. Someone said he stuck out like a sore thumb; and I think it was Hancock who saw him go out and he said, "Wait while you see him tumbling back," and of course he didn't.

David McCullough The Confederates finally attacked at four o' clock in the afternoon. As they swept forward, the 15th Alabama Regiment scrambled up Big Round Top. From there, well above the

fighting, Colonel William C. Oates saw his chance. Little Round Top was completely undefended. "From that position," Oates said, "he could blow the whole Union Army apart."

WILLIAM C. OATES Within half an hour, I could convert Little Round Top into a Gibraltar that I could hold against ten times the number of men that I had.

David McCullough Meanwhile, Meade dispatched General G. K. Warren to the summit. He immediately saw the danger. Only a handful of signal men held the hill. Oates' Confederates were moving down and around the Union left. Warren sent it once for reinforcements. Four Union Regiments raced up Little Round Top.

In a moment, all was excitement. Every soldier seemed to understand the situation and to be inspired by its danger. The way we went, under the terrible artillery fire, shells were exploding on every side, but our men appeared to be as cool and deliberate in their movements as if they had been forming a line upon the parade ground in camp. Up the steep hillside, we ran and reached the crest.

David McCullough At the extreme left of the Union line now is Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain's 20th Maine. Oates' Alabamians were already moving between the two hills. Chamberlain's orders were to hold that ground at all costs.

Imagine if you can nine small companies of infantry, numbering perhaps 300 men in the form of a right angle on the extreme flank of an army of 80,000 men put there to hold the key of the entire position against the force at least ten times their number.

JOSHUA LAWRENCE CHAMBERLAIN Stand firm, you boys from Maine. For not once in a century are men permitted to bear such responsibilities for freedom and justice. For God and humanity are as now placed upon you.

David McCullough 360 Maine men now took cover behind boulders. They had less than ten minutes to spare. At the last possible moment, Chamberlain sent his Company B across the hollow between the hills to bolster his left flank. Before they were in place, Oates' Confederates charged up the slope. Chamberlain assumed Company B had been wiped out. He could not afford the loss. The Maine men opened fire into the charging rebels. Oates' men staggered but regrouped and came at them again.

W.C. WARD "The line had broken because of the timber in the first fire that hit the Federals. A long line of us went down, three of us close together. There was a sharp electric pain in the lower part of the body and then a sinking sensation to the earth, and falling all things growing dark. The one and the last ideas passing through the mind was this is the last of earth," Private W.C. Ward, 4th Alabama

The enemy was pouring a terrible fire upon us. The superior forces giving him a great advantage. The air seemed to be alive with lead. Lines of times were so near each other that the hostile gun barrels almost touched.

David McCullough The Southerners drove the Maine men from their positions five times. Five times they fought their way back again. Saplings were nod in two by bullets.

At times, I saw around me more of the enemy than of my own men. Gaps, openings, swallowing, closing again. Squads of stalwart men who would cut their way through us disappearing as if

translated. All around a strange mingle roar.

David McCullough In an hour and a half, a third of Chamberlain's men fell. Sounds of battle now increased behind the 20th Maine. Chamberlain assumed Little Round Top was being surrounded.

Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain Our ammunition is nearly all gone and we are using the cartridges from the boxes of our wounded comrades. A critical moment has arrived and we can remain as we are no longer. We must advance or retreat. It must not be the latter, but how can it be the former?

David McCullough Chamberlain's only choice was to attack. and now he conjured up an unlikely textbook maneuver. With his men almost out of ammunition, he ordered them to fix bayonets. Then while the right of his line held straight, he had his left plunged down the hillside, all the while wheeling to the right like a great gate upon a post, an eye witness said. The Confederates were taken completely by surprise. Those in the front ranks dropped their weapons. Those behind, turned and ran.

Many of the enemy's first line threw down their arms and surrendered. An officer fired his pistol at my head with one hand while he handed me his sword with the other.

David McCullough The Confederates had gone only a few paces when from their left came a second horrifying surprise. Chamberlain's missing Company B, which had found protection behind the stonewall, now rose and fired.

Colonel William C. Oates "While one man was shot in the face, his right hand comrade was shot in the side or back. Someone struck simultaneously from two or three balls from different directions," Colonel William C. Oates.

David McCullough Oates' men wavered, broke, and ran for their lives.

[sil.]

My dead and wounded were then nearly as great in number as those still on duty. They literally covered the ground. The blood stood in puddles in some places on the rocks. The ground was soaked with blood.

David McCullough Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain's scanty force captured 400 Confederates. Little Round Top held.

[sil.]

CORPORAL WILLIAM T. LIVERMORE "The Regiment we fought and captured was the 15th Alabama. They said they never were whipped before and never wanted to meet the 20th of Maine again," Corporal William T. Livermore.

David McCullough On the slopes of Little Round Top, farmers from Talladega, Alabama had fought fishermen from Presque Isle, Maine. The two towns were each 650 miles from Gettysburg, which lay almost exactly on a direct line between them. Throughout the days fighting, Colonel A. S. Fremantle, a British observer traveling with Lee, was surprised to hear the sound of a Confederate band playing pokers and waltzes amidst the hissing and bursting of the shells. But far out in front of the Union line

is General Sickles and his men were in desperate trouble. The rebels were closing in from three sides. Confederate shells tore branches from the peach trees and bounded among the men.

PRIVATE ROBERT H. CARTER "The hoarse and indistinguishable orders of commanding officers, the screaming and bursting of shells, canister and shrapnel as they tore through the struggling masses of humanity. The death screams of wounded animals, the groans of their human companions. Wounded and dying and trampling under foot by hurrying batteries, riderless horses and the moving lines of battle. A perfect hell on earth, never perhaps to be equaled, certainly not to be surpassed, nor ever to be forgotten in a man's lifetime. It has never been effaced from my memory day or night for 50 years," Private Robert H. Carter, 22nd Massachusetts.

