

Primary Sources in U.S. History

The Civil War: 1860–1865

Jeanne M. Kish



Curriculum Unit Author

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Printed in the United States of America

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This curriculum unit contains material from the 2000 edition of *Antebellum America and Civil War: 1840–1865* created by Jeanne Kish. This unit includes three fully revised lessons from the 2000 edition and seven completely new lessons.

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ISBN: 978-1-56077-962-9
e-book ISBN: 978-1-56077-868-4
Product Code: CFL640

Contents

	Page	Handout
Series Introduction	v	
Unit Introduction.....	ix	
Sample Lesson: Getting Back What's Mine	xi	A, B
1 Business and Labor:		
Railroads in the South: The Great Locomotive Chase.....	1	1
2 Culture: Combat Journalism.....	11	2, 3
3 Everyday Life: Camp Life during the Civil War	19	4
4 Immigration: The New York Draft Riot of 1863	27	5, 6, 7
5 Larger World/Diplomacy: Great Britain and the War.....	37	8
6 Law and Society: The Emancipation Proclamation	47	9, 10
7 Minority Experience:		
Stand Watie and the Cherokee Confederates.....	55	11, 12, 13, 14
8 Politics: The Trial of Mary Surratt.....	63	15, 16
9 Religion: The War Affects Religious Culture	77	17, 18, 19
10 Women: Nursing during the Civil War	87	20, 21
Appendix		
Primary Source Analysis Worksheets		
Written Document Analysis Worksheet.....	102	22
Map Analysis Worksheet	103	23
Cartoon Analysis Worksheet.....	104	24
Photograph Analysis Worksheet	105	25
Poster Analysis Worksheet	106	26
Motion Picture Analysis Worksheet	107	27
Sound Recording Analysis Worksheet.....	108	28
Artifact Analysis Worksheet.....	109	29
Bibliography	110	
Online Sources	110	

Series Introduction

The *Primary Sources in U.S. History* series is designed to encourage a sense of connection to the past, an appreciation of different perspectives and cultures, and further investigation of the people who made history in the United States. Students take part in the analysis and interpretation of various types of documents, applying critical thinking skills to discover more about the major political, social, and economic movements in American history. They become active investigators who must defend, alter, or abandon their positions when confronted with new information. They are challenged to make sense of history using the raw materials of the discipline. These lessons complement the material in The Center for Learning's other U.S. history units; all may be used creatively in conjunction with any textbook or course of study to enrich and deepen the study of American history.

The *Primary Sources in U.S. History* series is organized chronologically and thematically. Each of the units covers a major epoch in American history. See the Center for Learning website (www.centerforlearning.org) for a complete list of titles.

Each unit contains one lesson on each of the following topics:

- Business and Labor
- Culture
- Everyday Life
- Immigration
- Larger World/Diplomacy
- Law and Society
- Minority Experience
- Politics
- Religion
- Women

Goals and Assumptions

1. History is an evolutionary process. To appreciate the present and look to the future, students need to examine that process and investigate how and why changes occur.
2. History is comprised of recurring themes. To understand the place these themes have in the present, students must analyze them and draw conclusions about them.
3. Understanding American society requires students to recognize the interrelationship of political, social, and cultural issues.
4. Students need certain skills (reading, writing, questioning, speaking, and thinking), so instruction and practice in these areas must be provided.

Objectives

1. To provide students with a knowledge base in American history
2. To enable students to read and digest factual information independently, in small groups, and in large group settings, in order to employ higher-level thinking skills
3. To develop the necessary skills in students that enable them to think clearly and communicate their ideas to others
4. To make students aware of commonalities and differences in the American community that have developed over time
5. To guide students in analyzing and assessing the point of view of historical actors
6. To help students understand and think critically about crucial issues and people in American history
7. To give students more experience with questioning sources, evaluating competing interpretations of facts, comparing and contrasting perspectives, understanding causation, and making reasonable arguments based upon evidence

Themes

1. Humans shape their behavior in response to universal human needs and values.
2. Conflict unresolved by compromise and change may lead to violence.
3. Cultures are constantly undergoing change.
4. Human behavior reflects adaptation to and modification of physical and human environments.
5. Individuals tend to interpret the past, present, and future in terms of their own values and points of view.
6. Specialization increases interdependence.
7. A democratic society encourages but does not insure equality.
8. Power can be used to achieve both constructive and destructive ends.
9. Through government and other institutions, humans modify and regulate their organizations to achieve goals of justice, stability, freedom, and growth.
10. Change is constant.

Concepts

1. Conflict
2. Commitment
3. Frame of reference
4. Opportunity
5. Freedom
6. Family
7. Causation
8. Evolution
9. Revolution
10. Historical interpretation
11. Equality
12. Government
13. Rights
14. Stability
15. Justice
16. Democracy
17. Participation
18. Nationalism
19. Dependence
20. Independence
21. Interdependence
22. Specialization
23. Behavior
24. Sectionalism
25. Work ethic
26. Leadership
27. Change
28. Reform
29. Culture
30. Industrialism
31. Urbanization
32. Cooperation
33. Environment
34. Decision making
35. Values
36. Expectations
37. Market economy
38. Wants and needs
39. Resources
40. Communication

Skills

1. Interpret what is read by drawing inferences.
2. Detect cause-and-effect relationships.
3. Assume the perspective of the other person.
4. Decode maps.
5. Read for a variety of purposes.
6. Interpret various forms of printed and visual materials.
7. Draw logical conclusions.
8. Evaluate sources of information.
9. Prepare summaries, position papers, and other written materials.
10. Identify bias in printed and visual materials.
11. Group data in categories according to appropriate criteria.
12. State relationships between categories of information.
13. Recognize the values implicit in issues and the possible courses of action that flow around them.
14. Predict likely outcomes based on factual information.
15. Identify instances in which more than one interpretation of factual materials is valid.
16. Extract significant ideas from supporting, illustrative details.
17. Restate major ideas of a complex topic in concise form.
18. Form opinions based on critical examination of relevant information.
19. Communicate effectively both orally and in writing.
20. Listen carefully for information.

Using Series Materials

In the *Primary Sources in U.S. History* series, students use many types of documents, including newspapers; letters; diaries; manuscripts; published tracts of political, social, or cultural significance; government documents; artwork; photographs; advertisements; and documents of everyday life, such as personal bills, report cards, and cookbooks. Activities for each lesson incorporate one or more of these sources to give students the flavor of the era and to encourage independent, collaborative, and creative thinking, problem solving, and decision-making. Separate lessons from any unit in the series may supplement textbook readings on a selected topic.

Lessons on a particular theme may be used in current issues courses as background material or integrated into various topical electives in history. Teachers may prefer to borrow the procedures of a lesson while substituting a document of their own choosing. Or, conversely, teachers may want to reproduce only the document and experiment with a different approach to teaching the lesson. While this series focuses on the historical content or importance of primary sources, lessons do not guide students through a step-by-step examination of the source itself. The appendix of each unit contains primary source analysis worksheets from the Education Branch of the National Archives. Throughout the lessons, procedures recommend that the appropriate worksheet be reproduced and distributed to accompany the lesson. Using the worksheet will guide students through a brief examination of the source itself. The forms are not complicated or lengthy, and clearly set the stage for students to assume the role of historian. To this end, a sample lesson using an analysis form from the appendix is presented at the beginning of each unit in the series. The sample lesson should be examined carefully and then used to familiarize students with using primary sources.

