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[Episode 1: The Cause](#) from PBS (Public Broadcasting Service, 1990) 174:26.

transcript

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Oliver Wendell Holmes We have shared the incommunicable experience of war. We have felt, we still feel, the passion of life to its top. In our youths, our hearts were touched with fire. Oliver Wendell Holmes.

[sil.]

David McCullough By the Summer of 1861, Wilmer McLean had had enough. Two great armies were

converging on his farm, in what would be the first major battle of the Civil War, Bull Run, or Manassas, as the Confederates called it, would soon rage across the aging Virginian's farm. A Union shell going so far as to explode in the summer kitchen. Now, McLean moved his family away from Manassas, far south and west of Richmond, out of harm's way, he prayed, to a dusty little crossroads called Appomattox Courthouse. And it was there, in his living room, three and a half years later, that Lee surrendered to Grant. And Wilmer McLean could rightfully say, "The war began in my front yard, and ended in my front parlor".

THE CIVIL WAR

David McCullough The Civil War was fought in 10,000 places, from Val Verde, New Mexico and Tullahoma, Tennessee, to Saint Albans, Vermont and Fernandina on the Florida coast. More than three million Americans fought in it, and over 600,000 men, two percent of the population, died in it. American homes became headquarters. American churches and schoolhouses sheltered the dying. And huge foraging armies swept across American farms, and burned American towns. Americans slaughtered one another wholesale, here, in America, in their own cornfields and peach orchards, along familiar roads and by waters with old American names. In two days at Shiloh, on the banks of the Tennessee, more American men fell than in all previous American wars combined. At Cold Harbor, seven thousand Americans fell in 20 minutes.

[sil.]

David McCullough Men who had never strayed 20 miles from their own front doors, now found themselves soldiers in great armies, fighting epic battles hundreds of miles from home. They knew they were making history, and it was the greatest adventure of their lives. The war made some rich, ruined others, and changed forever, the lives of all who lived through it. A lackluster clerk from Galena, Illinois, a failure in everything except marriage and war, who in three years would be head of the Union Army, and in seven, President of the United States. An eccentric student of theology and military tactics. A hypochondriac who rode into battle with one hand raised, to keep, he said, the blood balanced. A college professor from Maine, who, on a little hill in Pennsylvania, ordered an unlikely textbook maneuver, that saved the Union Army, and possibly the Union itself. Two ordinary soldiers, one from Providence, Rhode Island, the other from Columbia, Tennessee, who each served four years, and together seemed to have been everywhere during the war, and lived to tell the tale. The courtly unknowable aristocrat, who disapproved of secession and slavery, yet, went on to defend them both at the head of one of the greatest armies of all time. The runaway boy who stole himself from slavery recruited two regiments of Black soldiers, and helped transform the Civil War into a struggle for the freedom of all Americans. And then there was the rough man from Illinois, who would rise to be the greatest president the country has ever seen. Between 1861 and 1865, Americans made war on each other and killed each other in great numbers, if only to become the kind of country that could no longer conceive how that was possible. What began as a bitter dispute over Union and States' rights, ended as a struggle over the meaning of freedom in America. At Gettysburg in 1863, Abraham Lincoln said perhaps, more than he knew. The war was about a new birth of freedom.

[sil.]

1938, 75th Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg, President Roosevelt spoke to the remaining few Civil War Veterans.

President Roosevelt Veterans of the Blue and the Gray, on behalf of the people of the United States, I accept this monument, in the spirit of brotherhood and peace.

Year after year, the nation remembered. In 1930, veterans of the Union Army marched in Cincinnati, Ohio. Four years later, in New York City. They and the surviving veterans of the Confederacy were the last link, with the terrible conflict that tore America apart from 1861 to 1865. The last Civil War veteran would die in 1959, and no longer would there be living memories of long ago battles, only history and legends.

SHELBY FOOTE Writer

Shelby Foote Any understanding of this nation has to be based, and I mean really based, on an understanding of the Civil War. I believe that firmly. It defined us. The revolution did what it did. Ah, involvement in European wars began with the First World War, did what it did. But the Civil War defined us as what we are, and it opened us to being what we became, ah, good and bad things. And it, it is very necessary, if you're gonna understand the American character in the 20th century, to learn about this enormous catastrophe of the mid-19th century. It was the, the, the, the crossroads of our being, and it was, ah, hell of a crossroads.

BARBARA FIELDS Historian

Barbara Fields For me, the picture of the Civil War as a historic phenomenon, is not on the battlefield. It's not about weapons. It's not about soldiers, except to the extent that weapons and soldiers, at that crucial moment, joined the discussion about something higher, about humanity, about human dignity, about human freedom.

Abraham Lincoln When shall we expect the approach of danger. Shall some Transatlantic giant stepped the Earth and crush us at a blow? Never! All the armies of Europe and Asia, could not by force, take a drink from the Ohio River, or make a track on the Blue Ridge in the trial of a thousand years. If destruction be our luck, we must ourselves be its author and finisher. As a nation of free men, we will live forever, or die by suicide. Abraham Lincoln, 1837.

1861 The Cause

David McCullough In 1861, most of the nations 31 million people lived peaceably on farms and in small towns. At Sharpsburg, Maryland, a German pacifist sect, the Dunkards, made their home in a sea of wheat and corn. In Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, population 2,400, young men studied Latin and Mathematics at the small college there. Steamboats filled with cotton came and went at Vicksburg on the Mississippi. In Washington D.C., Senator Jefferson Davis reviewed plans for remodeling the capital. In Richmond, the 900 employees of the Tredegar Iron Works turned out gun carriages and cannon for the U.S. Government. At West Point on the Hudson, officers trained and friendships were formed, they thought would last a lifetime.

[sil.]

Frederick Douglass In thinking of America, I sometimes find myself admiring her bright blue sky, her grand old woods, her fertile fields, her beautiful rivers, her mighty lakes and star crowned mountains. But my rapture is soon checked when I remember that all is cursed with the infernal spirit of

slaveholding and wrong, when I remember that with the waters of her noblest rivers, the tears of my brother and I are borne to the ocean, disregarded and forgotten. That her most fertile fields drink daily of the warm blood of my outraged sisters. I am filled with unutterable loathing. Frederick Douglass.

All Night Forever

David McCullough "No day ever dawns for the slave," a free Black man wrote, "nor is it looked for." For the slave, it is all night, all night forever. One White Mississippian was more blunt. "I'd rather be dead," he said, "than be a nigger on one of these big plantations."

[sil.]

David McCullough A slave entered the world in a one-roomed dirt-floored shack, drafty in winter, reeking in summer. Slave cabins spread pneumonia, typhus, cholera, lockjaw, tuberculosis. The child who survived to be sent to the fields at 12 was likely to have rotten teeth, worms, dysentery, malaria. Fewer than four out of a hundred lived to be 60.

[sil.]

David McCullough Work began at sunrise, and continued as long as there was light, 14 hours sometimes, unless there was a full moon, when it went on still longer.

[sil.]

David McCullough On the auction block, Blacks were made to jump and dance to demonstrate their sprightliness, and stripped to show how little whipping they needed. Buyers poked and prodded them, examined their feet, eyes, and teeth. Precisely, one ex-slave recalled, as a jockey examines a horse. A slave could expect to be sold at least once in his lifetime, maybe two times, maybe more. Since slave marriages had no legal status, preachers changed the wedding vows to read, "Until death or distance do you part."

You know what I'd rather do? If I thought that I'd ever be a slave again? I'd take a gun, and just end it all right away, because you're nothing but a dog. You're not a thing but a dog.

[sil.]

David McCullough Some slaves refused to work. Some ran away.

[sil.]

David McCullough Still, Blacks struggled to hold their families together, created their own culture under the worst of conditions, and yearned to be free.

[sil.]

Barbara Fields If there was a single event that caused the war, it was the establishment of the United States, in independence from Great Britain, with slavery still a part of its heritage.

Shelby Foote It was because we failed to do the thing we really have a genius for, which is compromise. Ah, Americans like to think of themselves as uncompromising. Our true genius is from compromise. The whole government is founded on it, and it failed.

John J. Chapman There was never a moment in our history when slavery was not a sleeping serpent. It lay coiled up under the table during the deliberations of the Constitutional Convention. Owing to the cotton gin, it was more than half awake; thereafter, slavery was on everyone's mind, though not always on his tongue. John J. Chapman.

David McCullough By the time the nation was founded, slavery was dying in the North. There were doubts in the South too, but few could conceive of any alternative. Thomas Jefferson of Virginia said, "Maintaining slavery was like holding a wolf by the ears. You didn't like it, but you didn't dare let it go." Then in 1793, a Northerner, Eli Whitney, taught the south how to make slavery pay. Whitney's engine, or gin, made it easier to separate cotton from its seed. Where before, it'd taken one slave 10 hours to produce a single pound of lint, the cotton gin could crank out a thousand pounds a day. Production soared, and with it, the demand for slaves. By 1860, the last year of peace, one out of every seven Americans belonged to another American. Four million men, women, and children were slaves.

Are We Free?

David McCullough In Boston, in 1831, claiming that which is not just is not law, William Lloyd Garrison began publishing a militant anti-slavery newspaper, The Liberator. He called for complete and immediate abolition.

William Lloyd Garrison I am in earnest. I will not equivocate. I will not excuse. I will not retreat a single inch, and I will be heard.

David McCullough He was heard. And his message was clear. Slavery was sin. And those who maintained it, criminals.

[sil.]

David McCullough The abolition movement grew inspired by passionate leaders. Harriet Tubman, called Moses by the slaves who followed her north to freedom. Wendell Phillips, named the Golden Trumpet of Abolitionism, for his oratory, and Frederick Douglass, the son of a slave and a White man.

Frederick Douglass I appear this evening as a thief and robber. I stole this head, these limbs, this body from my master, ran off with them.

David McCullough Douglass was so eloquent that skeptics charged he could never have been a slave. In part to prove them wrong, he wrote an autobiography, purchased his freedom with \$600 obtained from English admirers, and returned to the struggle.

John C. Calhoun The abolitionist would raise the Negroes to a social and political equality with the Whites, and that being affected, we would soon see the present condition of the two races reversed. They and the northern allies would be the masters, and we the slaves. John C. Calhoun.

David McCullough More and more Southerners worried about the growing political, as well as economic power of the North. Northerners were increasingly hostile to slavery. Still, most Southerners refused to acknowledge even the possibility of changing their way of life.

Alexis de Tocqueville At the north bank of the Ohio, everything is activity, industry, laborers honored. There are no slaves. Pass to the south bank, and the scene changes so suddenly that you think yourself on the other side of the world. The enterprising spirit is gone. Alexis de Tocqueville.

Mary Chesnut We are separated because of incompatibility of temper. We are divorced North from South, because we hated each other so. Mary Chesnut.

David McCullough On the clear moonlit night of November 7th, 1837, a mob surrounded the warehouse at Alton, Illinois, intent on destroying an anti-slavery newspaper, run by the Reverend Elijah P. Lovejoy. When one of the mob moved to set the building on fire, Lovejoy, armed with a pistol, came out to stop him. The slavery men shot him dead, and dumped his printing press into the Mississippi. The news stunned the nation. A White man had been killed over Black slavery. Protest meetings were held throughout the North. One abolitionist wrote, "The thousands of our citizens who lately believed that they had nothing to do with slavery, now begin to discover their error." In Hudson, Ohio, a clergyman told a church gathering, "The question now before us is no longer can slaves be made free, but are we free? Or are we slaves under mob law?". In the back of the church, a strange gaunt man rose to his feet, and raised his right hand.

John Brown Here, before God, in the presence of these witnesses, I consecrate my life to the destruction of slavery. John Brown.

A House Divided

David McCullough In 1846, a lawyer from Springfield, Illinois was elected to Congress. He was born in Kentucky, the son of a farmer, who could barely sign his name. He became a legislator at 24, a prosperous attorney. And after a turbulent courtship, the husband of Ms. Mary Todd, the daughter of a slaveholding Kentucky banker. For Abraham Lincoln, the Declaration of Independence was to be taken literally. All men had the right to rise as far as talent would take them, just as he had. He detested slavery, but he called for its restriction, not immediate abolition. By mid-century, the country was deeply divided. Southerners feared the North might forbid slavery. Northerners feared slavery might move west. As each new state was added to the Union, it threatened to upset the delicate equilibrium of power.

Henry Adams There are grave doubts at the hugeness of the land, and whether one government can comprehend the whole. Henry Adams.

David McCullough Now, events accelerated. In 1852, Harriett Beecher Stowe published Uncle Tom's Cabin. Its portrayal of slavery's cruelty moved readers as nothing else had. Queen Victoria wept over it. And within a year, more than a million and a half copies were in print worldwide. In 1854, Congress allowed settlers in the Kansas and Nebraska territories to decide for themselves whether or not to permit slavery. Kansas exploded. Five thousand pro-slavery men invaded the territory. In the next three months, 200 men died in bleeding Kansas. The killing would not stop for 10 years. In 1857, the Supreme Court refused to free a slave, Dred Scott, even though he had lived for many years on free soil. Chief Justice Roger B. Taney said a Black man had no rights a White man was bound to

respect.

Abraham Lincoln As a nation, we began by declaring that all men are created equal. We now practically read it, all men are created equal, except negroes. Soon, it will read, all men are created equal except negroes, and foreigners, and Catholics. When it comes to this, I should prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty, to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, and without the base alloy of hypocrisy. Abraham Lincoln.

David McCullough Violence reached the floor of the United States Senate, where Congressman Preston Brooks of South Carolina savagely beat abolitionist, Senator Charles Sumner, with his cane. Southern sympathizers sent Brooks new canes. Members began carrying knives and pistols into the chamber. Meanwhile, the nation's Chief Executive, James Buchanan, did nothing.

Abraham Lincoln A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved. I do not expect the House to fall. But I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other.

A. LINCOLN The Meteor

David McCullough On Sunday evening, October 16th, 1859, the radical abolitionist, John Brown, led five Blacks and 13 Whites into Harper's Ferry, Virginia. He brought along a wagon load of guns to arm the slaves he was sure would rally to him. Once they had, he planned to lead them southward, along the crest of the Appalachians and destroy slavery. Brown was an inept businessman who had failed 20 times in six states and defaulted on his debts. Yet, he believed himself God's agent on Earth. In 1856 at Pottawatomie Creek in Kansas, he and his sons had hacked five pro-slavery men to death with broadswords, all in the name of defeating Satan and his legions. Brown and his men quietly seized the armory, arsenal, and engine house, and took up hostages, including George Washington's great grand nephew. After that, nothing went right. The first person killed was the town baggage master, a free Black. The slaves did not rise up. Angry townspeople did. The first of Brown's followers to fall was Dangerfield Newby, a former slave. Someone in the crowd cut off his ears as souvenirs. On Tuesday morning, federal troops arrived from Washington, lead by a U.S. Army Colonel, Robert E. Lee. Lee's men stormed the engine house and nine more of Brown's men were killed, including two of his sons. Brown, severely wounded, was turned over to Virginia, to be tried for treason.

William Lloyd Garrison In firing, he is gone. John Brown has merely told what time of day it is. It is high noon. Thank God. William Lloyd Garrison.

An undivided South says, "Let him hang." Albany, Georgia patriot.

David McCullough Virginia found Brown guilty and sentenced him to death. Among the troops at the scene of his hanging were cadets from the Virginia Military Institute, lead by an eccentric professor, Thomas J. Jackson. Also there, was a private in the Richmond grays, a young actor named John Wilkes Booth.

Abraham Lincoln December 2nd, 1859, old John Brown has been executed for treason against the state. We cannot object, even though he agreed with us in thinking slavery wrong. That cannot excuse violence, bloodshed, and treason. It could avail him nothing that he might think himself right.

Abraham Lincoln.

David McCullough Ralph Waldo Emerson likened Brown to Christ. Nathaniel Hawthorne declared, "No man ever more justly hanged." And Herman Melville called him, "The Meteor of the War." Brown had said nothing from the gallows, but he did hand one of his guards a note.

John Brown I, John Brown, am now quite certain, that the crimes of this guilty land will never be purged away but with blood.

[sil.]

His zeal in the cause of freedom was infinitely superior to mine. Mine was as the taper light. His was as the burning sun. I could lived for the slave. John Brown could die for him.

ED BEARSS Historian

Ed Bearss John Brown, John Brown very important person in history. Important though for only one episode. Failure in everything in life, except he becomes the single most important factor, in my opinion, in bringing on the war. The militia system in the South, which had been a jolt before this, before then, becomes a viable instrument, as the Southern militias began to take a true form, and the South begins to worry about Northerners educating the Blacks to murder them in their beds.

