

## Module 9

# The Civil War

## **Essential Question**

Could negotiation and diplomacy have prevented the Civil War?



About the Photograph: In this 1863 photograph taken by Captain Andrew J. Russell, Union soldiers gather in trenches near Fredericksburg, Virginia. Soldiers in the Civil War faced a number of threats and hardships even beyond the dangers of battle.

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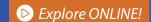
- Divided Houses
- The Underground Railroad
- **HISTORY** The South Secedes
  - The Battle of Antietam
  - Emancipation Proclamation
  - 54th Regiment
  - Last Charge at Gettysburg
  - · Lee's Surrender
- **O**Document-Based Investigations
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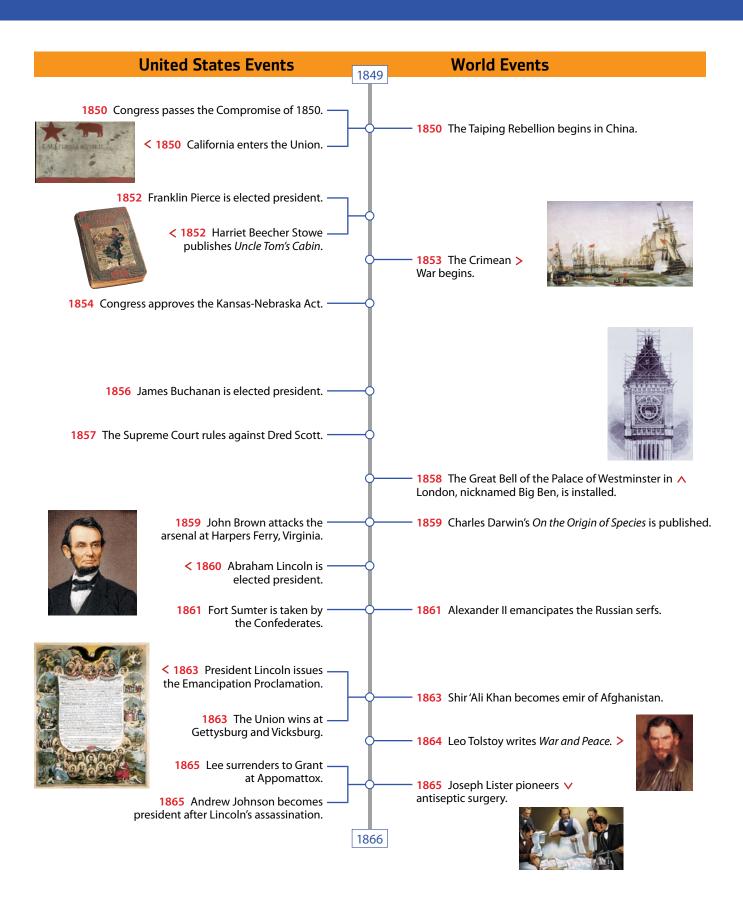
In this module you will learn how rising tensions over slavery caused a split in the nation that led to the most destructive war in U.S. history.

#### What You Will Learn

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<b>Lesson 1: The Issue of Slavery</b>
<b>Lesson 2: The Birth of the Republican Party</b>
Lesson 3: Slavery and Secession
<b>Lesson 4: The Civil War Begins</b>
Lesson 5: The Politics of War
<b>.esson 6: The North Takes Charge</b>
Lesson 7: Effects of the War

# Timeline of Events 1849–1866







# The Issue of Slavery

## The Big Idea

The issue of slavery dominated U.S. politics in the early 1850s.

### Why It Matters Now

Issues of fairness, equality, race, and class continue to challenge U.S. society.

### **Key Terms and People**

secession Compromise of 1850 popular sovereignty Stephen A. Douglas Millard Fillmore **Fugitive Slave Act Underground Railroad** Harriet Tubman Harriet Beecher Stowe Kansas-Nebraska Act

John Brown

**Bleeding Kansas** 

# **One American's Story**

South Carolina senator John C. Calhoun was so sick that he had missed four months of debate over whether California should enter the Union as a free state. On March 4, 1850, Calhoun, explaining that he was too ill to deliver a prepared speech, asked Senator James M. Mason of Virginia to deliver it for him.

"I have, Senators, believed from the first that the agitation of the subject of slavery would, if not prevented by some timely and effective measure, end in disunion. . . . The agitation has been permitted to proceed . . . until it has reached a period when it can no longer be disguised or denied that the Union is in danger. You have thus had forced upon you the greatest and the gravest question that can ever come under your consideration: How can the Union be preserved?"

—John C. Calhoun, quoted in The Compromise of 1850, edited by Edwin C. Rozwenc



John C. Calhoun was vicepresident under John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson. His last words were: "The South. The poor South."

Senator Calhoun called on the North to give the South "justice, simple justice." He demanded that slavery be allowed throughout the territories won in the war with Mexico. If it was not, he declared, the South would secede, or withdraw, from the Union. Once again, the issue of slavery had brought about a political crisis, deepening the gulf between the North and the South.

# **Slavery in the Territories**

Senator Calhoun's call for justice was based on history. When the Constitution was adopted, the North and the South had been politically equal. However, the "perfect equilibrium" between the two sections no longer existed. The more populous North now had more representation in Congress. In Washington, tensions escalated as senators and representatives from each region struggled to protect their way of life. Nowhere was this conflict more evident than in debates about slavery. As Americans moved westward and new states joined the Union, further threatening the delicate balance, both northerners and southerners scrambled to resolve the question of slavery once and for all.

**THE WILMOT PROVISO** On August 8, 1846, Pennsylvania Democrat David Wilmot heightened tensions between North and South by introducing an amendment to a military appropriations bill proposing that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist" in any territory the United States might acquire as a result of the war with Mexico. In strictly practical terms, the Wilmot Proviso meant that California, as well as the territories of Utah and New Mexico, would be closed to slavery forever.

The Wilmot Proviso divided Congress along regional lines. Northerners, angry over the refusal of southern congressmen to vote for internal improvements, such as the building of canals and roads, supported the proviso. They also feared that adding slave territory would give slave states more members in Congress and deny economic opportunity to free workers.

Southerners, as expected, opposed the proviso, which, some argued, raised complex constitutional issues. Slaves were property, southerners claimed, and the Constitution protected property. Laws like the Wilmot Proviso would undermine such constitutional protections.

# Membership in the House of Representatives

Year	Members from Free States	Members from Slave States
1800	77	65
1810	105	81
1820	123	90
1830	142	100
1840	141	91
1850	144	90

Source: Historical Statistics of the United States

#### **Interpret Tables**

About what percentage of House members represented free states in 1850?

Many southerners feared that if the Wilmot Proviso became law, the inevitable addition of new free states to the Union would shift the balance of power permanently to the North. The House of Representatives approved the proviso, but the Senate rejected it. Congressman Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia issued a dire prediction.

"The North is going to stick the Wilmot amendment to every appropriation and then all the South will vote against any measure thus clogged. Finally a tremendous struggle will take place and perhaps [President] Polk in starting one war may find half a dozen on his hands. I tell you the prospect ahead is dark, cloudy, thick and gloomy."

—Alexander H. Stephens, quoted in The Coming of the Civil War

# **STATEHOOD FOR CALIFORNIA** The next flare in the political fire came from California. As a result of the gold rush, California had grown in population so quickly that it skipped the territorial phase of becoming a state. In late 1849 California held a constitutional convention, adopted a state constitution, elected a governor and a legislature, and applied to join the Union.

California's proposed new constitution forbade slavery, a fact that alarmed many southerners. They had assumed that because most of California lay south of the Missouri Compromise line of 36°30′, the state would be open to slavery. They had hoped that the compromise, struck in 1820, would apply to new territories, including California, which would have become a slave state.

General Zachary Taylor, who succeeded Polk as president in 1849, supported California's admission as a free state. As a slave owner himself, he felt that the South could best counter abolitionism by leaving the slavery issue up to individual territories rather than to Congress. However, feelings in the South were more passionate than Taylor realized. Southerners saw any move to block slavery in the territories as an attack on the southern way of life and began to question whether the South should remain in the Union.

## **Reading Check**

**Analyze Effects** Why did California's application for statehood cause an uproar?

# The Senate Debates

The 31st Congress opened in December 1849 in an atmosphere of distrust and bitterness. The question of California statehood topped the agenda. Of equal concern was the border dispute in which Texas, a slave state, claimed the eastern half of New Mexico Territory, where the slavery issue had not yet been settled. In the meantime, northerners demanded the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, while southerners accused the North of failing to enforce the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793. As passions rose, some southerners threatened **secession**, the formal withdrawal of a state from the Union. Could anything be done to prevent the United States from breaking apart?

CLAY'S COMPROMISE Henry Clay worked night and day to shape a compromise that both the North and the South could accept. Though ill, he visited his old rival Daniel Webster on January 21, 1850, and obtained Webster's support. Eight days later, Clay presented to the Senate a series of resolutions later called the **Compromise of 1850**, which he hoped would settle "all questions in controversy between the free and slave states, growing out of the subject of Slavery."

Clay's compromise contained provisions to appease northerners as well as southerners. To satisfy the North, the compromise provided that California be admitted to the Union as a free state. To satisfy the South, the compromise proposed a new and more effective fugitive slave law.

Other provisions of the compromise had elements that appealed to both regions. For example, a provision that allowed residents of the territories of New Mexico and Utah **popular sovereignty**—the right of residents of a territory to vote for or against slavery—appealed to both North and South. As part of the compromise, the federal government would pay Texas \$10 million to surrender its claim to New Mexico. Northerners were pleased because, in

effect, it limited slavery in Texas to within its current borders. Southerners were pleased because the money would help defray Texas's expenses and debts from the war with Mexico.

On February 5, Clay defended his resolutions and begged both the North and the South to consider them thoughtfully. The alternative was disunion—and, in Clay's opinion, quite possibly war.

"And such a war as it would be, following the dissolution of the Union! Sir, we may search the pages of history, and none so ferocious, so bloody, so implacable, so exterminating . . . would rage with such violence. . . . I implore gentlemen, I adjure them, whether from the South or the North . . . to pause at the edge of the precipice, before the fearful and dangerous leap be taken into the yawning abyss below."

—Henry Clay, quoted in Voices from the Civil War

**THE SENATE RESPONDS** Clay's speech marked the start of one of the greatest political debates in American history. Within a month, Calhoun had presented the southern case for slavery in the territories. His argument was based on popular sovereignty and the notion that the federal government should remain uninvolved in the slavery debate. He made it clear that he would not compromise on his position. He would oppose any plan that limited the states' rights to decide the slavery issue themselves.

Calhoun was followed three days later by Daniel Webster. Speaking before a Senate chamber packed with curious spectators, Webster delivered what would become one of the most famous speeches in congressional history. He began his eloquent appeal for national unity by saying, "I wish to speak today, not as a Massachusetts man, nor as a Northern man, but as an American. . . . 'Hear me for my cause.'" In his speech, Webster urged northerners to try to

- 1 Daniel Webster strongly supported Clay's compromise. He left the Senate before Stephen Douglas could engineer passage of all the provisions of the compromise.
- 2 Henry Clay offered his compromise to the Senate in January 1850. In his efforts to save the Union, Clay earned the name "the Great Compromiser."
- John C. Calhoun opposed the compromise. He died two months after Clay proposed it.



compromise with the South by passing a stricter fugitive slave law. In addition, he warned southern firebrands to think more cautiously about the danger of secession.

"I hear with pain, and anguish, and distress, the word secession, especially when it falls from the lips of those who are eminently patriotic. . . . Secession! Peaceable secession! . . . There can be no such thing as a peaceable secession. . . . Is the great Constitution under which we live . . . to be thawed and melted away by secession. . . . No, sir! I will not state what might produce the disruption of the states; . . . [What] that disruption must produce . . . [would be] such a war as I will not describe."

—Daniel Webster, "Seventh of March" speech, quoted in *The American Spirit* 

Not all northern senators were as willing to compromise as Webster, though. New York's senator William Seward, for example, was vehemently opposed to any compromise on slavery. In speeches, he argued against Webster's proposals and against any expansion of slavery. Seward admitted that the Constitution did not prohibit the expansion of slavery into new territories. However, he believed that such expansion violated moral laws, because slavery was unjust and un-Christian. Seward's arguments caused a stir across the nation and established him as a radical on the slavery issue.

**THE COMPROMISE IS ADOPTED** Divided by strong opinions, the Senate rejected Clay's proposed compromise in July. Discouraged, Clay left Washington. **Stephen A. Douglas** of Illinois picked up the pro-compromise reins.

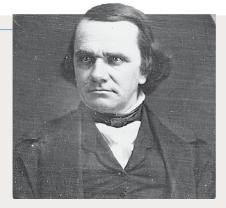
A resourceful politician, Douglas developed a shrewd plan. Clay had presented his compromise as a single bill, meaning that all of its resolutions would be voted on as a package. Douglas wisely realized that the compromise was doomed to failure if it was offered this way because every member of Congress opposed at least one of its provisions. To prevent another defeat, Douglas unbundled the package of resolutions and reintroduced them one at

#### **BIOGRAPHY**

# Stephen A. Douglas (1813-1861)

Stephen A. Douglas's political cleverness, oratorical skill, and personal drive earned him the nickname the Little Giant—a reference to the fact that he stood only 5'4" tall.

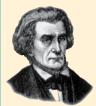
Using his political skill, Douglas engineered the passage of the Compromise of 1850 when all of the efforts of senatorial warriors, such as Clay, had failed. Douglas later became the well-known opponent of Abraham Lincoln in both a senatorial and a presidential election.



Douglas had been a judge, and then served two terms in the House of Representatives before he was elected to the Senate. However, he never achieved his ultimate political goal: the presidency.

## The Compromise of 1850

#### Calhoun's Goals



Calhoun believed strongly in states' rights over federal power and held the interests of the slaveholding South as his highest priority. He had long believed that "the agitation of the subject of slavery would. .. end in disunion." He blamed the sectional crisis on Northern abolitionists

and argued that the South had "no concession or surrender to make" on the issue of slavery.

#### Webster's Goals



Webster had argued with Northern Whigs that slavery should not be extended into the territories. Upon hearing Calhoun's threat of secession, he took to the Senate floor and endorsed Clay's compromise "for the preservation of the Union. . . . a great, popular, constitutional government,

guarded by legislation, by law, by judicature, and defended by the whole affections of the people."

#### **Terms of the Compromise**

- · California admitted as a free state
- Utah and New Mexico territories decide about slavery
- Texas-New Mexico boundary dispute resolved; Texas paid \$10 million by federal government
- The sale of slaves banned in the District of Columbia, but slavery itself may continue there
- Fugitive Slave Act required people in the free states to help capture and return escaped slaves

#### **Interpret Tables**

- 1. How did Calhoun and Webster disagree over states' rights?
- 2. How did the compromise try to satisfy both sides?

a time, hoping to obtain a majority vote for each measure individually. Thus, any individual congressman could vote for the provisions that he liked and vote against, or abstain from voting on, those that he disliked. It appeared as though Douglas had found the key to passing the entire compromise.

Despite Douglas's careful planning, debate over the compromise continued for several months as some members of each side refused to give. However, the unexpected death of President Taylor aided Douglas's efforts. Taylor's successor, Millard Fillmore, made it clear that he supported the compromise.

In the meantime, the South had retreated from its extreme position and was finally ready to negotiate. Calhoun had died, and his death had removed a major obstacle to compromise. In the end, southern leaders came out in favor of Clay's individual proposals as being the best the South could secure without radical action. After eight months of effort, the Compromise of 1850 was voted into law.

President Fillmore embraced the compromise as the "final settlement" of the question of slavery and sectional differences. For the moment, the crisis over slavery in the territories had passed. However, the relief was short-lived. Even as crowds in Washington celebrated the passage of the compromise, the next crisis loomed ominously on the horizon enforcement of the new fugitive slave law.

**Reading Check** Compare How did the issues of slavery and states' rights lead to the Compromise of 1850?

# **Fugitive Slaves and the Underground Railroad**

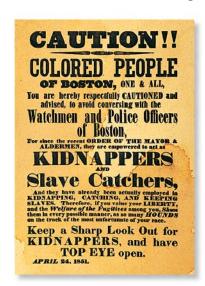
The **Fugitive Slave Act**, a component of the Compromise of 1850, caused shock and outrage in the North when its terms were announced to the public. Under the law, runaway slaves who had escaped to the North could be arrested and sent back to the South to be forced into slavery once more.

Alleged fugitives were not entitled to a trial by jury, despite the Sixth Amendment provision calling for a speedy and public jury trial and the right to counsel. Nor could fugitives testify on their own behalf. A statement by a slave owner was all that was required to have a slave returned. Frederick Douglass bitterly summarized the situation.

"The colored men's rights are less than those of a jackass. No man can take away a jackass without submitting the matter to twelve men in any part of this country. A black man may be carried away without any reference to a jury. It is only necessary to claim him, and that some villain should swear to his identity. There is more protection there for a horse, for a donkey, or anything, rather than a colored man."

—Frederick Douglass, quoted in Voices from the Civil War

Federal commissioners charged with enforcing the law were to receive a \$10 fee if they returned an alleged fugitive, but only \$5 if they freed him or her, an obvious incentive to return people to slavery. Anyone convicted of helping a fugitive was subject to a fine of \$1,000, imprisonment, or both.



This abolitionist poster distributed in 1851 encouraged northerners not to cooperate with the Fugitive Slave Act.

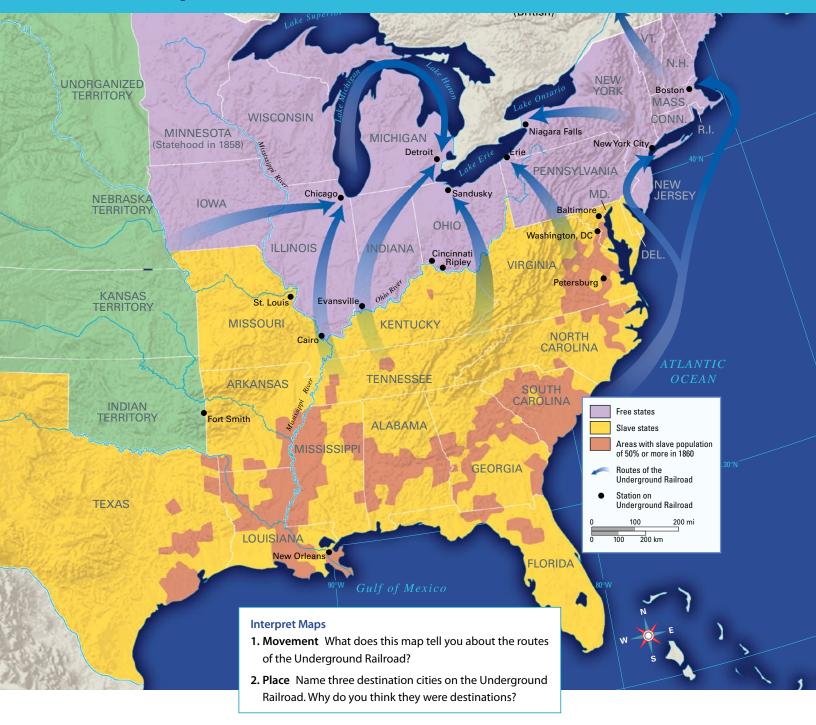
**RESISTING THE LAW** Infuriated by the Fugitive Slave Act, some northerners resisted it by organizing vigilance committees to send endangered African Americans to safety in Canada. Others resorted to violence to rescue fugitive slaves. Nine northern states passed personal liberty laws, which forbade the imprisonment of runaway slaves and guaranteed that they would have jury trials. And northern lawyers dragged these trials out—often for three or four years—in order to increase slave catchers' expenses. Northern resistance to the Fugitive Slave Act enraged southern slave owners, prompting one Harvard law student from Georgia to tell his mother, "Do not be surprised if when I return home you find me a confirmed disunionist."