Each lesson in the series contains at least one student handout as well as a primary source. The handouts provide either in-class activities or homework activities. In the handouts, the original spelling of the primary source has been maintained. To avoid distracting the reader, most of these are not marked [sic]. The lessons are intended to suggest meaningful class activities, but are in no way intended to substitute for textbook reading. Each lesson should always be correlated to the appropriate section of the class textbook. Finally, it is essential that the teacher read the lessons in advance to note appropriate assignments, to prepare needed materials for distribution, and to tailor the instruction to a particular class.

Unit Introduction

This unit in the *Primary Sources in U.S. History* series contains ten lessons from 1860 to 1865. Each lesson is constructed around one or more primary sources of historical information on a specific topic. The intent of each lesson is for students to learn more about a specific topic of an era by studying a piece of actual history that relates to that particular topic. This learning method differs from a more traditional one of reading what a historian has interpreted, concluded, and presented for students to accept without question. In this process of learning history from primary sources, students use a variety of materials and approaches that promote critical thinking, reading, and writing, as well as other skills, in mastering the concepts of the lessons.

Each lesson focuses on one of the ten topics that are consistent in this series. (See Series Introduction.) The ten lessons in this unit deal directly with some of the important topics in the history of America during the Civil War. Topics such as the Great Locomotive Chase, the role of combat journalism in the war, the New York City Draft Riot of 1863, the role of women as nurses during the war, and the relationship between the United States and Great Britain during the war are found in this unit. Also included are lessons on the camp life soldiers experienced during the war, the effect of the war on the culture of religion in America, the Emancipation Proclamation, the role of Native Americans in the war, and the trial of Mary Surratt.

Each lesson contains all needed teacher and student materials. Read the lessons in advance to note appropriate assignments and prepare needed materials for distribution for the class. Advance preparation also increases the opportunity to modify the lesson to suit your particular aims or needs.

Review the sample lesson and handout. Using the sample lesson to introduce primary sources to students is strongly recommended. The appropriate analysis form should be used to aid the analysis of every primary source in the unit. At the very least, the forms should be used the first few times that students do the primary sources exercises. Using the forms will encourage students to raise important questions about the source with which they are working. Finally, always correlate the lesson and handouts to the appropriate sections of your basal classroom textbook.

Answers will vary unless otherwise indicated. Students may need additional paper to complete some handouts.

Cross-Reference Chart

This cross-reference chart provides an evaluation of the unit's lessons based on the concepts, themes, and skills outlined in the *Primary Sources in U.S. History* series (see Series Introduction). The chart offers an analysis of the incorporation of major themes and concepts and details each lesson's development of critical-thinking skills.

Lesson	Concepts	Themes	Skills
1	1, 2, 4, 17, 23, 34, 35, 39	2, 4, 8	1, 3, 5, 8, 14, 18, 19
2	1, 2, 3, 10, 17, 22, 25, 40	1, 3, 4	1, 3, 5, 6, 9, 16, 17, 19
3	4, 32, 33, 34, 37, 38, 39	1, 4, 8, 9	1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 16, 18, 19
4	1, 3, 7, 10, 13, 16, 17, 23, 31, 32, 34	1, 2, 7, 8	1, 5, 7, 8, 9, 13, 18, 19
5	1, 2, 7, 10, 17, 21, 30, 32, 34, 37, 39	1, 4, 5, 6	1, 2, 5, 7, 9, 16, 18, 19
6	1, 2, 4, 10, 11, 13, 15, 23, 27, 28, 34, 35	1, 2, 7, 8, 9	3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 13, 18, 19
7	1, 2, 3, 11, 13, 17, 26, 34	1, 4, 5	1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 16, 19
8	1, 2, 6, 7, 10, 13, 15, 17, 23	1, 4, 5	1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 14, 18, 19
9	1, 2, 3, 6, 17, 23, 27, 29, 33, 35	1, 3, 4, 5, 9	1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 16, 18, 19
10	2, 3, 4, 5, 11, 13, 17, 23, 27, 34, 36, 40	5, 7	1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 13, 16, 18, 19

Sample Lesson

Getting Back What's Mine

Objectives

- To become familiar with a primary source through completion of a primary source analysis worksheet

Notes to the Teacher

This lesson's primary source document is an "Application for Effects of a Deceased Member" from about 1910. The document shows that H. W. Tappe is going to apply for the effects of his father, August Tappe, who died August 5, 1910.

Analysis of the form's first page shows that August Tappe had been a member of the 17th West Virginia Infantry (Civil War) and was residing at the Central Branch of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers at the time of his death. From this it can be presumed that he was disabled. One can also presume that his wife preceded him in death, since a section of the form to be used for a claim by a widow is crossed out and his son is applying. The form shows that there were at least five children other than H. W. Tappe, four of whom are named—note the blanks for signatures at the bottom. Someone has written on the form for H. W. Tappe the signatures he will need (all children of August Tappe and the children of any deceased children of August Tappe) and not need (his own). The form also states on the side that the signatures must be witnessed by two persons. This was probably a practice form since it did not have all of the signatures, hadn't been witnessed, and wasn't turned in. Page two of the form, while not strictly necessary for the exercise, is provided. Much interesting history can be gained from reading the formal document a son needed to file to receive the effects of his deceased father.

The form was found in a box in the attic of one of the authors of this series. August Tappe was his great-grandfather and Henry Wadsworth Tappe was his grandfather. Henry was one of thirteen children, seven of whom were no longer living by 1910. Four died before the age of one, one died at age five, and one died at age seven. The seventh, William, died at age 25 of yellow fever in the Philippines shortly after the Spanish-American War. The missing name by the 5 in the blanks for signatures was Louis Tappe; it is not known if he ever signed.

Typical of studying historical documents, the question of whether or not Henry ever obtained his father's effects is still unanswered.

Procedure

- Begin by asking students if they know what a *primary source* in history is. After students have suggested definitions, ask them what they think of this definition:

primary source—source created by people who actually saw or participated in an event and recorded that event or their reactions to it immediately after the event

Point out that this definition ignores the type of source and focuses on what makes it primary. To complete the sample lesson in one class period, limit the discussion to five minutes.

Distribute **Handouts 23** and **A** for students to study and complete. Monitor and assist as necessary.

- Toward the end of class, share and discuss students' answers, especially 6a and 6e. Ask students what else can be learned from the form. Refer to Notes to the Teacher.
- Debrief by distributing **Handout B**. Help students compare the form they completed with **Handout B**.
- Distribute another copy of **Handout 23**. Assign students to find a document from their family history and to complete a written source analysis for that document. Encourage students to involve their parents and others in this assignment.
- Conclude by asking volunteers to share their documents and completed forms.

Extension Activity

After sharing Notes to the Teacher information, ask students to theorize how six of thirteen children died as children. Some brief research may be necessary. (*Responses could include medical care in the era, the value of having children in spite of the high incidence of childhood deaths, poverty and/or the role of women in such a society.*) Have students list the signatures Henry Tappe needed to have his father's effects returned.

Getting Back What's Mine

[88-a]

APPLICATION FOR EFFECTS OF DECEASED MEMBER

(TO BE USED IN ALL CASES.)