David McCullough "The balls were whistling so thick," a Texan remembered, "that it looked like a man could hold out a hat and catch it full."

I was within a few feet of General Sickles when he received the wound by which he lost his leg. A terrific explosion seemed to shake the very earth instantly followed by another. I noticed that his pants and drawers at the knee were torn clear off to the leg, which was swinging loose. He was carried from the field coolly, smoking his cigar.

David McCullough Sickles' men counterattacked, fell back, held, pushed the Confederates back, then retreated again through places still remembered for the ferocity of the fighting that happened there. The Wheatfield, the Slaughter Pen, Devil's Den, The Valley of Death. Finally, the fighting subsided. Of the 262 in one Minnesota Regiment, only 47 survived unhurt, 82 percent had fallen in less than five minutes. No Union Regiment in the war suffered greater casualties. Company F of the 6th North Carolina lost 100 percent.

CHARLES BATCHELOR "Dear father, finally I came to poor Albert lying on the ground wounded under the left eye. He had also had a ball shot through his left leg. I had no one to help me bury him from the field. I then called the captain of another company to assist me and we bore Albert 600 yards through a den swamp all bleeding and sore with pain before we could find any of the ambulance's corps to bear him off to the hospital. Taking him in my arms, I assisted him in a stretcher, dropping a tear of grief upon his bleeding face, I bid him goodbye," Charles Batchelor.

Daisy Turner Last night, I wanted so to live. I seemed so young to go. Last week I passed my birthday. I was just nineteen, you know. When I thought of all I planned to do, it seems so hard to die. But now I pray to God for grace, and all my cares gone by. And hear his voice go weaker, as he paused and raised his head and whispered, "Goodbye Mother." And your soldier boy who was dead.

SALLY BROADHEAD Who was victorious or with whom the advantage rests? No one here can tell. Some think the rebels were defeated as there's been no boastings as on yesterday, and they look uneasy and by no means exultant. I fear we are too hopeful. We shall see tomorrow," Sally Broadhead.

David McCullough As the sun set, the Union left and right still held. Lee was sure an all-out Confederate attack on the center the next day would work.

General James Longstreet "When the second day's battle was over, General Lee pronounced it a success, but we had accomplished little toward victorious results," General James Longstreet.

SHELBY FOOTE Writer

Shelby Foote The first day of fighting was so encouraging; and the second day of fighting, he came within an inch of doing it; and by that time, Longstreet said Lee's blood was up; and Longstreet said, "When his blood was up, there was no stopping him." Longstreet tried to stop him, and Lee said, "No, his there. I made him the enemy and I'm gonna strike him."

ED BEARSS Historian

Ed Bearss General Longstreet, I think, had good reasons to worry about attacking the Union position at Gettysburg. After all it was his corps at Fredericksburg that bowed down the Union troops in front of the stone wall. He could realize what the rightful musket could do, held in the hands of determined troops.

David McCullough The next day was Pickett's Charge.

STEPHEN B. OATES Historian

Stephen B. Oates Lee, by the summer of 1863, had come to believe that he was invincible and so was the army of Northern Virginia. The record would almost invite that when you see how they had fumbled one Union general after the another and it defeated or least fought to a draw the Army of the Potomac almost on every battle after that point; and Lee really did think that if he asked his boys to do something, they would do it, that they would do anything. He had come by Gettysburg then to believe in his invincibility and that of his men, and it was his doom.

Gettysburg: The Third Day

David McCullough The third day began badly for Lee. Ewell's men were driven back from Culp's Hill. Jeb Stuart was supposed to get behind the Federals and attack them from the rear; but Union cavalry stopped and held him. Thanks in part to a series of reckless charges led by 23 year-old General George Armstrong Custer.

[sil.]

David McCullough Everything now depended on Longstreet's attack on the Union center on Cemetery Ridge. Meade saw it coming and was ready for him. The man Lee chose to lead the assault was dashing, perfumed General George E. Pickett, who had never before taken his division into combat.

It was an incredible mistake and as a scarcely trained soldier, he didn't know it was a mistake at that time it was done except possibly Pickett himself who was very happy at a chance for glory; but every man who looked at over that feel whether it's a sergeant or a lieutenant general saw it was a desperate endeavor and I'm sure neither it should not have been made.

David McCullough Pickett's men filed into the woods west of the Emmitsburg Road and waited in the stifling heat. To relieve the tension, some of the men pelted each other with green apples.

Shelby Foote They knew what they were gonna do but they had to wait, and while they were waiting

in form and ready to move out, they were (inaudible) among brush and things. And the rabbit jumped out of the bushes and took off real wood; and one of the soldiers looked after him and howled, "Run old hare. If I was an old hare, I'd run too." It went all valor.

David McCullough Exactly at one o'clock, a giant artillery barrage intended to soften up the Union defenses before the attack, began with a deafening explosion. Meade had just left his commanders finishing their lunch. As an orderly served them butter, a shell tore the man in two.

A storm broke upon us so suddenly that numbers of soldiers and officers would leap from their tents or lazy siestas on grass were stricken and they're rising with mortar wounds and died. Some with cigars clamped between their teeth. Some with pieces of food in their fingers.

ELISHA HUNT RHODES The flying eye and pieces of stones struck some men down in every direction. About 30 men of our brigade were killed or wounded," Elisha Hunt Rhodes.

David McCullough To keep up his men's courage, General Winfield Scott Hancock rode up and down the line without flinching at the screaming shells. A brigadier urged him to take cover. Hancock refused. "There are times," he answered, "when a corps commander's life does not count." Union artillery began to fire back.