David McCullough It was the beginning of the Confederate Army.

Secessionitis

Alexander Stevens The feeling among the Southern members for dissolution of the Union is becoming more general. Men are now beginning to talk of it seriously, who 12 months ago, hardly permitted themselves to think of it. The crisis is not far ahead. Alexander Stevens.

David McCullough The country was coming apart. In the presidential election of 1860, Buchanan happily stepped aside, but not before his ruling Democratic Party was fatally split over the issue of slavery. The Republicans, a new party, saw their chance, and nominated Abraham Lincoln, a moderate. His platform pledged only to halt slavery's further spread.

Abraham Lincoln On that point, hold firm, as with the chain of steel. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God, cannot long retain it.

David McCullough Radical abolitionist in the North complained that Lincoln's opposition to slavery did not go far enough. But to most people in the South, the prospect of Lincoln's election posed a lethal threat. The 1860 campaign had become a referendum on the Southern way of life. On November 6th, 1860, Abraham Lincoln won the presidency with only 40 percent of the vote. He did not even appear on the ballot in 10 Southern states.

Richmond Whig The election of Mr. Lincoln is undoubtedly the greatest evil that has ever befallen this country, but the mischief is done, and the only relief for the American people is to shorten sail, send down the topmast, and prepare for hurricane. Richmond Whig.

David McCullough In the South, Lincoln was burned in effigy, and now, the South Carolina Legislature called for a convention to consider seceding from the Union.

SHELBY FOOTE Writer

Shelby Foote Southerners would have told you that they were fighting for self government. They believed the gathering of power in Washington was against them. When they entered into that federation, they certainly would never have entered into it if they hadn't believe it would be possible to get out. And when the time came that they wanted to get out, they thought they had every right. The Southerners saw the election of Lincoln as a sign that the Union was about to be radicalized, and that they were about to be taken in directions they did not care to go. The abolitionist aspect of it was very strong, and, ah, they figured they were about to lose what they call their property, and face ruin.

David McCullough Yet many Southerners thought secession was madness. South Carolina, one Southern politician wrote, "Is too small for a republic and too large for an insane asylum."

George Templeton Strong November 19th, 1860. The most gloomy day in Wall Street. Everything at a deadlock. First class paper not negotiable. Stocks falling. George Templeton Strong.

David McCullough In New York, emotions were no less explosive. And George Templeton Strong, a conservative lawyer who distrusted Lincoln, began to keep track of events in his diary.

George Templeton Strong The bed of our country is a debilitated chicken, disguised in eagle feathers. We have never been a nation. We are only an aggregate of communities, ready to fall apart at the first serious shock.

David McCullough When Abraham Lincoln was elected president, there were 33 states in the Union, and the 34th, free Kansas, was about to join. By the time of his inauguration, five months later, just 27 states would remain. The suddenness of secession took everyone by surprise. South Carolina led the way on December 20th. A bell in Charleston told the succession of departing states. Mississippi on January 9th, Florida on the 10th, then Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana. In Texas, Governor Sam Houston was deposed, when he tried to stop his state from joining the Confederacy.

Sam Houston Let me tell you what is coming. After the sacrifice of countless millions of treasure and hundreds of thousands of lives, you may win Southern independence, but I doubt it. The North is determined to preserve this Union. They are not a fiery, impulsive people as you are, for they live in colder climates, but when they begin to move in a given direction, they move with a steady momentum and perseverance of a mighty avalanche.

David McCullough Texas left anyway. Even Virginia, the most populous Southern state, birthplace of seven presidents, seemed sure to follow.

George Templeton Strong All the indications are that this treasonable inflammation, secessionitis, keeps on making steady progress, week by week. If this Union becomes an established fact, we have one consolation, the self-amputated members were diseased beyond immediate cure, and their virus will infect our system no longer. George Templeton Strong.

The Charleston Mercury. The tea has been thrown overboard. The revolution of 1860 has been

initiated.

David McCullough After South Carolina seceded, the handful of Federal troops still stationed in Charleston, withdrew to Fort Sumter, far out in the harbor. Their commander, Major Robert Anderson, said he had moved his men in order to prevent the effusion of blood. They were quickly surrounded by rebel batteries.

[sil.]

Lucius Quintus Lamar Thank God, we have a country at last. To live for, to pray for, and if need be, to die for. Lucius Quintus Lamar.

David McCullough On February 18th, a few minutes after noon, Jefferson Davis stood on the steps of the Alabama State House at Montgomery. He took the Oath of Office as president of the Provisional Confederate States of America. The crowds cheered, wept, sang Farewell to the Star Spangled Banner, and Dixie, a minstrel tune written by a Northerner. He was brittle, nervous, often unable to sleep, and partly blind in one eye. Accustomed to being abade, he scorned the bargaining that made Democratic Government work. Sam Houston said he was as cold as a lizard and ambitious as Lucifer. Like Lincoln, he was a Kentuckian, the son of an itinerant farmer, but he had been educated at West Point, fought in Mexico, and served as Secretary of War. As senator from Mississippi, he resisted secession as long as he could. But when his state withdrew from the Union, he headed home to his plantation, Briarfield, south of Vicksburg. He and his wife, Varina, were there, clipping roses in the garden, when word came that he had been elected president.

Varina Davis I'm waiting that telegram, he looked so aggrieved, that I feared some evil had befallen our family. After a few minutes he told me, "As a man not speak of a sentence of death."

Jefferson Davis Upon my head with showered smiles, plaudits, and flowers, but beyond them, I saw troubles innumerable. Jefferson Davis.

David McCullough The Confederate Constitution was almost identical to the United States Constitution, but it gave the president a line item veto, a six-year term, and it outlawed international slave trading.

[sil.]

David McCullough The Confederate Cabinet met for the first time in a hotel room. A sheet of stationery pinned to the door marked the President's office. "Where will I find the State Department?" a visitor asked Robert Toon, Secretary of State. "In my hat sir, and the archives in my coat pocket."

Alexander Stevens Our new government is founded upon the great truth, that the Negro is not equal to the White man. Vice President Alexander Stevens.

Mary Chesnut God forgive us, that ours is a monstrous system. Like the patriarchs of old, our men lived all in one house with their wives and their concubines, and the mulattos, one season every family exactly resembled the White children. All the time, they seem to think themselves patterns, models of husbands and fathers. Mary Chesnut.

David McCullough Mary Chesnut and her husband, James, a former United States Senator from South Carolina, moved among the highest circles of the Confederacy, and were close to Jefferson Davis and his wife. Mary was subject to depressions and nightmares, for which she sometimes took opium. Now, she too began to keep a diary.

Mary Chesnut This journal is intended to be entirely objective. My subjective days are over.

[sil.]

William Russell The impression produced by the size of his extremities and by his slapping and wide-projecting ears, may be removed by the appearance of kindliness, sagacity. The nose itself a prominent organ, stands out from the face with an inquiring anxious air, as though it was sniffing for some good thing in the wind. The eyes, dark, full and deeply set, are penetrating, but full of an expression which almost amounts to tenderness. William Russell, The London Times.

David McCullough Two days after Jefferson Davis left home, Abraham Lincoln set out from Springfield, Illinois, for his capital.

Abraham Lincoln Here, I have lived a quarter of a century, and passed from a young to an old man. Here, my children have been born, and one is buried. I now leave, not knowing when or whether ever I may return, with the task before me, greater than that which rested upon Washington. Without the assistance of that Divine being whoever attended him, I cannot succeed. With that assistance, I cannot fail. To his care commending you, as I hope in your prayers you will commend me, I bid you an affectionate farewell.

David McCullough En route to Washington, the President's train stopped at Cleveland, Buffalo, Albany, and New York. In Philadelphia, warned of plots to kill him, Lincoln declared he would rather be assassinated, than see a single star removed from the American Flag. Two days later, he reluctantly cancelled plans for a grand arrival in Washington, and slipped into the capital by train at dawn, wrapped in a shawl and protected by two-armed guards.

[sil.]

David McCullough Inauguration day in Washington was cloudy and cold. A large, tense crowd gathered beneath the unfinished dome. Cannon guarded the Capitol grounds. Sharpshooters lined the roof. Lincoln promised not to interfere with slavery, but he denied the right of any state to secede, vowed to defend Federal installations, and spoke directly to the South.

Abraham Lincoln In your Hands, my dissatisfied countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of Civil War. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic cords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave, to every living heart and heart stone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

4:30a.m. April 12, 1861

Mary Chesnut I do not pretend to go to sleep. How can I? If Anderson does not accept terms at 4, the orders are he should be fired upon. I count 4, St. Michael chimes. I began to hope. The heavy booming of a cannon, I sprang out of bed and on my knees prostrate, I prayed as I have never prayed before.

David McCullough The Civil War began at 4:30 a.m. on the 12th of April, 1861. General Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard ordered his Confederate gunners to open fire on Fort Sumter, at that hour, only a dark shape out in Charleston Harbor. Confederate Commander Beauregard was a gunner, so skilled as an artillery student at West Point, that his instructor kept him on as an assistant for another year. That instructor was Major Robert Anderson, Union Commander inside Fort Sumter.

[sil.]

All the pent up hatred of the past months and years is voiced in the thunder of these cannon, and the people seem almost beside themselves in the exaltation of a freedom they deem already won.

David McCullough The signal to fire the first shot was given by a civilian, Edmund Ruffin, a Virginia farmer and editor, who had preached secession for 20 years. "Of course," he said, "I was delighted to perform the service."

[sil.]

David McCullough Thirty-four hours later, a white flag over the fort ended the bombardment. The only casualty had been a Confederate horse. It was a bloodless opening to the bloodiest war in American History.

[sil.]

The first gun that was fired at Fort Sumter, sounded the death knell of slavery. They who fired it were the greatest practical abolitionists this nation has produced.

April 13th. So Civil War is inaugurated at last. God defend the right.

[sil.]

14 April. Montgomery Daily Advertiser. The intelligence that Fort Sumter has surrendered to the Confederate forces yesterday sent a thrill of joy to the heart of every true friend of the South. The face of every Southern man was brighter, his step lighter, and his bearing prouder than it had been before.

David McCullough In Boston, jubilant volunteers marched pass Faneuil Hall eager to avenge Fort Sumter. In Baltimore, anti-Lincoln men rampaged through the streets. In Richmond, a mob marched on the state house, tore down the Stars and Stripes, and raised the Stars and Bars. There was no longer any doubt that Virginia would secede. And in New York, a hundred thousand people crowded Union Square, where the Sumter Flag now flew. Walt Whitman, sometime poet and journalist for the Brooklyn Standard, was stunned by the news. "All the past we leave behind with Sumter", he said.

[sil.]

Mary Chesnut Woe to those who began this war, if they were not in bitter earnest. Mary Chesnut.

Traitors and Patriots

Theodore F. Upson Father and I were husking out corn, when William Corey came across the field. He was excited and said, "Jonathan, the rebels have fired upon Fort Sumter." Father got white, and couldn't say a word. Theodore F. Upson.

April 15th. The events multiplied. The President is out with a proclamation calling for 75,000 volunteers. It is said 200,000 more will be called within a few days.

David McCullough On the day Sumter fell, the regular Army of the United States consisted of fewer than 17,000 men, most of whom were stationed in the far west. Only two of its generals had ever commanded an army in the field, and both were long past their prime. Winfield Scott, the hero of the Mexican War, Old Fuss and Feathers, was too fat even to mount a horse.

[sil.]

Hercules Sandert We was treated as good as a company could be at every station. We got kisses from the girls at a good many places, and we returned the same to them. Hercules Sandert(ph).

I've got the best suit of clothes I ever had in my life.

David McCullough In the North, they came by hundreds and by thousands. From Boston, Massachusetts. From Detroit and Ann Arbor, Michigan, and Portsmouth, New Hampshire in the rain. Whole towns signed up. The 10th Michigan Volunteer Infantry was made up of flint boys. Their commander was the mayor. Their regimental doctor, the man who'd been taking care of them since they were young. The 6th New York contained so many bowery toughs, it was said a man had to have done time in prison just to get into the regiment. The Elite 7th on the other hand, set out for Washington with sandwiches from Delmonico's, and a thousand velvet-covered camp stools, on which to sit and eat them. On his way to war, Lt. George Armstrong Custer, just 22, and less than a month out of West Point, where he graduated at the bottom of his class, stopped in New York to have himself fitted out with a splendid new uniform, then went to a photographer. In Pawtucket, Rhode Island, 19-year-old Elisha Hunt Rhodes left his job as a harness maker's clerk, and signed on as a private in the 2nd Rhode Island Volunteers. He would have joined earlier, but his widowed mother begged him to stay home.

Elisha Hunt Rhodes We drilled all day and night, standing before a long mirror, I put many hours of weary work, and soon thought myself quite a soldier. I was elected first sergeant, much to my surprise. Just what a first sergeant's duties might be, I had no idea.

David McCullough After two weeks of drilling, the 2nd Rhode Island moved out.

Elisha Hunt Rhodes Today, we have orders to pack up and be ready to leave for Washington. My knapsack was so heavy that I could scarcely stagger under the load. At the wharf, an immense crowd had gathered and we went on board our steamer with mingled feelings of joy and sorrow.

David McCullough In Baton Rouge, William Tecumseh Sherman resigned as superintendent of the

Louisiana Military Academy and headed North. "You politicians," he told his brother, Senator John Sherman of Ohio, "have got things in a hell of a fix, and you may get them out as best you can. I will have no more to do with it." But when Sumter fell, he put his uniform back on and reluctantly went to war.

William Tecumseh Sherman You might as well attempt to put out the flames of a burning house with a squirt gun. I think this is to be a long war. Very long. Much longer than any politician thinks.

Ulysses S. Grant There are but two parties now, traitors, and patriots, and I want hereafter to be ranked with the latter. Ulysses S. Grant.

David McCullough In Galena, Illinois, 39-year-old Ulysses S. Grant was working in his father's harness shop. Having failed once as a peacetime soldier, and considered by some, a drunk. Now he signed on as a mustering officer, handling the flood of volunteers at \$4.20 a day.

[sil.]

William Nugent New Orleans, 1861. I feel that I would like to shoot a Yankee, and yet I know that this would not be in harmony with the spirit of Christianity. William Nugent.

So impatient that I become for startin' that I felt like a thousand pins were prickin' me in every part of my body and I started off a week in advance than my brothers.

I found Mobile boiling over with enthusiasm. The young merchants had dropped their ledgers and were forming and drilling companies by night and day.

Mary Chesnut Every day regiments marched by. Charleston's proud of its soldiers. These new ones are running in fairly. They fear the war will be over before they get sight of the fun. Every man from every little country precinct wants a place in the picture.

David McCullough The Confederate Government, its capital now in Richmond, called for 100,000 volunteers. So many Southerners volunteered that a third of them had to be sent home. They came from Catahoula and Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Greenville, Mississippi, Moundville, Alabama, and Chattanooga, Tennessee. Tennessee joined the Confederacy; so did Arkansas and North Carolina. In Memphis, Nathan Bedford Forrest, a blacksmith's son, who had made himself a millionaire selling land, cotton, and slaves, put up posters calling on anyone who wanted to kill Yankees to come and ride with him. The Clinch Rifles from Augusta, Georgia, started out in May, 1861. Only the drummer boy would survive. The odds against the Southern victory were long. There were nearly 21 million people in the North, just 9 million in the Confederacy, and 4 million of them were slaves, whom their masters did not dare arm. The value of all the manufactured goods produced in all the Confederate states added up to less than one fourth of those produced in New York State alone. But none of this mattered to the men who joined the Tallapoosa Thrashers, and Chickasaw Desperadoes, and Cherokee Lincoln Killers.

[sil.]

Sam Watkins The histories of the lost cause are all written out by big bugs. Generals and renowned historians. Well, I have much right as any man to write a history. Sam Watkins.

David McCullough One of the first to answer the Southern call was 21-year-old Sam Watkins of Columbia, Tennessee. He joined Company H of the First Tennessee at Nashville. Like most rebel soldiers, he owned no slaves.

Sam Watkins The bugle sounded to strike tense and place everything aboard the cars. We went bowling along at 30 miles an hour, as fast as steam could carry us. At every town and station, citizens and ladies were waving their handkerchiefs in hurrahing for Jeff Davis and the Southern Confederacy. It's worth soldiering to receive such a welcome as this.