TO THE GOVERNOR,

Central Branch,

National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers.

Sir:

I hereby make application for the effects of *August Tappe*, deceased, late *C* Co.,
17th Regiment *N. Va. Inf.* who died at *CENTRAL BRANCH, N.H.D.V.S.*
on *5th August 1910* as his *Wife*

Address *647 Euclid Ave. Cleveland - O*

TO BE USED IN CASE OF CLAIM BY WIDOW.)

STATE OF _____ } ss.
COUNTY OF _____ }

We, the undersigned, hereby certify that the above named _____
is the identical person she represents herself to be, and is known as the widow of _____
deceased.

Subscribed and sworn to before me, this _____ day of _____, 191_____

(TO BE USED IN THE CASE OF TWO OR MORE HEIRS.)

We the undersigned, heirs of *August Tappe*, deceased, hereby authorize
N.W. Tappe to receive and receipt for all of his effects in the possession of the National Home for
Disabled Volunteer Soldiers.

*All other children, except
NW, and children of
deceased children if any
sign here.*

- 1 A.C. Tappe*
- 2 Jennie Eckelbach*
- 3 Mathilde B. Lehmann*
- 4 Edward Tappe*
- 5*

Primary Sources, 1840–1865
Sample Lesson
Handout A (page 2)

Name _____

Date _____

..... Branch, N. H. for D. V. S.,, 191..... Branch, N. H. for D. V. S.,, 191.....
Respectfully referred to the Quartermaster and to the Treasurer.	Respectfully forwarded to....., 191.....
The Board of Managers having through.....	Manager National Home for D. V. S., for such action as he deems proper.
..... Governor.
approved this application the effects will be turned over, taking proper vouchers. The application to be filed in the Treasurer's office.
By order of the Governor. Adjutant.	Respectfully returned to..... Governor
..... Branch, N. H. for D. V. S.,
The order of the Board of Managers in this case has been obeyed.
..... Quartermaster.
..... Treasurer. Manager N. H. for D. V. S.

Charles D. This
Respectfully
647 Euclid Ave

....., 191.....
N. W. Tanner
11 Jan

APPLICATION FOR EFFECTS
 ON
August Tanner
 Date *Aug 17* Co. *17* Regt. *17*

WHO DIED AT
Central Branch, N. H. for D. V. S.,
5th August 191.....
 (FORM 88-a.)

(6-15-76.)

Written Document Analysis Worksheet*

1. Type of document (check one):

<input type="checkbox"/> Newspaper	<input type="checkbox"/> Map	<input type="checkbox"/> Advertisement
<input type="checkbox"/> Letter	<input type="checkbox"/> Telegram	<input type="checkbox"/> Congressional record
<input type="checkbox"/> Patent	<input type="checkbox"/> Press release	<input type="checkbox"/> Census report
<input type="checkbox"/> Memorandum	<input type="checkbox"/> Report	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other <u>request for deceased family member's effects</u>

2. Unique physical qualities of the document (check one or more):

<input type="checkbox"/> Interesting letterhead	<input type="checkbox"/> Seals	<input type="checkbox"/> Other _____
<input type="checkbox"/> Handwritten	<input type="checkbox"/> Notations	
<input type="checkbox"/> Typed	<input type="checkbox"/> "Received" stamp	

3. Date(s) of document: death occurred August 5, 1910

4. Author (or creator) of the document: _____

Position (title): National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers and H. W. Tappe

5. For what audience was the document written? addressed to the "Governor" Central branch of the NHDVS

6. Document information (There are many possible ways to answer a–e.)

- a. List three things the author said that you think are important.

- Tappe had to apply for his father's effects.*
- The father served in 17th West Virginian Infantry.*
- All living children had to apply.*

- b. Why do you think this document was written?

to get his father's effects

- c. What evidence in the document helps you to know why it was written? Quote from the document.

title of form—application for effects of deceased member

- d. List two things the document tells you about life in the United States at the time it was written:

- numerous branches for homes for disabled veterans of the Civil War*
- large family of six children*

- e. Write the author a question that is left unanswered by the document.

Did he file the form and obtain his father's effects?

*Adapted from worksheets developed by the staff of the Education Branch, National Archives, Washington, DC 20408.

Lesson 1—Business and Labor

Railroads in the South: The Great Locomotive Chase

Objectives

- To discuss the importance of railroads as a lifeline to move supplies and war material across the South
- To examine efforts by the Union Army to use the destruction of southern railroads as a means of hastening the end of the war

Notes to the Teacher

The main source of income in the South prior to the Civil War was the sale of cotton. Initially, the Confederacy discouraged the exportation of cotton, particularly to European buyers, in order to use a shortage of cotton as leverage in obtaining support for the southern cause. Most cotton was shipped in one direction by rail to ports along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, where it was transferred to ships. Few commercial southern rail lines extended inland. Wealthy cotton planters maintained small spur lines to move cotton to main railroad lines. While the South had many miles of rail lines, shorter lines were often constructed using a smaller gauge rail and corresponding rolling stock, which made connecting the various lines into a cohesive whole very difficult. The rail lines of North Carolina and Virginia were constructed using standard gauge track, which was common in the North, while the rest of the rail lines used a broad gauge track. Trains with standard gauge track could not use broad gauge track and vice versa. Goods and passengers would have to transfer physically from one rail line to another in order to journey across several states. West of the Mississippi, as many as ten different track gauges were used, further compounding the problem.

When the Union navy began to blockade southern ports, many southern rail companies were forced to lay off employees, including skilled workers like engineers. Most Southerners believed that the war would end soon and that these employees would quickly be called back to work. When this proved to be false, the Confederacy began to realize the need for more rail lines to move men and arms; lucrative contracts were issued for construction. Troops were moved on new rail lines at the

rate of two cents per mile. Arms, munitions, and foodstuffs were moved at the cost of one cent per mile.

Railroads began to suffer from the South's lack of an industrial base. While several locomotive and iron works existed in the South prior to the war, most of the supplies needed to expand and maintain the rail system were imported from northern ironworks or from Europe. Rail companies lacked the supplies needed to repair damage, especially after the Union army realized that destroying rail stock, tracks, and trestle bridges would slow down the progress of the Confederate army. As more men were conscripted into the Confederate army, fewer workers were available to repair track and bridges and many railroads used slaves as a labor force. Many rail lines pleaded with the Confederate Congress to permit them to conscript soldiers and slaves to repair railroad stock and track. In 1863, the Congress declared that all Southerners were to work solely for the war effort and placed the rail lines under control of the military. This made the job of the rail companies even more difficult, since now the military could impress railroad workers to fight in the army. By 1864 passenger service across the South was almost non-existent, as rail lines were used nearly exclusively by the military. As southern armies retreated across the South, they destroyed rail lines and rolling stock to prevent their use by Union troops.