HARRIET TUBMAN AND THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD As time went on, free African Americans and white abolitionists developed a secret network of people who would, at great risk to themselves, aid

fugitive slaves in their escape. This network became known as the **Under**ground Railroad. The "conductors" hid fugitives in secret tunnels and false cupboards, provided them with food and clothing, and escorted or directed them to the next "station," often in disguise.

One of the most famous conductors was **Harriet Tubman**, born a slave in Maryland in 1820 or 1821. As a young girl, she suffered a severe head injury. As she tried to protect a fellow slave, a plantation overseer hit her with a

## The Underground Railroad, 1850-1860



lead weight. The blow damaged her brain, causing her to lose consciousness several times a day. To compensate for her disability, Tubman increased her strength until she became strong enough to perform tasks that most men could not do. In 1849, after Tubman's owner died, she heard rumors that she was to be sold to a new owner. Instead, she decided to make a break for freedom and succeeded in reaching Philadelphia.



With a price of \$40,000 on her head, Harriet Tubman was called "Moses" by those she helped escape on the Underground Railroad.

Shortly after passage of the Fugitive Slave Act, Tubman became a conductor on the Underground Railroad. In all, she made 19 trips back to the South and is said to have helped 300 slaves—including her own parents—flee to freedom. Neither Tubman nor the slaves she helped were ever captured. Later, she became an ardent speaker for abolition.

Even with assistance from the Underground Railroad, escaping from slavery was indeed a dangerous process. It meant traveling on foot at night without any sense of distance or direction except for the North Star and other natural signs. It meant avoiding patrols of armed men on horseback and struggling through forests and across rivers. Often it meant going without food for days at a time. Harry Grimes, a slave who ran away from North Carolina, described the difficulties of escaping to the North.

"In the woods I lived on nothing. . . . I stayed in the hollow of a big poplar tree for seven months. . . . I suffered mighty bad with the cold and for something to eat. One time a snake come to the tree . . . and I took my axe and chopped him in two. It was . . . the poisonest kind of snake we have. While in the woods all my thoughts was how to get away to a free country."

> —Harry Grimes, quoted in The Underground Railroad, by Charles L. Blockson

Once fugitive slaves reached the North, many elected to remain there and take their chances evading recapture. Other fugitives continued their journey all the way to Canada to be completely out of reach of slave catchers. Meanwhile, a new abolitionist voice spoke out and brought slavery to the attention of a great many Americans.

**UNCLE TOM'S CABIN** In 1852 ardent abolitionist **Harriet Beecher Stowe** published *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Stirring strong reactions from North and South alike, the novel became an instant bestseller. More than a million copies had sold by the middle of 1853.

The novel's plot was melodramatic, and many of its characters were stereotypes, but *Uncle Tom's Cabin* delivered the message that slavery was not just a political contest but also a great moral struggle. Readers tensed with excitement as the slave Eliza fled across the frozen Ohio River, clutching her infant son in her arms. They rejoiced when kindly Augustine St. Clare purchased Uncle Tom, an old man who had been a slave all his life. They wept bitterly when Simon Legree, a wicked northern slave owner who moved to the South, bought Uncle Tom and had him whipped to death.

In quick response, northern abolitionists increased their protests against the Fugitive Slave Act, while southerners criticized the book as an attack on the South as a whole. The furor over *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had barely begun to settle when a new controversy over slavery drew heated debate.

**Reading Check** Summarize How did the Underground Railroad operate?

## **Document-Based Investigation Historical Source**

#### Uncle Tom's Cabin

By presenting slaves as real humans with emotions and goals, Harriet Beecher Stowe's popular novel stirred up new sympathy for the enslaved and increased support for the abolition movement. In this passage, escaped slave Eliza, who has fled her owners to keep them from selling her infant son, sees slave catchers on her trail.

#### **Analyze Historical Sources**

- 1. How did social attitudes influence Stowe's writing?
- **2.** Why do you think Stowe included the scene of Eliza's escape in the novel?

"She caught her child, and sprang down the steps toward [the river]. The trader caught a full glimpse of her, just as she was disappearing down the bank; and throwing himself from his horse . . . he was after her like a hound after a deer. In that dizzy moment her feet to her scarce seemed to touch the ground, and a moment brought her to the water's edge. Right on behind they came; and, nerved with strength such as God gives only the desperate, with one wild cry and flying leap, she vaulted sheer over the turbid current by the shore, on to the raft of ice beyond. . . . With wild cries and desperate energy she leaped to another and still another . . . till dimly, as in a dream, she saw the Ohio side, and a man helping her up the bank."

—Harriet Beecher Stowe, from *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 1852

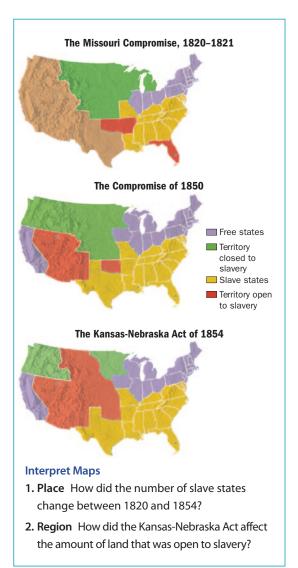
# **Tension in Kansas and Nebraska**

Abolitionist feelings in the North, already on edge because of Stowe's novel, further intensified when the issue of slavery in the territories—supposedly settled by the Compromise of 1850—surfaced once again. Ironically, Senator Stephen Douglas, who had helped to steer the compromise to victory, was the person most responsible for resurrecting the issue.

**POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY** As early as 1844, Douglas was pushing to organize the huge territory west of Iowa and Missouri. In 1854 he developed a proposal to divide the area into two territories, Nebraska and Kansas. His motives were complicated. For one thing, Douglas was pushing for the construction of a railroad between Chicago—his hometown, where he also owned real estate—and San Francisco. To get this route, he had to make a deal with southerners, who wanted the railroad to start in Memphis or New Orleans.

In addition, Douglas was anxious to organize the western territory because he believed that most of the nation's people wished to see the western lands incorporated into the Union. Along with many other Democrats, Douglas was sure that continued expansion would strengthen his party and unify the nation. He also believed that popular sovereignty provided the most fair and democratic way to organize the new state governments. But what Douglas failed to fully understand was how strongly opposed to slavery northerners had become.

## Free and Slave States and Territories. 1820-1854



To Douglas, popular sovereignty seemed like an excellent way to decide whether slavery would be allowed in the Nebraska Territory. The only difficulty was that Nebraska Territory lay north of the Missouri Compromise line of 36°30′ and therefore was legally closed to slavery. Douglas assumed, though, that the territory of Nebraska would enter the Union as two states, one free and one slave, and thus maintain the balance in the Senate between North and South.

Douglas was convinced that slavery could not exist on the prairies, since none of the crops relying on slave labor could be grown there. However, to win over the South, Douglas decided to support repeal of the Missouri Compromise—which would make slavery legal north of 36°30′—though he predicted it would cause "a storm" in Congress. His prediction was right.

THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT On January 23, 1854, Douglas introduced a bill in Congress to divide the area into two territories: Nebraska in the north and Kansas in the south. If passed, it would repeal the Missouri Compromise and establish popular sovereignty for both territories. Debate over the bill was bitter. Some northern members of Congress saw the bill as part of a plot to turn the territories into slave states, but nearly 90 percent of southern members voted for the bill. The bitterness spilled over into the general population, which deluged Congress with petitions both for and against the bill. In the North, Douglas found himself ridiculed for betraying the Missouri Compromise. Yet he did not waver. He believed strongly that popular sovereignty was the democratic way to resolve the slavery issue.

"If the people of Kansas want a slaveholding state, let them have it, and if they want a free state they have a right to it, and it is not for the people of Illinois, or Missouri, or New York, or Kentucky, to complain, whatever the decision of Kansas may be."

—Stephen A. Douglas, quoted in The Civil War

With the help of President Franklin Pierce, a Democrat elected in 1852, Douglas steered his proposal through the Senate. After months of struggle and strife, the Kansas-Nebraska Act became law in May 1854. All eyes turned westward as the fate of the new territories hung in the balance.

#### **Reading Check**

**Analyze Issues** Why was popular sovereignty so controversial?

# Violence Erupts in "Bleeding Kansas"

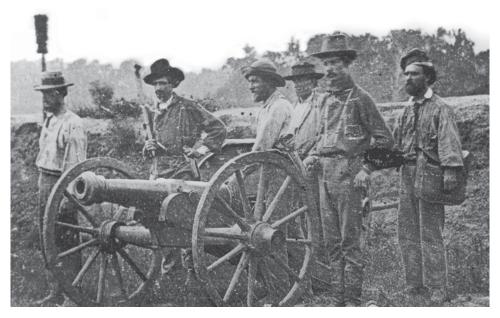
The race for the possession of Kansas was on. New York senator William Seward threw down the gauntlet: "Come on, then, gentlemen of the Slave States. . . . We will engage in competition for the virgin soil of Kansas and God give the victory to the side that is stronger in numbers as it is in right."

**TWO GOVERNMENTS** From both the North and the South, settlers poured into the Kansas Territory. Some were simply farmers in search of new land. Most were sent by emigrant aid societies, groups formed specifically to supply rifles, animals, seed, and farm equipment to antislavery migrants.

By March 1855 Kansas had enough settlers to hold an election for a territorial legislature. However, thousands of "border ruffians" from the slave state of Missouri, led by Missouri senator David Atchison, crossed into Kansas with their revolvers cocked and voted illegally. They won a fraudulent majority for the proslavery candidates, who set up a government at Lecompton and promptly issued a series of proslavery acts. Furious over events in Lecompton, abolitionists organized a rival government in Topeka in the fall of 1855.

**THE SACK OF LAWRENCE** Before long, violence surfaced in the struggle for Kansas. Antislavery settlers had founded a town named Lawrence. In December 1855 a scuffle between proslavery and antislavery settlers resulted in the death of an antislavery activist. Only the direct intervention of the governor prevented full-fledged war as a result of the killing.

Tensions flared again a few months later. In January 1856 President Pierce, urged on by slavery supporters in Congress, declared his support for the proslavery government of Kansas. In Kansas, a proslavery grand jury condemned Lawrence's inhabitants as traitors and called on the local sheriff to arrest them. On May 21, 1856, a proslavery posse of 800 armed men swept



This organized party of Kansas-bound armed settlers was one of the groups known as "Free-State batteries."

into Lawrence to carry out the grand jury's will. The posse burned down the antislavery headquarters, destroyed two newspapers' printing presses, and looted many houses and stores. Abolitionist newspapers dubbed the event "the sack of Lawrence."

THE POTTAWATOMIE MASSACRE The news from Lawrence soon reached **John Brown**, an abolitionist described by one historian as "a man made of the stuff of saints." Brown believed that God had called on him to fight slavery. He also had the mistaken impression that the proslavery posse in Lawrence had killed five men. Brown was set on revenge. On May 24, he and his followers pulled five men from their beds in the proslavery settlement of Pottawatomie Creek, hacked off their hands, and stabbed them with broadswords. This attack became famous as the "Pottawatomie Massacre" and quickly led to cries for revenge. It became the bloody shirt that proslavery Kansas settlers waved in summoning attacks on slavery opponents.

The massacre triggered dozens of similar incidents throughout Kansas. Some 200 people were killed. John Brown fled Kansas but left behind men and women who lived with rifles by their sides. People began calling the territory **Bleeding Kansas**, as it had become a violent battlefield in a civil war.

**VIOLENCE IN THE SENATE** Violence was not restricted to Kansas, however. On May 19, Massachusetts senator Charles Sumner delivered in the Senate an impassioned speech later called "The Crime Against Kansas." For two days he verbally attacked colleagues for their support of slavery. He was particularly abusive toward aged senator Andrew P. Butler of South Carolina, sneering at him for his proslavery beliefs and making fun of his impaired speech.

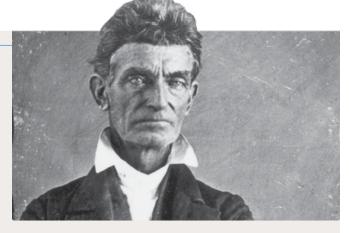
On May 22, Butler's nephew, Congressman Preston S. Brooks, walked into the Senate chamber and over to Sumner's desk. "I have read your speech twice over, carefully," Brooks said softly. "It is a libel on South Carolina and Mr. Butler, who is a relative of mine." With that, he lifted up his cane and struck

**BIOGRAPHY** 

# John Brown (1800–1859)

John Brown was a fiery idealist who believed that God had called on him to fight slavery. He was raised in a deeply religious antislavery family. Brown was never financially successful, although he tried a variety of ventures, from farming to land speculation.

By 1849 Brown was living in the black community of North Elba, New York. He supported many abolitionist causes, such as David Walker's Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World, and helped to finance farms for fugitive slaves.



Brown became a powerful symbol of the moral issue of slavery in the North and reinforced the worst fears of the South. After a number of raids on proslavery settlers in Kansas and a raid on Harpers Ferry, Virginia, Brown was caught. He was hanged for treason in 1859.



This 1856 cartoon shows Preston Brooks attacking Charles Sumner in the U.S. Senate chamber.

Reading Check Analyze Causes

Why did Kansas become a center of controversy over the issue of slavery? Sumner on the head repeatedly before the cane broke. Sumner suffered shock and apparent brain damage and did not return to his Senate seat for more than three years.

Southerners applauded and showered Brooks with new canes, including one inscribed with the words, "Hit him again!" Northerners condemned the incident as yet another example of southern brutality and antagonism toward free speech. Northerners and southerners, it appeared, had reached an impasse.

The widening gulf between the North and the South had far-reaching implications for party politics as well. The compromises

that had been tried from the time of the Wilmot Proviso until the Kansas-Nebraska Act could not satisfy radical elements in either the North or the South. The tensions that resulted led to new political alliances as well as to violence. As the two sections grew further apart, the old national parties were torn apart and new political parties emerged.

#### **Lesson 1 Assessment**

**1. Organize Information** Create a chart that identifies the positions of the North and the South on an issue or trend covered in this lesson.

Issue or Trend	North	South
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		

How was each region affected by the issue or trend?

- **2. Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.
- **3. Develop Historical Perspective** Do you think there are any points at which a different action or leader might have resolved the conflict between the North and the South? Support your opinion with references from this section.

#### Think About:

- territories gained after the Mexican-American War
- issues raised by the Wilmot Proviso, California statehood, and the Compromise of 1850
- constitutional issues raised by southerners

- **4. Analyze Primary Sources** When California applied for statehood in 1850, Mississippi senator Jefferson Davis warned, "For the first time, we are about permanently to destroy the balance of power between the sections." Why might Davis have felt this way?
- **5. Analyze Effects** Explain how *Uncle Tom's Cabin* affected the abolitionist cause. Use details from the lesson to support your answer.
- **6. Synthesize** Explain the concept of popular sovereignty and describe northern and southern reactions to it as a way of making decisions about slavery in the territories.



# The Birth of the Republican Party

## The Big Idea

In the mid-1850s the issue of slavery and other factors split political parties and led to the birth of new ones.

## Why It Matters Now

The Republican and Democratic parties remain the major political forces in the United States today.

## **Key Terms and People**

Horace Greeley Franklin Pierce nativism **Know-Nothing Party** Free-Soil Party Republican Party John C. Frémont James Buchanan

# **One American's Story**

As editor of the New York Tribune, Horace Greeley always spoke his mind. A staunch abolitionist, Greeley consistently argued in his columns against popular sovereignty and in favor of forcible resistance to slave catchers.

In March 1855, after Greeley became frustrated with the Whig Party's shifting position on slavery, he issued a call to arms for "the friends of freedom" to "be girding up their loins for future contests" and join a new antislavery political party, the Republican Party.

"[The Republicans have] the heart, the conscience and the understanding of the people with them. . . . All that is noble, all that is true, all that is pure, all that is manly, and estimable in human character, goes to swell the power of the anti-slavery party of the North. That party . . . now embraces every Northern man who does not want to see the government converted into a huge engine for



Horace Greeley founded the New York Tribune in 1841.

the spread of slavery over the whole continent, every man . . . opposed to . . . the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill."

—Horace Greeley, quoted in The Coming of the Civil War

Greeley's appeal accurately reflected the changing national political scene. With the continuing tension over slavery, many Americans needed a national political voice. That voice was to be the Republican Party.

# **New Political Parties Emerge**

By the end of 1856, the nation's political landscape had shifted. The Whigs had split over the issue of slavery, and the Democrats were weak. This left the new Republican Party to move within striking distance of the presidency.

**SLAVERY DIVIDES WHIGS** Divisions in the Whig Party widened in 1852. General Winfield Scott, the Whig nominee for president, owed his nomination to northern Whigs, who opposed the Fugitive Slave Act and gave only lukewarm support to the Compromise of 1850. Southern Whigs, however, backed the compromise in order to appear both proslavery and pro-Union. As a result, the Whig vote in the South fell from 50 percent in 1848 to 35 percent in 1852, handing the election to the Democratic candidate **Frank-lin Pierce**.

In 1854 the Kansas-Nebraska Act brought about the final demise of the Whigs, who once again took opposing positions on slavery legislation. Unable to agree on a national platform, the southern faction splintered as its members looked for a proslavery, pro-Union party to join, while Whigs in the North sought a new party that shared their views.

**NATIVISM** One alternative to the Whigs was the American Party, which had its roots in a secret organization known as the Order of the Star-Spangled Banner. Members of this society were supporters of **nativism**, the favoring of native-born Americans over immigrants. They called for strict limits on the number of immigrants allowed into the country. Using secret handshakes and passwords, members were told to answer questions about their activities by saying, "I know nothing." When nativists formed the American Party in 1854, it soon became better known as the **Know-Nothing Party**.

Primarily middle-class Protestants, nativists were dismayed not only at the total number of new immigrants but also at the number of Catholics among them. To nativists, the Catholic immigrants who had flooded into the country during the 1830s and 1840s were overly influenced by the pope and could form a conspiracy to overthrow democracy.



The 1854 campaign banner for the Know-Nothing Party reflects its members' fear and resentment of immigrants.

# **Reading Check**

**Analyze Causes** What impact did the slavery issue have on the Democratic and Whig parties?

While the Democratic Party courted immigrant voters, nativists voted for Know-Nothing candidates. The Know-Nothing Party did surprisingly well at the polls in 1854, winning more than 40 seats in Congress and many state and local offices. However, like the Whig Party, the Know-Nothings split over the issue of slavery in the territories. Southern Know-Nothings looked for another alternative to the Democrats. Meanwhile, northern Know-Nothings began to edge toward the Republican Party. By 1856 the Know-Nothing Party's influence had faded, and the party soon disbanded.

# **Antislavery Parties Form**

Several parties dedicated to stopping the spread of slavery emerged during the 1840s. The Liberty Party, for example, was founded in New York in 1840. In 1844 the tiny party—whose purpose was to pursue the cause of abolition by passing new laws—received only a small percentage of votes in the presidential election. Yet the Liberty Party won enough votes to throw the election to Democrat James K. Polk instead of Whig candidate Henry Clay. Later, antislavery parties attracted more members and, eventually, played major roles in American politics.



This Free-Soilers' banner calls for an end to the spread of "slave power" in the nation.

THE FREE-SOILERS The Free-Soil Party formed when members of the Liberty Party banded together with some northern Whigs and Democrats. The Free-Soilers, who opposed the extension of slavery into the territories, took their name from the expression *free soil*, which referred to land on which slavery was forbidden. In 1848 they nominated former Democratic president Martin Van Buren. Although the Free-Soil Party failed to win any electoral votes in 1848, it received 10 percent of the popular vote, thus sending a clear message: even if some northerners did not favor abolition, they definitely opposed the extension of slavery into the territories.

Many northerners were Free-Soilers without being abolitionists. A number of northern Free-Soilers supported laws prohibiting black settlement in their communities and denying blacks the right to vote. Free-Soilers objected to slavery's impact on free white workers in the wage-based labor force, upon which the North depended. Abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison considered the Free-Soil Party "a sign of discontent with things political . . . reaching for something better. . . . It is a party for keeping Free Soil and not for setting men free."