Winfield Scott If the President of the United States would tell me that a great battle was to be fought for the liberty of slavery of the country, and asked my judgment as to the ability of the commander, I would say with my dying breath, "Let it be Robert E. Lee." General Winfield Scott.

Robert E. Lee I can anticipate no greater calamity for the country, than the dissolution of the Union. It would be an accumulation of all the evils we complain of. And I am willing to sacrifice everything but honor for its preservation. Robert E. Lee.

[sil.]

David McCullough The most promising officer in the regular army was Robert E. Lee of Virginia. On April 18, four days after Sumter, Lee was summoned to Blair House at Lincoln's behest, and offered field command of the entire Union Army. Lee said he would think about it. Virginia had voted to secede the day before. That night, he paced anxiously in the gardens around his Arlington Mansion, across the Potomac. At midnight, Saturday, the 20th, Lee wrote his letter of resignation from the United States Army. On the 21st, the Governor of Virginia asked Lee to take command of the State Militia.

Shelby Foote When Lee had to choose between the nation and Virginia, there was never any choice, any doubt about what his choice would be. Where would he stay? And he said, "I can't draw my sword against my native state," or, or as he often said, "My country."

David McCullough Lincoln had lost his best soldier.

Mary Chesnut Not by one word or look, can we detect any change in the demeanor of the Negro servants. They make no sign. Are they stupid, or wiser than we are? Silent and strong biding their time? Mary Chestnut.

David McCullough Both sides thought it would be a 90-day war, and both sides agreed it was to be a White man's fight. Blacks who tried to sign up were turned away.

April 19, there has been a serious disturbance in Baltimore. Regiments from Massachusetts assailed by a mob that was repulsed by shock and steel. It's a notable coincidence that the first blood in this great struggle is drawn by Massachusetts's men, on the anniversary of Lexington.

Gun Men

Elisha Hunt Rhodes We are in Washington, and what a city. Mud, pigs, Negroes, palaces, shanties

everywhere. As we passed the White House, I had my first view of Abraham Lincoln. He looks like a good honest man, and I trust that with God's help, he can bring our country safely out of its peril.
Elisha Hunt Rhodes.

David McCullough The Rhode Islanders set up their bunks at the patent office. New Yorkers slept on the carpeted floor of the House Chamber. Massachusetts men camped in the rotunda, and cooked their bacon on furnaces in the basement. Overhead, the Capitol dome remained incomplete. Despite the war, Lincoln insisted that the work go on. "I take it as a sign," he said, "that the Union will continue."

The first thing in the morning is drill, then drill, then drill again, then drill, drill, a little more drill, then drill. Then lastly, drill. Between drills, we drill and sometimes stop to eat a little, and have a roll call.

Edward Hastings Ripley Outskirts of Baltimore, my dear William, I can now march 20 and 25 miles a day, live on short rations of hard packed raw rancid bacon, green roasting ears, and cold water, sleep out in the rain, and have me do with nothing but an Army coat over me, and enjoy myself capitally.
Edward Hastings Ripley.

[sil.]

Shelby Foote Early in the war, there was a Confederate veteran ah, a young country boy on guard duty. He is walking his post in the woods, and there was an owl, unknown to him in a tree nearby, and the owl said, "hoooo", and the boy trembling with fear, said, "It's me sir, John Albert, a friend of yours."

[sil.]

David McCullough In May, Union troops crossed the Potomac by torchlight and took the heights of Arlington. Robert E. Lee's house would be occupied by Union troops for the rest of the war. In late June, the new general in charge of the Union Army, Irvin McDowell, outlined plans for attacking the Confederates in Virginia. But he did not yet want to fight. "This is not an army," he warned the president. "You are green, it is true," Lincoln answered, "But they are green also. You are all green alike."

David McCullough To preserve the Constitution, Lincoln had, for three months, gone beyond it, waging war without congressional consent. Seizing Northern telegraph offices, suspending habeas corpus. To keep the border states from seceding, Lincoln sent troops to occupy Baltimore and clapped the mayor and 19 secessionist legislators in jail without trial. Chief Justice Taney ruled that the President had exceeded his power. Lincoln simply ignored him. "More rogues than honest man find shelter under habeas corpus," he said. And even contemplated arresting the Chief Justice.

Shelby Foote A very mysterious man. He's got so many sides to him. The curious thing about Lincoln to me uh, is that he could remove himself from himself as if he were looking at himself. It's a very strange, very eerie thing, uh and highly intelligent. It's a simple thing to say but, uh Lincoln's been so smothered with stories of his compassion that people forget what a highly intelligent man he was. And almost everything he did, almost everything he did was calculated for effect.

[sil.]

Frederick Douglass Teach the rebels and traitors, that the price they are to pay for the attempt to abolish this government must be the abolition of slavery. Frederick Douglass.

[sil.]

David McCullough From the start of the war, slaves fled their plantations for the Union lines, But Lincoln's policy was clear. Despite pressure from the abolitionist, he insisted he was making war on secession, not slavery, and ordered the army to return fugitives to their owners. But now, an unlikely figure helped to change men's minds. General Benjamin Butler was a Massachusetts politician, with crossed eyes and mixed motives, who had once backed Jefferson Davis for President of the United States. "Returning slaves only aided the enemy," Butler argued, and he got permission to hold fugitive slaves as contraband of war, and employed them as laborers in the Union Army.

Benjamin Butler Major Carey of Virginia asked if I did not feel myself bound by my Constitutional obligations to deliver up fugitives under the Fugitive Slave Act. To this I replied that the Fugitive Slave Act did not affect the foreign country, which Virginia claimed to be, and she must reckon it, one of the infelicities of her position, that in so far at least, she was taken at her word. General Benjamin Butler.

David McCullough The trickle of runaways coming into the northern lines now swelled to a flood. One ex-slave who had recently bought his freedom told a Union soldier, "If I had known you gunmen was a coming, I'd a saved my money."

David McCullough War was breaking out all across the country. There were engagements at Big Bethel, Virginia and Boonville, Missouri. Skirmishes from Maryland to New Mexico territory. At Philippi, in Western Virginia, a young Union General, George McClellan, won a small, highly publicized victory over a tiny Confederate force, but still, there had been no decisive battle.

Manassas

Mary Chesnut July 9, our battle summer. May it be our first and our last so-called. After all, we have not had any of the horrors of war. Mary Chesnut.

[sil.]

Elisha Hunt Rhodes July 16. It begins to look warlike, and we shall probably have a chance to pay our Southern brethren a visit upon the sacred soil of Virginia very soon. I hope we shall be successful and give the rebels a good pounding. Elisha Hunt Rhodes.

David McCullough On July 16th, the Volunteer Union Army of 37,000 men marched into Virginia. Their aim, to cut the railroad at Manassas, then move on at last to Richmond.

Washington Star. The scene from the hills was grand. Regiment after regiment was seen coming along the road and across the long bridge, their arms gleaming in the sun. Cheer after cheer was heard as regiment greeted regiment and with the Marshall music and sharp clear orders of commanding officers, it made the combination of sounds very pleasant to the ear of the Union man.

[sil.]

David McCullough To stop the Union invasion, 22,000 Confederate troops had moved north from Richmond, commanded by General Beauregard, who knew in advanced the Federals were coming. Rose Greenhow, a prominent socialite in Washington, and a Confederate spy, had alerted him. Now, Beauregard made his headquarters in Wilmer McLean's farmhouse.

David McCullough The Confederates form a meandering 8-mile line along one side of the Bull Run creek. They were less than 25 miles from Washington. And there, they waited. Hundreds of Washingtonians in holiday mood rode out to Manassas hoping to see a real battle. Some brought field glasses, picnic baskets, bottles of champagne.

James Tinkham We saw carriages which contained civilians, who had driven out from Washington to witness the operations. The Connecticut boys said, "There's our senator", and some of our men recognize other members of Congress. We thought it wasn't a bad idea to have the great men from Washington come out to see us thrash the Rebs. Private James Tinkham.

[sil.]

David McCullough On the morning of the 21st, McDowell sent his men across Bull Run. They smashed into the left side of the Confederate line driving the rebels from one position after another. The civilian onlookers waved hats and fluttered handkerchiefs. It was not yet noon, and all was going just as they wanted.

On reaching a clearing separated from our left flank by a rail fence, we were saluted by a volley of musketry, which was fired so high, that all the bullets went over our heads. My first sensation was astonishment at the peculiar whirr of the bullets, and that the regiment immediately laid down without waiting for orders.

[sil.]

We fired a volley and saw the rebels running. The boys were saying constantly in great glee, "We've whipped them. We will hang Jeff Davis to a sour apple tree. They're running, the war is over."

David McCullough An onlooker remembered that the advancing Union Army looked like a bristling monster, lifting himself by a slow wavy motion, up to laborious ascent. Union victory seems so sure, that on one part of the battlefield, men stopped to gather souvenirs. But holding a hill at the center of the Southern line was a Virginia brigade led by General Thomas Jackson. While other Southern commands wavered, Jackson's held firm. One Confederate officer trying to rally his own frightened men shouted, "Look, there is Jackson with his Virginians, standing like a stone wall." The name stuck.

Shelby Foote He had a strange combination of religious fanaticism, and a glory in battle. He loved battle. His eyes would light up. They called him Old Blue Light because of the way his eyes would light up in battle. He was totally fearless. He had no thought, whatsoever, of, of danger at anytime when the battle was on. And he could define what he wanted to do. He said, "Once you get them running, you stay right on top of 'em, that way a small force can defeat a large one every time." He knew perfectly well that a reputation for victory would roll and build.

David McCullough It was the turning point. At 4 o'clock, Beauregard ordered a counter attack. Jackson urged his men to yell like furies. The rebel yell first heard that day would echo from a thousand battlefields. Confederate reinforcements began to arrive. The first came on horseback. More arrived by train, something new in war. The Northern Army fell apart. The retreat soon became a rout, as Union guns became entangled with the carriages of fleeing spectators.

We tried to tell them that there was no danger, called on them to stop, implored to stand. We called them cowards. Put out our heavy revolvers and threatened to shoot, but all in vain.

[sil.]

W. W. Blackfoot Along a shaded little valley through which our road lay, the surgeons had been plying their vocation all the morning upon the wounded. Tables, about breast high, had been erected upon which screaming victims who have their legs and arms cut off. The surgeons and their assistants, stripped to the waist, and all were spattered with blood, stood around, some holding the poor fellows, while some others armed with long bloody knives and saws, cut and sawed away with frightful rapidity, throwing the mangled limbs on a pile nearby as soon as removed. Lt. Col. W. W. Blackfoot, First Cavalry of Virginia.

Josiah Fable What a horrible sight it was, if you're a man, grasping his gun firmly in his hands, stone dead. Several with distorted features, all horribly dirty. Many were terribly wounded, some with legs shot off. Others with arms gone. Some, so badly wounded, they could not drag themselves away, slowly bleeding to death. We stopped many times to give some a drink, and soon saw enough to satisfy us with the horrors of war. Lt. Josiah Fable.

[sil.]

I struggled on clinging to my gun and cartridge box. Many times I sat down in the mud determined to go no further, and willing to die and end my misery. But soon a friend would pass and urge me to make another effort and I would stagger a mile further.

At daylight, we could see the spires of Washington and a welcome sight it was. The loss of the regiment in this disastrous affair was 93 killed, wounded, or missing.

Shelby Foote There is ah, ah, ah, a Congressman, I believe, from Alabama, I've forgotten where from, who said there would be no war and he offered to wipe up all the blood that would be shed ah, with a pocket handkerchief. Ah that, that was his prediction. I've always said someone could get a Ph.D. by calculating how many pocket handkerchiefs it would take to wipe up all the blood that was shed. It'd be a lot of handkerchiefs.

David McCullough From the Confederate White House in Richmond, Jefferson Davis rejoiced.

Jefferson Davis My fellow citizens, your little army, derided for its want of arms, derided for its lack of all the essential material of war, has met the grand army of the enemy, routed it at every point, and it now flies inglorious in retreat before our victorious columns. We have taught them a lesson in their invasion of the sacred soil of Virginia.

George Templeton Strong Today will be known as Black Monday. We are utterly and disgracefully

routed, beaten, whipped by secessionists. George Templeton Strong.

William Russell London Times, "The inmates of the White House are in a state of utmost trepidation and Mr. Lincoln in despair. Why Beauregard does not attack Washington, I know not, nor can I well guess.

David McCullough It was remembered as the Great Skedaddle. For days, discouraged troops struggled back into Washington.

I saw a steady stream of men covered with mud, soaked through with rain, who were pouring irregularly up Pennsylvania Avenue toward the Capitol. A dense stream of vapor rose from the multitude. I asked a pale young man who looked exhausted to death whether the whole had been defeated. "That's more than I know", he said. "I know I'm going home. I've had enough of fighting to last my lifetime."

David McCullough The North was appalled at the 5,000 casualties. Both sides now knew it would be no 90 days war. Two days later, canny real estate speculators bought up the battlefield to make a second kind of killing as a tourist attraction.

Frederick Douglass "What up on earth is the matter with the American people? Do they really covet the world's ridicule as well as their own social and political ruin? The national edifice is on fire. Every man who can carry a bucket of water or remove a brick is wanted, yet, government leaders persistently refuse to receive as soldiers the slaves, the very class of men, which has a deeper interest in the defeat and humiliation of the rebels than all others. Such is the pride, the stupid prejudice, and folly that rules the hour." Frederick Douglass.

[sil.]

William Russell Little did I conceive of the greatness of the defeat, the magnitude of the disaster which had entailed upon the United States. So short lived has been the American Union, but men who saw it rise may live to see it fall. William Russell, London Times

A Thousand Mile Front

George McClellan Washington, August. I found no preparations whatever for defense, not a regiment was properly encamped, not a single avenue or approach guarded. All was chaos, and the streets, hotels, and bar rooms were filled with drunken officer and men absent from their regiments without leave, a perfect pandemonium. George McClellan.

[sil.]

David McCullough Five days after the disaster at Bull Run, a new general took over what was now called the Army of the Potomac. George Brinton McClellan, only 34, seemed just what the North needed. He brought with him to the demoralized capital what one aide called "an indescribable air of success".

David McCullough He replaced inept officers with regulars. He laid out tidy camps around Washington to accommodate the 10,000 new volunteers arriving each week, drilled them eight hours a

day, and staged grand reviews to boost morale.

All the attention was upon the young general with the calm eye, with a satisfied air, who moved around followed by an immense staff to the clanking of sabers and the acclamation of the spectators. Regis de Trobriand.

George McClellan I find myself in a new and strange position here, President, Cabinet, General Scott and all deferring to me. By some strange piece of magic, I simply will become the power of the land. I almost think that were I to win some small success now, I could become dictator or anything else that might please me. But nothing of that kind would please me. Therefore, I won't be a dictator. Admirable self-denial.

David McCullough The newspapers called him "Young Napoleon" and he could not help seeing the resemblance himself.

David McCullough But 100,000 untrained volunteers had become an army, McClellan's army. His men who loved him for having made them proud of themselves called him "Little Mac".

Shelby Foote His specialty is preparing troops to fight and he did that superbly. McClellan trained that army. Whatever the Army of the Potomac did in the after years is largely due to the training McClellan gave them in that first year.

David McCullough With Lincoln, McClellan and his staff devised a three-pronged attack on the Confederacy. One army would drive in to Virginia and take Richmond. Another would secure Kentucky and Tennessee, then push into the heartland of the Confederacy, and occupy Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia. Meanwhile, the Navy would clear the Mississippi, surround the Confederacy by sea, and choke off supplies. The war would be fought along a thousand mile front. That fall, Lincoln elevated McClellan to General-in-Chief replacing the aging Winfield Scott. "I can do it all," McClellan said. But he did nothing. As summer turned to autumn, it became increasingly clear that having made a magnificent army, George McClellan, had no immediate plans to lead it anywhere.

Ulysses S. Grant As we approached the brow of the hill, my heart kept getting higher and higher until it felt to me it was in my throat. I would have given anything then to have been back in Illinois. But I kept ride on. When the valley below was in full view, I halted, "The enemy's troops were gone." My heart resumed its place. And it occurred to me at once that he had been as much afraid of me as I of him. This was a view of the question I had never taken before, but it was one I never forgot afterwards. General Ulysses S. Grant

David McCullough In September, Ulysses S. Grant took Paducah, Kentucky, a strategic city at the mouth of the Tennessee. But two months later, his undisciplined recruits were almost destroyed, looting a captured rebel camp instead of preparing for a counterattack. Grant was returned to desk duty. In November, William Tecumseh Sherman was relieved as Union Commander in Kentucky when he insisted that at least 200,000 men would be needed to suppress the rebellion in the West. No one believed him. He grew melancholic, prone to fits of anxiety and rage. "Sherman," McClellan said, "'is gone in the head". December found him at home in the care of his wife, contemplating suicide.