The Western and Atlantic Railroad linked the cities of Richmond, the capital of the Confederacy, and Atlanta. Union strategists believed that if north-south rail access could be cut off between Atlanta, Georgia, and Chattanooga in eastern Tennessee, the supply lines of the Confederacy would be disrupted, which would hasten the end of the war. In April of 1862, a volunteer force, most of whom were members of the 2nd, 21st, and 33rd Ohio infantries, set out to destroy bridges, rail, and rolling stock along the main line of the Western and Atlantic Railroad. Proposed by James Andrews, a civilian scout and part-time spy, the plan would destroy the Western and Atlantic's link to Chattanooga and isolate the city of Atlanta. Andrews and his volunteers

stole a W & A passenger locomotive, the *General* in Big Shanty (now Kennesaw), Georgia, where the train had stopped to take on water, fuel, and meals for passengers. Heading north along the single-track rail line in order to meet with General Ormsby Mitchel's Army of Middle Tennessee, Andrews and his men planned to cut telegraph lines and destroy rail links and bridges behind them. The terrain of Georgia along the rail line was extremely hilly and had many steep grades. The train's speed averaged between ten and fifteen miles per hour; just to get the train moving at any speed was a daunting task. The conductor of the *General*, William Fuller, set off in pursuit of Andrews and his raiders, first on foot and later on a handcar.

Andrews soon found out that his plan to destroy the single rail line and bridges was slow and time consuming. The *General* was a regularly scheduled train and had to pull onto sidings in order to avoid collisions with southbound trains. This allowed Fuller, who commandeered several locomotives along the route, to slowly gain on it. Just before reaching Adairsville, Fuller seized a freight train, the *Texas*, which had moved onto a siding to allow the *General* to pass, placed the train in reverse, and began to pursue the stolen train. While they were able to continue to sever telegraph wires, few bridges were destroyed by the raiders. Most of the wood in the tender was wet and would not burn; eventually the *General* ran out of fuel. When it reached Ringgold, Georgia, just miles from Chattanooga, Andrews and his raiders abandoned the train and scattered. All of the men were eventually captured by the Confederate army. Andrews and seven others were convicted of spying and hanged. Eight raiders escaped from Confederate prisons and reached the Union army lines. Six were exchanged as prisoners of war in 1863. The first Medal of Honor was awarded to one of the raiders, Jacob Wilson Parrott, for suffering he experienced in a Confederate prison. Later all but two of the raiders, James Andrews and William Hunter Campbell, who were civilians and not eligible, were awarded the Medal of Honor.

In this lesson, students read a newspaper account of the raid and answer questions for discussion. Using the information from

the article and class discussion, they write a short essay.

Reminder to Teachers

- Decide if the appropriate primary sources analysis worksheets from the appendix will be used in this lesson.
- Assign those sections of the basal textbook that are relevant to this lesson.

Procedure

1. In the beginning of the war, the Union army was not very successful in defeating the Confederacy. Ask students how the southern strategy of holding back cotton was believed to be a way of helping obtain European support for their cause. (*A northern blockade of southern ports had reduced the availability of cotton, which the Europeans, especially Great Britain, needed for textile mills. If the South could control the sale of cotton to European mills, the British might be persuaded to provide support to the Confederacy.*)
2. Explain that in the beginning of the war, the Confederacy was able to use its railroads, which had been constructed to move the South's primary cash crop cotton to coastal ports, to move soldiers and supplies effectively. The problem confronting the Confederacy was that the rail system in the South had been haphazardly constructed of many different rail gauges making movement difficult. After the war began, the Confederate Congress authorized the construction of additional rail lines to better link areas across the South.
3. Ask students why it is important to have an efficient and reliable transportation system in any military conflict. (*Without an efficient and reliable system, an army cannot move men and supplies when or where needed; the loss or destruction of a transportation system could force an army to engage in risky tactics and could affect the life and safety of not only military personnel but also civilians.*) Remind students of the importance of railroads in the Civil War era, as well as the absence of any other effective means of moving personnel and supplies. At the beginning of the war, the

Union army was not very successful in defeating the Confederacy. Ask students how a Union blockade would affect the Southern strategy of holding back cotton as a way of helping obtain European support for their cause. (*A northern blockade of southern ports reduced the availability of cotton, which Europe, especially Great Britain, needed for textile mills.*)

4. Explain that the Union Army of Middle Tennessee under the command of General Ormsby Mitchel planned to destroy railroad links between Richmond and Atlanta, thus cutting the Confederacy in half and destroying its supply lines. Divide the class into small groups and distribute **Handout 1**. Have the students answer the questions for discussion. Review students' responses.

Suggested Responses:

1. *The chase began in the rail yard of Big Shanty, Georgia.*
2. *It was customary for trains to make stops for fuel, water, and passenger meals; the train crew and passengers were eating breakfast.*
3. *The nearest train engine was thirty or forty miles away, so if the raiders cut the telegraph wires, they would have a head start of several hours.*
4. *The men were first on foot and then used a handcar.*
5. *They commandeered the Yonah, an old locomotive, and continued to chase the General.*
6. *They convinced him that they were moving gunpowder to Confederate General Pierre Beauregard.*
7. *The Western and Atlantic Railroad had a single track and northbound and southbound passenger trains had to pull off to a siding to allow freight trains to pass.*
8. *They removed ties and rails from the track in an attempt to slow down their pursuers.*
9. *They abandoned the Yonah, took over an engine of the Rome Branch Road, and set off for Adairsville. They also*

picked up a railroad work crew to repair damaged track.

10. *They tore up rails behind them and laid them in front of the train.*
 11. *They tossed rail ties out the back of a boxcar onto the tracks.*
 12. *He reversed it and headed north in pursuit of the General.*
 13. *They ran out of fuel and water and could go no farther.*
 14. *They fled and scattered in the woods. Eventually, Confederate troops captured them and they were imprisoned.*
5. Explain that this raid was extremely daring and that the raiders knew that they might be captured and executed as spies. Tell students that Andrews and seven others were convicted of spying and hanged. Eight raiders escaped from Confederate prisons and reached the Union army lines. Six were exchanged as prisoners of war in 1863. The first Medal of Honor was awarded to one of the raiders, Jacob Wilson Parrott, for suffering he experienced in a Confederate prison. Later all but two of the raiders, James Andrews and William Hunter Campbell, who were civilians and not eligible, were awarded the Medal of Honor.
 6. After discussion, have students use the information in the article to write in response to the following prompt:

If the Andrews Raid had succeeded, it could have changed the course of the war because . . . (*If the raiders had successfully burned bridges at Huntsville, the Union army would have been able to occupy Chattanooga and gain control of eastern Tennessee. The Union army would have been able to gain control of the Cumberland Gap, possibly attack General Stonewall Jackson from the rear, and eventually seize the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, leading to control of most of the supply lines into Richmond. They might have been able to unite McClellan's forces and attack the army of Confederate General Jo Johnson. All reinforcements in the east and southeastern Confederacy would have been cut off and*

General Beauregard would have neither supply lines nor access to reinforcements, possibly leading to surrender.)

Extension Activities

1. Have students research the origins of the Medal of Honor and its most recent recipients, and prepare a presentation for the class.
2. Have students create a map tracking the movement of the chase north from Georgia.

A Most Thrilling Railroad Adventure

Read the following selection, and answer the questions for discussion.

. . . Since our last issue, we have obtained full particulars of the most thrilling railroad adventure that ever occurred on the American continent, as well as the mightiest and most important in its results, if successful, that has been conceived by the Lincoln Government since the commencement of this war. Nothing on so grand a scale has been attempted, and nothing within the range of possibility could be conceived, that would fall with such a tremendous, crushing force upon us, as the accomplishment of the plans which were concocted and dependent on the execution of the one whose history we now proceed to narrate.... . . .