FRANK PASCOE "We sat and heard in silence what other expression had with that was not mean for such an awful universal battle. All in the rear of the crest for a thousand yards was the field of the shells' blind fury. Ambulances passing down the tarry town road with wounded men were struck. The hospitals were riddled," Frank Pascoe.

David McCullough Suddenly the Union guns fell silent to conserve ammunition of the attack Meade was sure was coming and to lure the enemy out into the open fields. It worked. At about two o'clock, Pickett asked if his men should go forward. Longstreet, convinced the charge was folly, unable to bring himself to speak, only nodded.

Shelby Foote If you stop and think about it, it would be very much harder not go than to go. It would take them a great deal of courage to say, "(inaudible) I ain't going." Nobody's got that much courage.

David McCullough Now Pickett gave the order. "Up men and to your posts. Don't forget today that you are from Old Virginia." At three o'clock, three divisions, 13,000 men started out of the woods toward the stone wall, a mile and a half away, at a brisk steady pace, covering about a hundred yards a minute. They were silent as they marched. Forbidden this time to fire or even to give the rebel yell until they were on top of the enemy.

More than half a mile, their front extends. Man touching man. Rank oppressing rank. The red flags waived. Their horsemen galloped up and down. The arms of 13,000 men, barrel and bayonet gleamed in the sun. A sloping forest of flashing steel, ride on they move as with one soul. None on that crest now need be told the enemy is advancing. Every eye could see his legions and overwhelming resistless tide. An ocean of armed men sweeping upon us. Always orderly and still upon our crest, no noise and no confusion. General Gibbon rode down the lines cool and calm, and in an impassioned voice, he said to the men, "Do not hurry men and fire too fast. Let them come up close before you fire, and then aim slow."

David McCullough "It was," a Union colonel recalled, "the most beautiful thing I ever saw." Suddenly, the Union artillery on Cemetery Ridge and Little Round Top opened fire; and a great moan went up from the Confederate line. "We could not help hitting them at every shot," a federal officer recalled. As many as 10 men at a time were destroyed by a single bursting shell.

[sil.]

David McCullough A Confederate lieutenant cried out to his men, "Home boys, home. Remember home is over beyond those hills." The waiting Union troops began chanting, "Fredericksburg! Fredericksburg! Fredericksburg!"

[sil.]

David McCullough When the first Southerners came within 200 yards, Union General Alexander Hays told his men to fire. Eleven cannon and 1,700 muskets went off at once. Entire regiments disappeared.

The rebel lines were at once enveloped in a dense cloud of dust. Arms, heads, blankets, guns, and nap socks were tossed into the clear air.

[sil.]

David McCullough Still the Confederates came on. They reached the Union line at one place only, a crook in the stone wall known as the angle.

[sil.]

Seconds are centuries, minutes ages. Men fire into each other's faces not five feet apart. Their bayonet thrusts, saber strokes, pistol shots. Men going down on their hands and knees, spinning around like tops. Throwing out their arms, gulping blood, falling legless, armless, headless. There are ghastly heaps of dead men.

Foot to foot, body to body, and men to men, they struggled and pushed and strived and killed. The mass of wounded and heaps of dead entangled their feet; and underneath the trampoline mass, wounded men who could no longer stand fought, drowned in sweat, black with powder, red with blood.

David McCullough The Confederates were led by General Lewis A. Armistead. He stepped over the wall waving his hat on his sword and ceased the Union battery before he was shot down.

[sil.]

David McCullough All the Confederates who breached the wall were killed or captured. The Union line held. Pickett's Charge had failed. These army would never again penetrate so far in the northern territory.

[sil.]

Private Jesse Young "Cheer after cheer rose from the triumphant boys in blue, echoing from Round Top, from Cemetery Hill, resounding in the veil below. Making the very heavens throb," Private Jesse Young.

David McCullough As the rebels staggered back, Lee rode out to meet them. "All this has been my fault," he told them.

Shelby Foote Probably his finest hour was after the repulse of Pickett's Charge. He walked out into the field, met the men retreating and said, "It is all my fault." He told them that. He wrote to the government, to Jefferson Davis and said, "It was all my fault. I asked more of men that should have been asked of them."

David McCullough Pickett was horrified. When told to rally his division for a possible Union counter attack, Pickett answered, "General Lee, I have no division now." Pickett never forgave Lee. Years later, he said, "That old man had my division slaughtered."

[sil.]

Gettysburg was the price the South paid for having R.E. Lee. That was the mistake he made, the mistake of all mistakes.

[sil.]

David McCullough Six thousand five hundred men had fallen or been captured. Half of those who marched out of the woods. All fifteen Regimental commanders had been hit, so would sixteen of seventeen field officers, three brigadier generals, and eight colonels. Every one of the University of Mississippi had been killed or wounded. "Gettysburg," Longstreet said, "had been ground of no value. That day," he added, "was the saddest of my life." Almost a third of those engaged, 51,000 men were lost. The North suffered 23,000 casualties. The South 28,000. The 2,400 inhabitants of Gettysburg now had ten times that number of dead and wounded men to care for.

JENNY McCRERY "Wounded men were brought into our houses and laid side by side in our halls and first story rooms. Carpets were so saturated with blood as to be unfit for further use. Walls were blood-stained as well as books that were used for pillows," Jenny McCrery.

David McCullough The Confederacy could not afford such sacrifices. All hope of invading the North was ended. The next day, Lee began the long retreat back to Virginia as the summer downpour washed the blood from the grass and pelted the wounded who rode in the wagon train that stretched 17 miles.

[sil.]

ELISHA HUNT RHODES "July 4. Was ever the nation's birthday celebrated in such a way before? I wonder what the South thinks of us Yankees now. I think Gettysburg will cure the rebels of any desire to invade the North again," Elisha Hunt Rhodes.