Free-Soilers detected a dangerous pattern in such events as the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. They were convinced that a conspiracy existed on the part of the "diabolical slave power" to spread slavery throughout the United States. Something or someone, according to the Free-Soilers, had to prevent this spread.

**THE REPUBLICAN PARTY** In February 1854, at a schoolhouse in Ripon, Wisconsin, some discontented northern Whigs held a meeting with antislavery Democrats and Free-Soilers to form a new political party. On July 6 the new **Republican Party** was formally organized in Jackson, Michigan. Among its founders was Horace Greeley.

## Major Political Parties, 1850–1860

Party	Established	Major Platform
Free-Soil	1848	<ul><li> against extension of slavery</li><li> pro-labor</li></ul>
Know-Nothing	1854 (as American Party)	<ul><li>anti-immigration</li><li>anti-Catholic</li></ul>
Whig	Organized 1834	<ul><li>pro-business</li><li>divided on slavery</li></ul>
Republican	1854	opposed expansion of slavery into territories
Democratic	1840 (the Democratic-Republican Party adopted "Democratic Party" as official name)	<ul><li> states' rights</li><li> limited government</li><li> divided on slavery</li></ul>

#### **Interpret Tables**

What issue was addressed by almost all the parties shown in the table?

The Republican Party was united in opposing the Kansas-Nebraska Act and in keeping slavery out of the territories. Otherwise, it embraced a wide range of opinions. The party's conservative faction hoped to resurrect the Missouri Compromise. At the opposite extreme were radical abolitionists. The Republican Party's ability to draw support from such diverse groups provided the party with the strength to win a political tug of war with the other parties.

The main competition for the Republican Party was the Know-Nothing Party. Both parties targeted the same groups of voters. By 1855 the Republicans had set up party organizations in about half of the northern states, but they lacked a national organization. Then, in quick succession, came the fraudulent territorial election in Kansas in March 1855, and the sack of Lawrence, the Pottawatomie massacre, and the caning of Sumner in 1856. Between "Bleeding Kansas" and "Bleeding Sumner," the Republicans had the issues they needed in order to challenge the Democrats for the presidency in 1856.

### Reading Check Analyze Motives Why was the Republican Party formed?

# The 1856 Election

The Republicans chose **John C. Frémont**, the famed "Pathfinder" who had mapped the Oregon Trail and led U.S. troops into California during the war with Mexico, as their candidate in 1856. The Know-Nothings split their allegiance, with northerners endorsing Frémont and southerners selecting former U.S. president Millard Fillmore. Although Fillmore had once been a Whig, for all practical purposes, the Whigs had now dissolved.

The Democrats nominated **James Buchanan** of Pennsylvania. Although he was a northerner, most of his Washington friends were southerners. Furthermore, as minister to Great Britain, he had been out of the country during the disputes over the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854. Thus, he had antagonized neither the North nor the South. Buchanan was the only truly national candidate. To balance support between the North and the South, the Democrats chose John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky as Buchanan's running mate.

If Frémont had won, the South might well have seceded then and there. Judge P. J. Scruggs of Mississippi put it bluntly.

"The election of Frémont would present, at once, to the people of the South, the question whether they would tamely crouch at the feet of their despoilers, or . . . openly defy their enemies, and assert their independence. In my judgment, anything short of immediate, prompt, and unhesitating secession, would be an act of servility that would seal our doom for all time to come."

—P. J. Scruggs, quoted in *The Coming of the Civil War* 

Buchanan, however, carried the day. Although he received only 45 percent of the popular vote, he won the entire South except for Maryland. Frémont, who carried 11 of the 16 free states, came in a strong second with 33 percent, while Fillmore brought up the rear with 22 percent.

The meaning was clear. First, the Democrats could win the presidency with a national candidate who could compete in the North without alienating southerners. Second, the Know-Nothings were in decline. Third, the Republicans were a political force in the North.

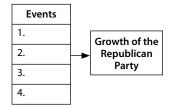
The 1856 presidential campaign had been hard-fought, filled with bitter arguments and personal attacks. However, the dissension that characterized party politics in the mid-1850s was only a pale preview of the turmoil that would divide the nation before the end of the decade.

**Reading Check** 

Analyze Effects Why was the election of 1856 so important to the growth of the Republican Party?

### **Lesson 2 Assessment**

1. Organize Information Use a chart to show how various events led to the growth of the Republican Party in the 1850s.



Which event was most important in the rise of the Republican Party?

2. Key Terms and People For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance. 3. Contrast How did the attitudes toward slavery held by abolitionists, Free-Soilers, and Know-Nothings differ? Explain your answer.

#### **Think About:**

- the ultimate goal of abolitionists
- the reason Free-Soilers objected to slavery
- what caused the split in the Know-Nothing Party
- **4. Synthesize** How did the way in which the Republican Party was formed indicate that the party stood a good chance at success?
- 5. Analyze Issues Why might the newly formed Republican Party have chosen John C. Frémont as its first presidential candidate in 1856?



# **Slavery and Secession**

## The Big Idea

A series of controversial events heightened the sectional conflict that brought the nation to the brink of war.

## Why It Matters Now

Secession created deep divisions in American society that persist to the present time.

## **Key Terms and People**

Abraham Lincoln
Dred Scott
Roger B. Taney
Freeport Doctrine
Harpers Ferry
Confederacy
Jefferson Davis

# **One American's Story**

On June 16, 1858, the Republican Party of Illinois nominated its state chairman, **Abraham Lincoln**, to run for the U.S. Senate against Democratic incumbent Stephen A. Douglas. That night, Lincoln launched his campaign with a ringing address to the convention. It included a biblical quotation.

"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. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it . . . or its advocates will push it forward, till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South."



This photograph shows Lincoln in about 1858, before the Civil War took its toll.

—Abraham Lincoln, from an 1858 speech

Lincoln was correct in that the United States could not survive for long with such a deep gulf between the North and the South—but was he right that the Union would not dissolve? With a weak president in James Buchanan and new legal questions over slavery, the United States faced the future with great apprehension. Some suspected that events would lead like a trail of powder to a final explosion.

# **Slavery Dominates Politics**

For strong leaders, slavery was a difficult issue. But it presented even more of a challenge for the indecisive President Buchanan, whose administration was plagued by slavery-related controversies. The first one arose on March 6, 1857.

**DRED SCOTT DECISION** In 1856 an important legal question came before the Supreme Court. The case concerned **Dred Scott**, a slave from Missouri. Scott's owner had taken him north of the Missouri Compromise line in 1834. For four years they had lived in free territory in Illinois and Wisconsin. Later, they returned to Missouri, where Scott's owner died. Scott then filed a lawsuit to gain his freedom. He claimed that he had become a free person by living in free territory for several years.

On March 6, 1857, Supreme Court Chief Justice Roger B. Taney handed down the decision. The Court ruled that slaves were property, not people. As a result, they did not have the rights of citizens. Furthermore, said the Court, Dred Scott had no claim to freedom, because he had been living in Missouri, a slave state, when he began his suit. Finally, the Court ruled that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional. Congress could not forbid slavery in any part of the territories. Doing so would interfere with slaveholders' right to own property, a right protected by the Fifth Amendment.

Sectional passions exploded immediately. Southerners cheered the Court's decision. Northerners were stunned. By striking down the Missouri Compromise, the Supreme Court had cleared the way for the extension of slavery. Opponents of slavery now pinned their hopes on the Republican Party. If the Republicans became strong enough, they could still keep slavery in check.

**THE LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION** In the fall of 1857, the proslavery government at Lecompton, Kansas, wrote a constitution and applied for admission to the Union. Free-Soilers—who by this time outnumbered proslavery settlers in Kansas by nearly ten to one—rejected the proposed constitution because it protected the rights of slaveholders. The legislature called for a referendum in which the people could vote on the proslavery constitution. They voted against it.

At this point, President Buchanan made a poor decision: he endorsed the proslavery Lecompton constitution. He owed his presidency to southern support and believed that since Kansas contained only about 200 slaves, the Free-Soilers were overreacting. Buchanan sent the constitution to Congress and requested that Kansas be admitted as a slave state.

Buchanan's endorsement provoked the wrath of Illinois Democrat Stephen Douglas, who did not care "whether [slavery] is voted down or voted up." What he cared about was popular sovereignty. Backed by an antislavery coalition of Republicans and northern Democrats, Douglas persuaded Congress to authorize another referendum on the constitution. In the summer of 1858, voters rejected the constitution once again. Northerners hailed Douglas as a hero, southerners scorned him as a traitor, and the two wings of the Democratic Party moved still farther apart.



Dred Scott's lawsuit dragged on for years and set off even more controversy over slavery.

**Reading Check Analyze Motives** Why did the Supreme Court rule against **Dred Scott?** 

# The Lincoln-Douglas Debates

That summer witnessed the start of one of Illinois's greatest political contests: the 1858 race for the U.S. Senate between Democratic incumbent Douglas and Republican challenger Abraham Lincoln. To many outsiders, it must have seemed like an uneven match. Douglas was a two-term senator with an outstanding record and a large campaign chest. Who was Lincoln?

A self-educated man with a dry wit, Lincoln was known locally as a successful lawyer and politician. Elected as a Whig to one term in Congress in 1846, he broke with his party after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854 and became a Republican two years later.

LINCOLN CHALLENGES DOUGLAS As the senatorial campaign progressed, the Republican Party decided that Lincoln needed to counteract the "Little Giant's" well-known name and extensive financial resources. As a result, Lincoln challenged Douglas to a series of seven open-air debates to be held throughout Illinois on the issue of slavery in the territories. Douglas accepted the challenge, and the stage was set for some of the most celebrated debates in U.S. history.

Lincoln and Douglas had very different speaking styles. Douglas exuded self-confidence, pacing back and forth on the stage and dramatically using his fists to pound home his points. Lincoln, on the other hand, delivered his comments solemnly, using direct and plain language.

POSITIONS AND ARGUMENTS The two men's positions were simple and consistent. Douglas believed deeply in popular sovereignty, in allowing the residents of a territory to vote for or against slavery. Although he did not think that slavery was immoral, he did believe that it was a backward labor system unsuitable to prairie agriculture. The people, Douglas assumed, understood this and would vote Kansas and Nebraska free. However, Lincoln, like many Free-Soilers, believed that slavery was immoral—a labor system based on greed. The crucial difference between the two was that Douglas believed that popular sovereignty would allow slavery to pass away on its own, while Lincoln doubted that slavery would cease to spread without legislation outlawing it in the territories.

In the course of the debates, each candidate tried to distort the views of the other. Lincoln tried to make Douglas look like a defender of slavery and of the *Dred Scott* decision. In turn, Douglas accused Lincoln of being an abolitionist and an advocate of racial equality. Lincoln responded by saying, "I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races." He did, however, insist that slavery was a moral, social, and political wrong that should not be allowed to spread any farther.

**THE FREEPORT DOCTRINE** In their second debate, held at Freeport, Lincoln asked his opponent a crucial question: Could the settlers of a territory vote to exclude slavery before the territory became a state? Everyone knew that the *Dred Scott* decision said no—that territories could not exclude slavery. Popular sovereignty, Lincoln implied, was thus an empty phrase.



Abraham Lincoln



Stephen A. Douglas

### **Reading Check**

Compare and **Contrast** Explain the similarities and differences between Lincoln's and Douglas's positions on slavery.

Douglas's response to Lincoln's question became known as the **Freeport Doctrine**. Douglas contended, "Slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere, unless it is supported by local police regulations." If the people of a territory were Free-Soilers, he explained, then all they had to do was elect representatives who would not enforce slave property laws. In other words, regardless of theory or the Supreme Court's ruling, people could get around the *Dred Scott* decision.

Douglas won the Senate seat, but his response had worsened the split between the northern and southern wings of the Democratic Party. As for Lincoln, his attacks on the "vast moral evil" of slavery drew national attention, and some Republicans began thinking of him as an excellent candidate for the presidency in 1860.

# **Passions Ignite**

If 1858 was a year of talk, then 1859 turned out to be a year of action. Most Americans probably would have welcomed a respite from the issue of slavery. Instead, "God's angry man," John Brown, reemerged on the scene and ended all hopes of a compromise over slavery between the North and the South.

**HARPERS FERRY** While politicians debated the slavery issue, John Brown was studying the slave uprisings that had occurred in ancient Rome and on the French island of Haiti. He believed that the time was ripe for similar uprisings in the United States. Brown secretly obtained financial backing from several prominent northern abolitionists. On the night of October 16, 1859, he led a band of 21 men, black and white, into Harpers Ferry, Virginia (now West Virginia). His aim was to seize the federal arsenal there, distribute the captured arms to slaves in the area, and start a general slave uprising.

Brown and his followers took 60 of the town's prominent citizens hostage in hopes that their slaves would then join the insurrection. No slaves came forward. Instead, local troops killed eight of Brown's men. Then a detachment of U.S. Marines, commanded by Colonel Robert E. Lee, raced to Harpers Ferry and stormed the engine house where Brown and his men had barricaded themselves. The federal troops killed two more of the raiders and captured Brown. Brown was turned over to Virginia to be tried for treason.

Historians have long debated Brown's actions. There is no doubt that he hated slavery with all his heart. However, why did he fail to tell slaves in the area about his plans beforehand? Why didn't he provide his men with enough food to last for even one day? In any case, Brown certainly hoped that his actions would arouse northern fury and start a war for abolition.

JOHN BROWN'S HANGING On December 2, 1859, Brown was hanged for high treason in the presence of federal troops and a crowd of curious observers. Public reaction was immediate and intense. Lincoln and Douglas condemned Brown as a murderer, but many northerners expressed admiration for him and for his cause. Bells tolled at the news of his execution, guns fired salutes, and crowds gathered to hear fiery speakers denounce the South. Some northerners began to call Brown a martyr for the sacred cause of freedom.

#### **Reading Check**

**Analyze Effects** Why did Harpers Ferry increase tensions between the North and the South?

The response was equally extreme in the South, where outraged mobs assaulted whites who were suspected of holding antislavery views. Harpers Ferry terrified southern slaveholders, wvho were convinced the North was plotting slave uprisings everywhere. Even longtime supporters of the Union called for secession. As one former Unionist explained, "I am willing to take the chances of . . . disunion, sooner than submit any longer to Northern insolence and Northern outrage."

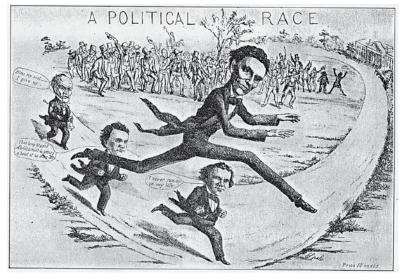
# **Lincoln Is Elected President**

Despite the hostility between North and South, the Republican Party eagerly awaited its presidential convention in May 1860. When the convention began, almost everyone believed that the party's candidate would be Senator William H. Seward of New York. However, events took a dramatic turn.

**THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION** The convention took place in Chicago, which had quickly transformed itself into a convention city with more than 50 hotels and an 18,000-square-foot wooden meeting center named the Wigwam. Republicans flooded into the frontier city in such crowds that despite the preparations, many ended up sleeping on pool tables in the hotels.

The convention opened to a surging crowd of delegates, newsmen, and spectators. The 4,500-person delegate floor overflowed within minutes. To gain seating in the galleries, which were reserved for gentlemen who had come with ladies, determined single men even offered schoolgirls a quarter for their company. The first day of the convention was passed in forming committees, listening to prayers, and gossiping about politics. As events came to a close, campaign managers for the candidates retreated to their headquarters and began bargaining for delegates' votes, some working late into the night.

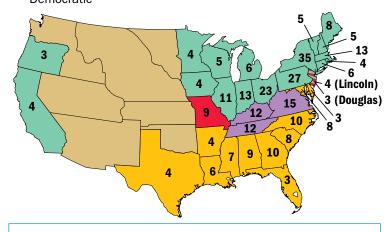
**SEWARD AND LINCOLN** Senator William H. Seward appeared to have everything one needed in order to be a successful presidential candidate: the credential of having led antislavery forces in Congress, the financial support of New York political organizations, and a desire to be the center of attention. In fact, Seward himself had little doubt that he would be nominated.



This cartoon depicts the major candidates in the 1860 presidential election. Three of the candidates— Bell, Breckinridge, and Douglas—are in hot pursuit of the front-runner— Republican Abraham Lincoln.

### Presidential Election of 1860

Party	Candidate	Electoral Votes	Popular Votes
Republican	Abraham Lincoln	180	1,865,593
Southern Democratic	J.C. Breckinridge	72	848,356
Constitutional Union	John Bell	39	592,906
Northern Democratic	Stephen Douglas	12	1,382,713



#### **Interpret Maps**

**Region** How did the election reflect the political divisions in the United States in 1860?

Well before the voting took place, Seward drafted his senatorial resignation speech, which he planned to deliver when his nomination became official.

Seward's well-known name and his reputation may have worked against him, however. Abraham Lincoln's being relatively unknown probably won him the nomination. Unlike Seward, Lincoln had not had much chance to offend his fellow Republicans. The delegates rejected Seward and his talk of an "irrepressible conflict" between North and South. On the third ballot, they nominated Lincoln, whose views seemed more moderate. Although Lincoln pledged to halt the spread of slavery "as with a chain of steel," he also tried to reassure southerners that a Republican administration would not "directly, or indirectly, interfere with their slaves, or with them, about their slaves." His promises fell on deaf ears. In southern eyes, he was a "black Republican," whose election would be "the greatest evil that has ever befallen this country."

# **THE ELECTION OF 1860** Three major

candidates vied for office in addition to Lincoln. The Democratic Party split over the issue of slavery. Northern Democrats backed Stephen Douglas and his doctrine of popular sovereignty. Southern Democrats backed Vice-President John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky. Former Know-Nothings and Whigs from the South, along with some moderate northerners, organized the Constitutional Union Party, which ignored the issue of slavery altogether. They nominated John Bell of Tennessee.

Lincoln emerged as the winner, but like Buchanan in the previous election, he received less than half the popular vote. In fact, although Lincoln defeated his combined opponents in the electoral vote by 180 to 123, he received no electoral votes from the South. Unlike Buchanan, Lincoln had sectional rather than national support, carrying every free state but not even appearing on the ballot in most of the slave states. The outlook for the Union was grim.

### **Draw Conclusions** How did slavery affect U.S. political

parties in 1860?

**Reading Check** 

# Southern Secession

Lincoln's victory convinced southerners that they had lost their political voice in the national government. Fearful that northern Republicans would submit the South to what noted Virginia agriculturist Edmund Ruffin called "the most complete subjection and political bondage," some southern states decided to act.

**SOUTHERN STATES LEAVE THE UNION** South Carolina led the way. A convention called by the governor and state legislature voted unanimously to secede from the Union on December 20, 1860. Four days later, the news reached William Tecumseh Sherman, superintendent of the Louisiana State Seminary of Learning and Military Academy. In utter dismay, Sherman poured out his fears for the South.

"This country will be drenched in blood. . . . [T]he people of the *North* . . . are not going to let the country be destroyed without a mighty effort to save it. Besides, where are your men and appliances of war to contend against them? . . . You are rushing into war with one of the most powerful, ingeniously mechanical and determined people on earth—right at your doors. . . . Only in spirit and determination are you prepared for war. In all else you are totally unprepared."

—William Tecumseh Sherman, quoted in None Died in Vain

Even Sherman underestimated the depth and intensity of the South's commitment. For many southern planters, the cry of "States' rights!" meant the complete independence of southern states from federal government control. Most white southerners also feared that an end to their entire way of life was at hand. Many were desperate for one last chance to preserve the slave labor system and saw secession as the only way. Mississippi followed South Carolina's lead and seceded on January 9, 1861. Florida seceded the next day. Within a few weeks, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas had also seceded.

## **Document-Based Investigation Historical Source**

## South Carolina's Secession

Shortly after the election of Abraham Lincoln, a convention assembled in South Carolina to discuss the state's future. Arguing that the federal government had already violated the constitutional protection of states' rights, they

predicted that their situation would worsen with a Republican government in power. Citing the Declaration of Independence as precedent, the delegates quickly voted to withdraw from the Union.