We will begin at the breakfast-table of the Big Shanty Hotel at Camp McDonald, on the Western and Atlantic Railroad, where several regiments of soldiers are now encamped. The morning mail and passenger train had left here at four A.M., on last Saturday morning, as usual, and had stopped there for breakfast. The conductor, William A. Fuller; the engineer, I. Cain, both of this city; and the passengers were at the table, when some eight men, having uncoupled the engine and three empty box-cars next to it, from the passenger and baggage-cars, mounted the engine, pulled open the valve, put on all steam, and left conductor, engineer, passengers, spectators, and the soldiers in the camp hard by, all lost in amazement and dumbfounded at the strange, startling, and daring act.

This unheard-of act was, doubtless, undertaken at that place and time, upon the presumption that pursuit could not be made by an engine short of Kingston, some thirty miles above, or from this place; and that by cutting down the telegraph wires as they proceeded, the adventurers could calculate on at least three or four hours' start of any pursuit it was reasonable to expect. This was a legitimate conclusion, and but for the will, energy, and quick good judgment of Mr. Fuller, and Mr. Cain, and Mr. Anthony Murphy, the intelligent and practical foreman of the wood department of the State Road shop, who accidentally went on the train from this place that morning, their calculations would have worked out as originally contemplated, and the results would have been obtained long ere this reaches the eyes of our readers—the most terrible to us of any that we can conceive as possible, and unequaled by anything attempted or conceived since this war commenced.

Now for the chase!

These three determined men, without a moment's delay, put out after the flying train—*on foot*, amidst shouts of laughter by the crowd, who, though lost in amazement at

the unexpected and daring act, could not repress their risibility at seeing three men start after a train on foot, which they had just witnessed depart at lightning speed. They put on all their speed, and ran along the track for three miles, when they came across some track-raisers who had a small truck-car, which is shoved along by men so employed on railroads, on which to carry their tools. This truck and men were at once "impressed." They took it by turns of two at a time to run behind this truck and push it along all up grades and level portions of the road, and let it drive at will on all the down grades. A little way further up the fugitive adventurers had stopped, cut the telegraph wires and torn up the track. Here the pursuers

were thrown off pell mell, truck and men, upon the side of the road. Fortunately, “nobody was hurt on our side.” The truck was soon placed on the road again; enough hands were left to repair the track, and with all the power of determined will and muscle, they pushed on to Etowah Station, some twenty miles above.

Here, most fortunately, Major Cooper’s old coal engine, the “Yonah”—one of the first engines on the State road—was standing out, fired up. This venerable locomotive was immediately turned upon her own track, and like an old racer, at the tap of the drum, pricked up her ears and made fine time to Kingston.

The fugitives, not expecting such early pursuit, quietly took in wood and water at Cass Station, and borrowed a schedule from the tank-tender upon the plausible plea that they were running a pressed train, loaded with powder, for Beauregard. The attentive and patriotic tank-tender, Mr. William Russell, said he gave them his schedule, and would have sent the shirt off his back to Beauregard, if it had been asked for. Here the adventurous fugitives inquired which end of the switch they should go in on at Kingston. When they arrived at Kingston, they stopped, went to the Agent there, told the powder story, readily got the switch key, went on the upper turn-out, and waited for the down *way freight train to pass*. To all inquiries they replied with the same powder story. When the freight train had passed, they immediately proceeded on to the next station—Adairsville—where they were to meet the *regular down freight train*. At some point on the way they had taken on some fifty cross-ties, and before reaching Adairsville, they stopped on a curve, tore up the rails, and put seven cross-ties on the track—no doubt intending to wreck this down freight train, which would be along in a few minutes. They had out upon the engine a red handkerchief, as a kind of flag or signal, which, in railroading, means another train is behind—thereby indicating to all that the regular passenger train would be along presently. They stopped a moment at Adairsville, and said Fuller, with the regular passenger train, was behind, and would wait at Kingston for the freight train, and told the conductor thereon to push ahead and meet him at that point. They passed on to Calhoun, where they met the down passenger train, due here at 4:20 P.M., and without making any stop, they proceeded—on, on, and on.

But we must return to Fuller and his party, whom we have unconsciously left on the old “Yonah,” making their way to Kingston.

Arriving there, and learning the adventurers were but twenty minutes ahead, they left the “Yonah” to blow off, while they mounted the engine of the Rome Branch Road, which was ready fired up, and waiting for the arrival of the passengers nearly due, when it would have proceeded to Rome. A large party of gentlemen volunteered for the chase, some at Acworth, Altoona, Kingston, and other points, taking such arms as they could lay their hands on at the moment; and with this fresh engine they set out with all speed, but with great “care and caution,” as they had scarcely time to make Adairsville, before the down freight train would leave that point. Sure enough, they discovered, this side of Adairsville, three rails torn up and other impediments in the way. They “took up” in time to prevent an accident, but could proceed with the train no further. This was most vexatious, and it may have been in some degree disheartening, but it did not cause the slightest relaxation of efforts, and as the result proved was but little

in the way of the *dead game*, pluck and resolutions of Fuller and Murphy, who left the engine and again *put out on foot alone!* After running two miles they met the down freight train, one mile out from Adairsville. They immediately reversed the train, and run backwards to Adairsville—put the cars on the siding, and pressed forward, making fine time to Calhoun, where they met the regular down passenger train. Here they halted a moment, took on board a telegraph operator, and a number of men who again volunteered, taking their guns along—and continued the chase. Mr. Fuller also took on here a company of track hands to repair the track as they went along. A short distance above Calhoun, they *flushed their game* on a curve, where they doubtless supposed themselves out of danger, and were quietly oiling the engine, taking up the track, &c. Discovering that they were pursued, they mounted and sped away, throwing out upon the track as they went along the heavy cross-ties they had prepared themselves with. This was done by breaking out the end of the hindmost box-car, and pitching them out. Thus, “nip and tuck,” they passed with fearful speed Resaca, Tilton, and on through Dalton.

The rails which they had taken up last they took off with them—besides throwing out cross-ties upon the track occasionally—hoping thereby the more surely to impede the pursuit; but all this was like tow to the touch of fire, to the now thoroughly aroused, excited, and eager pursuers. These men, though so much excited and influenced by so much determination, still retained their well-known caution, were looking out for this danger, and discovered it, and though it was seemingly an insuperable obstacle to their making any headway in pursuit, was quickly overcome by the genius of Fuller and Murphy. Coming to where the rails were torn up, they stopped, tore up rails behind them, and laid them down before, till they had passed over that obstacle. When the cross-ties were reached, they hauled to and threw them off, and thus proceeded, and under these difficulties gained on the frightened fugitives. At Dalton they halted a moment. Fuller put off the telegraph operator, with instructions to telegraph to Chattanooga to have them stopped, in case he should fail to overhaul them.