Shelby Foote No, no one thought it would last long. No one, on either side, thought it would last long. Those few individuals who said that it would, ah, Tecumseh Sherman for instance, ah, were actually

judged to be insane for making predictions about casualties which were actually low.

David McCullough In November, a Union warship stopped a British steamer at gunpoint in international waters and arrested two Confederate diplomats found on board. Britain's Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston, was outraged, demanded their immediate release and dispatched 11,000 troops to Canada. "One war at a time," Lincoln said, and quietly let the two Confederates go.

[sil.]

David McCullough By December, optimists on both sides were disappointed. The Confederacy showed no signs of imminent collapse. The North would not abandon its efforts to reunite the nation by force. By the end of the year, there were 700,000 men in the Union Army. No one knew how many Confederates there were.

[sil.]

George Templeton Strong December 31, poor old 1861 just going. It has been a gloomy year of trouble and disaster. I should be glad of its departure were it not that 1862 is likely to be no better.
George Templeton Strong

Honorable Manhood

David McCullough A week before the Battle of Bull Run, Sullivan Ballou, a major in the second Rhode Island volunteers, wrote home to his wife in Smithfield.

Sullivan Ballou July the 14th, 1861, Washington, D.C. Dear Sarah, the indications are very strong that we shall move in a few days, perhaps tomorrow, and lest I should not be able to write you again, I feel impelled to write a few lines that may fall under your eye when I'm no more. I have no misgivings about or lack of confidence in the cause in which I am engaged and my courage does not halt or falter. I know how American civilization now leans upon the triumph of the government and how great a debt we owe to those who went before us through the blood and suffering of the revolution. And I am willing, perfectly willing, to lay down all my joys in this life to help maintain this government and to pay that debt. Sarah, my love for you is deathless. It seems to bind me with mighty cables that nothing but omnipotence can break and yet my love of country comes over me like a strong wind and bears me irresistibly with all those chains to the battlefield. The memory of all the blissful moments I have enjoyed with you come crowding over me and I feel most deeply grateful to God and you that I've enjoyed them for so long, and how hard it is for me to give them up and burn to ashes the hopes of futures years. When God willing, we might still have lived and loved together and see our boys grown up to honorable manhood around us. If I do not return, my dear Sarah, never forget how much I loved you nor that when my last breath escapes me on the battlefield, it will whisper your name. Forgive my many faults and the many pains I have caused you. How thoughtless, how foolish I have sometimes been, but, oh Sarah, if the dead can come back to this earth and flit unseen around those they love, I shall always be with you in the brightest day and the darkest night always, always. And when the soft breeze fans your cheek, it shall be my breath or the cool air at your throbbing temple, it shall be my spirit passing by. Sarah, do not mourn me dead. Think I am gone and wait for me. For we shall meet again.

[sil.]

David McCullough Sullivan Ballou was killed a week later at the First Battle of Bull Run.

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Transcript



[Episode 2: A Very Bloody Affair](#) from PBS (Public Broadcasting Service, 1990) 68:03.

transcript

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David McCullough At the Willard Hotel in Washington, D.C., the poet Julia Ward Howe awoke from a spectacular dream. That day she had heard a New England regiment singing on parade and had fallen asleep with the song, John Brown's Body, ringing in her head. Now in the dark, she got up and scribbled out the words with a pencil stub. She sold her poem to the Atlantic Monthly for four dollars. It became the anthem of the Union.

JULIA WARD HOWE Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord. He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored. He has loosed the fateful lightning of His terrible swift sword. His truth is marching on.

THE CIVIL WAR EPISODE TWO

David McCullough By 1862, Russia had emancipated the serfs. In France, Victor Hugo published *Les Misérables*. Jean Bernard Foucault measured the speed of light. In America, the United States passed the first national income tax to pay for war. The Gatling gun was invented and war itself was changing. The shocking casualties of Bull Run and Wilson's Creek were dwarfed by battle after battle. And now, there were new questions. Would the North strength be offset by incompetence and low morale? Would England side with cotton in the South? Who would control the Mississippi? For a year, the nation, now two nations, had torn itself apart. From a bloodless duel over a man-made island in Charleston Harbor, the war had spread along a thousand mile line. From Manassas, Virginia to Shanghai, Missouri and beyond. As 1862 began, over a million men were massing for war. In a fierce struggle for Tennessee, the people of Clarksville on the Cumberland found themselves prisoners in their own homes. Far north of any fighting, the people of Deer Isle, Maine suffered too, with sad news from places most of them had never heard of. By the end of the war, the little town of Winchester, Virginia had changed hands 72 times. Sam Watkins, a Confederate private, would see his first big battle in April on the banks of the Tennessee. Elisha Hunt Rhodes, a clerk from Providence, Rhode Island, would celebrate his 20th birthday in a Union camp. Union General George McClellan, the idol of his troops, would fashion a mighty army and lead it south towards Richmond where Robert E. Lee was waiting. "The struggle of today," Lincoln told Congress, "is not altogether for today. It is for a vast future also." Now in this, its second year, the war was becoming a struggle over the future of freedom.

SHELBY FOOTE Writer

Shelby Foote It really is one those, uhm, one of those watershed things. It was a huge chasm between the beginning and the end of the war. The nation had come face-to-face with, ah, a dreadful tragedy and we reacted the way a family would do with the dreadful tragedy. Ah, it was almost inconceivable that anything that horrendous could happen. You must remember that casualties in the Civil War battles were so far beyond anything we can imagine now. If we had 10 percent casualties in a battle today it would be looked on as a bloodbath. They had 30 percent in several battles. And one after another you see.

1862 A Very Bloody Affair

Elisha Hunt Rhodes This afternoon, seeing the general alone in the office, I stepped up to him and said, "General, I want to go home." "Want to go home and for what?" he replied. As I could not think of an excuse I blurted out, "I want to see my mother." "Is she sick?" he asked. "No," I replied, "I hope not." He then asked me, "How long since I left home and if I was ever away for so long a time before?" I told him, "I had been in the service seven months and never been away from home alone before." "Well," said the general, "you have been a good boy and you shall have a furlough for 10 days." Elisha Hunt Rhodes.

Sam Watkins I always shot at privates. It was they that did the shootin' and killin'. And if I could kill or wound a private, why my chances were so much the better. I always looked on officers as harmless personages. Sam Watkins.

David McCullough The commander of Sam Watkins' Company H was Captain William R. Johnston. His immediate superior was Colonel George Maney of the First Tennessee. From there, the Confederate chain of command ascended through Colonel William H. Stevens of the Second Brigade to General Benjamin Cheatham, commander of the Second Division of General Leonidas Polk's First Army Corps then to General Albert Sidney Johnston, commander of the Army of the Mississippi. Above that to War Secretary, George W. Randolph. Finally, to Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America. For one Union soldier, the chain of command ascended from President Lincoln, Secretary of War, Simon Cameron, and General McClellan, commander of the Army of the Potomac to General Erasmus Keyes, commander of the Union Fourth Corps. General Darius N. Couch of Couch's Brigade to Colonel Frank Wheaton, commander of the Second Rhode Island Volunteers and finally to Private Elisha Hunt Rhodes.

Elisha Hunt Rhodes January 31, 1862. Mud. Mud. Mud. I'm thinking of starting a steamboat line to run on Pennsylvania Avenue between our office and the Capitol. Will the mud never dry so the army can move?

George Templeton Strong Of all the detestable places, Washington is the first. Crowd, heat, bad quarters, bad fare, bad smells, mosquitoes, and the plague of flies transcending everything within my experience. Beelzebub surely reigns here and Willard's Hotel is his temple. George Templeton Strong.

Shelby Foote Throughout Lincoln's presidency and this is true to most presidents, he was fairly running crazy about office secrets especially at the start when his campaign managers had promised jobs to a great many people who came to collect them. And one man saw him one day and he looked particularly worried and the man said, "What's the matter, Mr. President?" And Lincoln said,

"There's too many pigs for the teats."

Politics

David McCullough Abraham Lincoln's problems were not confined to fighting rebels alone. The President's unwieldy cabinet included former conservative Whigs, free-soil Whigs, and Union Democrats. Four had been his rivals for the Republican presidential nomination nearly all were privately sure they could do a better job than their chief. Secretary of State William H. Seward hoped to replace Lincoln. Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase wanted to replace Seward. Mary Todd told her husband to get rid of both of them. Instead, Lincoln fired War Secretary, Simon P. Cameron, a Pennsylvania boss so corrupt said Lincoln, that the only thing he wouldn't steal was a red hot stove. The new Secretary of War was Edwin M. Stanton, an able, ruthless war Democrat from Ohio, who worried about what he believed to be Lincoln's painful imbecility. On one thing, the cabinet was agreed: General George McClellan was not moving fast enough against the Confederates. "The Army," Secretary of War Stanton said, "has got to fight or run away. The champagne and oysters on the Potomac must be stopped."

George McClellan Dear Ellen, I can't tell you how disgusted I am becoming with these wretched politicians. They are most despicable set of men. Seward is a meddling, officious, incompetent little puppy. The president is nothing more than a well-meaning baboon. George McClellan.

David McCullough The president pored over military books, asked officers for advice, and in exasperation suggested that if General McClellan does not want to use the Army, I would like to borrow it for a time. Finally, he ordered McClellan to move on Manassas Junction and then proceed over land to take Richmond. But McClellan would not move and took to his bed with a fever. McClellan did not want to fight the vast Confederate Army, he had convinced himself, now occupied Northern Virginia. Instead, he proposed to float his army to Fortress Monroe, at the tip of the finger of land between the James and York Rivers. Then race up to peninsula to seize the Confederate capital.

[sil.]

David McCullough Impatient for any action, Lincoln agreed. McClellan would move in mid-March. It has been eight months since the Northern Army had crawled back into Washington after Bull Run.

Joseph Medill February 9th, 1862. Dear Mr. President, General McClellan has almost ruined your administration and the country. He is a do-nothing. He is thinking of the presidency in '64. He is placating the rebels. That's what ails him. Depend upon it. Joseph Medill.

Abraham Lincoln What shall I do? The people are impatient. Chase has no money and tells me he can raise no more. The general of the Army, McClellan, has typhoid fever. The bottom is out of the tub. What shall I do?

George McClellan Washington. Dear Ellen, I went to the White House shortly after tea where I found the original gorilla about as intelligent as ever. What a specimen to be at the head of our affairs now. George McClellan.

David McCullough In the midst of all his troubles, the President delighted in his sons. The oldest, Robert, was away at Harvard, but Willie, 11, and eight-year-old, Thomas, known as Tad, had the run of the White House. Willie was studious, liked to compose verse and memorize railroad timetables. He'd raised a boy's battalion from among his schoolmates and invaded cabinet meetings with his troops. In February, he developed what the doctor called bilious fever. His parents sat up night after night to nurse him. On February 20th, Willie died. For three months, Mary Lincoln veered between loud weeping and silent depression and start to communicate with her dead child through spiritualists.

Mary Todd Lincoln If I had not felt the spur of necessity urging me to cheer Mr. Lincoln, whose grief was as great as my own, I could never have smiled again.

David McCullough The war left Lincoln little time to mourn. He was soon back working 18 hours a day.

Ironclads

As she came plowing through the water, she looked like a huge half-submerged crocodile and her prow, I could see the iron ram projecting straightforward.

David McCullough The Confederacy had begun the war with no navy whatsoever. But by the fall of 1861, Confederate engineers were bolting iron plates to the hull of the steam frigate, Merrimack, building a warship more powerful than anything the Union had. News of the monster quickly reached the north. Secretary of War Stanton feared she would steam up the Potomac and shell the White House. There was probably only one man in America who could stop the Merrimack, and he was mad at the Navy. The Swedish-born inventor, John Ericsson was proud, vain, and cranky, and felt he had been cheated out of payment for services to the government years before. But when Secretary of the Navy, Gideon Welles, begged him to do something to stop the Merrimack, Ericsson came up with an extraordinary design. His ship would have only two guns to the Merrimack's 10. But they would be mounted on a revolving turret. And though his vessel would be made entirely of iron, Ericsson assured everybody that the sea shall ride over her and she shall live in it like a duck. Professional Navy men dismissed the plan, but Lincoln overruled them. In just 100 days later, on January 30th, 1862, Ericsson's ship slid into Manhattan's East River. He called her the Monitor and there had never been anything like her. The single vessel contain 47 patentable inventions.

We ran first to the New York side and then to Brooklyn and then so back and forth across the river like a drunken man on a sidewalk. We found she would not answer her rudder at all.

David McCullough Once at sea, water spilled in. Ventilators failed. The ship filled with gas, her crew began to faint, but the Monitor kept limping south. Four hundred miles away off the coast of Virginia, the Merrimack was waiting. Saturday, March 8th was wash day for the Union fleet in Hampton Roads, Virginia. Laundry was drying on the rigging of the Union warships when the Confederate, Merrimack, headed straight for the USS Cumberland. The Cumberland opened fire but the shots bounced harmlessly off the Merrimack's side. The Confederate ship rammed the Cumberland then stood in so close, their muzzles almost touched. The Cumberland sank in shallow water. The Merrimack went on to set the USS Congress afire. Drove the USS Minnesota around then drew back for the night. For one day, the Confederate Navy ruled the sea. At one o'clock that morning, the crew of the battered Minnesota saw a strange looking ship crawl up alongside them in

the darkness.

Close alongside the Minnesota, there was a craft such as the eyes of a seaman never looked upon before. An immense shingle floating on the water with a gigantic cheese box rising from its center. No sails, no wheels, no smokestack, no guns. What could it be? The Monitor had arrived. The next morning the epic battle of ironclads began.

[sil.]

David McCullough Hull to hull, the two ships hammered away at each other so close they collided five times as the men inside, half blind with smoke loaded and fired.

[sil.]

David McCullough After four and a half hours, the Merrimack drew off. It was her only fight. Two months later, rather than surrender their ship, the Confederates blew her up when they were forced out of Norfolk. Both sides set to work building more ironclads while Europe watched in worried fascination. From the moment, the two ships open fired that Sunday morning, every other navy on Earth was obsolete.

Lincolmites

General Grant habitually wears an expression as if he had determined to drive his head through a brick wall and was about to do it.

David McCullough The year 1862 would introduce two great forces into the war, unspeakable slaughter and Ulysses S. Grant. While McClellan hesitated in Washington, Grant, back in the field after months of desk duty, won two crucial victories out west. Launching simultaneous attacks by land and water, he took first Fort Henry on the Tennessee River. Then Fort Donelson on the Cumberland, where he issued an ultimatum to the Confederate commander. No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender

[sil.]

David McCullough The Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers were now in Union hands. The Confederates have been driven from Kentucky. Dozens of southern towns were now occupied by Union troops. In less than a year, Grant had gone from clerk to Union hero. News stories described him coolly, smoking under fire. An admirer shipped him barrels of cigars. A delighted northern public now thought they knew what the initials in his name stood for. They called him "unconditional surrender Grant." But before Grant's men marched into Fort Donelson, Confederate General Nathan Bedford Forrest slipped out of it, with 1,000 men. "I did not come here for the purpose of surrendering my command," he said. And led his troops, 75 miles through the snow to safety. Grant and the Union Army would meet Bedford Forrest again. After the Confederate defeat at Fort Donelson, the female academy in Stewart College at nearby Clarksville, Tennessee were converted to hospitals.

Nanny Haskins Sunday, the news came, such panic-stricken people were never before seen. The wounded were being brought up. The citizens were runnin'. There were already two hospitals here

which were filled with the sick. And they, poor fellows, crawling out from every piece, walkin', going on horseback and wagons. Nanny Haskins.

David McCullough The Union Army was right behind the wounded. They met no resistance. A white flag flew above tiny Fort Defiance, west of town when Mayor Smith came out to inform the Union Commander that the Confederate Army had retreated to Nashville. Farmer John Barker wrote in his diary that there were nothing but Lincolmites throughout the county. And uneasy federal occupation of Clarksville began.

SHELBY FOOTE Writer

Shelby Foote Early in the war, some, ah, a Union squad closed down on a single ragged Confederate, and he, obviously, didn't know any slaves, he couldn't have much interested in, in the Constitution or anything else. And said, "What are you fighting for anyhow?" they asked him. And he said, "I'm fighting because you're down here." Which is pretty satisfactory answer.