David McCullough Despite urgings from Washington, Meade refused to attack Lee's retreating army.

Another opportunity to destroy the army of Northern Virginia was lost. Once again, Lincoln was furious. Meanwhile, Robert E. Lee wrote Jefferson Davis offering to resign

ROBERT E. LEE "Dear President Davis, I cannot even accomplish what I myself desire. How can I fill the expectations of others. I generally feel of the growing failure of my bodily strength. I anxiously urge the matter upon Your Excellency for my belief that a younger and able man than myself can readily be obtained," Robert E. Lee.

David McCullough The offer was not accepted.

Shelby Foote William Faulkner, in *Intruder in the Dust* says that for every Southern boy, it's always in his reach to imagine it being one o'clock in early July, a day in 1863, the guns are laid, the troops are lined up, the flags are already out of their cases and ready to be unfurled; but it hasn't happened yet and he can go back to the time before the war was going to be lost, and he can always have that moment for himself.

[sil.]

ALBERT BACHELOR "Hospital in Gettysburg. My dear father, it has pleased the God of battles that I should number among the many wounded. Through His infinite kindness and mercy, I'm permitted to inform you that I have recovered. I was wounded in two places. First, through the hip. Second, the ball entered the inner corner of my left eye and came out at the lower tip of my right ear. Both are doing fine and healed up. Write to me, I may get the letter. Your devoted son," Albert Bachelor.

[sil.]

David McCullough After Gettysburg, the residents of Deer Isle, Maine began scanning the casualty list for familiar names. Two privates, John Gray and Isaiah Eaton were badly wounded and soon died in hospitals. Both were buried in the New National Cemetery at Gettysburg.

[sil.]

David McCullough The streets grew quiet when news of Gettysburg reached Clarksville, Tennessee. The 14th Tennessee Regiment had left town two years before with 960 men. When the Battle of Gettysburg began, only 365 remained. By the end of the first day, there were 60 men left. By the end of the battle, there were only three.

A gloom rests over the city. The hopes and affections of the people were wrapped in the regiment, but a terrible responsibility rests upon those who inaugurated this unholy war.

David McCullough On July 26, 1863, Sam Houston, first President of the Republic of Texas, unshakable supporter of the American Union, died at Huntsville, Texas.

SAM HOUSTON I asked of him who build this up and pull us down nations to unite us. I wish if this Union must be dissolved that its ruins be the monument of my grave.

[sil.]

Daisy Turner I carved him out a headboard, as skillful as I could. And if you wish to find it, I can tell you where it stood. I send you back his hymnbook, the cap he used to wear. The lock I cut the night before, of his bright, curly hair. I send you back his bible; the night before he died, I turned its leaves together, and read it by his side. I keep the belt he was wearing; he told me so to do. It has a hole upon the side, just where the ball went through. So now I've done his bidding. There's nothing more to tell; but I shall always mourn with you the boy we loved so well.

She Ranks Me

Our hired men left to enlist just as corn planting commenced. So I shouldered my hoe and have worked out ever since. I guess my services are just as acceptable as his.

David McCullough No conflict in history, a journalist wrote, was so much a woman's war as the Civil War. North and South, women looked for ways to help. In the North, citizens from the Sanitary Commission and the Christian Commission to organize private relief and check the spread of disease in the army. The disease rate was cut in half. Sanitary commissioners prow the camps demanding they be cleaned up, reforming hospital conditions, insisting on better food; making sure blankets, shoes, medicines, and packages from home were distributed fairly. Prominent men ran the Sanitary Commission. New York lawyer George Templeton Strong was its treasurer. But hundreds of thousands of women in 7,000 local chapters all over the North did the work, sewing, knitting, baking, wrapping bandages, raising funds, organizing rallies.

Mary Livermore "If this war developed some of the most brutal, bestial, and devilish qualities lurking in the human race, it has also shown us how much of the angel there is in the best men and women," Mary Livermore.

David McCullough Mary Livermore, a Chicago minister's wife, organized Midwestern volunteers into 3,000 chapters; and when the army was threatened with scurvy, sent so much food south that one reporter said, "A line of vegetables connected Chicago and Vicksburg." Clara Barton who stood barely five feet tall distributed supplies by mule train, ministered to the wounded from Cedar Mountain to Antietam, and tirelessly lobbied Washington for better care for the men. In a letter home, Catherine Walmsly, a nurse on a hospital ship, decried the confusion and chaos onboard, but she ended goodbye, this is life. George Templeton Strong's wife, Ellie, went South to serve on a hospital ship too.

Ellie's tack sense good nature and energy conquered the USA surgeon in charge at once and coerced all his official dignity into a heartache, grateful cooperation in the care of his cargo of 500 cases, mostly bad ones. I have never given her credit for tied of the enterprise. Pluck, discretion, and force of character she has shown. God bless her.

Ellie Strong We had no Sanitary Commission in the South. We were too poor. We had no line of rich and populous cities closely connected by rail. With us, every house was a hospital.

David McCullough Southern women worked as nurses too despite criticism that it was unlady-like for them to care for ruffians. Sally Tompkins of Richmond and a staff of only six nursed 1,333 wounded men in her private hospital, and kept all but 73 of the alive. A record unmatched by any other Civil War hospital North or South.

[sil.]

David McCullough Mary Ann Bickerdyke, a Quaker widow and Sanitary Commission agent, traveled with the Union Army through four years and 19 battles. Assisting at amputations, brewing barrels of coffee; rounding up cattle, chickens, and eggs to feed the grateful men who called her Mother Bickerdyke. By the end of the war, General Sherman said simply, "She ranks me."

Vicksburg

David McCullough Everyday since late May, U.S. Grant's 200 Union guns had pounded Vicksburg from land while Admiral David Porter's gunboats battered it from the river.