Fuller pressed on in hot chase—sometimes in sight—as much to prevent their cutting the wires before the message could be sent, as to catch them. The daring adventurers stopped just opposite and very near to where Colonel Glenn’s regiment is encamped, and cut the wires; but the operator at Dalton *had put the message through about two minutes before*. They also again tore up the track, cut down a telegraph pole, and placed the two ends of it under the cross-ties, and the middle over the rail on the track. The pursuers stopped again, and got over this impediment in the same manner they did before—taking up rails behind and laying them down before. Once over this, they shot on, and passed through the great tunnel at Tunnel Hill, being there only five minutes behind. The fugitives, thus finding themselves closely pursued, uncoupled two of the box cars from the engine, to impede the progress of the pursuers. Fuller hastily coupled them to the front of his engine, and pushed them ahead of him, to the first turn-out or siding, where they were left, thus preventing the collision the adventurers intended.

Thus the engine thieves passed Ringgold, where they began to fag. They were out of wood, water, and oil. Their rapid running and inattention to the engine had melted all the brass from the journals. They had no time to repair or refit, for an iron-horse of more bottom was close behind. Fuller and Murphy, and their men, soon came within four hundred yards of them, when

the fugitives jumped from the engine and left it, three on the north side, and five on the south side; all fleeing precipitately, and scattering through the thicket. Fuller and his party also took to the woods after them.

Some gentlemen, also well armed, took the engine and some cars of the down passenger train at Calhoun, and followed up Fuller and Murphy and their party in the chase, but a short distance behind, and reached the place of the stampede but a very few moments after the first pursuers did. A large number of men were soon mounted, armed, and scouring the entire country in search of them. Fortunately, there was a militia muster at Ringgold. A great many countrymen were in town. Hearing of the chase, they put out on foot and on horseback in every direction, in search of the daring, but now thoroughly frightened and fugitive men...

All of the eight men were captured, and are now safely lodged in jail. The particulars of their capture we have not received. This we hope to obtain in time for a postscript to this, or for our second edition. They confessed that they belonged to Lincoln's army, and had been sent down from Shelbyville to burn the bridges between here and Chattanooga; and that the whole party consisted of nineteen men, eleven of whom were dropped at several points on the road as they came down, to assist in the burning of the bridges as they went back.

When the morning freight train which left this city reached Big Shanty, Lieutenant-Colonels R. F. Maddox and C. P. Phillips took the engine and a few cars, with fifty picked men, well armed, and followed on as rapidly as possible. They passed over all difficulties, and got as far as Calhoun, where they learned the fugitives had taken the woods, and were pursued by plenty of men, with the means to catch them if it were possible. . . .

. . . [W]e insist upon Fuller and Murphy being promoted to the highest honors on the road; if not by actually giving them the highest position, at least, let them be promoted by brevet. Certainly their indomitable energy, and quick, correct judgment and decision in the many difficult contingencies connected with this unheard-of emergency, has saved all the railroad bridges above Ringgold from being burned; the most daring scheme that this revolution has developed has been thwarted, and the tremendous results which, if successful, can scarcely be imagined, much less described, have been averted. Had they succeeded in burning the bridges, the enemy at Huntsville would have occupied Chattanooga before Sunday night. Yesterday they would have been in Knoxville, and thus had possession of all East Tennessee, Greenville, and Cumberland Gap, would, ere this, have been in the hands of the enemy. Lynchburg, Virginia, would have been moved upon at once. This would have given them possession of the Valley of Virginia, and Stonewall Jackson could have been attacked in the rear. They would have possession of the railroad leading to Charlottesville and Orange Court House, as well as the South Side Railroad leading to Petersburg and Richmond. They might have been able to unite with McClellan's forces, and attack Jo. Johnston's army, front and flank. It is not by any means improbable that our army in Virginia would have been defeated, captured, or driven out of the State this week. . . .

When we learned by a private telegraph dispatch, a few days ago, that the Yankees had taken Huntsville, we attached no great importance to it. We regarded it merely as a dashing foray of a small party to destroy property, tear up the road, &c., *a la* Morgan. When an additional telegram announced the federal force there to be from 17,000 to 20,000, we were

inclined to doubt—though coming from a perfectly honorable and upright gentleman, who would not be apt to seize upon a wild report to send here to his friends. The coming to that point with a large force, where they would be flanked on either side by our army, we regarded as a most stupid and unmilitary act. We now understand it all. They were to move upon Chattanooga and Knoxville as soon as the bridges were burnt, and press on into Virginia as far as possible, and take all our forces in that State in the rear. It was all the deepest laid scheme, and on the grandest scale, that ever emanated from the brains of any number of Yankees combined. It was one that was also entirely practicable on almost any day for the last year. There were but two miscalculations in the whole programme; they did not expect men to start out afoot to pursue them, and they did not expect these pursuers on foot to find Major Cooper's old "Yonah" standing there all ready fired up. Their calculations on every other point were dead certainties, and would have succeeded perfectly. . . .

Let this be a warning to the railroad men and everybody else in the Confederate States. Let an engine never be left alone a moment. Let additional guards be placed at our bridges. This is a matter we specially urged in the Confederacy long ago. We hope it will now be heeded. Further, let a sufficient guard be placed to watch the government stores in this city; and let increased vigilance and watchfulness be put forth by the watchmen. We know one solitary man who is guarding a house in this city, which contains a lot of bacon. Two or three men could throttle and gag him and set fire to the house at any time; and worse, he conceives that there is no necessity for a guard, as he is sometimes seen off duty for a few moments, fully long enough for an incendiary to burn the house he watches. Let Mr. Shackelford, whom we know to be watchful and attentive to his duties, take the responsibility at once of placing a well-armed guard of sufficient force around every house containing government stores. Let this be done without waiting for instructions from Richmond.

One other thought. The press is requested by the Government to keep silent about the movements of the army, and a great many things of the greatest interest to our people. It has, in the main, patriotically complied. We have complied in most cases, but our judgment was against it all the while. The plea is that the enemy will get the news, if it is published in our papers. Now, we again ask, what's the use? The enemy get what information they want. They are with us and pass among us almost daily. They find out from us what they want to know, by passing through our country unimpeded. It is nonsense—it is folly, to deprive our own people of knowledge they are entitled to and ought to know, for fear the enemy will find it out. We ought to have a regular system of passports over all our roads, and refuse to let any man pass who could not give a good account of himself, come well vouched for, and make it fully appear that he is not an enemy, and that he is on legitimate business. This would keep information from the enemy far more effectively than any reticence of the press, which ought lay before our people the full facts in everything of a public nature.¹

¹Pittinger, Lieutenant William. *Daring and Suffering: A History of the Great Railroad Adventure* (Philadelphia, Penn.: J. W. Daughaday, Publisher, 1864), 72–90.

1. Where did the chase begin?
2. Why were Andrews' raiders able to steal the train?
3. Why did the raiders select Big Shanty as a place to steal a train?
4. How did William Fuller, I. Cain, and Anthony Murphy begin the chase?
5. What did Fuller, Cain, and Murphy do at Etowah Station?
6. How did the raiders convince the station tank tender at Cass Station to give them his schedule?
7. Why did the raiders have to move the *General* onto a siding at Kingston?
8. What did the raiders do before they reached Adairsville?
9. What did Fuller, Cain, and Murphy do in Kingston?
10. What did Fuller and Murphy do when they saw that the raiders had removed rails?
11. What else did the raiders do to try to stop Fuller and Murphy?
12. What happened when Fuller seized the southbound freight train?
13. Why did the raiders abandon the *General* before they reached Chattanooga?
14. What happened to the raiders?