The Peninsula

David McCullough On April 4th, George McClellan at last began to move for Richmond. One hundred and twenty-one thousand five hundred men, 14,592 horses and mules, 1,150 wagons, 44 batteries of artillery, ambulances, pontoon bridges, tons of provisions, tents, telegraph wire. It took 400 boats, three weeks to land it all at Fortress Monroe on the Virginia Coast.

A. M. Stewart The whole region seems literally filled with soldiery. One of the finest armies ever marshaled on the globe, now wakes up these long stagnant fields and woods. General McClellan is here and commands in person. Reverend A. M. Stewart.

George McClellan I am to watch over you as a parent over his children. And you know that your general loves you from the depths of his heart. It should be my care to gain success with the least possible loss.

David McCullough But at Yorktown, less than 20 miles away, the Confederates waited, vastly outnumbered, but determined to defend their homes and hurl back the invaders. For the North, it was slow going. Roads said to be bone dry were bogs. Union officers forced to rely on store-bought maps lost their way. Finally on April 5th, the advanced guard reached Yorktown where the Confederates had taken over the building used by Lord Cornwallis' headquarters during the Revolutionary War.

David McCullough There were just 11,000 southern troops dug in, not even a tenth of McClellan's force. But the Confederate commander was John Bankhead Magruder, a showy Virginian who loved amateur theatricals. He now outdid even himself to fool McClellan into believing that his small force was enormous, Magruder kept up a sporadic, wildly scattered artillery barrage, and paraded one battalion in and out of a clearing in an endless circle until it seemed to Union observers, a mighty host.

[sil.]

Edmund Patterson Corporal Edmund Patterson, 9th Alabama. This morning, we were called out by

the long road and had been traveling most of the day, seeming with no other view than to show ourselves to the enemy at its many different points of the line as possible. I'm pretty tired.

David McCullough "It seems clear that I shall have the whole force of the enemy on my hands," McClellan telegraphed Lincoln, "probably not less than 100,000 men and possibly more." McClellan called for reinforcements. General Joseph E. Johnston, the overall Confederate commander, could not believe his luck. "Nobody, but McClellan," he said, "could have hesitated to attack."

Abraham Lincoln Once more, let me tell you. It is indispensable to you that you strike a blow. I have never written to you or spoken to you in greater kindness than now, nor with fuller purpose to sustain you, but you must act.

George McClellan The President very coolly telegraphed me that he thought I had better break the enemy's lines at once. I was much tempted to reply that he'd better come and do it himself. George McClellan.

I don't see the sense of pilin' up earth to keep us apart. If we don't get at each other sometime, when will the war end? My plan would be to quit ditchin' and go to fightin'.

David McCullough But McClellan chose to dig in.

[sil.]

David McCullough As he settled in for a siege of Yorktown, Union General Phil Kearny took to calling his commander, the Virginia creeper.

Shelby Foote During the Peninsula campaign, ah, McClellan has worked in his way up the York James Peninsula and he came to stream. And he and his staff was sitting there, wondering how deep it was if they had to march across it. And, ah, Custer who was a junior officer on his staff, just graduated from West Point, a captain, I think, rode out into midstream, sat his horse and turned around in the saddle and said to McClellan, "This is how deep it is, General."

Our Boy

I have seen him in the watch fires of a hundred circling camps. They have built him an altar in the evening dews and damps. I can read His righteous sentence by the dim and flaring lamps. His day is marching on.

A man's conceit dwindles when he crawls into an unteased shirt, trousers too short and baggy behind, coat too long at both ends and a cap as shapeless as a feedbag. A photograph of anyone of them, covered with yellow dust or mosaics of mud, could ornament any mantle, north or south as a true picture of our boy.

David McCullough North and south, the average soldier was five feet eight inches tall and weighed 143 pounds. His chance of dying in combat was one in 65; of being wounded, one in 10; one in 13 would die of disease. The average age of a soldier was 25. The minimum age for enlistment was 18. But recruiting officers were not particular. Drummer boys as young as nine signed on. There were

more than 100,000 soldiers in the Union Army who were not yet 15 years old. William Black was not yet 12 when he enlisted, shot in the left arm during battle. He was thought to be the youngest combat soldier wounded in the war.

A. M. Stewart Almost every known trade, profession or calling has its representatives in our regiment. Tailors, carpenters, masons and plasterers, molders, and glass blowers, paddlers, and rollers, machinists, and architects, printers, bookbinders, and publishers, gentlemen of leisure, politicians, merchants, legislators, judges, lawyers, doctors, preachers. Some malicious fellow might ask the privilege of completing the catalogue by naming jailbirds, idlers, loafers, drunkards, and gamblers. But we beg his pardon, and refused the license. All the appliances of home life which are possible are being introduced into our encampment. A weekly newspaper, a photographic establishment, a temperance league and a Christian association. We have a post office, letterbox, postmaster, and mail carrier. Our boys write vastly more letters than they receive. You can hardly imagine the eagerness with which the mailman has looked for, the delight on a reception of a letter. The sadness sometimes even to tears with which those who are disappointed turn away. Reverend A. M. Stewart.

David McCullough For the enlisted men, army life meant periods of tedium, punctuated by moments of extreme terror. It also meant long absences from family and home.

Benjamin Stubbs July, 1862. Tupelo, Mississippi. Dear sisters, I would be the gladdest person in the world to see you and talk with you awhile for I see nobody here but men and they appear to be very sour company. I think that I can enjoy myself at home better than anywhere else in the world. Benjamin Stubbs.

David McCullough For those officers who took their families with them to camp, life was somewhat better.

[sil.]

George Templeton Strong There has been a great battle indeed in the southwest, a conflict of two days, closely fought in with veering fortune and by great armies. It seems-

Shiloh

George Templeton Strong -entitled to a place among the first class battles of history. George Templeton Strong.

[sil.]

It was Fall in early April, the trees were leafed out and the roads were meandering cow pass. Nobody knew north from south, east from west. They'd never been in combat before, most of them, especially on the southern side. So, it was just a disorganized murderous fistfight of 100,000 men slamming away at each other.

David McCullough In early April, as McClellan continued to sit in front of Yorktown, 42,000 Union troops under General Ulysses S. Grant were encamped on the west side of the Tennessee River near Pittsburg Landing. Grant's invasion of Tennessee have practically cut the state in two.

And now, he was waiting for Don Carlos Buell's Army of the Ohio to join him. Their combined forces were then to plunge into the heart of Mississippi. But Buell was late and at Corinth, Mississippi, 22 miles away, the commander of the western department of the Confederate Army, Albert Sidney Johnston, saw no reason to wait. Their armies were still evenly matched, and he would attack and end Grant's invasion. "Tonight we will water our horses in the Tennessee," Johnston told his staff officers in the morning of April 6. The Confederates quietly moved toward the Union lines.

Leander Stillwell It was most beautiful morning. It really seem like Sunday in the country at home. The boys were scattered around camp, polishing and brightening their muskets and brushing up and cleaning their shoes, jackets, and trousers for inspection. Private Leander Stillwell.

David McCullough At the head of one Union division was William Tecumseh Sherman who had shaken off the melancholy that had sent him home the previous year. His Ohioans were encamped on a hill not far from a little log built Methodist church called Shiloh when the 6th Mississippi attacked.

And I saw men in gray and brown clothes running through the camp. And I saw something else too, something I'd never seen before, a godly sort of thing with red bars, a rebel flag.

Sam Watkins We were crowding 'em, one more charge and their lines waiver and break. They retreat in wild confusion. We were jubilant, and the officers could not curve the men to keep them in line. Sam Watkins.

David McCullough The battle extended along a three-mile front. The worst fighting was in the center where the rebels came on and on like "maddened demons," a Union soldier said.

Shelby Foote The generals didn't know their jobs; the soldiers didn't know their jobs. It was just pure determination to stand and fight and not retreat. And the bloodiness of it was just astounding to everyone. It also corrected a southern misconception which had said, one good southern soldier is worth 10 Yankee hirelings. We'd find out that wasn't true by a long shot.

David McCullough In the peach orchard, the federals lay flat beneath the blossoming trees, firing as the rebels came. Soft pink petals raining down on the living and the dead. By late morning, thousands of untried federal troops had seen enough. Most did not stop running until they reached the river, where almost 5,000 men cowered beneath the bluff. "We are sweeping the field," General Johnston told his second in command, Beauregard. "And I think, we shall press them to the river." Grant's back was to the Tennessee. There was no sign of Buell and nowhere else to go. But a thin federal line held in the center, Illinois and Iowa farm boys mostly, prone along a sunken road. Their commander, Benjamin Prentiss, understood the deadly seriousness of Grant's order to maintain that position at all cost. The Confederates launched a dozen massive assaults against what became known as the Hornet's Nest. Albert Sidney Johnston, himself, led the last charge.

Shelby Foote Ah, he came out of it with ah, a bits of his clothing, nicked all up, one boot sole shot in half and he flapped this. On, on horseback then he said, "They didn't tripped me up that time," and very soon after that they, they saw him reeled in the saddle and realized that he was hurt and someone said, "General, are you wounded?" And he said, "Yes, and I fear seriously." And he was shot behind the knee, in the femoral artery, I suppose, and bled to death. They saw blood coming

out of his boot. And he could have been easily saved with a tourniquet, but he had sent his, his surgeon off to take care of some federal prisoners.

[sil.]

Sam Watkins Advancing a little further, we saw General Albert Sidney Johnston, surrounded by his staff. We saw some little commotion among those who surrounded him, but we did not know at the time that he was dead. The fact was kept from the troops. Sam Watkins.

David McCullough The command of the Western Army now passed to General Beauregard.

Shelby Foote Ah, I often said that Johnston was looked on by many people at the time of Shiloh and especially before Shiloh while he was holding that line up in Kentucky as the South's number one field soldier. Jefferson Davis feared him as(ph) add and when he lost Albert Sidney Johnston, he said, "I realized our strongest pillar had been broken."

David McCullough Meanwhile, the center of the Union line bent back on itself, but would not break. The Confederates trained 62 cannon at point-blank range and opened fire. The Hornet's Nest exploded in a hail of splintered trees and shattered men. At 5:30, Prentiss and the 2,200 survivors of his division surrendered. They had held up the southern advance for nearly six hours and it was growing dark. Beauregard wired Jefferson Davis that he had won a complete victory. "I had General Grant just where I wanted him," he said, "and could finish him up in the morning."

[sil.]

David McCullough Everywhere wounded men lay in agony. Neither army had yet devised a system for gathering or caring for them on the field. Scores of wounded collapsed and died drinking from a mudhole near the peach orchard, staining the water red. It began to rain and flashes of lightning showed hogs feeding on the ungathered dead.

Some cried for water, others for someone to come and help them. I can hear what those poor fellows crying for water. God heard them where the heavens opened and the rain came.

David McCullough Grant spent that night beneath a tree rather than listen to the screams of the wounded men in his headquarters. It was there that Sherman found him. "Well, Grant," he said, "we've had the devil's own day, haven't we?" "Yes," said Grant, "Lick 'em tomorrow though."

Never to me was the sight of reinforcing legions so welcomed as on that Sunday evening when Buell's advanced column deployed on the bluffs of Pittsburg Landing.

David McCullough During the night, Buell's army finally arrived. The Union men marched to shores, a band played Dixie. At dawn, the Union force, now 70,000 strong drove into Beauregard's 30,000. The Confederates fell back, counterattacked, fell back again, and began to withdraw. The Union held the field. Covering the Confederate retreat was Nathan Bedford Forrest, who now turned to lead one last cavalry charge, headlong into the pursuing Northern Army.

Shelby Foote And he landed square in the main body of the Union troops. He was surrounded by one gray uniform and a sea of blue. And, ah, they began to holler, "Kill him! Kill the goddamn

rebel! Knock him off his horse." And one soldier did, ah, stick his, ah, rifle out in the far side and pull the trigger and lifted far as clear the saddle with the impact of the bullet, and Forrest, meantime, was slashing with his saber. His horse was kickin' and turnin', and Forrest sought him around and got him clear and took off, and they were shooting after him, so he reached down and grabbed one Union soldier and swung him up behind him on the crop of the horse to use as a shield. And when he got out of range, he threw the man off and rode back to join his command. That was the last shot fought in the Battle of Shiloh.

David McCullough The ground Grant said was so covered with dead that it would have been possible to walk across the clearing in any direction. Stepping on dead bodies without a foot touching the ground.

[sil.]

When the grave was ready, we placed the bodies therein too deep. All the monument reared to those brave men was aboard upon which I cut with my pocket knife the words "125 Rebels."

[sil.]

David McCullough Two thousand four hundred and seventy-seven men were killed at Shiloh. There were 23,000 casualties overall, more than all the American casualties in all previous American wars combined. And it was only the beginning.

Shelby Foote Shiloh had the same number of casualties as Waterloo, and yet when it was fought, there were another 20 Waterloos to follow. And Grant, shortly before Shiloh, said, "I consider this war practically over. They're ready to give up." And the day after Shiloh, he said, "I saw that it was gonna have to be a war of conquest if we were to win." Shiloh did that, and it sobered the nation up, softened all for into the realization that they had a very bloody affair on their hands, and it called for a huge reassessment of what this thing was gonna be.

David McCullough Years afterward, a Union veteran said, "The most a soldier could say of any fight was, 'I was worse scared than I was at Shiloh.'" Shiloh is a Hebrew word meaning "place of peace."

[sil.]

Henry Adams April 11th, 1862. I firmly believe that before many centuries more, science will be the master of man. The engines, he will have invented, will be beyond his strength to control. Someday, science shall have the existence of mankind and its power, and the human race commits suicide by blowing up the world. Henry Adams.

The Arts of Death

David McCullough The armies that U.S. Grant and George McClellan led were the best-equipped in history. The productive capacity and technical ingenuity of the North were now focused on weapons. And the Civil War would see the first railroad artillery, the first land mines and telescopic sites, the first military telegraphs. In 1862 alone, 240 patents were issued for military weapons. Lincoln was fascinated by new weaponry. He personally tested new rifles and ordered up 10 Union

repeating guns, forerunners of the machine gun. But he passed up a scheme to manufacture canoe-shaped footwear for walking on water and tactfully declined a herd of war elephants offered by the king of Siam.

Shelby Foote All had many crazy ideas, ah, along with some good ones, ah, who's one plan to use two cannon, each with a cannonball and the two cannonballs connected by a chain, and you would fire the two cannons at the same time and the balls would go out and the chain between them would just cut a swath through everything in the way. The trouble was one cannon, of course, went off before the other one which resulted that the ball went around in a circle from other cannon.

David McCullough The most important innovation of the whole war was the rifled musket along with the French refinement. Captain Claude Monet's new bullet, an inch-long lead slug that expanded into the barrel's rightful grooves and spun as it left the muzzle. The mini ball could kill at half a mile and was accurate at 250 yards, five times as far as any other one-man weapon. The age of the bayonet charge had ended, though most officers did not yet know it when the war began. And some had still not learned it when the war was over.

Shelby Foote It was brutal stuff. The reason for the high casualties is really quite simple. Their weapons were way ahead of the tactics. The rifle itself, it threw a 53-caliber soft lead bullet at a low muzzle velocity and when it hit, ah, the reason there were so many amputations, you got hit here, it didn't clip your bone the way the modern steel jacketed bullet does. You didn't have any bone from here to here; they had no choice but take your arm off. And you'll see pictures of the dead on the battlefield with their clothes in disarray as if someone had been going or rifling their bodies. That was the men themselves tearing their clothes up to see where the wound was, and then you're perfectly well, if they would got shot they die.

[sil.]

Ulysses S. Grant April 25th, 1862. Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee. Dear Julia, I'm no longer boss. General Halleck is here and I'm truly glad of it. I hope the papers will let me alone in the future. If the papers only knew how little ambition I have, I started putting down this rebellion and getting back once more to live quietly and unobtrusively with my family. I think they would say fewer falses. Ulysses S. Grant.

David McCullough Ulysses S. Grant's reward for the costly Union victory at Shiloh was to be removed from field command. Grant's superior was General Henry Wager Halleck, a calculating administrator who was jealous of Grant's success and anxious to get rid of his chief rival. After the Battle of Fort Donelson, he spread rumors Grant was drinking. After the fearful losses at Shiloh, he had Grant reassigned. Grant decided to quit but his friend William Tecumseh Sherman talked him out of it. "You could not be quiet at home for a week," he said, "when armies are moving." Grant and Sherman were both Ohio boys and West Pointers who were fond of cigars, scorned pomp and politics, and had fared poorly in civilian life. Grant enjoyed Sherman's rapid fire brilliance and was grateful for the dispatch with which he carried out every order. Sherman admired his friend's cool temper, his steadiness in the midst of crisis, in what he called Grant's simple faith in success. They trusted each other.