"A geographical line has been drawn across the Union, and all the States north of that line have united in the election of a man . . . hostile to slavery. . . . [The Republican Party] has announced that . . . a war must be waged against slavery until it shall cease throughout the United States. The guaranties of the Constitution will

then no longer exist; the equal rights of the States will be lost. The slaveholding States will no longer have the power of self-government, or self-protection, and the Federal Government will have become their enemy. . . . "

—Declaration of the Immediate Causes Which Induce and Justify the Secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union, December 24, 1860

#### **Analyze Historical Sources**

- 1. What reasons do the delegates give for their decision to secede?
- 2. Do you think South Carolina would have seceded had Lincoln not been elected? Why or why not?

**THE SHAPING OF THE CONFEDERACY** On February 4, 1861, delegates from the secessionist states met in Montgomery, Alabama, where they formed the **Confederacy**, or Confederate States of America. The Confederate constitution closely resembled that of the United States. The most notable difference was that the Confederate constitution "protected and recognized" slavery in new territories. The new constitution also stressed that each state was to be "sovereign and independent," a provision that would hamper efforts to unify the South.

On February 9, delegates to the Confederate constitutional convention unanimously elected former senator **Jefferson Davis** of Mississippi as president and Alexander Stephens of Georgia as vice-president. Davis had made his position clear, noting that to present a show of strength to the North, the South should "offer no doubtful or divided front." At his inauguration, Davis declared, "The time for compromise has now passed." His listeners responded by singing "Farewell to the Star-Spangled Banner" and "Dixie."

THE CALM BEFORE THE STORM As the nation awaited Lincoln's inauguration in March, its citizens were confused. What would happen now? Seven slave states had seceded and formed a new nation. Eight slave states remained within the Union. Would they secede also?

President Buchanan was uncertain how to react to the secession. He announced that secession was illegal, but that it also would be illegal for him to do anything about it. He tied his own hands, but in truth there was not much that he could have done.

One problem was that Washington, DC, was very much a southern city. There were secessionists in Congress and in all of the departments of the federal government, as well as in the president's cabinet. Consequently, mass resignations took place. To some people, it seemed as if the federal government were melting away. One key question remained in everyone's mind: Would the North allow the South to leave the Union without a fight?

### **Reading Check**

**Analyze Causes** What event led to the secession of southern states, and why?

## **Lesson 3 Assessment**

1. Organize Information List six major events described in this lesson and explain how each one sharpened the North-South conflict.

Even	t	Result
1.		
2.		
3.		<b></b>

- 2. Key Terms and People For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.
- 3. Contrast How did Lincoln and Douglas disagree about slavery? Which of their views were facts, and which were opinions?

- **4. Draw Conclusions** How did the states' rights debate lead to secession?
- **5. Evaluate** If you had been voting in the presidential election of 1860, for whom would you have voted, other than Abraham Lincoln? Explain your reasoning by using specific references to the module.
- **6. Analyze Primary Sources** In *Dred Scott* v. *Sandford* of 1857, the Supreme Court found that

"A free negro of the African race, whose ancestors were brought to this country and sold as slaves, is not a 'citizen' within the meaning of the Constitution of the United States."

How did the Supreme Court decision add to the tensions over slavery in the 1850s?

# Dred Scott v. Sandford (1857)

#### **ORIGINS OF THE CASE**

Slave Dred Scott's master had brought him from the slave state of Missouri to live for a time in free territory and in the free state of Illinois. Eventually they returned to Missouri. Scott believed that because he had lived in free territory, he should be free. In 1854 he sued in federal court for his freedom. The court ruled

against him, and he appealed to the Supreme Court.

## THE RULING

The Supreme Court ruled that African Americans were not and could never be citizens.

Thus, Dred Scott had no right even to file a lawsuit and remained enslaved.

#### **LEGAL REASONING**

The Court's decision, based primarily on Chief Justice Roger Taney's written opinion, made two key findings. First, it held that because Scott was a slave, he was not a citizen and had no right to sue in a United States court.

"We think they [slaves] . . . are not included, and were not intended to be included, under the word 'citizens' in the Constitution, and can therefore claim none of the rights and privileges which that instrument provides for and secures to citizens of the United States."

This could have been the end of the matter, but Taney went further. He said that by banning slavery, Congress was, in effect, taking away property. Such an action, he wrote, violated the Fifth Amendment, which guarantees the right not to be deprived of property without due process of law (such as a hearing). Thus, all congressional efforts to ban slavery in the territories were prohibited.

Justices John McLean and Benjamin Curtis strongly dissented on both points. They showed that the

U.S. Constitution, state constitutions, and other laws had recognized African Americans as citizens. They also pointed to the clause in the Constitution giving Congress the power to "make all needful Rules and Regulations" to govern U.S. territories. In their view, this clause gave Congress the power

to prohibit slavery in the territories.

Chief Justice Roger Taney

### **LEGAL SOURCES**

#### U.S. CONSTITUTION

# U.S. Constitution, Article 4, Section 2 (1789)

"No Person held to Service of Labor in one State, . . . escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labor. . . ."

# U.S. Constitution, Article 4, Section 3 (1789)

"The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States..."

# U.S. Constitution, Fifth Amendment (1791)

"No person shall be . . . deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law. . . ."

#### **RELATED CASES**

### Ableman v. Booth (1858)

The Court decided that the Fugitive Slave Act was constitutional and that laws passed in northern states that prohibited the return of fugitive slaves were unconstitutional.

#### **WHY IT MATTERED**

Taney's opinion in *Dred Scott* had far-reaching consequences. Legally, the opinion greatly expanded the reach of slavery. Politically, it heightened the sectional tensions that would lead to the Civil War.

Before the Court decided *Dred Scott*, Americans widely accepted the idea that Congress and the states could limit slavery. As the dissenters argued, many previous acts of Congress had done just that—for example, the Northwest Ordinance had banned slavery in the Northwest Territory—and no one had claimed that those acts violated property rights.

Taney's opinion in *Dred Scott*, however, was a major change. This expansion of slaveholders' rights cast doubt on whether free states could prevent slave owners from bringing or even selling slaves into free areas.

As a result, *Dred Scott* intensified the slavery debate as no single event had before. In going beyond what was needed to settle the case before him, Taney's ruling became a political act and threw into question the legitimacy of the Court. Further, Taney's opinion took the extreme proslavery position and installed it as the national law. It not only negated all the compromises made to date by proslavery and antislavery forces, but it seemed to preclude any possible future compromises.

#### **HISTORICAL IMPACT**

It took four years of bitter civil war to find out if Taney's opinion would stand as the law of the land. It would not. Immediately after the Civil War, the federal government moved to abolish



Contemporary newspaper article describing the Dred Scott case

slavery with the Thirteenth Amendment (1865) and then to extend state and national citizenship with the Fourteenth Amendment (1868) to "[all] persons born or naturalized in the United States." The wording of these amendments was expressly intended to nullify Dred Scott.

These amendments meant that *Dred Scott* would no longer be used as a precedent, an earlier ruling that can be used to justify a current one. Instead, it is now pointed to as an important lesson on the limits of the Supreme Court's power, as a key step on the road to the Civil War, and as one of the worst decisions the Supreme Court ever made.

#### **Critical Thinking**

- 1. Connect to History Use the library or online resources to find commentaries on *Dred Scott* written. at the time the decision was made. Read two of these commentaries and identify which section—North or South—the writer or speaker came from. Explain how each person's regional background shaped his or her views.
- **2. Connect to Today** Consider what it means to be a citizen of the United States and what rights that citizenship extends. Do Internet research to learn which constitutional amendments, U.S. laws, and Supreme Court decisions guarantee the rights of citizens. Prepare an oral presentation or annotated display to summarize your findings.

# The Civil War Begins

## The Big Idea

The secession of southern states caused the North and the South to take up arms.

## Why It Matters Now

The nation's identity was forged in part by the Civil War.

## **Key Terms and People**

Fort Sumter

Anaconda plan

**Bull Run** 

Stonewall Jackson

George McClellan

Ulysses S. Grant

Shiloh

David G. Farragut

Monitor

Merrimack

Robert E. Lee

Antietam

# **One American's Story**

On April 18, 1861, the federal supply ship *Baltic* dropped anchor off the coast of New Jersey. Aboard was Major Robert Anderson, a 35-year army veteran on his way from Charleston, South Carolina, to New York City. That day, Anderson wrote out a report to the secretary of war, describing his most recent command.

"Having defended
Fort Sumter for thirtyfour hours, until the
quarters were entirely
burned, the main gates
destroyed by fire, . . . the
magazine surrounded by
flames, . . . four barrels
and three cartridges of
powder only being available, and no provisions
but pork remaining, I
accepted terms of evacu-



Major Anderson (far left) and Fort Sumter's Union troops

ation . . . and marched out of the fort . . . with colors flying and drums beating . . . and saluting my flag with fifty guns."

—Robert Anderson, quoted in Fifty Basic Civil War Documents

The flag that Major Anderson saluted was the Stars and Stripes. After it came down, the Confederates raised their own flag, the Stars and Bars. The confederate attack on Fort Sumter signaled the start of the Civil War.

# **Confederates Fire on Fort Sumter**

The seven southern states that had already seceded formed the Confederate States of America on February 4, 1861. Confederate soldiers immediately began taking over federal installations in their states: courthouses, post offices, and especially forts. By the time of Abraham Lincoln's inauguration on March 4, only two southern forts remained in Union hands. The more important of the two was South Carolina's Fort Sumter, on an island in Charleston harbor.

The day after his inauguration, the new president received an urgent dispatch from the fort's commander, Major Anderson. The Confederacy was demanding that he surrender or face an attack, and his supplies of food and ammunition would last six weeks at the most.

**FIRST SHOTS** The news presented Lincoln with a dilemma. If he ordered the navy to shoot its way into Charleston harbor and reinforce Fort Sumter, he would be responsible for starting hostilities. Such an action might prompt the slave states still in the Union to secede. If he ordered the fort evacuated, he would be treating the Confederacy as a legitimate nation. Such an action would anger the Republican Party, weaken his administration, and endanger the Union.

Lincoln executed a clever political maneuver. He would not abandon Fort Sumter, but neither would he reinforce it. He would merely send in "food for hungry men." Because of the fort's location in the harbor, supply ships could carry in food without engaging Confederate troops.

Now it was Jefferson Davis who faced a dilemma. If he did nothing, he would damage the image of the Confederacy as a sovereign, independent nation. Fully supplied, Fort Sumter could hold out almost indefinitely and would stand as a symbol of federal authority in the South. On the other hand, if he ordered an attack on Fort Sumter, he would turn peaceful secession into war. Davis chose war. At 4:30 a.m. on April 12, Confederate batteries began thundering away. Charleston's citizens watched and cheered as though it were a fireworks display. The South Carolinians bombarded the fort with more than 4,000 rounds before Anderson surrendered.

**VIRGINIA SECEDES** News of Fort Sumter's fall united the North. When President Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers to serve in the Union army for three months, the response was overwhelming. In Iowa, 20 times the state's quota rushed to enlist.

Lincoln's call for troops provoked a very different reaction in the states of the upper South. On April 17 Virginia, unwilling to fight against other southern states, seceded—a terrible loss to the Union. Virginia was the most heavily populated state in the South and the most industrialized, with a crucial ironworks and navy yard. In May Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina followed Virginia, bringing the number of Confederate states to 11. However, the western counties of Virginia were antislavery, so they seceded from Virginia and remained loyal to the North. These counties were later admitted into the Union as West Virginia in 1863.

**THE BORDER STATES** By April four slave states—Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and Delaware—were undecided about secession. Lincoln believed that these states would be essential to the success of the Union if war broke out. They had thriving industries and good access to important rail and water routes. Also, their location bordering both North and South made the four states crucial to the movement of troops and supplies. Moreover, Maryland almost surrounded Washington, DC, the seat of government.

As president, Lincoln faced a difficult choice. If he listened to abolitionist calls to free the slaves, he would make many Republicans happy, but he might alienate the border states. Not wanting to do anything to risk driving these states away, Lincoln chose to ignore slavery for the moment. His decision, however, did not prevent violent conflicts between secessionists and Unionists in Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri. Nevertheless, with militia intervention and some political maneuvering, Lincoln kept the four border states in the Union.

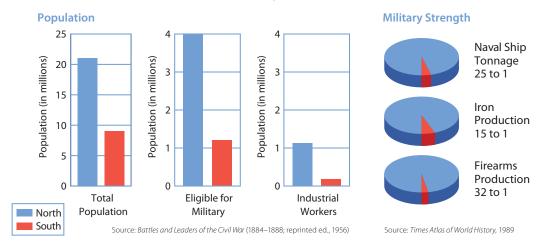
**Reading Check** Analyze Causes Why did Jefferson Davis choose to go to war?

# Americans Expect a Short War

Northerners and Confederates alike expected a short, glorious war. Confederate soldier Sam Watkins even hoped the war would last long enough to let him take part: "The die was cast; war was declared . . . and we were all afraid it would be over and we [would] not be in the fight." Soldiers left for the front with bands playing and crowds cheering. Both sides felt that right was on their side.

UNION AND CONFEDERATE STRATEGIES Although civilians on both sides of the Civil War felt that victory was assured, in reality the two sides were unevenly matched. The Union seemed to have an overwhelming advantage. First, it had a much larger population than the Confederacy did—22 million people compared to the South's 9 million—meaning that it could field a much

# Northern and Southern Resources, 1861



#### **Interpret Graphs**

- 1. Which side—North or South—had the advantage in terms of industrial production?
- 2. What do the overall data suggest about the eventual outcome of the war?

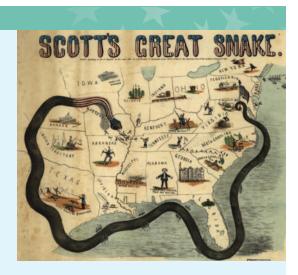
## **Document-Based Investigation Historical Source**

#### Anaconda Plan

Shortly after the attack on Fort Sumter, U.S. General-in-Chief Winfield Scott devised a plan for defeating the South. He intended to completely surround the Confederacy, preventing aid from reaching the area by land or sea, and slowly strangle it. This cartoon map, published in a Cincinnati newspaper in 1861, shows one artist's idea of the strategy, widely nicknamed the Anaconda plan. Scott retired before he could implement his plan, though. That task fell to the new general-in-chief, George McClellan.

#### **Analyze Historical Sources**

How does the imagery used in this cartoon represent Scott's strategy for winning the war?



larger army and bring more fighting power to bear. In addition, the North enjoyed enormous advantages in resources over the South—more factories, greater food production, and a more extensive railroad system. Northern armies would have easier access to weapons and transportation than their opponents. In addition, the North had a better wartime president. Lincoln proved to be a decisive yet patient leader, skillful at balancing political factions and at keeping the trust of the people.

However, the advantages were not all on the Union's side. The Confederacy likewise enjoyed some advantages, notably "King Cotton" and the profits it earned on the world market. In addition, the South had first-rate generals, a strong military tradition, and soldiers who were highly motivated because they were defending their homeland. However, the South had a tradition of local and limited government, and there was resistance to the centralization of government necessary to run a war. Several southern governors were so obstinate in their assertion of states' rights that they refused to cooperate with the Confederate government. Furthermore, the South's relatively small population and its lack of factories and railroads would make fielding, supplying, and transporting an army more challenging.

Because of their different circumstances, the two sides pursued very different military strategies. The Union, which had to conquer the South to win, devised a three-part plan: (1) the Union navy would blockade southern ports, so the South could neither export cotton nor import muchneeded manufactured goods; (2) Union riverboats and armies would move down the Mississippi River and split the Confederacy in two; and (3) Union armies would capture the Confederate capital at Richmond, Virginia. Northern newspapers dubbed the strategy the **Anaconda plan**, after a huge snake that suffocates its victims in its coils.

Because the Confederacy's goal was its own survival as a nation, its strategy was mostly defensive. However, southern leaders encouraged their generals to attack—and even to invade the North—if the opportunity arose.

**BULL RUN** The first major bloodshed of the Civil War occurred on July 21, about three months after Fort Sumter fell. An army of 30,000 inexperienced Union soldiers on their way toward the Confederate capital at Richmond, only 100 miles from Washington, DC, came upon an equally inexperienced Confederate army encamped near the little creek of **Bull Run**, just 25 miles from the Union capital. Lincoln commanded General Irvin McDowell to attack, noting, "You are green, it is true, but they are green also."

The battle was a seesaw affair. In the morning the Union army gained the upper hand, but the Confederates held firm, inspired by General Thomas Jackson. "There is Jackson standing like a stone wall!" another general shouted, originating the nickname **Stonewall Jackson**. In the afternoon Confederate reinforcements arrived and turned the tide of battle into the first victory for the South. The routed Union troops began a panicky retreat to the capital. A newspaper reporter described the chaos at the scene.

"I saw officers . . . —majors and colonels who had deserted their commands—pass me galloping as if for dear life. . . . For three miles, hosts of Federal troops . . . all mingled in one disorderly rout. Wounded men lying along the banks . . . appealed with raised hands to those who rode horses, begging to be lifted behind, but few regarded such petitions."

-Edmund C. Stedman, from New York World, July 22, 1861

Adding to the chaos were the carriages of civilians who had ridden out to observe the battle. Like many soldiers, northern civilians expected the war to be a "picnic." In Washington, ladies and gentlemen put on their best clothes and mounted their carriages. Carrying baskets of food and iced champagne, they rode out to observe the first encounter of the war. After the Bull Run disaster, no one still predicted that the war would be over after one skirmish.

Fortunately for the Union, the Confederates were too exhausted and disorganized to attack Washington. Still, Confederate morale soared. Bull Run "has secured our independence," declared a Georgia secessionist, and many southern soldiers, confident that the war was over, left the army and went home.

# **Union Armies in the West**

Lincoln responded to the defeat at Bull Run by calling for the enlistment of 500,000 men. Three days later, he called for 500,000 more. He named General **George McClellan** to lead this new Union army, encamped near Washington. While McClellan drilled his men—later called the Army of the Potomac—Union forces in the West began the fight for control of the Mississippi.

**FORTS HENRY AND DONELSON** In February 1862 a Union army invaded western Tennessee. At its head was General **Ulysses S. Grant**, a rumpled West Point graduate who had failed at everything he had tried in civilian life—whether as farmer, bill collector, real estate agent, or store clerk. He was, however, a brave, tough, and decisive military commander.

Reading Check Contrast Contrast the strengths of the North and the South.

#### Civil War, 1861–1862



In just 11 days, Grant's forces captured two Confederate forts that held strategic positions on important rivers: Fort Henry on the Tennessee River and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River. In the latter victory, Grant informed the southern commander that "no terms except unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted." The Confederates surrendered, earning Grant a new reputation. From then on, people said that his initials stood for "Unconditional Surrender" Grant.



Grant at Shiloh in 1862

Reading Check Summarize What did the Battle of Shiloh show about the future course of the Civil War? **SHILOH** One month after the victories at Fort Henry and Fort Donelson, in late March of 1862, Grant gathered his troops near a small Tennessee church named **Shiloh**, which was close to the Mississippi border. On April 6 thousands of yelling Confederate soldiers surprised the Union forces. Many Union troops were shot while making coffee; some died while they were still lying in their blankets. With Union forces on the edge of disaster, Grant reorganized his troops, ordered up reinforcements, and counterattacked at dawn the following day. By midafternoon the Confederate forces were in retreat.

The Battle of Shiloh taught both sides a strategic lesson. Generals now realized that they had to send out scouts, dig trenches, and build fortifications. Shiloh also demonstrated how bloody the war might become, as nearly one-fourth of the battle's 100,000 troops were killed, wounded, or captured. Although the battle seemed to be a draw, it had a long-range impact on the war. The Confederate failure to hold on to its western frontier showed that at least part of the Union's three-way strategy, the drive to take the Mississippi and split the Confederacy, might succeed.

**FARRAGUT ON THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI** As Grant pushed toward the Mississippi River, a Union fleet of about 40 ships approached the river's mouth in Louisiana. Its commander was 60-year-old **David G. Farragut**; its assignment, to seize New Orleans, the Confederacy's largest city and busiest port.