Lesson 2—Culture

Combat Journalism

Objectives

- To examine the use of combat journalism to report on battles during the Civil War

Notes to the Teacher

When modern America goes to war, combat journalists bring us the news from the front. In earlier times, our information about military action often came from diarists and journal keepers, especially those who experienced the war firsthand. The first professional combat journalists were a group of anonymous men covering the Mexican War in the late 1840s. Copies of dispatches about the war were carried to American cities by horseback, riverboat, railroads, and some newly installed telegraph lines. By the mid-1850s war correspondents in Europe, like William Howard Russell of the *Times* (London), were actively covering the action in the Crimean War. The popular Russell was an excellent reporter who eventually was recognized as one of the best combat journalists. Professional, accurate, and writing in a readable style, Russell began to file reports for his readers in Great Britain almost as soon as the war broke out.

The advent of combat journalism coincided with the growth of the newspaper industry in America. Horace Greeley founded the *New York Tribune* in 1841; by the beginning of the war, the *Tribune* was one of seventeen different newspapers, many of which were allied with a specific political party, in the city of New York alone. New printing technology, improvements in the ability to include illustrations in newspaper copy, and a massive extension of telegraph lines helped to spread newspaper coverage across the country; while a reading public with an estimated literacy rate of eighty-nine percent in 1850 among Northern whites, provided a ready audience. Weekly journals such as *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* and *Harper's Weekly Journal of Civilization* also flourished at this time and provided extensive war coverage.

The average age of a combat journalist during the Civil War was late twenties. Some were as young as sixteen. Among the artists, the painter Winslow Homer was twenty-one, and Thomas Nast, who would later create the

Republican Party elephant, the Democratic Party donkey, and the enduring image of Santa Claus, was twenty. Covering the war was expensive, and the editor of the *New York Herald*, a rival of the *New York Tribune*, bragged that his newspaper had spent more than \$100,000 per year (the equivalent of \$2,675,000 in today's currency) covering the war. While the pay for correspondents was adequate, most of the money was spent on transmitting information across the nation by telegraph, which could cost as much as \$450 (more than \$12,000 today) for a two-thousand-word column.

Most newspaper reporting was uncensored, although telegraph transmissions, which might contain sensitive information, could be edited by military authorities. Some military commanders went so far as to ban combat journalists from accompanying their troops, what we would call embedding today. Competition and widespread corruption among northern newspapers often encouraged reporters to embellish. Since most newspapers were allied with political factions, reportage sometimes went beyond the simple statement of fact. Southern newspapers were not much different, although reporters usually cooperated with military authorities after the Confederacy passed a censorship law in hopes of controlling information. By the time the war ended, there were more than five hundred combat journalists assigned to northern and southern newspapers. Most wrote anonymously for their employers, although by 1863, most were required by military commanders to include their names with their dispatches, especially if they transmitted on military telegraph lines.

Near the end of the war, many southern newspapers ceased to print or drastically cut back on their production. Paper and ink had become extremely expensive. The Union Army destroyed railroad track and telegraph lines, making the dispersal of news difficult. The Union Army's occupation of cities like Atlanta and New Orleans and bombardments of cities like Richmond made printing news editions in the South problematic.

Combat journalism brought the nation together. Newspapers in small towns, which

had sent their boys off to fight, were able to report on the war for their readers, most of whom had a common interest in the safety and success of their sons. In every war since, combat journalists have brought the news of the war home.

In this lesson, students read combat journalists' accounts of the Battles of Bull Run and Shiloh, and use the information contained in the accounts to produce a news broadcast about the battles.

Reminder to Teachers

- Decide if the appropriate primary sources analysis worksheets from the appendix will be used in this lesson.
- Assign those sections of the basal textbook that are relevant to this lesson.

Procedure

1. Ask if students have watched news broadcasts about a war on television. Ask about the immediacy of the broadcasts. Are the journalists dealing with events as they occur or are they reporting on something which happened in the immediate past? Explain that combat journalism began in the mid-nineteenth century during the Crimean War; newspapers and weekly magazines were the most effective way to spread the news. Tell students that immediately prior to the Civil War, American news reporting underwent a flurry of invention and innovation. New methods of printing were developed, including the use of steel engraved plates to reproduce hand drawn images and sketches. Photography, while still in its infancy, also provided Americans with vivid portraiture of the war. The spread of telegraph lines across the country, together with the expansion of the railroad system, particularly in the North, made the dissemination of news easier and faster. These combined to make combat journalists an important component of the news industry. People on both sides were eager for news of their loved ones fighting in battle and about victories and defeats.
2. Divide the class into two groups. If the class is large, you might want to create

additional groups. Distribute **Handout 2** to one group and **Handout 3** to the other. Explain that the handouts contain combat journalists' accounts of the First Battle of Bull Run (also called the Battle of Manassas) and the Battle of Shiloh (also called Pittsburgh's Landing). Manassas Junction was an important stop on the main railroad line which linked Washington and Richmond. The northern forces believed that they would easily vanquish the smaller and more poorly equipped Confederates. The atmosphere at Bull Run was almost party-like. Many northern soldiers wore their brightly colored and often elaborate dress uniforms. Civilians from Washington came in their buggies and carriages to watch the great Union victory, only to be horrified by the sounds of screams and the stench of battle. When the Confederate forces emerged victorious, the army and the spectators fled back to the capital. In contrast, Shiloh was the first battle to gain control of traffic on the Mississippi River. For three days, the armies fought, using gunboats and artillery to attack an area known as Pittsburgh Landing. Thousands died, and most historians of the battle believe that neither side won a clear-cut victory.

3. Have students read the accounts and compare and contrast them with combat reporting today. (*The language used was often florid and exaggerated; reporting was sometimes gory and explicit; viewpoints of a battle might differ depending on which side was reporting; often reporters wrote what could be called human interest stories. Today, technological advances allow us to experience the war as it happens and because reporters have limited time, their reporting is clear and to the point.*) Have students compare the dates of the reporting with the actual dates of the battles. (*Bull Run was fought on July 21, 1861, and Shiloh was fought on April 6–7, 1862.*) Note that local newspapers, which often had telegraph or train service, could publish news more quickly. Weekly magazines, which had a wider and often national circulation, sometimes published summary news at a much later date.

4. Have students use the articles and other information which they might gather to write a script for a news broadcast on their battle assuming that television and radio would have been available during the Civil War. Have students present their broadcasts.

Extension Activities

1. Have students collect newspaper and magazine accounts of a specific battle and prepare a script for a short presentation.
2. Have students find accounts of modern conflicts and compare them to accounts in the lesson.

The Battle of Bull Run

Carefully examine the documents written about events during the Civil War.

From the *London Times*, July, 1861

I could see the gleam of arms and the twinkling of bayonets. On the hillside before me there was a crowd of civilians on horseback and in all sorts of vehicles, with a few of the fairer, if not gentler sex. . . . The Spectators were all excited and a lady with an opera glass who was near me was quite beside herself when an unusually heavy discharge roused the current of her blood: "That is splendid! Oh, my! Is that not first-rate? I guess we will be in Richmond this time tomorrow."

From the *New York Herald*, July 23, 1861

Fairfax Court House, July 21, 1861.