William Tecumseh Sherman I'm a damn sight smarter than Grant. I know more about organizations, supply and administration, and about everything else than he does. But I'll tell you where he beats

me and where he beats the world, he don't care damn for what the enemy does out of his sight, but it scares me like hell. William Tecumseh Sherman.

[sil.]

Frederick Douglass Any attempt now to separate the freedom of the slave from the victory of the government, any attempt to secure peace of the Whites while leaving the Blacks in chains, will be labor lost. The American people and the government at Washington may refuse to recognize it for a time, but the inexorable logic of events will force it upon them in the end. That the war now being waged in this land is a war for and against slavery. Frederick Douglass.

David McCullough Letter by letter, speech by speech, month after month, Frederick Douglass tirelessly lobbied the government in Washington, urging Lincoln to emancipate the slaves. But the president still insisted the war was being fought for Union, and publicly avoided Douglass and the debate.

Our servant friend tell us the North is fighting for Negroes. Our Union friend says they're not fighting for the Negroes but for the Union. Very well. Let the Whites fight for what they want, we Negroes fight for what we want. Liberty must take the day, nothing shorter. We care nothin' about the Union. We've been in it, slaves over 250 years.

[sil.]

William Tecumseh Sherman Whatever nation gets the control of the Ohio, Mississippi, and Missouri Rivers, will control the continent. William Tecumseh Sherman.

David McCullough Out west, Union naval strategy was straightforward, seized control of the Mississippi and cut the Confederacy in two. On April 7th, Union gun boats and 2,000 troops took the Confederate fortress of Island Number Ten near New Madrid, Missouri, leaving the river open as far south as Memphis.

[sil.]

David McCullough Two months later, Memphis fell.

[sil.]

David McCullough On the night of April 24th, a 60-year-old flag officer, David G. Farragut, started north up to Mississippi, intent on capturing New Orleans. But first, he had to get by the heavy guns at Forts Jackson and St. Philips, 70 miles below the city. When the moon rose, the Confederates opened fire and sent blazing rafts drifting into the Union fleet.

[sil.]

David McCullough The first vessel was hit 42 times. Farragut's own flagship was set on fire. But somehow, the entire fleet made it past the forts. New Orleans surrendered the next day. Farragut had the American flag raised over city hall.

Mary Chesnut New Orleans gone, and with it the Confederacy, are we not cut in two? That Mississippi ruins us, if lost. Mary Chesnut.

James Jackson To blow Mississippi, I don't know how the war will be decided if England and France don't interfere and stop the war, and if the Confederacy has to gain her independence by fighting. I'm afraid she will have to give it up for there are so few provisions in this portion of the Confederacy. James Jackson.

David McCullough In the following months, Farragut's fleet gained control of the Southern Mississippi as far north as Baton Rouge and Natchez. But the North did not possess the whole river, the Confederate's stronghold at Vicksburg still held.

Republics

Mary Chesnut Republics, everybody joined, everybody putting their mouths(ph) and nothing sacred. All confusion and babble, Republics can't carry on war, "Hurrah, for a strong one-man government." Mary Chesnut.

[sil.]

David McCullough From the southern White House in Richmond, Jefferson Davis struggled to keep the war effort on track. Southern industry grew, driven by necessity. The Confederate Government founded on the principle of decentralization, found itself controlling everything, from the forging of cannon at the big Tredegar Iron Works in Richmond, to the daily output of the women who spun cloth for uniforms in their parlors. In Charleston, Mary Chesnut's circle knit socks for Stonewall Jackson's entire brigade. Women wove boots from palmetto fronds and save their yarn from which to distill niter for gunpowder. Southerners grew poppies to yield opium and made coffee from corn and peas; hypodermic needles from thorns; rope from Spanish moss. But the Confederate Army was shrinking. The term of enlistment for the earliest volunteers was up in the Spring. Most men plan to go home. In April, at the insistence of Jefferson Davis, the Confederate Congress passed two laws; one extended all enlistments for the duration, the other required all able-bodied White men between 18 and 35 to serve for three years. It was the first National Draft in American history.

Joseph E. Brown The Conscription Act at one fell swoop strikes down the sovereignty of the states, tramples upon the constitutional rights and personal liberty of the citizens, and arms the President with imperial powers. Governor Joseph E. Brown of Georgia.

Mary Chesnut Mrs. Davis is being utterly upset. She is beginning to hear the coppin' and faultfindin' to which the President is subjected. There must be an opposition in a free country, but it is very uncomfortable. Mary Chesnut.

Sam Likens Veterans were especially resentful because potential draftees, who owned 20 slaves or more, could be exempted. A law was made allowing every person who owned 20 Negroes to go home. It gave us the blues. We wanted 20 Negroes. There was raised the howl of rich man's war, poor man's fight. From this time on till the end of the war, a soldier was simply a machine, a conscript. All our pride and valor had gone and we were sick of war and curse the Southern Confederacy. Sam Likens.

David McCullough Nearly half the Southerners, eligible for the new draft failed to sign up.

On to Richmond

Chaplin M. Stewart April 21st, 16 days have now been spent in this place. Our grand Army has again come to a halt. Under the dry pine leaves where we encamp, a great seaashes(ph) army of wood ticks have wandered. Few are so happy, as not defined half a dozen of these villainous bloodsuckers sticking in the flesh every morning. Chaplin M. Stewart.

David McCullough The firing from the Confederate lines was of little consequence, not amounting to over 10 or 12 artillery shots each day. A number of these being directed at the huge balloon which went up daily from General Fitzjohn's headquarters.

[sil.]

When about 100 feet above the ground, the rope broke, and the general sailed off toward Richmond at a greater speed than the Army of the Potomac is moving. He had sufficient comrades to pull the valve rope and gradually descended about three miles from camp.

[sil.]

David McCullough On the Peninsula, General George McClellan's huge army sat in front of the smaller rebel force at Yorktown for almost a month. It rained, two out of every three days. Hundreds fell ill.

George McClellan I feel that the fate of a nation depends on me, and that I have not one single friend at the seat of government. George McClellan.

David McCullough McClellan had moved more than 90 federal guns to Yorktown by May 3rd. Some so massive that it took 100 horses to haul them up along hastily constructed timber highways called "corduroy roads." McClellan finally decided to act and carefully planned a massive bombardment for May 5th. But on the night of the third, General Magruder's Confederate batteries suddenly intensified their fire. McClellan braced for an attack, but the next morning, the Confederates had vanished. Disbelieving federal troops edged into the deserted southern camps, Magruder had packed up his show and moved on. But McClellan declared it a Union victory.

George McClellan The success is brilliant. And you may rest assure that its effects will be of the greatest importance. There shall be no delay in following up the rebels.

[sil.]

David McCullough The Union men now cautiously followed the rebel army west towards Richmond.

Elisha Hunt Rhodes May 20. Richmond is just nine miles off. The Negroes are delighted to see us, but the Whites look as if they would like to kill us. Elisha Hunt Rhodes.

[sil.]

From McClellan's lines, you could hear the bells of Richmond tolling. You could hear the church bells and the public clock striking. He was that close.

David McCullough A worried Jefferson Davis now prepared for a siege of Richmond. Relying more and more on the advice of his close military adviser, Robert E. Lee. When Davis asked where Lee thought the South's next defensive line should be drawn once Richmond fell, Lee said, "Richmond must not fall. It shall not be given up." Still, George McClellan refused to attack. Though his army still outnumbered the rebels, he remained convinced the opposite was true. One observer noted that McClellan had a particular faculty for realizing hallucinations. He demanded another 40,000 men.

Edward M. Stanley If he had a million men, he would swear the enemy had two millions and then he would sit down in the mud and yell for three. Edward M. Stanley.

[sil.]

David McCullough With the year half gone, the Union's grand strategy had stalled. The western campaign began by U.S. Grant had ground to a halt in North Mississippi, and McClellan's mighty forces were paralyzed in front of Richmond. There was worst to come, the killing that would soon break out in Virginia would continue all year and come to a climax along a tiny creek in Western Maryland, called the Antietam.

[sil.]

Frederick Douglass We talk of the irrepressible conflict and practically give the light to our talk. We wage war against slaveholding rebels, and yet protect and augment the motive which is move the slaveholders to rebellion. We strike at the effect and leave the cause unharmed. Fire will not burn it out of us. Water cannot wash it out of us, yet this war with the slaveholders can never be brought to a desirable termination until slavery, the guilty cause of all our national troubles, has been totally and forever abolished. Frederick Douglass.

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. Elisha Hunt Rhodes CHARLEY McDOWELL 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 CAR HALO WINES WENDY TILGHMAN DAVID MARKS JOE MATTY'S and LIBRARY OF

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NARRATOR Private Edwin Tennyson killed in action at Malvern Hill, July 1st, 1862.

[sil.]

David McCullough During the Civil War, photographers followed the armies everywhere to make proud portraits for the boys to send home and to capture as much of the action as cumbersome equipment, and slow shutter speeds allowed. Near the Battle of Fair Oaks, Virginia, Captain George

Armstrong Custer paused to have his picture taken with J.B. Washington, a close friend and classmate from West Point, and now a Confederate lieutenant who at just that morning been captured by Federal pickets.

THE CIVIL WAR EPISODE THREE

David McCullough As 1862 dragged on, the character of the war was changing, and much of the country was changing with it. By 1862, more than a million farm workers had enlisted in the Union Army, and travellers in the Midwest saw more women at work in the fields than men.

[sil.]

David McCullough The year which had begun so promisingly for the North had now gone awry. U.S. Grant's triumphs at Donelson and Shiloh were being overshadowed by disasters in the East. In Virginia, Union General George McClellan's army sat outside Richmond. Its commander in possession of vastly greater forces, but without the will to fight. Meanwhile, the Confederacy was beginning to appreciate the brilliance of a new commander, Robert E. Lee, who would soon establish a reputation as one of the greatest military leaders of all time.

[sil.]

David McCullough And there was still more trouble for the Union. At Blackburn, England, the public meeting declared that it was impossible for the North to vanquish the South, and called for a negotiated settlement of the war. With Europe poised to recognize the Confederacy, the unthinkable looked increasingly likely. The Union was going to lose the war. "We must change our tactics or lose the game," Abraham Lincoln wrote in 1862. To Lincoln, it was clear now that it was no longer possible to restore the old Union. A new one had to be embraced. By summer, he knew what tactic was needed to win the war, emancipation, but doubted whether he would ever have the political or military opportunity to use it.

[sil.]

David McCullough "I find it hard to maintain my lively faith in the triumph of the Nation and the Law," New York lawyer George Templeton Strong confided to his diary. These are the darkest days we have seen since Bull Run. What no one knew was that the year would soon see the bloodiest day of the war and then, the brightest.

BARBARA FIELDS Historian

Barbara Fields It could have been a very ugly, filthy war with no redeeming characteristics at all. And it was the battle for emancipation and the people who pushed it forward, the slaves, the free Black people, the abolitionists, and a lot of ordinary citizens. It was they who ennobled what otherwise would have been meaningless carnage into something higher.

1862 Forever Free

David McCullough Outside Richmond, George McClellan continued to call anxiously for more troops, though his 110,000 men force already greatly outnumbered Joseph Johnston's army.

Meanwhile, west of the Blue Ridge in the Shenandoah Valley, General Thomas J. Jackson was keeping three Federal armies busy.

Stonewall

General T.J. Jackson Always mystify, mislead and surprise the enemy; and when you strike and overcome him, never let up in the pursuit. Never fight against heavy odds if you hurl your force on only a part of your enemy and crush it. A small army may thus destroy a large one, and repeated victory will make it invincible. General T.J. Jackson.

SHELBY FOOTE Writer

Shelby Foote He was, he was a, a true eccentric. He believed that ah, if he had pepper in his food it would make his left leg ache. Ah, he would never mail a letter that would be in transit on a Sunday. Ah, he was a strict ah, observer of the Sabbath, and yet so many of his battles would fall on Sundays, that the soldiers began to believe that he would fight on Sunday ah, because the Lord would be even more with him.

David McCullough Jackson was a pious, blue-eyed killer, utterly untroubled by the likelihood of death. "It was a man's entire duty," he said, "to pray and fight."

Sam Wiseman He would have a man shot at the drop of a hat, and he had drop it himself. Sam Wiseman.

Shelby Foote He had a strange quality of overlooking suffering. It was ah, during one of the battles he had a young courier, and Jackson looked around for him; he wasn't there, and he said, "Where is Lieutenant so and so?" And they said, "Ah, well, he was killed, General." Jackson said, "Very commendable, very commendable." And they put him out of his mind.

"All old Jackson gave us was a musket, a hundred rounds and a gum blanket, and he drove us like hell."

David McCullough His men did not love him. He was too grim, too remote and he demanded too much. Some thought him mad. He believed that only by keeping one hand in the air could he stop himself from going out of balance, and he sucked constantly on lemons even in the midst of battle. Others worried that his religious fervor would cloud his judgment. "His command," Jackson said, "was an army of the living God as well as of its country." But his men were willing to endure the 36 mile-a-day marches he demanded, because he brought them victories. It was Jackson's duty in the Shenandoah to unsettle the Union and keep Washington from reinforcing McClellan. Operating in the midst of three Federal armies, each with more men than his own force of 17,000, Jackson lashed out at one army and then another. Armed with a detailed map that stretched eight-and-a-half feet, he surprised them every time at Winchester, Front Royal, Cross Keys, Port Republic and a half dozen other places. After routing Nathaniel Banks's army at the Battle of Winchester, Jackson chased it all the way to the Potomac. "Stop, men!" Banks shouted to his retreating troops, "Don't you love your country?" "Yes, by God," said one, "and I am trying to get back to it just as fast as I can."

[sil.]

David McCullough Jackson's valley campaign was a triumph. In just over a month, his men marched almost 400 miles, inflicted 7,000 casualties, seized huge quantities of badly needed supplies, and kept almost 40,000 Federal troops off the peninsula.

He who does not see the hand of God in this is blind, sir, blind.

[sil.]

William E. Gladstone There is no doubt that Jefferson Davis and other leaders of the South have made an army. They are making it appear, a navy; and they have made what is more than either, they have made a nation. We may anticipate with certainty the success of the Southern States. William E. Gladstone.

David McCullough Confederate Gospel held that Britain and France could not survive without Southern cotton. Before long, one or both would surely intervene on behalf of the Confederacy to end the Union blockade. To put more pressure on Europe, the Confederates cut cotton production 90 percent. Two-and-a-half million bales were burned or left to rot on Confederate wharves to keep it out of English hands. Now, in addition to directing a war at home, Lincoln had to find a way to keep Europe from coming in on the side of the South. And increasingly in the North, there was pressure for emancipation, and it came from unlikely people in unlikely places.

The Beast

David McCullough On May 1st, 1862, Lincoln named General Benjamin F. Butler military governor of occupied New Orleans. Butler went right to work. He hanged the man suspected of having desecrated the American flag. He closed the secessionist newspaper, confiscated the property of citizens who refused to swear allegiance to the Union, and was given the scornful nickname, "Spoons" for allegedly pocketing silverware. New Orleans women routinely insulted his troops. When a woman in the French quarter leaned from a window to dump her chamber pot on the head of Admiral Farragut, Butler issued General Order # 28.

General Benjamin Butler As the officers and soldiers of the United States have been subject to repeated insults from the women calling themselves ladies of New Orleans, it is ordered that hereafter, when any female shall by word, gesture, or movement, insult or show contempt for any officer or soldier of the United States, she shall be regarded and held liable to be treated as a woman of the town plying her avocation. General Benjamin Butler.

David McCullough Southerners were outraged and called Butler "The Beast." A New Orleans entrepreneur sold chamber pots featuring Butler's portrait inside the bowl. In Charleston, South Carolina, a private citizen offered a \$10,000 reward for the capture of "Beast" Ben Butler, dead or alive, but the harassment of his men stopped. With the Union Army so near, unrest on Louisiana plantations increased. When desperate slave owners began complaining of rebellious Blacks, Butler declared the planters disloyal to the Union. Then, took away their slaves. "Go to the Yankees," one slave holder told his slaves. "They are kings here now."