On April 24 Farragut ran his fleet past two Confederate forts in spite of booming enemy guns and fire rafts heaped with burning pitch. Once past the forts, Farragut faced little opposition. Within five days, the U.S. flag flew over New Orleans. During the next two months, Farragut also took control of Baton Rouge and Natchez. If the Union captured all the major cities along the lower Mississippi, then Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas would be cut off. Only Port Hudson, Louisiana, and Vicksburg, Mississippi, perched high on a bluff above the river, still stood in the way.

# A Revolution in Warfare

Instrumental in the successes of Grant and Farragut in the West was a new type of war machine: the ironclad ship. This and other advances in technology changed military strategy and contributed to the war's high casualty rate.

**IRONCLADS** Driven by steam and armored with heavy metal plates, an ironclad ship could splinter wooden hulls, withstand cannon fire, and resist burning. Grant used four ironclad ships when he captured forts Henry and Donelson. On March 9, 1862, two ironclads, the North's **Monitor** and the South's **Merrimack** (renamed *Virginia* by the South), fought a historic duel.

A Union steam frigate, the *Merrimack*, had sunk off the coast of Virginia in 1861. The Confederates recovered the ship, and Confederate secretary of the navy Stephen R. Mallory put engineers to work plating it with iron. When Union secretary of the navy Gideon Welles heard of this development, he was determined to respond in kind. Naval engineer John Ericsson designed a ship, the *Monitor*, that resembled a "gigantic cheese box" on an "immense shingle," with two guns mounted on a revolving turret. On March 8, 1862, the



An engagement between the Monitor and the Merrimack, March 9, 1862, painted by J. G. Tanner

Merrimack attacked three wooden Union warships, sinking the first, burning the second, and driving the third aground. The *Monitor* arrived and, the following day, engaged the Confederate vessel. Although the battle was a draw, the era of wooden fighting ships was over.

**NEW WEAPONS** Even more deadly than the development of ironclad ships was the invention of new weapons. Among the most common of these new weapons were the rifle and the minié ball. Rifles were more accurate than old-fashioned muskets. A soldier with a rifle could accurately fire at targets

as much as 500 yards away, about five times as far as a musket could accurately be fired. Soldiers could also load rifles more quickly and therefore fire more rounds during battle—up to ten rounds per minute. The minié ball was a soft lead bullet that was more destructive than earlier bullets. Troops in the Civil War also used primitive hand grenades and land mines.

The killing power of large artillery also increased during the Civil War. In previous wars, cannons had fired heavy solid cannonballs. Now, however, gunners loaded their weapons with shrapnel, shells that exploded in the air over a target or when they struck an object. Fragments of these shells ripped into any nearby targets, causing heavy damage. If enemy troops got too close to cannons, they could fire canister shot—shells filled with small bits of metal. Canister shot turned artillery into giant shotguns that mowed down advancing troops.

**NEW STRATEGIES** The new technology of war gradually changed military strategy. Because the rifle and the minié ball could kill far more people than older weapons, commanders realized that direct charges against enemy positions were unlikely to be successful. Soldiers fighting from inside trenches or behind barricades had a great advantage in mass infantry attacks. Generals had to learn to be flexible in their planning. They had to learn to take advantage of local terrain to protect their troops from enemy fire, while still allowing them to attack. Faced with an enemy on higher ground or behind heavy fortifications, they had to learn to assess weak points, focusing their attacks to cause maximum damage to the enemy without costing too many lives among their own troops.

In making their plans, generals had access to more information than commanders had in previous wars. Observers in hot air balloons identified targets for artillery fire, at least until soldiers started using camouflage to hide their camps from the air. Generals also used the telegraph to communicate quickly with government officials for orders and information. Such changes have led some historians to call the Civil War the first modern war.

**Reading Check Evaluate** What advantages did ironclad ships have over wooden ships?

# The War for the Capitals

As the campaign in the West progressed and the Union navy tightened its blockade of southern ports, the third part of the North's three-part strategy—the plan to capture the Confederate capital at Richmond—faltered. One of the problems was General McClellan. Although he was an excellent administrator and popular with his troops, McClellan was extremely cautious. After five full months of training an army of 120,000 men, he insisted that he could not move against Richmond until he had 270,000 men. He complained that there were only two bridges across the Potomac, not enough for an orderly retreat should the Confederates repulse the Federals. Northern newspapers began to mock his daily bulletins of "All quiet on the Potomac," and even the patient Lincoln commented that he would like to "borrow McClellan's army if the general himself was not going to use it."

"ON TO RICHMOND" After dawdling all winter, McClellan finally got under way in the spring of 1862. He marched the Army of the Potomac slowly toward the Confederate capital. On the way he encountered a Confederate army commanded by General Joseph E. Johnston. After a series of battles, Johnston was wounded, and command of the army passed to Robert E. Lee.

Lee was very different from McClellan—modest rather than vain, and willing to go beyond military textbooks in his tactics. He had opposed secession. However, he declined an offer to head the Union army and cast his lot with his beloved state of Virginia.

Determined to save Richmond, Lee moved against McClellan in a series of battles known collectively as the Seven Days' Battles, fought from June 25 to July 1, 1862. Although the Confederates had fewer soldiers and suffered higher casualties, Lee's determination and unorthodox tactics so unnerved McClellan that he backed away from Richmond and headed down the peninsula to the sea.

**ANTIETAM** Now Lee moved against the enemy's capital. On August 29 and 30, his troops won a resounding victory at the Second Battle of Bull Run. A few days later, they crossed the Potomac into the Union state of Maryland. A resident of one Potomac River town described the condition of the starving Confederate troops.

"All day they crowded to the doors of our houses, with always the same drawling complaint: 'I've been a-marchin' and a-fightin' for six weeks stiddy, and I ain't had n-a-r-thin' to eat 'cept green apples an' green cawn, an' I wish you'd please to gimme a bite to eat.' . . . That they could march or fight at all seemed incredible."

—Mary Bedinger Mitchell, quoted in Battle Cry of Freedom

At this point McClellan had a tremendous stroke of luck. A Union corporal, exploring a meadow where the Confederates had camped, found a copy of Lee's army orders wrapped around a bunch of cigars. The plan revealed that Lee's and Stonewall Jackson's armies were separated for the moment.



Lincoln and McClellan confer at Antietam in 1862.

#### **Reading Check**

**Contrast** Contrast Lee and McClellan as generals. Which side do you think had stronger military leadership at the start of the war?

For once McClellan acted aggressively and ordered his men forward after Lee. The two armies fought on September 17 beside a sluggish creek called the **Antietam** (ăn-tē'təm). Lee's army, having arrived at the creek first, took up defensive positions behind the creek. The Union army was forced to seek safe spots to cross the creek, exposing them to heavy fire. In addition, low rises throughout the battlefield area gave artillery crews on both sides clear views of the entire battle, allowing them to rain shots down on the enemy.

The clash proved to be the bloodiest single-day battle in American history. Casualties totaled more than 26,000, as many as in the War of 1812 and the war with Mexico combined. Over and over, the Union army charged the Confederate defenses, only to be repulsed each time. Savage fighting continued through the day until both armies were too exhausted to continue. Though the battle itself was a standoff, the South, which had lost a guarter

of its men, retreated the next day across the Potomac into Virginia. Instead of pursuing the battered Confederate army and possibly ending the Civil War, McClellan, cautious as always, did nothing.

On November 7, 1862, Lincoln fired McClellan. This solved one problem by getting rid of the general whom Lincoln characterized as having "the slows." However, the president would soon face a diplomatic conflict with Britain and increased pressure from abolitionists.

#### **Lesson 4 Assessment**

1. Organize Information For each month listed below, create a newspaper headline summarizing a key Civil War battle that occurred. Write your headlines in a chart.

1861		
Month	Headline	
• April		
• July		
1862		
Month	Headline	
• February		
• April		
• September		

- 2. Key Terms and People For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.
- 3. Draw Conclusions What do you think were General McClellan's major tactical errors? Support your response with details from the text.

- 4. Evaluate Do you think Lincoln's decision to fire McClellan was a good one? Why or why not? How do you think that decision would affect the outcome of the war?
- **5. Predict** What if Virginia had not seceded from the Union in 1861? Speculate on how this might have affected the course of the war. Support your answer with examples.

#### **Think About:**

- Virginia's influence on other southern states
- Virginia's location and its human and material
- how the North's military strategy might have been different



# The Politics of War

#### The Big Idea

By issuing the Emancipation Proclamation, President Lincoln made slavery the focus of the war.

#### Why It Matters Now

The proclamation was a first step toward improving the status of African Americans.

#### **Key Terms and People**

**Emancipation Proclamation** habeas corpus Copperhead conscription Fort Pillow

# **One American's Story**

Shortly after the Civil War began, William Yancey of Alabama and two other Confederate diplomats asked Britain—a major importer of southern cotton—to formally recognize the Confederacy as an independent nation. The British secretary of state for foreign affairs met with them twice, but in 1861 Queen Victoria announced British neutrality. Disheartened, Yancey and his fellow diplomats wrote to the Confederate government with the news.

"It is proper to say that we entertain no hope that the British Cabinet is prepared at this time to acknowledge the independence of the Confederate States of America.

We think that the Queen's speech exhibits truthfully the tone of the Cabinet and British public, and that this also represents the position of the French Government."

> -William Yancev, Pierre Rost, and Ambrose Mann, from a letter to Robert Toombs, August 7, 1861



William Yancey, 1851

Insulted, Yancey returned home. Despite this failure to secure British support, many southerners continued to hope that economic necessity would force Britain to come to their aid. Meanwhile, abolitionists waged a public opinion war against slavery, not only in Europe but also in the North.

## **Britain Remains Neutral**

Although a few people clung desperately to hope, Yancey's message from Britain crushed the dreams of most southern leaders. They knew that northern industry and railroads gave the Union a tremendous advantage in the war and had hoped that aid from Europe would help balance the scales.

**COTTON DIPLOMACY** Receiving foreign aid—and recognition of southern independence—had been crucial goals in the South's war strategy from the beginning. Monetary aid would help the South balance the advantage the North enjoyed due to its industry and railroads. Diplomatic recognition by major powers like England or France would legitimize the Confederacy as an independent country and help gain support for the war around the world.

As the single greatest importer of American cotton before the Civil War, England became the main focus of the South's diplomatic efforts. At the start of the war, southern leaders believed that the English economy would collapse without southern cotton. They thought textile mills in England would fail and thousands would be left jobless. Therefore, they assumed that England would do almost anything to secure the cotton trade. This use of cotton as a tool of Confederate foreign policy was known as cotton diplomacy.

Southern leaders, however, had miscalculated. A number of economic factors made Britain no longer dependent on southern cotton. Not only had Britain accumulated a huge cotton inventory just before the outbreak of war, it also found new sources of cotton in Egypt and India. Moreover, when Europe's wheat crop failed, northern wheat and corn replaced cotton as an essential import. As one magazine put it, "Old King Cotton's dead and buried." At the same time, Union diplomats worked tirelessly in England to keep the British out of the war. Unwilling to alienate either side, Britain decided that neutrality was the best policy—at least for a while.

**THE TRENT AFFAIR** In the fall of 1861, an incident occurred to test that neutrality. The Confederate government sent two diplomats, James Mason and John Slidell, in a second attempt to gain support from Britain and France. The two men traveled aboard a British merchant ship, the *Trent*. Captain Charles Wilkes of the American warships San Jacinto stopped the *Trent* and arrested the two men. The British threatened war against the Union and dispatched 8,000 troops to Canada. Aware of the need to fight just "one war at a time," Lincoln freed the two prisoners, publicly claiming that Wilkes had acted without orders. Britain was as relieved as the United States was to find a peaceful way out of the crisis.

# **Proclaiming Emancipation**

As the South struggled in vain to win foreign recognition, abolitionist feelings in the North grew. Some northerners believed that just winning the war would not be enough if the issue of slavery was not permanently settled. They feared that not putting an end to slavery once and for all would leave the door open to future troubles.

## **Reading Check Analyze Motives** What advantage

did the South hope to gain from its international trading partners?

LINCOLN'S VIEW OF SLAVERY Although Lincoln disliked slavery, he did not believe that the federal government had the power to abolish it where it already existed. Nonetheless, prominent abolitionists, including Frederick Douglass, repeatedly called on Lincoln to end slavery as an institution. When Horace Greeley urged him in 1862 to transform the war into an abolitionist crusade, Lincoln replied that although it was his personal wish that all men could be free, his official duty was different: "My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy Slavery."

As the war progressed, however, Lincoln did find a way to extend his constitutional war powers to end slavery. Because slaves built fortifications and grew food for the Confederacy, they could be seen as military assets. As Commander in Chief, Lincoln decided that, just as he could order the Union army to seize Confederate supplies, he could also authorize the army to emancipate slaves. Although it had not been his intention at the start of the war, he now found abolition to be a cornerstone of his war plan.

Emancipation offered a strategic benefit in foreign policy as well. The abolitionist movement was strong in Britain, and emancipation would discourage Britain from supporting the Confederacy. The British government would not want to be seen as supporting slavery or as aiding those who did. Emancipation was therefore not just a moral issue; it became a weapon of war.

**EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION** On January 1, 1863, Lincoln issued his **Emancipation Proclamation**. In it, he declared that all slaves living in areas currently under Confederate control were now free.

Despite Lincoln's assertion, the proclamation did not free any slaves immediately. Its terms applied only to areas behind Confederate lines, outside Union control. Since the proclamation was a military action aimed at the states in rebellion, it did not apply to southern territory already occupied by Union troops nor to the slave states that had not seceded.

**REACTIONS TO THE PROCLAMATION** Although the proclamation did not have much practical effect, it had immense symbolic importance. For many, the proclamation gave the war a high moral purpose by turning the struggle into a fight to free the slaves. Among abolitionists, of course, the



Lincoln presented the Emancipation Proclamation to his cabinet in 1862.

#### **Document-Based Investigation Historical Source**

#### The Emancipation Proclamation

Although President Lincoln did not originally intend to free southern slaves, his Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863, was written to do just that. Presented as a military maneuver against areas in rebellion against the government—areas he listed in the document—Lincoln's proclamation was cheered by abolitionists and those it sought to free.

"I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States, and parts of States, are, and henceforward shall be free. . . . And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God."

—Abraham Lincoln, from the Emancipation Proclamation

#### **Analyze Historical Sources**

How did the Emancipation Proclamation help promote equality for all Americans?

proclamation was received with jubilation. In Washington, DC, the Reverend Henry M. Turner, a free-born African American, watched the capital's inhabitants receive the news of emancipation.

"Men squealed, women fainted, dogs barked, white and colored people shook hands, songs were sung, and by this time cannons began to fire at the navy yard. . . . Great processions of colored and white men marched to and fro and passed in front of the White House. . . . The President came to the window . . . and thousands told him, if he would come out of that palace, they would hug him to death."

—Henry M. Turner, quoted in Voices from the Civil War

Free blacks also welcomed the section of the proclamation that allowed them to enlist in the Union army. Even though many had volunteered at the beginning of the war, the regular army had refused to take them. Now they could fight and help put an end to slavery.

Not everyone in the North approved of the proclamation, however. The Democrats claimed that it would only prolong the war by antagonizing the South. Many Union soldiers accepted it grudgingly, saying they had no love for abolitionists or African Americans, but they would support emancipation if that was what it took to reunify the nation.

Confederates reacted to the proclamation with outrage. Jefferson Davis called it the "most execrable [hateful] measure recorded in the history of guilty man." As northern Democrats had predicted, the proclamation had made the Confederacy more determined than ever to fight for its way of life.

After the Emancipation Proclamation, compromise was no longer an option. The Confederacy knew that if it lost, its slave-holding society would perish, and the Union knew that it could win only by completely defeating the Confederacy. From January 1863 on, it was a fight to the death.

#### **Reading Check**

**Analyze Effects** What effects did the Emancipation Proclamation have on the war?

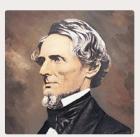
# Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865)



Abraham Lincoln was born to illiterate parents and once said that in his boyhood there was "absolutely nothing to excite ambition for education." Yet he hungered for knowledge.

He educated himself and, after working as railsplitter, storekeeper, and surveyor, he taught himself law. This led to a career in politics—and eventually to the White House. In Europe at that time, people were more or less fixed in the station into which they had been born. In the United States, Lincoln was free to achieve whatever he could. Small wonder that he fought to preserve the nation he described as "the last best hope of earth."

# Jefferson Davis (1808–1889)



Jefferson Davis, who was named after Thomas Jefferson, was born in Kentucky and grew up in Mississippi. After graduating from West Point, he served in the army and then became a planter. He was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1846 and again in 1856, resigning when Mississippi seceded.

His election as president of the Confederacy dismayed him. As his wife Varina wrote, "I thought his genius was military, but as a party manager he would not succeed."

Varina was right. Davis had poor relations with many Confederate leaders, causing them to put their states' welfare above the Confederacy's.

# **Both Sides Face Political Problems**

Neither side in the Civil War was completely unified. There were Confederate sympathizers in the North, and Union sympathizers in the South. Such divided loyalties created two problems: How should the respective governments handle their critics? How could they ensure a steady supply of fighting men for their armies?

**DEALING WITH DISSENT** Lincoln dealt forcefully with disloyalty and dissent. For example, when a Baltimore crowd attacked a Union regiment a week after Fort Sumter, Lincoln exercised emergency presidential power and sent federal troops to Maryland. He also suspended in that state the writ of habeas corpus, a court order that requires authorities to bring a person held in jail before the court to determine why he or she is being jailed.

Lincoln used this same strategy later in the war to deal with dissent in other states. As a result, more than 13,000 suspected Confederate sympathizers in the Union were arrested and held without trial, although most were quickly released. The president also seized telegraph offices to make sure no one used the wires for subversion. When Supreme Court Chief Justice Roger Taney declared that Lincoln had gone beyond his constitutional powers, the president ignored his ruling.

#### **ANOTHER PERSPECTIVE**

#### The Cherokee and the War

Another nation divided by the Civil War was the Cherokee nation. Both the North and the South wanted the Cherokee on their side. This was in part because the Cherokee nation was located in the Indian Territory, an excellent grain- and livestock-producing area. For their part, the Cherokee felt drawn to both sides—to the Union because federal treaties guaranteed Cherokee rights, and to the Confederacy because many Cherokee owned slaves.

The Cherokee signed a treaty with the South in October 1861. However, the alliance did not last. Efforts by the pro-Confederate leader Stand Watie to govern the Cherokee Nation failed, and federal troops invaded Indian Territory.

Many Cherokee deserted from the Confederate army; some joined the Union. In February 1863 the pro-Union Cherokee revoked the Confederate treaty.

#### **Background**

A copperhead is a poisonous snake with natural camouflage.

Those arrested included **Copperheads**, or northern Democrats who advocated peace with the South. Ohio congressman Clement Vallandigham was the most famous Copperhead. Vallandigham was tried and convicted by a military court for urging Union soldiers to desert and for advocating an armistice.

Jefferson Davis at first denounced Lincoln's suspension of civil liberties. Later, however, Davis found it necessary to follow the Union president's example. In 1862 he suspended habeas corpus in the Confederacy.

Just as Davis ultimately followed Lincoln's example, so have other presidents. Lincoln's action in dramatically expanding presidential powers to meet the crises of wartime set a precedent in U.S. history. Since then, some presidents have cited war or "national security" as a reason to expand the powers of the executive branch of government.

**CONSCRIPTION** Although both armies originally relied on volunteers, it didn't take long before heavy casualties and widespread desertions led to conscription, a draft that would force certain members of the population to serve in the army. The Confederacy passed a draft law in 1862, and the Union followed suit in 1863. Both laws ran into trouble.

The Confederate law drafted all able-bodied white men between the ages of 18 and 35. (In 1864, as the Confederacy suffered more losses, the limits changed to 17 and 50.) However, those who could afford to were allowed to hire substitutes to serve in their places. The law also exempted planters who owned 20 or more slaves. Poor Confederates howled that it was a "rich man's war but a poor man's fight." In spite of these protests, almost 90 percent of eligible southern men served in the Confederate army.