They fired at the city thinking that they will wear out the women and children and the sick, and General Pemberton will be obliged to surrender the place on that account; but they little know the spirit of the Vicksburg women and children.

David McCullough Civilians dug caves in the yellow clay hillside. Some with several rooms fitted out with rugs, beds and chairs, and staffed with slaves; but food ran low. The city's defenders were reduced eating mules, horses, and dogs. The Vicksburg Gazette had to be printed on the back of flowered wallpaper. There was no more newsprint.

Dora Miller "We are utterly cut off from the world, surrounded by a circle of fire. The shower of shells goes on day and night. People do nothing but eat what they can get, sleep when they can, and dodge the shells," Dora Miller.

David McCullough "It was living like plant roots," one woman said. Union troops began calling Vicksburg prairie dog town. Finally, after 48 days of siege, on July 4, the same day that Lee began his retreat from Gettysburg, 31,000 Confederates surrendered. Confederate General John C. Pemberton said it would be an act of cruel inhumanity to subject his men to the terrible ordeal any longer. "Besides," he added, "I am a Northern man. I know my people. I know we can get better terms from them on the 4th of July than on any other day of the year." The stars and stripes was raised above the Vicksburg Courthouse. At the celebration aboard Admiral Porter's flagship on the Mississippi, Grant was the only one who did not touch the wine offered him, but contented himself with a cigar.

William Tecumseh Sherman "Grant is now deservedly the hero. He labored with praise by those who accused him a month ago of all the sins in the calendar, and who next week will turn against him if so blows the popular breeze, vox populi, vox humbug," William Tecumseh Sherman.

Henry Adams "It is now conceded that all idea of British intervention is at an end. I want to hug the army of the Potomac for Gettysburg. I want to get the whole army of Vicksburg drunk at my own expense. I want to fight some small man and lick him," Henry Adams.

David McCullough The Confederacy was cut in two. The Mississippi had become a Union highway. "The father of waters," Lincoln said, "again goes unvexed to the sea."

We have lost the Mississippi and our nation is divided, and there's not enough left to fight for.

David McCullough The 4th of July would not be celebrated in Vicksburg again for 81 years.

Bottom Rail On Top

George Templeton Strong "I found for my substitute a big Dutch boy of twenty or thereabout for the moderate consideration of 1,100 dollars. My alter ego could make a good soldier if he tried. Gave him my address and told him to write to me if he found himself in the hospital or in trouble, and then I would try to do what I probably could to help him," George Templeton Strong.

Wanted A SUBSTITUTE.

David McCullough In July, Lincoln issued the first Federal draft call. All able bodied men between 20 and 45 were enrolled; but the law favored the will to do. Any men willing to pay 300 dollars as a commutation fee or hire a substitute to serve in his place was exempt.

Senator Thaddeus Stevens "The law is a rich man's bill, made for him who cannot raise their sun," Senator Thaddeus Stevens.

David McCullough The fathers of Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt hired substitutes. So did Andrew Carnegie and J.P. Morgan, and two future presidents, Chester A. Arthur and Grover Cleveland.

[sil.]

David McCullough Bounty jumping became a profession. Men signed up from one district long enough to receive a reward for enlisting, then deserted to do the same elsewhere. One man repeated the process 32 times before he was cut. Shaker Elder Frederick Evans came to see Lincoln hoping to have his pass of his community excuse for military service. "We need Regiments of such men as you," Lincoln said, but granted Elder Evans' request. The Shakers were among the first conscientious objectors. On Deer Isle, two prominent local citizens began going house to house delivering induction notices; 149 men were called for the new draft; 42 never showed up; 33 were exempted for medical reasons; two paid substitutes; and one man sold his house and left his wife and several children homeless rather than desert them for the front.

New York City contemplated cessation from the Union too and they want to be declared an open city. There was a great deal of resentment of the influx of Blacks and a lot of resistance to the draft, because men could get better pay in jobs than they ever had and the last thing they want was to go to the war. To go into resentment too that if you could scrape up 300 dollars, you could be exempt; and all those resentments flared up into what's called the New York draft rise.

David McCullough No group was more outraged than the immigrant Irish of New York, who feared the Blacks, who competed for the lowest-paying jobs, and for whose freedom they did not wish to fight. Democratic politicians fan their anger.

Horatio Seymour "Remember this, at the bloody and treasonable and revolutionary doctrine of public necessity can be proclaimed by a mob, as well as by a government," Governor Horatio Seymour, New York.

David McCullough On Sunday, July 12, when the names of the first draftees appeared in the newspapers, along side long list of those who had fallen at Gettysburg, a mostly Irish mob attacked and destroyed the draft office; then fanned out across the city. For three days, the east side of

Manhattan belonged to the mob. Blacks were their main targets. They burned Black boarding houses, a Black church, a Black orphanage, and lynched a crippled Black coachman and set his corpse on a fire while chanting, "Hurrah for Jeff Davis."

George Templeton Strong "July 14, fire bells clanking as they have clanked the bells throughout the evening. Many details come in of yesterday's brutal, cowardly ruffianism and plunder. Shops were cleaned out and Black men hanged in karma in the street for no offense but that of Negritude," George Templeton Strong.

David McCullough Finally, exhausted troops from Gettysburg arrived to impose order. More than a hundred people had been killed. Bloody riots broke out throughout the North as oppositions of the war increased. "The nation," wrote the editor of the Washington Times, "is at this time in a state of revolution; North, South, East, and West."

[sil.]

Abraham Lincoln "You say you will not fight to free Negroes. Some of them seem willing to fight for you. When victory is won, there will be some Black men who can remember that with silent tongue and clinched teeth and steady eye and well-poised bayonet, they have helped mankind onto this great consummation," Abraham Lincoln.