Susan King Taylor I've been reading so much about the Yankees. I was very anxious to see them. The Whites would tell their colored people not to go to the Yankees, but they would harness them to carts and make them pull the carts around in place of horses. I asked grandmother, one day, if this was true.

She replied, "Certainly not." That the White people did not want slaves to go over to the Yankees and told them these things to frighten them. I wanted to see those wonderful Yankees so much, as I heard my parents say that the Yankees was going to set all the slaves free. Susan King Taylor

Barbara Fields The slaves understood that that war was about slavery before it was a war. They made a nuisance for the Army and they also made an issue that the Army had to deal with. And if the Army had to deal with it, the War Department had to deal with it. If the War Department had to deal with it, Congress had to deal with it. That means that every fugitive slave who made a nuisance of himself to the local commander eventually made a figure of himself to the Congress of the United States.

David McCullough Congress, controlled by Republicans now forbade the Army to return slaves to their masters. And in June, it outlawed slavery in the territories, finally reversing the old Dred Scott decision.

George Templeton Strong Only the damndest of damned abolitionists' dreamed of such things a year ago. John Brown soul is marching on with the people after it. George Templeton Strong.

Salmon P. Chase The slavery question perplexes the president to almost as much as ever, and yet I think he's about to emerge with the obscurities where he has been groping into somewhat clearer light. So you see, the man moves. Salmon P. Chase.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN July 4th, 1862. "I would do it if I were not afraid that half the officers would fling down their arms and three more states would rise."

David McCullough Lincoln continued to back up plans to pay \$400 dollars for every slave freed, and then encouraged the freed men to sail off to a colony in Africa or Central America. The abolitionist Wendell Phillips called Abraham Lincoln "a first-rate second-rate man".

Barbara Fields I lose patience with the argument that because of someone's time, his limitations are therefore excusable or even praiseworthy. It is not true that it was impossible in that time and place to look any higher. Think of Wendell Phillips, who commenting on Abraham Lincoln's proposal to colonize Black people out of the country was sarcastic. He said, "Colonize the Blacks? A man might as well colonize his own hands, or when the robbers are in his house, he might as well colonize his revolver."

Ralph Waldo Emerson Emancipation is the demand of civilization. That is a principle. All else is intrigue. Ralph Waldo Emerson.

The Seven Days

David McCullough On the Virginia peninsula, the rains came, inundating the bottom lands. Along the roads outside Richmond, George McClellan's force was divided in two, by the flooded Chickahominy River. The rebels saw their chance and attacked the smaller force on May 31st. In the fierce fighting that followed, the Confederates did best near a crossroads called Seven Pines. The Union soldiers were most successful at Fair Oaks.

[sil.]

David McCullough When the Battle of Fair Oaks was over, the North had lost 5,000 men, the South, 6,000, and it hadn't change a thing. Joseph Johnston, the overall Confederate commander was himself severely wounded and carried from the field.

JOSEPH JOHNSTON The shot that struck me down was the best ever fired for the Confederacy, for I possess in no degree the confidence of the government. And now a man who does enjoy it will succeed me, and be able to accomplish what I never could.

ROBERT E. LEE His name might be audacity. He will take more chances and take them quicker than any other general in this country, North or South.

David McCullough Now, for the first time in the war, Robert E. Lee was placed at the head of a major army.

George McClellan I prefer Lee to Johnston. Lee is too cautious and weak under grave responsibility. Personally brave and energetic to a fault. He's yet wanting in moral firmness when pressed by heavy responsibility. George McClellan.

David McCullough McClellan completely misjudged the new Confederate Commander. Robert E. Lee was a fighter. Wanting to get at the Union men who had dared to invade his state, Lee renamed his force "The Army of Northern Virginia," seized the initiative and never let it go. First, Lee sent his cavalry chief J.E.B. Stuart to reconnoiter McClellan's forces. Stuart now lead 1,200 troopers on a pounding three-day, 150 mile ride around McClellan's huge army. His men burned Federal camps, cut down telegraph poles, took prisoners and horses and mules, and slowed only to accept bouquets and kisses from women along the way. In vain pursuit was Stuart's own father-in-law, who would stay loyal to the Union and become a general. A decision Stuart said he would regret but once, and that would be continuously.

[sil.]

David McCullough Throughout the whole campaign, Lee carefully observed McClellan's tentative advance up the peninsula. As McClellan was preparing at last to lay seige to Richmond, Lee surprised him first at Mechanicsville on June 26. It was a daring move. Defying all military convention, Lee divided his tiny force and then attacked the huge Union Army, gambling that McClellan would be too cautious to move into Richmond. Lee's assault did not work. He lost 1,500 men at Mechanicsville, but he would not let up. Determined to drive McClellan out of Virginia, Lee kept on the attack, and so it went. For seven days, the two armies clashed. From Gaines' Mill, from Savage's Station, to Frazier's Farm and Malvern Hill, where Federal gunners stopped the Confederates who came at them up the long slope.

[sil.]

Our years had been filled all night with agonizing cries before the fog was lifted. But now our eyes saw that 5,000 dead or wounded men were on the ground. A third of them were dead or dying, but enough of them were alive and moving to give the field a singular crawling effect.

Each of the battles of those seven days brought a harvest of wounded to our hospital. I used to veil myself closely as I walked to and from my hotel that I might shut out the dreadful sights. Once, I did

see one of those dreadful wagons. In it a stiff arm was raised, and it shook as it was driven down the street, as though the dead owner appealed to heaven for vengeance.

[sil]

David McCullough All but one of the battles of the seven days were Union victories, yet McClellan treated them as defeats, continuing to back down until he reached the safety of Federal gunboats at Harrison's Landing on the James River. Union officers urged a counter attack. Lee had lost 20,000 men, McClellan refused. One officer suggested his commander was motivated either by cowardice or treason. In just one week, Lee had completely unnerved the Union general, and demonstrated for the first time the strengths that would make him a legend. Surprise, audacity and an eerie ability to read his opponent's mind. In just seven days, McClellan had been totally out-generalled.

George McClellan I'm tired of the sickening sight of the battlefield with its mangled corpses and poor suffering wounded. Victory has no charms for me when purchased at such cost.

David McCullough On July 7th, an exasperated Lincoln sailed down to see his commanding general. "He had not lost," McClellan insisted, "he had merely failed to win. He needed 50,000 more men or perhaps a 100,000." "No such numbers were available," Lincoln told him. If McClellan did not feel he could resume the offensive, his men would be withdrawn from the peninsula.

Abraham Lincoln If I gave McClellan all the men he asks for, they couldn't find room to lie down. They'd have to sleep standing up. Sending men to that army is like shoveling fleas across a barnyard, not half of them get there.

Elisha Hunt Rhodes September 3, today we took a steamer and went up the Potomac past Washington and landed at Georgetown. It is hard to have reached the point we started from last March, and Richmond is still the rebel capital. Elisha Hunt Rhodes.

kiss Daniel for me

David McCullough Union guns battered Fort Pulaski, Georgia into surrendering, choked off the Savannah River to Southern ships. There was fighting at Voights plantation North Carolina, St. Andrew's Bay, Florida, Wartrace, Tennessee, and at Albuquerque in far off New Mexico territory.

[sil.]

Lieutenant Charles Francis Adams Sea Islands, Georgia. Here I am, surrounded by troopers, missionaries, contrabands, cotton fields and serpents, in a summer climate, disgusted with all things military and fighting off malaria with whiskey and tobacco. No man seems to realize that here in this little island, all around us, has begun the solution of the tremendous nigger question. Some 10,000 former slaves are thrown upon the hands of the unfortunate government. They are the forerunners of hundreds of thousands more. Lieutenant Charles Francis Adams.

David McCullough Stationed in places like Hilton Head and Beaufort, New Englanders got their first taste of the tropics. None of the 2nd Massachusetts had ever seen a palm tree before. When Union forces took parts of the South Carolina coast, plantation owners fled, leaving behind empty houses and 10,000 slaves. Missionaries, teachers and other volunteers soon arrived to help the newly liberated.

"We have come to do anti-slavery work," one teacher wrote. "We think it noble work, and we will do it nobly."

John Boston My dear wife, this day, I can address you, Thank God as a free man. I had a little trouble getting away, but as the Lord lead the children of Israel to the land of Canaan, so he lead me to a land where freedom will reign in spite of earth and hell. My dear, I trust the time will come when we will meet again, and if we don't meet on earth, we will meet in heaven where Jesus reigns. Dear wife, I must close. Rest yourself contented. I am free. Your affectionate husband. Kiss Daniel for me. John Boston.

[sil.]

David McCullough At Deer Isle, Maine, people were afraid to go to the post office where the casualty list were posted.

E.A.P. Brewster New Bern, North Carolina, March 28th, 1862. To Mr. John Webster, Jr. Deer Isle, Maine. Dear Sir, it is with pain that I have to announce to you the death of your brother, Charles Gray. By his good conduct and bravery while with me, he had risen to the rank of corporal and had he lived, I should have promoted him again. He was shot through the body at the Battle of New Bern. His last words were, "We will never give up." He is buried here. His effects I shall send home at the earliest opportunity. Yours truly, E.A.P. Brewster, Captain, Commanding Company A, 23rd Massachusetts.

David McCullough Deer Isle had lost its first soldier. A parcel containing Charles Gray's personal effects arrived in the mail. His hat, promotion papers attesting to his valor, and a cartridge box in which someone had placed the mangled bullet that killed him. His mother refused to look at it. The men of the reduced fishing fleets struggled to harvest a catch. Wives tended kitchen gardens and scraped linen for the lint from which army bandages were made. More bad news arrived. Private Alex Henderson had died of disease at Fort Jackson, Louisiana, leaving a widow and several children.

[sil.]

David McCullough At Clarksville, Tennessee, tensions between the town and the occupying Union Army ran high. Federal troops vandalized Stewart College, wrecking laboratories and stealing books, then set up headquarters there. Soldiers burst in on a church service, arrested the preacher, commandeered horses and forced reluctant parishioners to take a loyalty oath. As much as possible, the residents stayed at home.

SHELBY FOOTE Writer

Shelby Foote The answer to a, a Southerner would give you as to why you are fighting if you were a Northerner, he would say "I'm fighting 'coz you are down here." He was being invaded, and he fought as he thought to defend his home. Lincoln had a much more difficult job of sending men out to um, shoot up somebody else's home, and ah, he had to unite them before he could do that. And his way of doing it was double. One was to say that ah, the Republic must be preserved and not split in two. That was one. And the other one, he gave them as a cause, the freeing of the slaves.

David McCullough On the morning of July 22nd, 1862, the president called a Cabinet meeting. What he said took everyone by surprise. After long thought, he told them, he had decided to emancipate the

slaves.

WILLIAM SAFIRE Journalist

William Safire It was a stunning moment. It was against everything Lincoln had promised ah, to all the Republicans and, and indeed the country, that he would not become an abolitionist. He would not strike at slavery where it existed. And here suddenly, he was changing the character of the war.

David McCullough But Secretary of State, Seward worried that until the Army had won a real victory, emancipation would seem like the last shriek on the retreat. Lincoln agreed to wait for a victory.

BARBARA FIELDS Historian

Barbara Fields It's hard to separate one issue from another. Obviously, Lincoln had to win the war. He had to keep his respectability ah, as president of a country that would not allow itself to be defeated by a group of rebels, so that was always an issue and it was especially an issue, of course, in, in ah, 1862. He could not let himself be made a fool and the Union be made a fool by standing up for principles that could not be vindicated on the battlefield.

Saving the Union

I have read a fiery gospel writ in burnish'd rows of steel as ye deal with my condemners, so with you my grace shall deal. Let the hero, born of woman, crush the serpent with his heel since God is marching on.

[sil.]

David McCullough Desperate for a victory, Lincoln removed McClellan and put tall, bombastic John Pope in command. Pope so often bragged that his headquarters were in the saddle, people began to say he had his headquarters where his hind quarters should have been.

Shelby Foote Lincoln was warned at the start that Pope was not to be trusted with telling the truth, and Lincoln said, "I've known the Popes back in Illinois and known all of them. They are all liars and braggarts, but I don't know of any particular reason why a liar and a braggart shouldn't make a good general."

David McCullough Pope wasted no time charging into Northern Virginia after the rebel armies, but he was in trouble from the start. First, Stonewall Jackson fought him to a standoff at Cedar Mountain. J.E.B. Stuart hit him next, raiding his headquarters and getting away with \$35,000 in cash, and the Union Commander's dress coat. Then, the rebels simply disappeared. It took Pope two days to find them, dug in along an abandoned railroad overlooking the old Bull Run battlefield. On August 29th, Pope attacked, promising to bag the whole crowd. But the Confederates held, Jackson's men hurling rocks when ammunition ran low. At 2:00 the next afternoon, Confederate General James Longstreet sent five divisions storming into the Union flank. It was another Union disaster.

[sil.]

David McCullough Twenty-five thousand men were killed, wounded or missing at Second Bull Run,

five times the figure that it so horrified the country the first time North and South fought there. Lincoln sent Pope west to Minnesota to deal with an uprising among the Sioux and reluctantly put George McClellan back in command. "We must use the tools we have," Lincoln said. McClellan told his wife he'd been called upon to save the country once again.

[sil.]

John Casler We would ask the North Carolinians if they had any tar and coal and tar hills, and they would reply that they were just out, as they had let us Virginians have all they had to make us stick in the last fight, and call us "sore backs" as they'd knocked all the skin off our backs running over us to get into battle. And so it would go, but all in the best of humor. Knowing that all did their duty. John Casler, 33rd Regiment, Virginia Infantry, Stonewall's Brigade.

Shelby Foote We must remember they were all from the same state. Ah, they had followed the same flag. The battles they had fought in, the, the names were stitched on that flag, and it was a great deal of unit pride and I'm sure there was a great deal of sadness over the losses that they suffered. But there was a closeness among those men that came from years of being exposed to the most horrendous warfare that I know of.

Dear father, the next morning we had our second battle. It was rather strange music to hear the ball scream within an inch of my head. I had a bullet strike me on top of the head just as I was going to fire; a piece of shell struck my foot. A ball hit my finger and another hit my thumb. The firing increased tenfold and then, it sounded like the rolls of thunder, and all the time every men shouting as loud as he could. I got rather more excited than I wished to again.

I saw the body of a man killed the previous day this morning, and a horrible sight it was. Such sights do not affect me as they once did. I cannot describe the change, nor do I know when it took place, yet, I know there is a change, for I look on the carcass of a man now with pretty much the same feeling as I would do were it a horse or a hog.

Elisha Hunt Rhodes Sunday, a soldier of Company A died and was buried. Everything went on as if nothing had happened, for death is so common that little sentiment is wasted. It is not like death at home. Elisha Hunt Rhodes.

[sil.]

David McCullough Falling back from the Bull Run battlefield, Union troops skirmished briefly with rebel forces at Fall Church, Virginia, where the men stopped long enough to scribble their names on the chapel walls. In great contest, Abraham Lincoln wrote as the summer waned, "Each party claims to act in accordance with the will of God. Both may be, but one must be wrong. God cannot be for and against the same thing at the same time."

New York City

Horace Greeley August 28th, 1862, an open letter to the President. "We think you are unduly influenced by the councils of certain fossil politicians hailing from border slave states. We ask you to consider that slavery is everywhere, the inciting cause and sustaining base of treason. It seems to us, the most obvious truth that whatever strengthens or fortifies slavery drives home the wedge intended

to divide the Union. Horace Greeley.

Abraham Lincoln August 22nd. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it. If I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it. And if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that.

[sil.]

Prime Minister Palmerston It seems to me that time is fast approaching when some joint offer of mediation by England, France and Russia might be made with some prospect of success to the combatants in North America. The proposal would naturally be made to both North and South. If both accepted, we should recommend an armistice and cessation of blockades with the view to negotiation of the basis of separation. Prime Minister Palmerston.

David McCullough Lincoln had to have a victory.

Robert E. Lee September 3rd, 1862. The present seems to be the most propitious times since the commencement of the war for the Confederate Army to enter Maryland. Robert E. Lee.

David McCullough The brilliant Southern victories of spring and summer had brought Lee's army international renown. "One more successful campaign," he wrote Jefferson Davis, "would force Europe to recognize the Confederacy." Now, for the first time, Lee lead 40,000 soldiers across the Potomac and onto Union soil.

This body of men moving along with no order, their guns carried in every fashion, no two dressed alike. Their officers, hardly distinguishable from the privates. Were these the men that had driven back again and again our splendid legions? They were the dirtiest men I ever saw. The most ragged, lean and hungry set of wolves. Yet, there was a dash about them that the Northern men lacked.