The Union law drafted white men between 20 and 45 for three years, although it, too, allowed draftees to hire substitutes. It also provided for commutation, the substitution of one type of payment for another. Men could pay a \$300 fee to avoid conscription. In the end, only 46,000 draftees actually went into the army, while 87,000 paid the \$300 commutation fee and 118,000 provided substitutes. Of the approximately 2 million soldiers who served in the Union army during the war, 92 percent were volunteers—180,000 of them African American.

**DRAFT RIOTS** Northern resentment over the draft led to several riots. The worst one occurred in New York City and was sparked by opposition, mostly among Irish immigrants, to Republican war policies such as emancipation. The city was a tinderbox waiting to explode. Poor people were crowded into slums, crime and disease were rampant, and poverty was ever-present.

#### Reading Check Summarize What actions did Lincoln take to deal with dissent?

When officials began to draw names for the draft, angry men gathered all over the city to complain. They thought it unfair that poor white workers would have to fight a war to free slaves who (they believed) would then swarm north and take all the jobs.

For four days, July 13–16, mobs rampaged through the city. The rioters wrecked draft offices, Republican newspaper offices, and the homes of antislavery leaders. They attacked well-dressed men on the street (those likely to be able to pay the \$300 commutation fee) and attacked African Americans. By the time federal troops ended the melee, more than 100 persons lay dead.

# **African Americans Fight for Freedom**

While some Americans were seeking ways to avoid joining the army, thousands of African Americans hoped to be able to enlist. Across the country, African Americans played an important role in the struggle to end slavery. Some served as soldiers, while others took action away from the battlefield.

AFRICAN AMERICAN SOLDIERS When the Civil War started, it was a white man's war. Neither the Union nor the Confederacy officially accepted African Americans as soldiers. In 1862 Congress passed a law allowing African Americans to serve in the military. It was only after the Emancipation Proclamation was issued, however, that large-scale enlistment occurred. Although African Americans made up only 1 percent of the North's population, by war's end, nearly 10 percent of the Union army was African American. The majority were former slaves from Virginia and other slave states.

Although accepted as soldiers, African Americans suffered discrimination. They served in separate regiments commanded by white officers. Usually African Americans could not rise above the rank of captain—although Alexander T. Augustana, a surgeon, did attain the rank of lieutenant colonel. White privates earned \$13 a month, plus a \$3.50 clothing allowance. Black privates earned only \$10 a month, with no clothing allowance. Blacks protested, and several regiments served without pay for months rather than accept the lesser amount. Congress finally equalized the pay of white and African American soldiers in 1864.



Battery A of the 2nd United States Colored Artillery at gun drill

Despite this discrimination, some African American units won great acclaim. In July 1863 the African American 54th Massachusetts Infantry, including two sons of Frederick Douglass, led an assault on Fort Wagner, near Charleston harbor. The attack failed. More than 40 percent of the soldiers were killed. Nonetheless, the bravery of the soldiers of the 54th paved the way for future black regiments. As the New York Tribune pointed out, "If this Massachusetts 54th had faltered when its trial came, 200,000 troops for whom it was a pioneer would never have been put into the field."

Throughout the Civil War, the mortality rate for African American soldiers was higher than that for white soldiers. This was primarily because many African Americans were assigned to labor duty in the garrisons, where they were likely to catch typhoid, pneumonia, malaria, or other deadly diseases. Then, too, the Confederacy would not treat captured African American soldiers as prisoners of war. Many were executed on the spot, and those who were not killed were returned to slavery. A particularly gruesome massacre occurred at Fort Pillow, Tennessee, in 1864. Confederate troops under General Nathan Bedford Forrest killed over 200 African American prisoners and some whites, shooting the prisoners as they begged for their lives.

Even though most southerners opposed the idea of African American soldiers, the Confederacy did consider drafting slaves and free blacks in 1863 and again in 1864. One Louisiana planter argued that since slaves "caused the fight," they should share in the burden of battle. Georgia general Howell Cobb responded, "If slaves will make good soldiers our whole theory of slavery is wrong."

**SLAVE RESISTANCE IN THE CONFEDERACY** As Union forces pushed deeper into Confederate territory, thousands of slaves sought freedom behind the lines of the Union army. Those who remained on plantations sometimes engaged in sabotage, breaking plows, destroying fences, and neglecting livestock. When southern plantation owners fled before approaching Union troops, many slaves refused to be dragged along. They waited to welcome the Yankees, who had the power to liberate them.

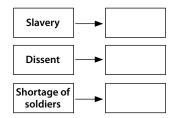
For whites on farms and plantations in the South, slave resistance compounded the stresses and privations of the war. Fearful of a general slave uprising, southerners tightened slave patrols and spread rumors about how Union soldiers abused runaways. No general uprising occurred, but slave resistance gradually weakened the plantation system. By 1864 even many Confederates realized that slavery was doomed.

#### **Reading Check**

**Draw Conclusions** How did African Americans contribute to the struggle to end slavery?

#### **Lesson 5 Assessment**

1. Organize Information Use a graphic organizer to note the political measures that Lincoln took to solve problems he faced during the war.



2. Key Terms and People For each key term in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

3. Evaluate Do you think that the measures Lincoln took to deal with disloyalty and dissent represented an abuse of power? Why or why not?

#### **Think About:**

- conditions of wartime versus peacetime
- Lincoln's primary goal
- Supreme Court Justice Roger Taney's view of Lincoln's
- **4. Explain** What was cotton diplomacy, and why did it prove unsuccessful?
- 5. Analyze Primary Sources In 1861 Frederick Douglass

"To fight against slaveholders, without fighting against slavery, is but a half-hearted business, and paralyzes the hands engaged in it."

How do you think Lincoln would have replied to Douglass?

**6. Summarize** How did African Americans protest discrimination in the North and the South?



# The North Takes Charge

#### The Big Idea

Key victories at Vicksburg and Gettysburg helped the Union wear down the Confederacy.

#### Why It Matters Now

These victories clinched the North's win and led to the preservation of the Union.

#### **Key Terms and People**

Gettysburg Chancellorsville **Gettysburg Address** Vicksburg William Tecumseh Sherman **Appomattox Court House** 

# **One American's Story**

Shortly after three o'clock on the afternoon of July 3, 1863, from behind a stone wall on a ridge south of the little town of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, Union troops watched thousands of Confederate soldiers advance toward them across an open field. Union officer Frank Aretas Haskell described the scene.

"More than half a mile their front extends . . . man touching man, rank pressing rank.... The red flags wave, their horsemen gallop up and down, the arms of [thirteen] thousand men, barrel and bayonet, gleam in the sun, a sloping forest of flashing steel. Right on they move, as with one



A Confederate charge during the battle of Gettysburg

soul, in perfect order without impediment of ditch, or wall, or stream, over ridge and slope, through orchard and meadow, and cornfield, magnificent, grim, irresistible."

—Frank Aretas Haskell, quoted in *The Civil War: An Illustrated History* 

An hour later, half of the Confederate force lay dead or wounded, cut down by crossfire from massed Union guns. Because of the North's heavy weaponry, it had become suicide for unprotected troops to assault a strongly fortified position.

# **Armies Clash at Gettysburg**

The July 3 infantry charge was part of a three-day battle at **Gettysburg**, which many historians consider the turning point of the Civil War. The battle of Gettysburg crippled the South so badly that General Lee would never again possess sufficient forces to invade a northern state.

**PRELUDE TO GETTYSBURG** The year 1863 actually had gone well for the South. During the first four days of May, the South defeated the North at Chancellorsville, Virginia. Lee outmaneuvered Union general Joseph Hooker and forced the Union army to retreat. The North's only consolation after Chancellors ville came as the result of an accident. As General Stonewall Jackson returned from a patrol on May 2, Confederate guards mistook him for a Yankee and shot him in the left arm. A surgeon amputated his arm the following day. When Lee heard the news, he exclaimed, "He has lost his left arm, but I have lost my right." But the true loss was still to come; Jackson caught pneumonia and died May 10.

Despite Jackson's tragic death, Lee decided to press his military advantage and invade the North. He needed supplies. He also hoped that an invasion would force Lincoln to pull troops away from Vicksburg and that a major Confederate victory on northern soil might tip the political balance of power in the Union to pro-southern Democrats. Accordingly, he crossed the Potomac into Maryland and then pushed on into Pennsylvania.

**GETTYSBURG** The most decisive battle of the war was fought near Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. The town was an unlikely spot for a bloody battle—and indeed, no one planned to fight there.

Confederate soldiers led by A. P. Hill, many of them barefoot, heard there was a supply of footwear in Gettysburg and went to find it. They also hoped to meet up with Lee's forces. When Hill's troops marched toward Gettysburg, they ran into a couple of brigades of Union cavalry under the command of John Buford, an experienced officer from Illinois.

Buford ordered his men to take defensive positions on the hills and ridges surrounding the town, from which they engaged Hill's troops. The shooting attracted more troops, and each side sent for reinforcements.

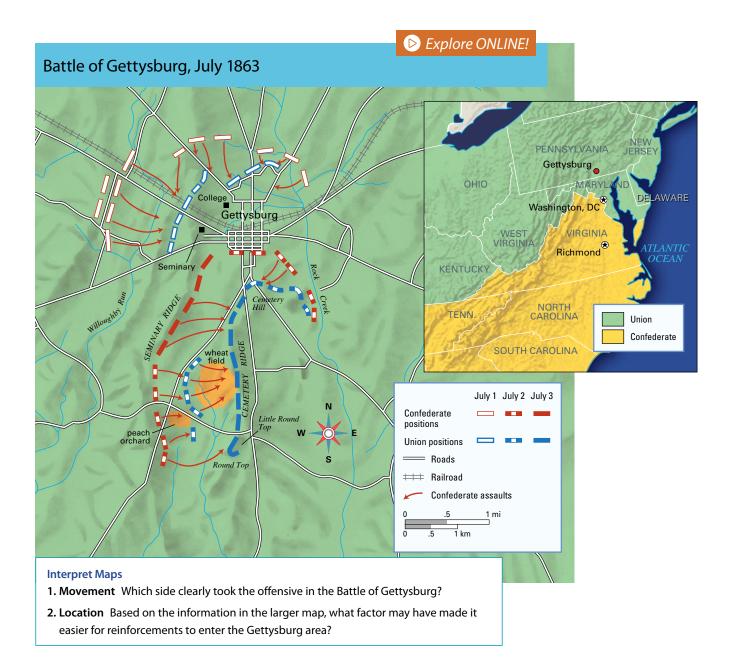
The northern armies, now under the command of General George Meade, that were north and west of Gettysburg began to fall back under a furious rebel assault. The Confederates took control of the town. Lee knew, however, that the battle would not be won unless the northerners were also forced to yield their positions on Cemetery Ridge, the high ground south of Gettysburg.

THE SECOND DAY On July 2 almost 90,000 Yankees and 75,000 Confederates stood ready to fight for Gettysburg. Lee ordered General James Longstreet to attack the Union forces that held Cemetery Ridge. At about 4:00 p.m., Longstreet's troops advanced from Seminary Ridge, through the peach orchard and wheat field that stood between them and the Union position.

The yelling Rebels overran Union troops, who had mistakenly left their positions on Little Round Top, a hill that overlooked much of the southern portion of the battlefield. As a brigade of Alabamans approached the hill,



Stonewall Jackson



however, Union leaders noticed the undefended position. Colonel Joshua L. Chamberlain, who had been a language professor before the war, led his Maine troops to meet the Rebels and succeeded in repulsing repeated Confederate attacks. When his soldiers ran short of ammunition and more than a third of the brigade had fallen, Chamberlain ordered a bayonet charge at the Confederates.

The Rebels, exhausted by the uphill fighting and the 25-mile march of the previous day, were shocked by the Union assault and surrendered in droves. Chamberlain and his men succeeded in saving the Union lines from certain rebel artillery attacks from Little Round Top. Although the Union troops had given some ground, their lines still held at the close of day.

**THE THIRD DAY** Lee was optimistic, however. With one more day of determined attack, he felt he could break the Union defenses. Early in the afternoon of July 3, Lee ordered an artillery barrage on the middle of the Union lines. For two hours, the two armies fired at one another in a vicious

exchange that could be heard in Pittsburgh. When the Union artillery fell silent, Lee insisted that Longstreet press forward. Longstreet reluctantly ordered his men, including those under the command of General Pickett, to attack the center of the Union lines. Deliberately, they marched across the farmland toward the Union high ground. Suddenly, northern artillery renewed its barrage. Some of the Confederates had nearly reached the Union lines when Yankee infantry fired on them as well. Devastated, the Confederates staggered back. The northerners had succeeded in holding the high ground south of Gettysburg.

Lee sent cavalry led by General James E. B. (Jeb) Stuart circling around the right flank of Meade's forces, hoping they would surprise the Union troops from the rear and meet Longstreet's men in the middle. Stuart's campaign stalled, however, when his men clashed with Union forces under David Gregg three miles away.

Not knowing that Gregg had stopped Stuart nor that Lee's army was severely weakened, Union General Meade never ordered a counterattack. After the battle, Lee gave up any hopes of invading the North and led his army in a long, painful retreat back to Virginia through a pelting rain.

The three-day battle produced staggering losses. Total casualties were more than 30 percent. Union losses included 23,000 men killed or wounded. Confederate losses included 28,000 killed or wounded. Fly-infested corpses lay everywhere in the July heat; the stench was unbearable. Lee would continue to lead his men brilliantly in the next two years of the war, but neither he nor the Confederacy would ever recover from the loss at Gettysburg or the surrender of Vicksburg, which occurred the very next day.



About 20 years after the Battle of Gettysburg, French artist Paul Philippoteaux interviewed survivors and visited the battle site to create a realistic painting of the event.

**THE GETTYSBURG ADDRESS** In November 1863 a ceremony was held to dedicate a cemetery in Gettysburg. The first speaker was Edward Everett, a noted orator, who gave a flowery two-hour oration. Then Abraham Lincoln spoke for a little more than two minutes. His brief speech garnered little public attention at the time.

In the years since the Civil War, however, the Gettysburg Address has become one of the most famous speeches in American history. With just a few words, Lincoln reassured Americans that they were right in fighting the bloody war. He also reminded Americans in glowing terms of the principles upon which their country had been founded. Although its stated purpose was to dedicate a cemetery, the address has had much further reaching effects. According to historian Garry Wills, Lincoln's Gettysburg Address "remade America." Before the war, people said, "The United States are." After Lincoln's speech, they said, "The United States is."

#### **Reading Check**

**Analyze Effects** Why was the Battle of Gettysburg a disaster for the South?

#### **Document-Based Investigation Historical Source**

#### The Gettysburg Address

Several months after the Battle of Gettysburg, President Lincoln spoke at a ceremony to dedicate a cemetery for those who had fallen. In a brief speech, he perfectly described the purpose of the Civil War and the ideals of American democracy.

"Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

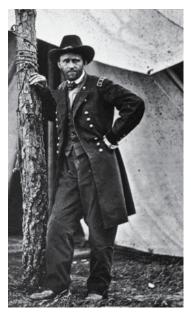
Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

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

—Abraham Lincoln, The Gettysburg Address, November

#### **Analyze Historical Sources**

- 1. Why does Lincoln say that the Union is fighting the war?
- 2. How does he connect the soldiers' deaths to the need to continue the fight?



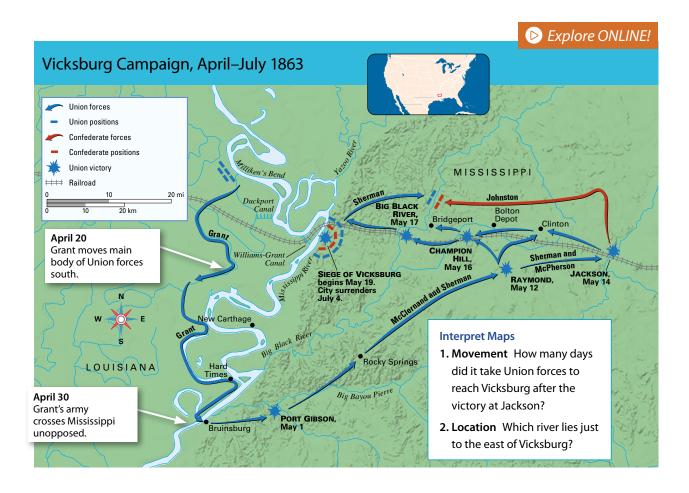
Ulysses S. Grant, photographed in August 1864

# **Grant Wins at Vicksburg**

While the Army of the Potomac was turning back the Confederates in central Pennsylvania, Union general Ulysses S. Grant continued his campaign in the West. Vicksburg, Mississippi, was one of only two Confederate holdouts preventing the Union from taking complete control of the Mississippi River, an important waterway for transporting goods.

In the spring of 1863, Grant sent a cavalry brigade to destroy rail lines in central Mississippi. His goal was to damage southern supply lines and draw attention away from Vicksburg. While the Confederate forces were distracted, Grant was able to land infantry south of the port city late on April 30. In 18 days Union forces whipped several rebel units and sacked Jackson, the capital of the state.

Their confidence growing with every victory, Grant and his troops rushed to Vicksburg. However, the city's location made it easily defensible. The Mississippi River—protected by heavy cannon batteries—made approach from the west impossible, and a series of ridges and artificial fortifications guarded the east. Two frontal assaults on the city failed; so, in the last week of May 1863, Grant settled in for a siege. Surrounding the city on land, he also called on the Union fleet to sail up the Mississippi to assist with the siege. He set up a steady barrage of artillery, shelling the city from both the river and the land for several hours a day and forcing its residents to take shelter in caves that they dug out of the yellow clay hillsides.



# Reading Check

Make Inferences Why was Grant determined to capture Vicksburg? Food supplies ran so low that people ate dogs and mules. At last some of the starving Confederate soldiers defending Vicksburg sent their commander a petition saying, "If you can't feed us, you'd better surrender."

On July 3, 1863, the same day as Pickett's charge, the Confederate commander of Vicksburg asked Grant for terms of surrender. The city fell on July 4. Five days later, Port Hudson, Louisiana, the last Confederate holdout on the Mississippi, also fell—and the Confederacy was cut in two.

# The Confederacy Wears Down

The twin defeats at Gettysburg and Vicksburg cost the South much of its limited fighting power. The Confederacy was already low on food, shoes, uniforms, guns, and ammunition. No longer able to attack, it could hope only to hang on long enough to destroy northern morale and work toward an armistice—a cease-fire agreement based on mutual consent—rather than a surrender. That plan proved increasingly unlikely, however. Southern newspapers, state legislatures, and individuals began to call openly for an end to the hostilities, and President Lincoln finally found not just one but two generals who would fight.

CONFEDERATE MORALE As war progressed, morale on the Confederacy's home front deteriorated. The Confederate Congress passed a weak resolution in 1863 urging planters to grow fewer cash crops like cotton and tobacco and increase production of food. Farmers resented the tax that took part of their produce and livestock, especially since many rich planters continued to cultivate cotton and tobacco—in some cases even selling crops to the North. Many soldiers deserted after receiving letters from home about the lack of food and the shortage of farm labor to work the farms. In every southern state except South Carolina, there were soldiers who decided to turn and fight for the North; for example, 2,400 Floridians served in the Union army.

Discord in the Confederate government made it impossible for Jefferson Davis to govern effectively. Members of the Confederate Congress squabbled among themselves. In South Carolina, the governor was upset when troops from his state were placed under the command of officers from another state.

In 1863 North Carolinians who wanted peace held more than 100 open meetings in their state. A similar peace movement sprang up in Georgia in early 1864. Although these movements failed in ending the war, by mid-1864 Assistant Secretary of War John Campbell was forced to acknowledge that active opposition to the war "in the mountain districts of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama menaces the existence of the Confederacy as fatally as . . . the armies of the United States."

**GRANT APPOINTS SHERMAN** In March 1864 President Lincoln appointed Ulysses S. Grant, the hero of the battle at Vicksburg, commander of all Union armies. Grant, in turn, appointed **William Tecumseh Sherman** as commander of the military division of the Mississippi. These two appointments would change the course of the war.