[sil.]

Frederick Douglass "The Negro is the key to the situation. The pivot upon which the whole rebellion turns. This war, disguised it as they may, is virtually nothing more or less than perpetual slavery against universal freedom; and to this end, the free states will have to come," Frederick Douglass.

Wendell Phillips "Will the slave fight? If any man asks you, tell him no; but if anyone asks you will a Negro fight, tell him yes," Wendell Phillips.

David McCullough Since the first shots were fired, abolitionists have been pressing the government to put Blacks into battle. Congress authorized colored troops in 1862, but a year went by before the first Black men put on blue coats to serve under White officers.

Ulysses S. Grant "These were the emancipation of the Negro as the heaviest blow yet given the Confederacy. By arming the Negro, we have added a powerful ally. They will make good soldiers," Ulysses S. Grant.

[sil.]

David McCullough Black privates were paid ten dollars a month, three dollars less than Whites. Several Regiments served without pay rather than submit to that inequality. Blacks were rarely promoted.

BARBARA FIELDS Historian

Barbara Fields Many of the Union soldiers who began with stereotypical assumptions about Black men who assumed that they couldn't fight, that they would hand their weapons over to the enemy, that

they would run and so on, had their minds changed in the grimace of circumstances; and some of the documents that tell the story of how people's ideas were transformed are not the sort of documents that you enjoy reading because they speak of how people became companions in death, of how White soldiers learned to respect their Black comrades when they watched how they reacted as people all around were being killed, being butchered.

[sil.]

David McCullough On July 18, just three days after the draft rights ended, 650 men of the all-Black 54th Massachusetts Regiment assaulted a Confederate position at Battery Wagner, South Carolina. Their commander was a Boston abolitionist's son, Colonel Robert Gould Shaw.

[sil.]

It is not too much to say that if this Massachusetts 54th had faltered when this trial came, 200,000 troops to whom it was a pioneer, would never been put into the field; but it did not falter. It made Fort Wagner such a name for the colored race as Bunker Hill has been for 90 years to the White Yankees.

David McCullough Forty percent of the regiment did not return, including Colonel Shaw.

Shelby Foote Shaw led their attack on Battery Wagner who cut to pieces. They never should have made that charge and, and, ah, when it was over, the Confederates were in control, and ah, it was a very hard feeling against White officers of Black Regiments; and Shaw was simply thrown in the burial pit with his soldiers. Ah, Shaw's father later said he was proud to have him buried that way.

David McCullough When the flag bearer fell and the order to withdraw was given, Sergeant William Carney ceased the colors and made it back to his lines despite bullets in the head, chest, right arm and leg. He was the first of 23 Blacks awarded the Medal of Honor, though he had to wait 37 years to get it.

Sergeant Lewis Douglas "Fort Wagner, my dear Amelia. I have been in two fights and am unhurt. I am about to go in another, I believe tonight. Our men fought well on both occasions. How I got out under that fight alive, I cannot tell but I am here. My dear girl, I hope again to see you. I must bid you farewell should I be killed. Remember, if I die, I die on a good cause. I wish we had 100,000 colored troops, we would put an end to this war," Sergeant Lewis Douglas.

[sil.]

David McCullough They constituted less than one percent of the North's population; yet, by the war's end, they would make up nearly one tenth of the Northern Army. Most of the them freed Blacks and runaway slaves.

[sil.]

David McCullough Eighty-five percent of the eligible Black male population had signed on; 180,000 fought to free their people.

Once let the Black man get upon his person, the brass letters, US. Let him get an eagle on his buttons

and a musket on his shoulder, bullets in his pockets, and there is no power on earth which can deny that he has earned the right to citizenship in the United States.

William Tecumseh Sherman "The whole army of the United States could not restore the institution of slavery in the South. They can't get back their slaves any more than they can get back their dead grandfathers. It is dead," William Tecumseh Sherman.

[sil.]

David McCullough Once a Black Union soldier spotted his former owner among a group of Confederate prisoners. "Hello, master," he said, "bottom rail on top this time."

[sil.]

Jerry Sullivan "Folks talk about the fight being nearly over, but I believe there is a heat yet to come. Let the colored man accept to offer the president and the cabinet, take arms, join the army, then we'll whip the rebels. Even if Longstreet and all the streets of the South concentrated in Chattanooga," Jerry Sullivan.

The River of Death

David McCullough Heart against the Tennessee River at the meeting point of two strategically crucial railroads, the City of Chattanooga guarded the gateway to the Eastern Confederacy and the rebel war industries in Georgia. For five months, Union General William Rosecrans resisted Lincoln's urgent calls to drive Braxton Bragg's Confederates out of Tennessee and cease Chattanooga. When summer came, Lincoln demanded more decisive action and at long last Rosecrans moved, launching a series of brilliant and almost bloodless flanking maneuvers. In ten days, he drove Bragg 80 miles through a relentless Tennessee rain. "No Presbyterian rain either," a soldier remember, "but a genuine Baptist downpour." In September, Bragg abandoned Chattanooga and kept backing away until just over the Tennessee line in Georgia where he gathered his forces now bolstered by Longstreet's Virginia veterans, along a meandering creek called Chickamauga.

Shelby Foote Chickamauga is like all Indian words interpreted to mean the river of death. God knows what it really means. Chickamauga was a horrendous battle. Very, a lot of breakthroughs, a lot of hand to hand combat, a long rugged retreat, glorious Southern victory which was unexploited. All the Western heroes were there from Forrest on down. Uhm, it was, it's, it's a great battle.