David McCullough Lee's target was the Federal Rail Center at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Hoping Marylanders would rise up against the Union, he instructed his men to sing "Maryland, My Maryland" as they marched. It didn't work. Most residents of the small town stayed fearfully behind closed doors. Then on September 13th, in a meadow near Frederick, a Union soldier found three cigars wrapped in a piece of paper. It was a copy of Lee's battle plans, accidentally left behind. McClellan now knew Lee had divided his army, sending one part off to seize Harper's Ferry. McClellan had in his hands the instrument with which to destroy Lee. Still, he did nothing for 18 crucial hours.

[sil.]

David McCullough On September 15th, Lee and his Confederates took up positions along the crest of a three-mile ridge just east of the town of Sharpsburg, and only 52 miles from Washington. The Potomac was at their back. In front, ran a creek called "Antietam".

General James Longstreet On the forenoon of the 15th, the blue uniforms of the Federals appeared among the trees that crowned the heights on the eastern bank of the Antietam. The number increased in larger and larger grew the field of blue to what seemed to stretch as far the eye could see. And from the tops of the mountains down to the edges of the stream gathered the great army of McClellan.

General James Longstreet.

David McCullough Had McClellan hurled his army at the Confederates that day, the war might have ended, but he did not. "There was a single item in our advantage," an aide to Lee remembered, "but it was an important one." "McClellan had brought superior forces to Sharpsburg," the aide conceded, "but he had also brought himself."

Captain Edward Hastings Ripley September 16th. That night I lay beside the Charlestown pike and watched until morning the grimy columns come pouring up from the pontoons. It was a weird, uncanny sight, and drove sleep from my eyes. It was something demon-like, a scene from an inferno. They were silent as ghosts, ruthless and rushing in their speed, ragged, earth-colored, disheveled and devilish. The shuffle of their badly shod feet on the hard surface of the pike was so rapid as to be continuous like the hiss of a great serpent. The spectral ghostly picture will never be erased from my memory. Captain Edward Hastings Ripley.

As night grew nearer, whispers of a great battle to be fought the next day grew louder, and we shuddered at the prospect, for the battles had come to mean to us as they never had before: blood, wounds, and death.

Antietam

David McCullough The battle that began the next day was really three battles. The first began at 6:00 am on Lee's left, where a Federal force charged along the Hagerstown pike to attack Stonewall Jackson's men hidden in woods beyond a big corn field. The Union objective was a plateau edged with artillery, on which stood a small white-washed church built by a German Baptist pacifist sect, the Dunkards, for whom even a steeple was thought immodest. The Union field commander was Major General Joe Hooker, a profane and hard-drinking Massachusetts soldier known as "Fighting Joe". As Hooker cautiously advanced, he noticed the glint of bayonets in the cornfield and ordered four batteries to fire into it. The rebels counter-charged. The battle surged back and forth across the corn field 15 times. In a matter of minutes, the 12th Massachusetts lost 224 of 334 men. Hooker himself was carried from the field, shot through the foot.

The men are loading and firing with demoniacal fury and shouting and laughing hysterically, and the whole field before us is covered with rebels fleeing for life into the woods.

David McCullough Hooker's men were closing in on the Dunkard church. At that moment, Stonewall Jackson sent in his last reserves, John Bell Hood's division, fierce fighters at anytime, but now enraged at having missed breakfast which had promised to be their first real meal in days. "Their first volley was like a scythe running through our line," one Union survivor remembered. And then the Confederate counterattack came on.

[sil.]

Joseph Hooker Every stalk of corn was cut as closely as it could have been done with a knife and the slain lay in rows, precisely as they had stood in their ranks a few moments before. Joseph Hooker.

[sil.]

David McCullough The Northern troops ran back through the corn field. Hood's men ran after them, but were stopped by a hail of shells and Federal reinforcements. When the Confederates finally withdrew, one officer asked Hood where his division was. "Dead on the field," he answered.

Elisha Hunt Rhodes I have never in my soldier's life seen such a sight. The dead and wounded covered the ground. In one spot, a rebel officer and 20 men lay near a wreck of a battery. It is said Battery A 1st Rhode Island Artillery did this work. Elisha Hunt Rhodes.

David McCullough By 10:00 a.m. 8,000 men lay dead or wounded. Jackson's lines have wavered but held.

Shelby Foote After his part of battle was over, Jackson was sitting on his horse eating a peach and his ah, medical director Dr. McGuire was there, and ah, he, he looked out over this field where there were dead at both sides littered all over the place. And as he's eating a peach, he said, "God has been very kind to us this day."

[sil.]

David McCullough The second part of the Battle of Antietam began at the center of Lee's line, a sunken country road, that now served as a readymade rifle pit for two Confederate brigades. Lee ordered at held at all costs. General John B. Gordon assured him, "These men are going to stay here, General, till the sun goes down or victory is won." Then, the Union attacked.

General John B. Gordon The brave Union commander superbly mounted, placed himself in front while his band cheered him with martial music. I thought, what a pity to spoil with bullets such a scene of Marshall Beattie. General John B. Gordon.

David McCullough Gordon let the blue line get within a few yards, then, gave the order to fire. The Union commander was killed instantly. His men wavered, retreated, then came back at the Confederates five more times.

[sil.]

David McCullough Gordon was hit twice in the right leg, once in the left arm, a fourth time through the shoulder. He refused all aid, limping along the line to steady his men as the Federals kept coming.

JOHN B. GORDON I was finally shot down by a fifth ball that struck me squarely in the face. I fell forward and lay unconscious with my face in my cap. It might have smothered in blood but for a Yankee bullet hole which let the blood run out.

David McCullough Still the Confederates held. Unit after unit of Northern troops fell back from the sheets of Southern fire. Finally, some New Yorkers managed to find a spot from which they could shoot down on the roads to fenders. The tide of battle turned. The Sunken Road remembered now as "Bloody Lane" rapidly filled with Southern bodies, two and three deep. And the triumphant Federals knelt on top of what one called "this ghastly flooring to fire at the fleeing survivors". The Confederate's center is splintered. One more push might have broken it apart. General McClellan, however, decided it would not be prudent to attack again. All day long in hastily constructed field hospitals, Clara Barton tended the wounded. She worked so close to the fighting that a bullet went

through her sleeve and killed the man she was treating.

I had to wring the blood from the bottom of my clothing before I could step, for the weight about my feet.

[sil.]

Lieutenant Matthew J. Groen I was lying on my back supported on my elbows watching the shells explode overhead and speculating as to how long I could hold up my finger before it could be shot off. When the order to get up was given, I turned over to look at Colonel Kimball thinking he had become suddenly insane. Lieutenant Matthew J. Groen.

David McCullough The third battle took place on the Confederate right where the Union Army led by General Burnside's corps tried to fight his way across a strongly defended stone bridge over Antietam Creek. Ambrose Burnside was a genial dapper man. His distinctive whiskers or sideburn set a fashion. "But he shrank from responsibility," an admiring fellow officer said, "with sincere modesty, and he owed his position to his old friend McClellan, who now promised to support his assault across the bridge." Burnside had 12,500 men against barely 400 Georgians led by Robert Toombs. But the Confederates commanded the bluff overlooking the bridge and poured a relentless volley of fire down on the Union troops. It took three hours and three bloody charges for the Federals to cross the creek and begin fighting their way up the slope toward Sharpsburg. Seven successive Union color bearers were hit before the Confederates finally broke, racing back into the town.

Private John Dooley Oh, how I ran. I was afraid of being struck in the back and I frequently turned around and running so as to avoid if possible, so disgraceful a wound. Private John Dooley.

David McCullough Union victory again seem certain, but while the Union troops cheered, the Confederate Light Division was arriving from Harper's Ferry. Three thousand men, foot sore from their 17 mile march, but otherwise ready to fight, and commanded by General A.P. Hill, dressed in the red shirt he liked to wear in battle.

Shelby Foote A.P. Hill is the finest division commander in Lee's army. Hill arrived at another one of those nick of the moment things, and ah, it was the last one and it succeeded in throwing Burnside back after he finally got across the bridge.

David McCullough Hill slammed into the celebrating Union troops. Burnside begged McClellan to send up the reinforcements he had promised. McClellan refused. As night fell, Burnside withdrew to the stone bridge his men had fought so hard to seize. The battle was over. No ground had been gained.

[sil.]

Before the sunlight faded, I walked over the narrow field. All around lay the Confederate dead, clad in butternut. As I looked down on their poor pinched faces, all enmity died out. There was no secession in those rigid forms or in those fixed eyes staring at the sky. Clearly, it was not their war.

The sun went down, the thunder died away, the musketry ceased. Bivouac fires gleamed out as if a great city had lighted its lamps.

David McCullough It had been the bloodiest day in American history. The Union lost 2,108 dead, another 10,293 wounded or missing, double the casualties of D-Day, 82 years later. Lee lost fewer men, 10,318 casualties, but that was a quarter of his army.

[sil.]

Elisha Hunt Rhodes Why did we not attack them and drive them into the river? I do not understand these things, but then I am only a boy. Elisha Hunt Rhodes.

David McCullough McClellan had plenty of reserves waiting outside Sharpsburg, but he never used them. Lee, outnumbered three to one, braced for a new attack all the next day. It never came. On the 18th, Lee and his army slipped back across the Potomac. McClellan could claim a victory but he could have won the war. Lee's invasion had been halted. He had suffered terrible losses, but his army had not been destroyed.

[sil.]

Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain The causes of the war were wide apart, but the manhood was the same. Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain, 20th Maine

David McCullough Held in reserve outside Sharpsburg, the 20th Maine included farmers and lumbermen, seamen and shopkeepers and trappers. Its colonel was Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain, a 33-year-old professor of rhetoric, oratory and modern languages at Bowdoin College. Denied a leave of absence to enlist, he applied for a sabbatical to study in Europe, then volunteered. On paper, his only qualification for command was that he was a gentleman of the highest moral, intellectual and literary worth. Chamberlain was still at Sharpsburg when Abraham Lincoln came to see the battlefield.

[sil.]

We could see the deep sadness in the president's face and feel the burden on his heart, thinking of his great commission to save this people, and knowing that he could do this no otherwise than as he had been doing, by and through the manliness of these men.

David McCullough Watching the president review his troops, it seemed to Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain that a mystic bond, wonderful in its intensity, joined the men to their commander-in-chief. The object of Lincoln's visit was to get McClellan to pursue Lee.

Abraham Lincoln I came back thinking he would move at once, but when I got home, he began to argue why he ought not to move. I peremptorily ordered him to advance. I was 19 days before he put a man over the river, and nine days longer before he got his army across, and then, he stopped again.

David McCullough Lincoln, at last, had had enough of George McClellan. The President relieved him of command permanently.

Abraham Lincoln I had made a great mistake. Alas for my poor country.

[sil.]

MARGARET HOUSTON September 21st, 1862. Dear Sam Jr., a great many of your old friends and schoolmates have died or been killed. I will merely name, Lem Ambercrombie, Jeff Montgomery, John Garrett, Lem Hatch, John Hill, Proctor Porter, Bill Haymes(ph), John Wyatt, Walter Maxey, Angus Austin. Old Mrs. Thomas of our neighborhood has lost five sons. Your mother, Margaret Houston.

Shelby Foote You do have a, a big problem when you have units that are from states and counties and even towns, and one of those regiments can get in a very tight spot in a particular battle, like in a corn field at Sharpsburg, and the news maybe that there are no more young men in that town. Ah, they're all dead.

[sil.]

David McCullough In October of 1862, at his New York gallery, Matthew Brady opened an exhibition of photographs entitled "The Dead of Antietam." Nothing like them had ever been seen in America before.

[sil.]

The dead of the battlefield come up to us very rarely even in dreams. We see the lists in the morning paper at breakfast, but dismiss its recollection with a coffee. Mr. Matthew Brady has done something to bring to us the terrible reality and earnestness of the war. If he has not brought bodies and laid them in our dooryards and along our streets, he has done something very like it.

The Higher Object

David McCullough Against the advice of his advisors, Lincoln reinstated U.S. Grant to field command. "I can't spare this man," Lincoln said. "He fights." A thousand miles to the west, Vicksburg, high on a bluff overlooking the Mississippi River remained Confederate. "Vicksburg," Jefferson Davis said, "is the nail that holds the South's two halves together." That fall, Grant tried to take the heavily fortified city. He failed.

ED BEARSS Historian

Ed Bearss Confederacy was on this offensive over a thousand mile front. Mr. Gladstone, a power in the English cabinet is saying Jeff Davis has made a Navy, made an army and what's more important, in dividing that he's made a nation, but the invasion of Maryland fails. Their's defeated, falls back. They lose at Perryville in Kentucky. They lose at Iuka and Corinth in Mississippi and even Newton in Missouri, and the Confederate tide rolls back. Lincoln, as the result of Antietam, converted the war to a higher plane. Again the master politician, he announces the preliminary emancipation proclamation but he doesn't free a single slave in revolt. Free is only as or major: it only frees a slaves in states where the Confederacy is control, and it will take effect on the first day of January.

Abraham Lincoln On the first day of January, in the year of our Lord 1863, all persons held as slaves within any state or designated part of a state, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, henceforth and forever free. Abraham Lincoln.

David McCullough On September 22nd, just five days after the Battle of Antietam, the president issued his Emancipation Proclamation. "If my name ever goes into history," Lincoln said, "it will be for this act." The South was outraged. Jefferson Davis called it the most execrable measure recorded in the history of guilty man.

[sil.]

David McCullough At a Washington dinner, John Hay, the President's 23-year-old secretary, noted that everyone seemed to feel a new sort of exhilarating life. The President's proclamation had freed them, as well as the slaves.

It was no longer a question of the Union as it was, that was to be re-established. It was the Union as it should be, that is to say "washed clean from its original sin." We were no longer merely the soldiers of a political controversy. We were now the missionaries of a great work of redemption. The armed liberators of millions. The war was ennobled. The object was higher.

David McCullough Abroad, the proclamation had the effect Lincoln had hoped for. Neither England nor France was willing openly to oppose the United States' pledge to end slavery.

John Stuart Mill The triumph of the Confederacy would be a victory of the powers of evil which would give courage to the enemies of progress and damp the spirits of friends all over the civilized world. The American Civil War is destined to be a turning point for good or evil of the course of human affairs. John Stuart Mill.

Jefferson Davis Put not your trust in princes and rest not your hopes on foreign nations. This war is ours. We must fight it out ourselves. Jefferson Davis.

[sil.]

David McCullough That December, Lincoln spoke to Congress.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN The dogmas of the quiet past, are inadequate to the stormy present. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country. Fellow citizens, we cannot escape history. The fiery trials through which we pass, will light us down, in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation. We say we are for Union. The world will not forget that we say this. In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free. Honorable, alike in what we give and what we preserve. We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last best hope of earth.

[sil.]

Elisha Hunt Rhodes December 31, while the year 1862 was drawing to a close, and as I look back, I am bewildered when I think of the hundreds of miles I have tramped, the thousands of dead and wounded that I have seen. But we hope for the best and feel sure that in the end, the Union will be restored. Goodbye 1862. Elisha Hunt Rhodes.

[sil.]

Frederick Douglass We shout for joy that we live to record this righteous decree. Free forever! Oh, yea millions of free and loyal men who have earnestly sought to free your bleeding country from the dreadful ravages of revolution and anarchy, lift up now your voices with joy and thanksgiving, for with freedom to the slave will come peace and safety to your country. Frederick Douglass.

David McCullough On December 31st, a large crowd of abolitionists including Harriet Tubman and Wendell Phillips gathered together in the music hall in Boston. At midnight, the Emancipation Proclamation would take effect. On the stage, William Lloyd Garrison wept with joy beside Frederick Douglass. The cheering crowd called for Harriet Beecher Stowe. She stood in the balcony, tears in her eyes. At a Washington, D.C. contraband camp, former slaves testified. One remembered the sale of his daughter. "Now, no more of that," he said. "They can't sell my wife and children anymore. Bless the Lord." On the Sea Islands off South Carolina, Federal agents read the proclamation loud to former slaves under the spreading boughs of a huge oak tree. As the commander of a new all-black regiment unfurled an American flag, his men broke into song. "It seemed the choked voice of a race at last unloosed," he wrote.

[sil.]

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea, with a glory in His bosom that transfigures you and me. As He die to make men holy, let us die to make men free, while God is marching on. Glory! Glory! Hallelujah! Glory! Glory! Hallelujah! Glory! Glory! Hallelujah! His truth is marching on!

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 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 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

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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