Old friends and comrades in arms, both men believed in total war. They believed that it was essential to fight not only the South's armies and government but its civilian population as well. They reasoned that civilians produced the weapons, grew the food, and transported the goods on which the armies relied. In addition, the strength of the people's will kept the war going. If the Union destroyed that will to fight, the Confederacy would collapse.

**GRANT AND LEE IN VIRGINIA** Grant's overall strategy was to immobilize Lee's army in Virginia while Sherman raided Georgia. Even if Grant's casualties ran twice as high as Lee's—and they did—the North could afford it. The South could not.

Starting in May 1864 Grant threw his troops into battle after battle, the first in a wooded area, known as the Wilderness, near Fredericksburg, Virginia. The fighting was brutal, made even more so by the fires spreading through the thick trees. The string of battles continued at Spotsylvania, at Cold Harbor (where Grant lost 7,000 men in one hour), and finally at Petersburg, which would remain under Union attack from June 1864 to April 1865.

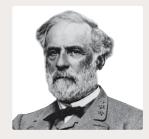
During the period from May 4 to June 18, 1864, Grant lost nearly 60,000 men—which the North could replace—to Lee's 32,000 men—which the South could not replace. Democrats and northern newspapers called Grant a

**BIOGRAPHY** 

Ulysses S. Grant (1822-1885)



Robert E. Lee (1807–1870)



Grant once said of himself, "A military life had no charms for me." Yet, a military man was what he was destined to be. He fought in the war with Mexico even though he termed it "wicked"—because he believed his duty was to serve his country. His next post was in the West, where Grant grew so lonely for his family that he resigned.

When the Civil War began, Grant served as colonel of the Illinois volunteers because General McClellan had been too busy to see him!

However, once Grant began fighting in Tennessee, Lincoln recognized his abilities. When newspapers demanded Grant's dismissal after Shiloh, Lincoln replied, "I can't spare this man. He fights."

Lee was an aristocrat. His father had been one of George Washington's best generals, and his wife was the great-granddaughter of Martha Washington. As a man who believed slavery was evil, Lee nonetheless fought for the Confederacy out of loyalty to his beloved home state of Virginia. "I did only what my duty demanded. I could have taken no other course without dishonor," he said.

As a general, Lee was brilliant, but he seldom challenged civilian leaders about their failure to provide his army with adequate supplies. His soldiers—who called him Uncle Robert—almost worshiped him because he insisted on sharing their hardships.

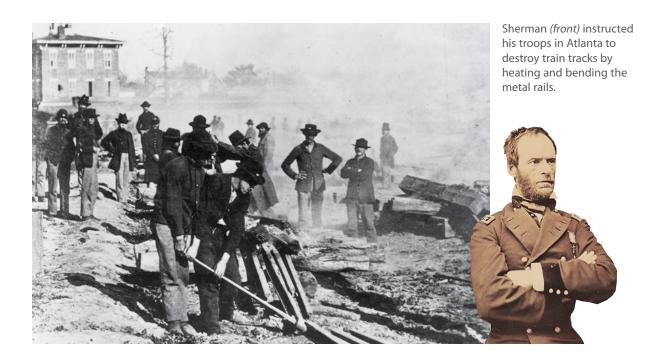
butcher, especially after the heavy losses at Cold Harbor. However, Grant kept going because he had promised Lincoln, "Whatever happens, there will be no turning back."

SHERMAN'S MARCH While Grant kept Lee's army pinned down, Sherman made good progress on his own task. Throughout the summer of 1864, he marched his army deeper into the Confederate heartland, fighting small skirmishes the entire way. Sherman reached Atlanta in late July and laid siege to the city. Despite fierce efforts by the Confederates to break the siege, Atlanta surrendered on September 2, 1864. The South had lost one of its major transportation and supply centers, and many began to feel that the South's defeat was now certain.

After Sherman's capture of Atlanta, a Confederate army tried to circle around him and cut his railroad supply lines. Deep in Confederate territory, Sherman knew that his long supply lines made him vulnerable. Therefore, he decided to fight a different battle. He would abandon his supply lines and march southeast through Georgia, creating a wide path of destruction and living off the land as he went. He would make southerners "so sick of war that generations would pass away before they would again appeal to it." In mid-November he burned most of Atlanta and set out toward the coast. A Georgia girl described the result.

"The fields were trampled down and the road was lined with carcasses of horses, hogs, and cattle that the invaders, unable either to consume or to carry away with them, had wantonly shot down, to starve out the people and prevent them from making their crops. . . . The dwellings that were standing all showed signs of pillage . . . while here and there lone chimney stacks, 'Sherman's sentinels,' told of homes laid in ashes."

—Eliza Frances Andrews, quoted in Voices from the Civil War



#### Civil War, 1863–1865



After taking Savannah just before Christmas, Sherman's troops turned north to help Grant "wipe out Lee." Following behind them now were about 25,000 former slaves eager for freedom. As the army marched through South Carolina in 1865, it inflicted even more destruction than it had in Georgia. As one Union private exclaimed, "Here is where treason began and, by God, here is where it shall end!" The army burned almost every house in its path. In contrast, when Sherman's forces entered North Carolina, which had been the last state to secede, they stopped destroying private homes and—anticipating the end of the war—began handing out food and other supplies.

**THE ELECTION OF 1864** As the 1864 presidential election approached, Lincoln faced heavy opposition. Many Democrats, dismayed at the war's length, its high casualty rates, and recent Union losses, joined pro-southern party members to nominate George McClellan on a platform of an immediate armistice. Still resentful over having been fired by Lincoln, McClellan was delighted to run.

Lincoln's other opponents, the Radical Republicans, favored a harsher proposal than Lincoln's for readmitting the Confederate states. They formed a third political party and nominated John C. Frémont as their candidate. To attract Democrats, Lincoln's supporters dropped the Republican name, retitled themselves the National Union Party, and chose Andrew Johnson, a pro-Union Democrat from Tennessee, as Lincoln's running mate.

Lincoln was pessimistic about his chances. "I am going to be beaten," he said in August, "and unless some great change takes place, badly beaten." However, some great change did take place. On August 5, Admiral David Farragut entered Mobile Bay in Alabama and within three weeks shut down that major southern port. On September 2 Sherman telegraphed, "Atlanta is ours." By month's end, Frémont had withdrawn from the presidential race. On October 19 General Philip Sheridan finally chased the Confederates out of the Shenandoah Valley in northern Virginia. The victories buoyed the North, and with the help of absentee ballots cast by Union soldiers, Lincoln won a second term.

At his second inauguration in early March 1865, Lincoln optimistically expressed hope that the Union could be restored. He called on the North to accept southerners back into the country "with malice toward none; with charity for all." With the war drawing to a close, the president was focused on the country's future.

**THE FALL OF RICHMOND** By late March 1865 it was clear that the end of the Confederacy was near. Grant and Sheridan were approaching Richmond from the west, while Sherman was approaching it from the south. On April 2—in response to news that Lee and his troops had been overcome by Grant's forces at Petersburg—President Davis and his government abandoned their capital, setting it afire to keep the northerners from taking it. Despite the fire-fighting efforts of Union troops, flames destroyed some 900 buildings and damaged hundreds more.

Trying to salvage what he could, Lee led his remaining troops out of Richmond. He wanted to join forces with another Confederate army currently fleeing from Sherman in North Carolina. However, Grant's army blocked his escape. Lee found himself surrounded by Union forces and decided that he had no choice but to surrender.

THE SURRENDER AT APPOMATTOX Lee and Grant met to arrange a surrender on April 9, 1865, in a Virginia village called **Appomattox** (ap´ə-mat´əks) **Court House**. At Lincoln's request, the terms were generous. Grant paroled Lee's soldiers and sent them home with their personal possessions, their horses, and three days' rations. Officers were permitted to



Thomas Lovell's Surrender at Appomattox is a modern rendering of Lee's surrender to Grant.

keep their side arms. Within two months, all remaining Confederate resistance collapsed.

In Grant's camp, celebrations broke out. His troops fired artillery to salute the victory. In Washington, crowds gathered to celebrate and hear President Lincoln speak. After four long years, at tremendous human and economic costs, the Civil War was over.

#### **Reading Check**

**Analyze Motives** What were Sherman's objectives in marching his troops from Atlanta to Savannah?

#### **Lesson 6 Assessment**

1. Organize Information Create a timeline of the major battles and political events relating to the final two years of the Civil War.



Which event was the turning point? Why?

- 2. Key Terms and People For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.
- 3. Evaluate Do you think that a general's win-loss record on the battlefield is the best gauge of measuring greatness as a military leader? Why or why not?

#### **Think About:**

- Grant's campaign in Virginia, Sherman's march to Atlanta, and Lee's surrender
- Democrats' and northern newspapers' criticism of
- the criteria you would use to evaluate a military leader

- **4. Analyze Events** What effects did the capture of Atlanta have in the South and the North?
- **5. Develop Historical Perspective** Grant and Sherman presented a logical rationale for using the strategy of total war. Do you think the end—defeating the Confederacy—justified the means—causing harm to civilians? Explain.
- 6. Analyze Motives Why do you think Lincoln urged generous terms for a Confederate surrender?



# **Effects of the War**

#### The Big Idea

The Civil War brought about dramatic social and economic changes in American society.

#### Why It Matters Now

The federal government established supreme authority, and no state has threatened secession since.

#### **Key Terms and People**

income tax Clara Barton Andersonville National Bank Act Thirteenth Amendment **Red Cross** John Wilkes Booth

# **One American's Story**

Mary Chesnut, a wellborn southerner whose husband served in the Confederate government, kept a diary describing key war events, such as the attack on Fort Sumter. Her diary paints a vivid picture as well of the marriages and flirtations, hospital work, and dinner parties that comprised daily life in the South.

In 1864 Chesnut found that her social standing could no longer protect her from the economic effects of the war.

"September 19th . . . My pink silk dress I have sold for six hundred dollars, to be paid in installments, two hundred a month for three months. And I sell my eggs and butter from home for two hundred dollars a month. Does it not sound well—four hundred dollars a month, regularly? In what? 'In Confederate money.' Hélas! [Alas!]"

> -Mary Chesnut, quoted in Mary Chesnut's Civil War



The Confederate money Chesnut received—once a small fortune had been rendered almost worthless by the war. Inflation, or a sharp increase in the cost of living, had devalued Confederate currency to such an extent that \$400 was worth only a dollar or two compared to prewar currency. Across both the South and the North, civilians found their lives profoundly changed by the ongoing conflict.

# **Wartime Economies**

Rapid inflation was not the only economic hardship people faced during the war. Other effects included product shortages and a new type of federal tax. In general, the war expanded the North's economy, while shattering that of the South.

**SOUTHERN ISSUES** To help pay for the war effort, Confederate states began to print paper money. Unlike earlier forms of paper money, however, Confederate notes were backed not by gold but by the people's faith in the government. As long as people remained confident that the government could ensure the value of their money, things were fine. As the war weakened the southern economy, however, the public lost faith in Confederate currency. The money's value plummeted, and prices soared. The Confederacy's war inflation rate reached close to 7,000 percent; prices were 70 times higher at the end of the war than at the beginning.

Shortages of several products, including food, added to price problems in the South. Three factors contributed to this food shortage: the drain of manpower into the army, the Union occupation of food-growing areas, and the loss of slaves to work in the fields. Meat became a once-a-week luxury at best, and even such staples as rice and corn were in short supply. Food prices skyrocketed. In 1861 the average family spent \$6.65 a month on food. By mid-1863, it was spending \$68 a month—if it could find any food to buy. The situation grew so desperate that in 1863, hundreds of women and children—and some men—stormed bakeries and rioted for bread. Mrs. Roger A. Pryor remembered talking to an 18-year-old participant of a mob in Richmond on April 2, 1863.

"As she raised her hand to remove her sunbonnet, her loose calico sleeve slipped up, and revealed a mere skeleton of an arm. She perceived my expression as I looked at it, and hastily pulled down her sleeve with a short laugh. 'This is all that's left of me!' she said. 'It seems real funny, don't it? . . . We are going to the bakeries and each of us will take a loaf of bread. That is little enough for the government to give us after it has taken all our men."

—Mrs. Roger A. Pryor, quoted in Battle Cry of Freedom

The mob broke up only when President Jefferson Davis climbed up on a cart, threw down all the money he had, and ordered the crowd to disperse or be shot. The next day, the Confederate government distributed some of its stocks of rice.

Confederate 20-dollar bill



The Union blockade of southern ports created shortages of other items, too, including salt, sugar, coffee, nails, needles, and medicines. One result was that many Confederates smuggled cotton into the North in exchange for gold, food, and other goods. Deploring this trade with the enemy, one Confederate general raged that cotton had made "more damn rascals on both sides than anything else."

**NORTHERN ECONOMIC GROWTH** Overall, the war's effect on the economy of the North was much more positive than in the South. Although a few industries, such as cotton textiles, declined, most industries boomed. The army's need for uniforms, shoes, guns, and other supplies supported woolen mills, steel foundries, coal mines, and many other industries. Because the draft reduced the available work force, western wheat farmers bought reapers and other labor-saving machines, which benefited the companies that manufactured those machines.

The economic boom had a dark side, though. Wages did not keep up with prices, and many people's standard of living declined. When white male workers went out on strike, employers hired free blacks, immigrants, women, and boys to replace them for lower pay. Northern women—who like many southern women replaced men on farms and in city jobs—also obtained government jobs for the first time. They worked mostly as clerks, copying ledgers and letters by hand. Although they earned less than men, they remained a regular part of the Washington work force after the war.

Because of the booming economy and rising prices, many businesses in the North made immense profits. This was especially true of those with government contracts, mostly because such contractors often cheated. They supplied uniforms and blankets made of "shoddy"—fibers reclaimed from rags—that came apart in the rain. They passed off spoiled meat as fresh and demanded twice the usual price for guns. This corruption spilled over into the general society. The New York Herald commented on the changes in the American character: "The individual who makes the most money—no matter how—and spends the most—no matter for what—is considered the greatest man. . . . The world has seen its iron age, its silver age, its golden age, and its brazen age. This is the age of shoddy."

Although some individuals found themselves in possession of lots of cash, the federal government needed money to pay for the war effort. It took several steps to raise the money it needed. First, like the Confederate states, the federal government began to print paper money. Unlike Confederate money, northern currency did not lose its value. Northerners did not, on the whole, lose faith in the government like southerners did. While inflation did drive prices upward, they did not rise to nearly the degree that they did in the South. Union inflation peaked at 182 percent.

In addition to the new money, Congress decided to help pay for the war through taxes. It increased import tariffs, generating profit on foreign goods imported into the country. The government also took steps to tap its citizens' wealth. In 1863 Congress enacted the tax law that authorized the nation's first income tax, a tax that takes a specified percentage of an individual's income. The income tax remained in place until 1871, when Congress repealed it.

#### Reading Check Analyze Causes What caused food shortages in the South?

# **Soldiers Suffer on Both Sides**

Not all the effects of the Civil War were economic, however. The war also caused profound social changes. Both Union and Confederate soldiers had marched off to war thinking it would prove to be a glorious affair. They were soon disillusioned, not just by heavy casualties but also by poor living conditions, diet, and medical care.

**LIVES ON THE LINES** Garbage removal and latrines in army camps were almost unknown. Although army regulations called for washing one's hands and face every day and taking a complete bath once a week, many soldiers failed to do so. As a result, body lice, dysentery, and diarrhea were common.

Army rations were far from appealing. Union troops subsisted on beans, bacon, and hardtack—square biscuits that were supposedly hard enough to stop a bullet. As one northerner wrote:

"The soldiers' fare is very rough, *The bread is hard, the beef is tough;* If they can stand it, it will be, Through love of God, a mystery."

Confederate troops fared equally poorly. A common food was "cush," a stew of small cubes of beef and crumbled cornbread mixed with bacon grease. Fresh vegetables were hardly ever available. Soldiers on both sides loved coffee, but southern soldiers had only substitutes brewed from peanuts, dried apples, or corn.

**CIVIL WAR MEDICINE** During the Civil War, weapons technology overtook medical technology. Minié balls, or soft lead bullets, caused traumatic wounds that could often be treated only by amputation. These operations were generally performed at impromptu field hospitals set up in tents or nearby homes or barns. As the effects of bacteria were not yet known, surgeons never sterilized instruments, making infection one of the soldiers' worst enemies. A typical surgeon's kit might contain cloth for bandages or administering chloroform as anesthesia, opium pills to kill pain, forceps and knives for cleaning wounds, and saws for amputations.

Soon after Fort Sumter fell, the federal government set up the United States Sanitary Commission. Its task was twofold: to improve the hygienic conditions of army camps and to recruit and train nurses. The "Sanitary" proved a great success. It sent out agents to teach soldiers such things as how to avoid polluting their water supply. It developed hospital trains and hospital ships to transport wounded men from the battlefield.

At the age of 60, Dorothea Dix became the nation's first superintendent of women nurses. To discourage women looking for romance with soldiers, Dix insisted applicants be at least 30 and "very plain-looking." Impressed by the work of women nurses he observed, the surgeon general required that at least one-third of Union hospital nurses be women; some 3,000 served. Union nurse **Clara Barton** often cared for the sick and wounded at the front lines.

Clara Barton



#### **Document-Based Investigation Historical Source**

#### Mathew Brady's Photographs

The Civil War marked the first time in U.S. history that photography, a resource since 1839, played a major role in a military conflict. Hundreds of photographers traveled with the troops, working both privately and for the military. The most famous Civil War photographer was Mathew Brady, who employed about 20 photographers

to meet the public demand for pictures from the battlefront. This was the beginning of American news photography, or photojournalism. Images like this, showing the wounded or the dead, brought home the harsh reality of war to the civilian population.



**Analyze Historical Sources** does this photograph compare with more heroic imagery of traditional history paintings?

As a war nurse, Barton collected and distributed supplies and dug bullets out of soldiers' bodies with her penknife. Barton was particularly good at anticipating troop movements and sometimes arrived at the battlefield before the fighting had even begun. After her courage under fire at Antietam, a surgeon described her as the "angel of the battlefield." Most women, however, served in hospitals rather than on the front lines. On the battlefield, male medics usually attended soldiers.

As a result of the Sanitary Commission's work, the death rate among Union wounded, although terrible by 20th-century standards, showed considerable improvement over that of previous wars.

The Confederacy did not have a Sanitary Commission, but thousands of southern women volunteered as nurses. Sally Tompkins, for example, performed so heroically in her hospital duties that she eventually was commissioned as a captain in the Confederate army.



The Confederate prison at Andersonville, Georgia, in 1864

**PRISONS** Improvements in hygiene and nursing did not reach war prisons, where conditions were even worse than in camps. The worst Confederate prison, at **Andersonville**, Georgia, jammed 33,000 men into 26 acres, about 34 square feet per man. The prisoners drank from the same stream that served as their sewer. They had no shelter from the sun or rain except what they made themselves by rigging primitive tents of blankets and sticks. Exposure took a terrible toll on prisoners' health, as one doctor noted.

"They presented the most horrible spectacle of humanity that I ever saw in my life, a good many were suffering from scurvy and other diseases; a good many were naked; a large majority bare-footed; a good many without hats; their condition generally was almost indescribable."

—G. G. Roy, quoted in The Horrors of Andersonville Rebel Prison

About a third of Andersonville's prisoners died. Part of the blame rested with the camp's commander, Henry Wirz (whom the North eventually executed as a war criminal). The South's lack of food and tent canvas also contributed to the appalling conditions. In addition, the prisons were overcrowded because the North had halted prisoner exchanges when the South refused to return African American soldiers captured in battle.

Prison camps in the North—such as those at Elmira, New York, and at Camp Douglas, Illinois—were only slightly better. Northern prisons provided about five times as much space per man, barracks for sleeping, and adequate food. However, thousands of Confederates, housed in quarters with little or no heat, contracted pneumonia and died. Hundreds of others suffered from dysentery and malnutrition, from which some did not recover. Historians estimate that 15 percent of Union prisoners in southern prisons died, while 12 percent of Confederate prisoners died in northern prisons.