David McCullough At 8:00 AM on the morning of September 18, Nathan Bedford Forrest's cavalry ran into a brigade of Federals heading for a little bridge over the creek. By noon, one of Forrest's officers reported the dead were piled upon each other like cordwood to make passage for advancing columns. By nightfall, both lines held. On the second day of fierce fighting, Rosecrans committed a fatal mistake, ordering his troops to close a gap in the Union line that wasn't there. In the process, he opened up a real one and Longstreet's Confederates stormed through. The Union forces broke and ran. "They have fought their last man," Longstreet said, "and even he is running." But George Henry Thomas, a Union man from Virginia refused to retreat and organized a stubborn, last-minute defense that kept the battle from becoming a rout and earned him the nickname The Rock of Chickamauga. The Northern Army limped back into Chattanooga. "Rosecrans was confused and stunned," Lincoln said, "like a duck hit on the head."

David McCullough Bottled up in Chattanooga, the Union forces were miserable. Cold, vermin invested, cut off from all but a thin trickle of supplies. They demolished houses and hacked down every tree and fence in town for fuel. The Confederates besieging the city were in no better shape.

Sam Watkins "In the very acne of our privations and hunger, when the army was most dissatisfied and unhappy, we were ordered into land to be reviewed by the Honorable Jefferson Davis. When he passed us with his great retinue of staff officers at full gallop, cheers greeted in with the words, "Send us something to eat, Master Jeff, I am hungry. I am hungry," Sam Watkins.

[sil.]

David McCullough In October, Ulysses S. Grant, now in command of all Union Armies from the appellations to the Mississippi, hurried to Chattanooga and immediately replaced Rosecrans with Thomas. Braxton Bragg's Confederate Army now occupied the six-mile crest of Missionary Ridge, East of the city. Confederate guns were masked on the 2,000-foot summit of nearby Lookout Mountain, south of town. Grant, down in Chattanooga, resolved to drive them off. The Battle of Chattanooga began on November 24. Union troops storm Lookout Mountain, fighting through such dense fog, that it was remembered as the battle above the clouds.

[sil.]

David McCullough During the night, a besieged Bragg withdrew from the summit of Lookout Mountain to nearby Missionary Ridge.

[sil.]

David McCullough Just before dawn the next morning, Federals stepped out onto an overhanging rock and as the sun rose, unfurled their flag. Thousands of Union men in the valley below broke into a thunderous cheer. The Union had won. The next Union task was to take Missionary Ridge. In command at the bottom of the hill was 115-pound General Phil Sheridan, who pulled a flask from his pocket and toasted the Confederate gunners above him. "Here's at you," he said. The rebels open fire spattering him and his officers with dirt. "That was ungenerous," Sheridan said. "I'll take your guns for that."

[sil.]

David McCullough "Who ordered those men up the hill," Grant asked. "No one," an aide replied, "They started up without orders. When those fellows get started, all hell can't stop them."

Those defending the heights became more and more desperate as our men approached the top. They shouted Chickamauga and though the word itself were a weapon. They thrust cartridges into guns by the handful. They lighted the fuses of shells and rolled them down; but nothing could stop the force of the charge.

John Williams, South Carolina, killed at Missionary Ridge, Tennessee, November 1863.

[sil.]

David McCullough Under Grant's leadership, the Union Army had broken the Confederates' siege at Chattanooga. It was another triumph for Grant. "It was a great victory," Sherman said. "The neatest and cleanest battle I was ever in, and Grant deserves the credit of it all."

[sil.]

David McCullough In the weeks that followed, everybody posed on Lookout Mountain.

[sil.]

David McCullough General Thomas ordered a Union cemetery laid out on the hill called Orchard Knob that had seen savage fighting. A Chaplain asked if the burial should be by state. "No, no. Mixed them up," Thomas said. "I am tired of states rights."

[sil.]

David McCullough At the capital in Washington at noon on December 2, 1863, a 19-foot bronze goddess of freedom triumphant was at last hoisted into place. The great dome was finished.

Walt Whitman "I like to stand aside and look long, long while up at the dome. It comforts me somehow," Walt Whitman.

Benjamin Franklin Jackson "In camp, December 3rd, 1863. It is now just 21 days to Christmas. I would give anything if I could be there to take Christmas with you. Martha, if you get this letter and having a chance, I wish you would send me a old woolen quill for I've not gotten any blankets and we got get any so I'll feel bad of a cold night," Benjamin Franklin Jackson.

Mary Chesnut "Christmas day 1863, General Buckner had seen a Yankee pictorial. Angels were sent down from heaven to bear up Stonewall's soul. They could not find it. Flew back sorrowing. When they got to the golden gate above, they found Stonewall by a rapid flank movement had already caught his way in." Mary Chesnut.

Christian Fleetwood "This year has brought about many changes that at the beginning would have been thought impossible. The close of the year finds me a soldier for the cause of my race. May God bless the cause and enable me in the coming year to follow it on," Christian Fleetwood.

STEPHEN B. OATES Historian

Stephen B. Oates It was an extremely religious age. Both sides wanted to get right with God. John Brown said he was an instrument in the hands of God to bring in the harvest fairy, to free the slaves, and perhaps began the Civil War. Abraham Lincoln finally felt that he too was an instrument in the hand of God and that God was punishing the country for the crime of slavery. Robert E. Lee said that he was an instrument in the hands of God and said at Gettysburg that it's all in God's hands, and then sent the cream of his army to its doom. They really felt that providence was at work in this war. As Lincoln said, "We both pray to the same God. We both evoked in. We both said we were on his side," but it wasn't until 1863 indeed at the end of the war that it became clear where God's judgment was coming down. That was in the whole country. It must now atone in blood for its complicity and

wickedness, the wickedness of slavery.

A New Birth of Freedom

David McCullough The Civil War was fought in ten thousand places, at Big Bend, Big Sandy, and the Big Sunflower River. From Bunker Hill, West Virginia and Blue Springs, Tennessee and Cairo, Illinois, to Golgotha Church, Georgia, and Christianburg, Kentucky. At Citrus Point on the Cimarron River and along Cowskin Bottom. At Pebbly Run and La Glorieta Pass, and Gettysburg.