**Reading Check** Summarize How did the Sanitary Commission improve medical treatment during the war?

## The Nation after the War

In 1869 Professor George Ticknor of Harvard commented that since the Civil War, "It does not seem to me as if I were living in the country in which I was born." The Civil War caused tremendous political, economic, technological, and social changes in the United States. It also exacted a high price in the cost of human life.

**POLITICAL CHANGES** Decades before the war, southern states had threatened secession when federal policies angered them. After the war, the federal government assumed supreme national authority, and no state has ever seceded again. The states' rights issue did not go away; it simply led in a different direction from secession. Today, arguments about states' rights versus federal control focus on such issues as whether the state or national government should determine how to use local funds.

In addition to ending the threat of secession, the war greatly increased the federal government's power. Before the Civil War, the federal government had little impact on most people's daily lives. Most citizens dealt only with their county governments. During the war, however, the federal government reached into people's pockets, taxing private incomes. It also required everyone to accept its new paper currency, even those who had previously contracted to be repaid in coins. Most dramatically, the federal government tore reluctant men from their families to fight in the war. After the war, U.S. citizens could no longer assume that the national government in Washington was too far away to bother them.

**ECONOMIC CHANGES** The Civil War had a profound impact on the nation's economy. Between 1861 and 1865, the federal government did much to help business, in part through subsidizing construction of a national railroad system. The government also passed the **National Bank Act** of 1863, which set up a system of federally chartered banks, set requirements for loans, and provided for banks to be inspected. These measures helped make banking safer for investors.

The economies of northern states boomed. Entrepreneurs who had grown rich selling war supplies to the government had money to invest in new businesses after the war. As army recruitment created a labor shortage, the sale of labor-saving agricultural tools such as the reaper increased dramatically. By war's end, large-scale commercial agriculture had taken hold.

The war devastated the South economically. It took away the South's source of cheap labor—slavery—and wrecked most of the region's industry. It wiped out 40 percent of the livestock, destroyed much of the South's farm machinery and railroads, and left thousands of acres of land uncultivated.

The economic gap between North and South had widened drastically. Before the war, southern states held 30 percent of the national wealth; in 1870 they held only 12 percent. In 1860 southerners earned about 70 percent of the northern average; in 1870 they earned less than 40 percent. This disparity between the regions would not diminish until the 20th century.

**COSTS OF THE WAR** The human costs of the Civil War were staggering. They affected almost every American family. Approximately 360,000 Union soldiers and 260,000 Confederates died, nearly as many casualties as in all other American wars combined. Another 275,000 Union soldiers and 225,000 Confederates were wounded. Veterans with missing limbs became a common sight nationwide.

The war's terrible cost in human lives was the result of several factors. The combination of deadly new weapons and old-fashioned tactics proved devastating, for example. Generals ordered massive charges against wellfortified positions, failing to consider that their opponents were now armed with precise rifles instead of the muskets they had once faced, and their soldiers paid the price. Equally deadly were the diseases that swept through camps and prisons on both sides. By some accounts, five soldiers died of disease for every three that died in battle. A lack of medical training among army doctors and poor field conditions meant that even relatively minor injuries and diseases could prove fatal.

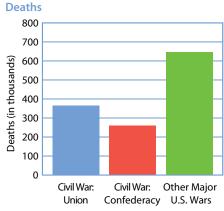
Even those who survived found that the war had cost them dearly. Some 2,400,000 men—nearly 10 percent of the nation's population of approximately 31,000,000—served in the military for four long years. It disrupted their education, their careers, and their families.

The Civil War's economic costs were just as extensive. Historians estimate that the Union and the Confederate governments spent a combined total of about \$3.3 billion during the war, or more than twice what the government had spent in the previous 80 years. The costs did not stop when the war ended. Twenty years later, interest payments on the war debt plus veterans' pensions still accounted for almost two-thirds of the federal budget.

**Reading Check Analyze Causes** Why was the Civil War so costly in terms of human lives?



#### The Costs of the Civil War



Source: Warfare and Armed Conflicts: A Statistical Reference to Casualty and Other Figures, 1500-2000; U.S. Department of Defense

#### **Economics**

- Union war costs totaled \$2.3 billion.
- Confederate war costs ran to \$1 billion.
- Union war costs increased the national debt from \$65 million in 1860 to \$2.7 billion in 1865.
- Confederate debt ran over \$1.8 billion
- Union inflation peaked at 182% in 1864.
- Confederate inflation rose to 7,000%.

#### **Interpret Graphs**

- 1. Based on the bar graph, how did the combined Union and Confederate losses compare with those of other wars?
- 2. Why was inflation worse in the Confederacy than in the Union?

# **The War Changes Lives**

The war not only impacted the nation's economy and politics, it also changed individuals' lives. Perhaps the biggest change came for African Americans.

**NEW BIRTH OF FREEDOM** The Emancipation Proclamation, which Lincoln had issued under his war powers, freed only those slaves who lived in the states that were behind Confederate lines and not yet under Union control. The government had to decide what to do about the border states, where slavery was still legal.

The president believed that the only solution would be a constitutional amendment abolishing slavery. The Republican-controlled Senate approved an amendment in the summer of 1864, but the House, with its large Democratic membership, did not. After Lincoln's reelection, the amendment was reintroduced in the House in January 1865. This time the administration convinced a few Democrats to support it, with promises of government jobs after they left office. The amendment passed with two votes to spare. Spectators—many of them African Americans who were now allowed to sit in the congressional galleries—burst into cheers, while Republicans on the floor shouted in triumph.

By year's end, 27 states, including 8 from the South, had ratified the **Thirteenth Amendment**. The U.S. Constitution now stated that "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States." With the amendment's passage, all former slaves became free. Those who had fled from slavery into the North no longer had to fear recapture and re-enslavement. The Thirteenth Amendment also ended the Three-Fifths Compromise, which had politically defined a slave as less than a whole person. For the first time, millions of African Americans would be fully represented in the government.



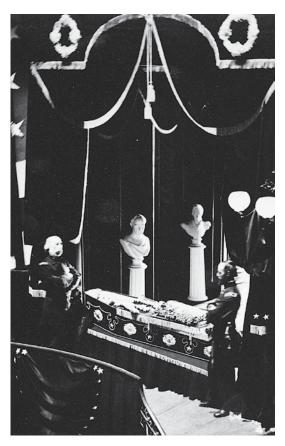
A store in Richmond, Virginia, decorated in celebration of Liberation Day, the anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation

CIVILIANS FOLLOW NEW PATHS After the war ended, those who had served—northerners and southerners alike—had to find new directions for their lives.

Some war leaders continued their military careers, while others returned to civilian life. William Tecumseh Sherman remained in the army and spent most of his time fighting Native Americans in the West. Robert E. Lee lost Arlington, his plantation, which the secretary of war of the Union had turned into a cemetery for Union dead. Lee became president of Washington College in Virginia, now known as Washington and Lee University. Lee swore renewed allegiance to the United States, but Congress accidentally neglected to restore his citizenship (until 1975). Still, Lee never spoke bitterly of northerners or the Union.

Many veterans returned to their small towns and farms after the war. Others, as Grant noted, "found they were not satisfied with the farm, the store, or the workshop of the villages, but wanted larger fields." Many moved to the burgeoning cities or went west in search of opportunity.

Others tried to turn their wartime experience to good. The horrors that Union nurse Clara Barton witnessed during the war inspired her to spend her life helping others. In 1869 Barton went to Europe to rest and recuperate from her work during the war. She became involved in the activities of the International Committee of the Red Cross during the Franco-Prussian War. That group was dedicated to providing relief for injured soldiers. Returning to the United States, Barton helped found the American Red Cross in 1881.



Lincoln's body lies in state.

THE ASSASSINATION OF LINCOLN Whatever plans Lincoln had to reunify the nation after the war, he would never get to implement them. On April 14, 1865, just five days after Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox Court House, Lincoln and his wife went to Ford's Theatre in Washington to see a British comedy, Our American Cousin. During the play's third act, a man silently opened the unguarded doors to the presidential box. He crept up behind Lincoln, raised a pistol, and fired, hitting the president in the back of the head.

The assassin, **John Wilkes Booth**—a 26-yearold actor and southern sympathizer—then leaped down to the stage. In doing so, he caught his spur on one of the flags draped across the front of the box. Booth landed hard on his left leg and broke it. He rose and said something that the audience had trouble understanding. Some thought it was the state motto of Virginia, "Sic semper tyrannis" in English "Thus be it ever to tyrants." Others thought he said, "The South is avenged!" Then he limped offstage into the wings.

Despite a broken leg, Booth managed to escape. Twelve days later, Union cavalry trapped him in a Virginia tobacco barn and set the building on fire. When Booth still refused to surrender, a shot was fired. He may have been shot by cavalry or by himself, but the cavalry dragged him out. Booth is said to have whispered, "Tell my mother I died for my country. I did what I thought was best." His last words were "Useless, useless."

After Lincoln was shot, he remained unconscious through the night. He died at 7:22 a.m. the following morning, April 15. It was the first time a president of the United States had been assassinated. Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles recorded the public's immediate reactions in his diary.

"It was a dark and gloomy morning, and rain set in. . . . On the Avenue in front of the White House were several hundred colored people, mostly women and children, weeping and wailing their loss. This crowd did not appear to diminish through the whole of that cold, wet day; they seemed not to know what was to be their fate since their great benefactor was dead, and their hopeless grief affected me more than almost anything else, though strong and brave men wept when I met them."

—Gideon Welles, quoted in Voices from the Civil War

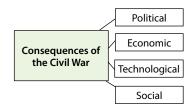
The funeral train that carried Lincoln's body from Washington to his hometown of Springfield, Illinois, took 14 days for its journey. Approximately 7 million Americans, or almost one-third of the entire Union population, turned out to publicly mourn the martyred leader.

The Civil War had ended. Slavery and secession were no more. Now the country faced two different problems: how to restore the southern states to the Union and how to integrate approximately 4 million newly freed African Americans into national life.

Reading Check Summarize What were some effects that the war had on individuals?

#### **Lesson 7 Assessment**

**1. Organize Information** Use a multiple-effects chart to identify major consequences of the Civil War.



- **2. Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.
- **3. Make Generalizations** Imagine that you are a member of a group of southern leaders who must rebuild the South after the war. What would you recommend that the government do to help the South?

#### **Think About:**

- the economic devastation of the South
- the human costs of the war
- the numbers of newly freed slaves
- · the economic legacy of the war

- **4. Analyze Effects** What effects did the Civil War have on women?
- **5. Synthesize** Imagine you were one of the northern women and doctors who convinced the government to establish the Sanitary Commission. What reasons would you have offered to justify this commission? Use details from the text to support your response.
- **6. Evaluate** Do you think the Thirteenth Amendment was effective in granting full citizenship and equality to African Americans?

# Module 9 Assessment

#### **Key Terms And People**

For each key term or person below, write a sentence explaining its connection to the conflicts of the 1850s and the Civil War.

- 1. secession
- 2. popular sovereignty
- 3. Fugitive Slave Act
- 4. John Brown
- **5.** Dred Scott
- 6. Ulysses S. Grant
- 7. Robert E. Lee
- 8. Gettysburg Address
- 9. Appomattox Court House
- 10. John Wilkes Booth

#### **Main Ideas**

Use your notes and the information in the module to answer the following questions.

#### The Issue of Slavery

- 1. What were the terms of the Compromise of 1850? Do you think the North or the South won more significant concessions?
- 2. Explain why northerners favored the Wilmot Proviso and why southerners did not.
- **3.** What effect did the Fugitive Slave Act have on abolitionist feelings in the North?
- **4.** What were the provisions and results of the Kansas-Nebraska Act? Why was it so controversial?
- **5.** What was the result of Stephen Douglas's unbundling of Henry Clay's proposed compromise plan in 1850?

## The Birth of the Republican Party

- **6.** How did nativism contribute to the development of the Know-Nothing Party?
- **7.** Why did most Free-Soilers object to slavery?
- **8.** Why did the Republican Party grow as the Whig and Know-Nothing parties declined?
- **9.** Summarize the results of the election of 1856.

#### **Slavery and Secession**

- **10.** What was the significance of the *Dred Scott* decision?
- 11. Compare and contrast Abraham Lincoln's and Stephen A. Douglas's views about slavery in the territories.
- **12.** Why was the South so upset by Lincoln's election?

#### The Civil War Begins

- **13.** What was the significance of Fort Sumter?
- **14.** What were the military strategies of the North and South at the outset of the Civil War?
- **15.** How did southerners react to the outcome of Bull Run?
- **16.** How did technology affect military strategy during the Civil War?
- **17.** What effects did the Battle of Antietam have on each side of the Civil War?

#### The Politics of War

- **18.** What were the goals of northern and southern foreign policy during the Civil War?
- **19.** How did different groups react to the Emancipation Proclamation? Give examples.
- **20.** In what way was the Emancipation Proclamation a part of Lincoln's military strategy?
- **21.** How did people across the country respond to conscription?

#### The North Takes Charge

- **22.** What was Grant and Sherman's rationale for using the strategy of total war?
- 23. Why was it important that the Union hold on to the high ground in Gettysburg?
- **24.** What did Lee hope to gain by invading the North?
- **25.** How did discontent among members of the Confederate Congress affect the war?

#### **Effects of the War**

- **26.** Why did the war damage the northern economy less than the southern?
- **27.** What effects did the Civil War have on the soldiers who fought in it?

# Module 9 Assessment, continued

- **28.** How did the Civil War lead to increased rights for African Americans in the United States?
- **29.** What economic changes did the federal government implement during the Civil War?
- **30.** What were the political effects of the Thirteenth Amendment?

# **Critical Thinking**

1. Categorize In a table like the one shown, list the causes and effects of the Civil War.

	Causes	Effects
Political		
Social		
Economic		
Geographic		

Which cause do you think was most significant in causing the war? Why?

- 2. Draw Conclusions John Brown, Harriet Tubman, and Harriet Beecher Stowe all opposed slavery. Discuss the impact each had on antislavery attitudes in the North. Explain whether you consider any of these people to be heroes. Defend your viewpoint with references from the module.
- **3. Contrast** What economic advantages did the North have over the South?
- **4. Summarize** What steps did Abraham Lincoln take to preserve the Union before and during the Civil War?
- **5. Synthesize** How did differing views on freedom and equality lead to regional conflict and political discord before the Civil War?
- 6. Analyze Issues What political and social issues from the Civil War era do you think are still issues today? What lessons might today's leaders learn about how to deal with those issues from how they were handled during that era? Use details to support your answer.
- 7. Compare Consider the policies of Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis. How did each man's political leadership affect the outcome of the Civil War?

- **8. Interpret Maps** Compare the maps in lessons 4 and 6 of this module. What do they tell you about the progress of the Civil War from 1861 to 1865? Explain your answer.
- **9.** Analyze Effects How did the power of the federal government, particularly the president, increase during the war?
- **10. Form Generalizations** How did the Civil War provide the economic foundation for the United States to become an industrial giant?

# **Engage with History**

Imagine that you are a U.S. citizen during the Civil War. Consider significant documents issued during the war, such as the Emancipation Proclamation, Gettysburg Address, or Thirteenth Amendment. Choose one and decide whether you think it expresses the core values of American society. Determine whether its creation significantly improved society. Write a letter to President Lincoln expressing your point of view.

# **Focus on Writing**

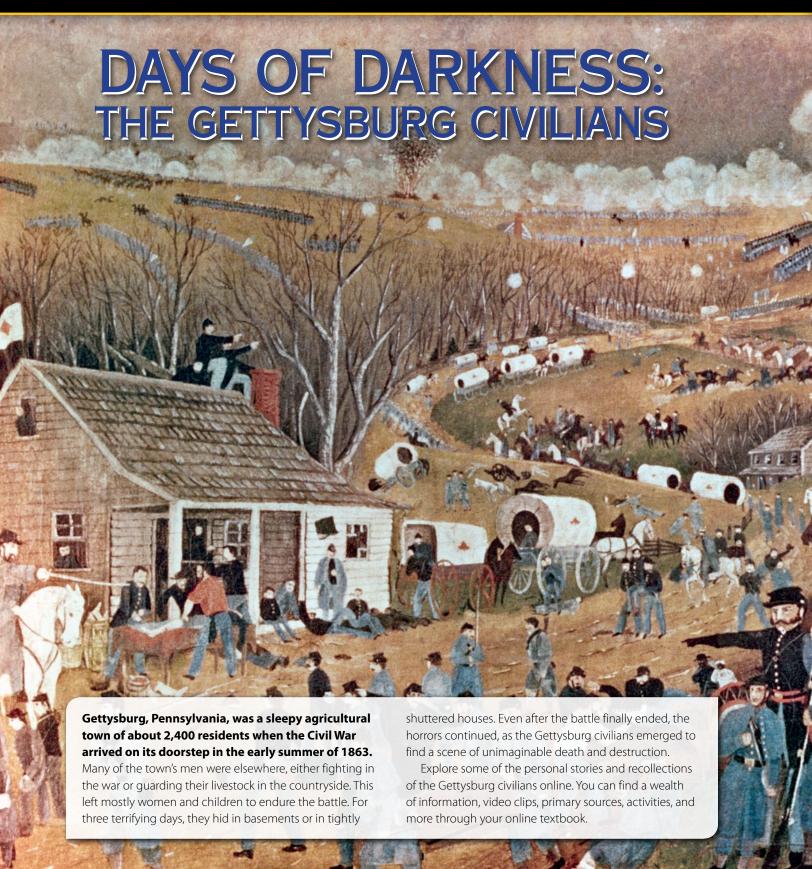
In light of what you now know about the Civil War, consider whether the use of force can preserve a nation. Write a short editorial for an 1861 newspaper supporting or opposing the war. Discuss what might have happened if the North allowed the South to secede.

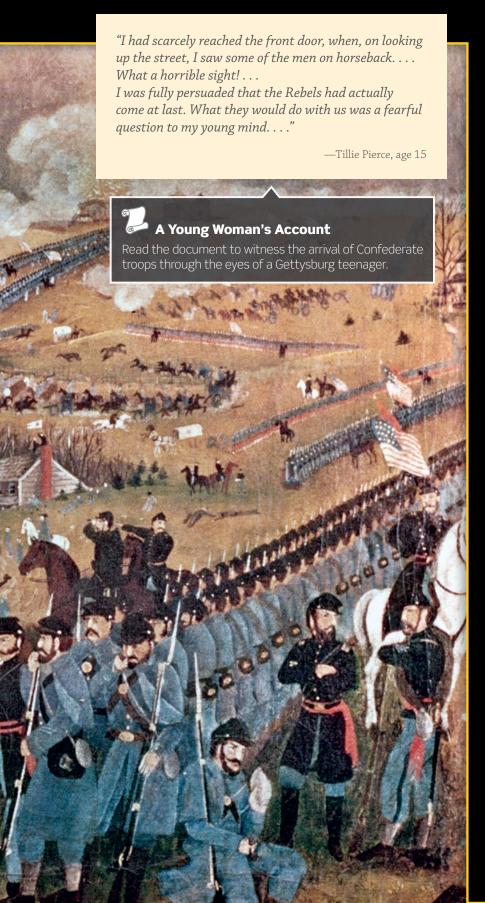
# **Collaborative Learning**

Working with a group of classmates, research one of the following battles from the Civil War: Fort Sumter, Antietam, Vicksburg, Gettysburg, or Atlanta. Read historians' descriptions of the event and, if possible, primary source accounts. Then create a series of diary entries describing the event as though you were there. In your entries, describe the setting of the event and note how local geography might have affected the outcome. Also explain why the event would prove significant in the Civil War.



# MULTIMEDIA CONNECTIONS







Go online to view these and other **HISTORY®** resources.



#### A Citizen-Soldier

Watch the video to meet John Burns, the man who would come to be called the "Citizen Hero of Gettysburg."



#### A Family's Story

Watch the video to discover the story of courage and commitment exhibited by one Gettysburg family.



#### The National Cemetery

Watch the video to learn about the Soldiers' National Cemetery and the speech President Lincoln gave there.