JAMES SYMINGTON Former Congressman

James Symington I think if I had my choice of all the moments to be present at the, in that war period, it would be at Gettysburg during Lincoln's delivery of his speech. Maybe to have seen him craft those beautiful words, those marvelous healing words, and then deliver them. They were for everyone for all time and they subsumed the entire war, and all in it had showed his compassion for everyone. His love for his people, that's what I'd like to be.

[sil.]

David McCullough On November 19th, Lincoln traveled to Gettysburg to dedicate the New Union Cemetery. The featured speaker was Edward Everett of Massachusetts, a diplomat, clergyman, and celebrated orator. The president had been invited almost as an afterthought to offer a few appropriate remarks. Everett spoke for not quite two hours. Then Lincoln rose. A local photographer took his time focusing, presumable the president could be counted on to go on for a while; but he spoke just 269 words. He started off by reminding his audience that just 87 years had passed since the founding of the nation; and then he went on to involve the Union cause was some of the most stirring words ever spoken. Lincoln was heading back to his seat before the photographer could open the shutter.

[sil.]

Shelby Foote He felt that he had failed, that it was a poor speech, that the people didn't like it. It was so brief, less than two minutes. He felt that he had failed. Lamon, his friend Ward Lamon, who was sitting next to him on the stand, when he sat down there was just a sprinkle of applaud; and he said, "Lamon, I had a speech that won't scow. That's what you say about a plow in the prairies when a mud done come off it."

"The cheek of every American was tingled with shame as he reads the silly, flab, dish-watery utterances of the man who has to be pointed out to intelligent foreigners as the President of the United States," Chicago Times.

Edward Everett "Dear Mr. President, I should be glad if I could flatter myself that I came as near to the central idea of the occasion in two hours as you did in two minutes." Edward Everett.

Four score and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation. Conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now, we are engaged in a great Civil War, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure. We are met here on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of it as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that their nation might live. It is all together

fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hollow this ground. The brave men living and dead who struggled here have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they have thus far so nobly carried on. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead, we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion, that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain. That this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth.

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 Chesnut 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. Elisha Hunt Rhodes CHARLEY McDOWELL Pvt. Sam Watkins HORTON FOOTE Jefferson Davis GEORGE PLIMPTON George Templeton Strong PHILIP BOSCO Horace Greelay, 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 WAHSBURN 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 WILLIAM 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 FITZGERALD 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 7 EVERETT, INC. Still Photography ROBERT BURGESS STEPHEN PETEGORSKY Traditional Music JACQUELINE SCHWAB Piano JAY UNGAR Fiddle, Mandolin MATT GLASER Fiddle JESSE CARR Guitar, Recorder, Vocals MOLLY MASON 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", 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 SETNER 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 Post-Production & Sound Effects SOUND DIMENSIONS SOUND ONE Assistant Sound Editors LISA SCHECHTER JOSHUA LEVIN JOAN FRANKLIN Sound Editing Apprentices ED BARTESKI VIDA FITZGERALD Rerecording Mixer LEE DICHTER 2002 Digital Re-Mastering Supervisor PAUL BARNES Spirit Data Cine Film Transfer THE TAPE HOUSE Colorist JOHN DOWDELL III On-Line Editing THE TAPE HOUSE GEORGE BUNCE Stereo Re-Mix SOUND ONE, NY Re-recording Mixer LEE DICHTER Sound Editors IRA SPEIGEL MARLENA GRZASLEWICZ MARIUSZ GLABINSKIN SEAN HUFF Post-Production Associate DANIEL J. WHITE Re-DEPARTMENT CAROLINE YEAGER DAN WAGNER EASTMAN HOUSE BOB MASTRIONARDI JOHN W. JOHNSTON KODAK RICK ANTHONY IRWIN YOUNG DUART FILM LABORATORIES TRACEY BAUER TIM SPITZER MARK POLYOCAN THE TAPE HOUSE STEVE RUSSELL THOMPSON MULTI-MEDIA JOSEPH EWERS BOB BACCUS Archival Material LIBRARY OF CONGRESS NATIONAL ARCHIVES U.S. ARMY MILITARY HISTORICAL INSTITUTE AMERICAN HERITAGE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY & Its Exhibit "A House Divided" and Alabama Department of Archives & History Collection of Jay P. Altmayer John E. Allen Film Archive American Antiquarian Society American National Bank & Trust Company Amon Carter Museum Architect of the Capitol Armed Forces Institute of Pathology Armed Forces Medical Museum Association of American Railroads Atlanta Historical Society Austin History Center, Austin Public Library Herbert K. Barnett Behringer-Crawford Museum H.H. Bennett Studios Bettmann Archive Boston Athenaeum Boston Public Library Bowdoin College Library Bridgeport Public Library Brooklyn Museum Brown University Library Bob G. Burford Stanley B. Burns, M.D. & The Burns Archive Richard F. Carlile The Joshua L. Chamberlain Museum of the Pejepscot Historical Museum The Chrysler Museum, Norfolk VA Civil War Library & Museum, Philadelphia PA Clarksville-Montgomery County Historical Museum Robert P. Coggins Collection of Southern American Art Connecticut Historical Society Culver Pictures Deer Isle Stonington Historical Society Dementi-Foster Studios, Richmond VA Dubose Collection Duke University Library Eastern National Park & Monument Association Tom Farish Collection The Forbes Magazine Collection Florida State Archives Joe Fulginti Mr. and Mrs. Franklyn Fulton Grafton Historical Society, Grafton VT The Greenwich Workshop, Inc. & Tom

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