I am en route to Washington with details of a great battle. We have carried the day. The rebels accepted battle in their strength, but are totally routed. Loss on both sides considerable. Bull's Run is silenced and two or three other batteries taken.

Washington, July 21, 1861.

The city is full of exaggerated rumors. It is difficult to tell what is reliable. Cannonading recommenced at four o'clock this afternoon, and ceased at five, probably occasioned by attempts of our troops to carry some rebel batteries between Bull's Run and Manassas Junction. Official despatches state that we have taken three batteries in the form of a crescent, numbering nineteen guns.

. . . Very few reliable details have yet reached us. That a most brilliant victory has been achieved by our gallant troops there is no doubt. Many encomiums are bestowed upon the Fire Zouaves and the Sixty-ninth. It is reported that the former met the Louisiana Zouaves, routed them and captured their colors; that the men of the Sixty-ninth stripped to the skin, except pants, and pitched into the fight regardless of fatigue or personal safety.

From the *Macon Daily Telegraph* (Macon, Ga.), July 24, 1861

The victory at Manassas grows upon us in completeness and magnitude. In our last we regarded it merely as a signal and disastrous repulse of the enemy. But it was a great deal more so. It was a rout, in which their great army was disorganized and scattered, some of their columns taking to the woods to avoid the pursuing cavalry, and throwing down their arms in the precipitate retreat, and their most effective weapons of assault captured. Out of six batteries of flying artillery, five, numbering thirty-four pieces, are said to have fallen into our hands. Our Northern despatches which speak of the supersession of McDowell by McClellan and a thorough reconstruction of the Federal forces, impliedly admit a complete disorganization of their grand army. It is a great victory, and when we consider the vast disparity of the forces engaged, the perfect appointment of the Federal army in artillery and small arms of the latest and best pattern, we have equal reason for

admiration at the valor of our patriotic forces—the skill and courage of their officers, and gratitude to God, who has given us the victory.

That it will exercise a most important influence upon this great sectional struggle to enslave the South, no man can doubt . . . Upon our own fortunes, it will be difficult to overrate the beneficial results of this victory. It will stimulate our enthusiasm and confidence at home, and abroad facilitate, in the highest degree, the negotiations of our Commissioners for recognition.

From *Harper's Weekly*, August 10, 1861

Surgeon Barnes, of the New York Twenty-eighth Volunteers, was in the fight all through, and came out of it in his shirt sleeves, having lost coat, sash, watch, and all his surgical instruments, having been charged on by the Black Horse Cavalry and compelled to leave the field, being driven from under a tree where he had established his temporary quarters, and where he was attending to the wounds of about twenty-five injured men, part of whom were secessionists.

Surgeon Barnes went up to the battle-field in the rear of the attacking column, and, as soon as our men began to fall, he took a position with his assistants under a tree, in a little ravine. The wounded men were brought to him, and he took off his green sash and hung it on the tree to signify that the place was under the charge of a surgeon. The injured men were brought in rapidly, and in fifteen minutes he had under his charge nearly thirty. As fast as possible he attended to their hurts, and in a short time had been compelled to perform a number of capital operations. He amputated four legs, three arms, a hand, and a foot, and attended to a number of minor injuries. By this time the enemy had discovered the place, and the nature of the men in charge, and began to pour in musket-balls, and projectiles from rifled cannon. The place became unsafe for the wounded men, and it was seen to be necessary to remove them. The Surgeon's Assistants and servant had become separated from him, and he had no one to send for ambulances, and was obliged to leave the wounded men and go himself. It was no easy matter to procure ambulances enough, and it was probably thirty minutes before the Surgeon returned with the necessary assistance. When he returned he found that every one of those wounded men had been bayoneted or sabred, and was dead. They were literally cut to pieces.

The Battle of Shiloh

Carefully examine the documents written about events during the Civil War.

From the *New York Tribune*

Men glared at each other as at wild beasts; and when a shell burst with fatal effect among a crowd of the advancing foe, and arms, legs, and heads were torn off, a grim smile of pleasure lighted up the smoke-begrimed faces of the transformed human beings who witnessed the catastrophe . . . Men with knitted brows and flushed cheeks fought madly over ridges, along ravines, and up steep ascents, with blood and perspiration streaming down their faces . . . Everywhere was mad excitement; everywhere was horror.

From the *New York Times*

. . . the resistance of the rebels at all points of the attack was worthy a better cause.

But they were not enough for our undaunted bravery, and the dreadful desolation produced by our artillery, which was sweeping them away like chaff before the wind. But knowing that a defeat here would be the death blow to their hopes, and that their all depended upon this great struggle, their Generals still urged them on in the face of destruction, hoping by flanking us on the right to turn the tide of battle. Their success was again for a time cheering, as they began to gain ground on us, appearing to have been reinforced; . . . by eleven o'clock Gen. Buell's troops had succeeded in flanking them and capturing their batteries of artillery. . . .

About three o'clock in the afternoon Gen. Grant rode to the left, where the fresh regiments had been ordered, and finding the rebels wavering, sent a portion of his body-guard to the heart of each of five regiments, and then ordered a charge across the field, himself leading, as he brandished his sword and waved them on to the crowning victory, while cannon balls were falling like hail around him. . . .

Gen. Buell followed the retreating rebels, driving them in splendid style, and . . . the whole rebel army was in full retreat in Corinth, with our cavalry in hot pursuit . . .

We have taken a large amount of their artillery and also a number of prisoners. We lost a number of our forces prisoners yesterday, among whom is Gen. Prentiss. The number of our force taken has not been ascertained yet. It is reported at several hundred. Gen. Prentiss was also reported as being wounded. Among the killed on the rebel side was their General-in-Chief, A. Sydney Johnston, who was struck by a cannon ball on the afternoon of Sunday. It is further reported that Gen. Beauregard had his arm shot off.

For two days have the brave soldiers of the South stood the utmost efforts the finest troops the North could make against them. Men well drilled, armed with the most perfect weapons modern skill can produce, and in possession of those numerous advantages which the expenditure of unstinted millions and free access to the workshops of Europe impart, were driven before them in ignominious flight. Breast to breast our gallant boys stood before the confident foe; but unawed by their swelling cohorts, their proud array, their pompous panoply, they charged them with a weapon no

art can produce, no money buy—the chivalrous attribute of Southern courage. With sparkling eye, cheek unblenched, eager step, and unfailing soul, they marched on the opposing ranks—they baffled their mightiest efforts, they subdued their loftiest rage, they drove back their serried files, and taught the vaunting legions that brave hearts and iron wills, stung by a sense of wrong, and fired with the ardor of patriotism, cannot be conquered. In the pages of history the hard-won field of Shiloh will have a name among the great battlegrounds of the world.³

From *Harper's Weekly*, April 26, 1862

Wednesday night five launches, one from each gun-boat, and carrying in all fifty seamen and soldiers, armed to the teeth, “might have been seen” a little after dark pushing out from the various gun-boats, and gathering under the shadows of the willows that fringe the Kentucky shore. Each boat had an officer in command, and the whole were in charge of Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts, of the Forty-second Illinois infantry.

The strictest silence was observed—not a whisper nor even the splash of an oar broke the stillness. At length every thing was ready, and giving themselves to the current the boats started down the stream, the oarsmen quietly giving each boat sufficient motion only to enable the steersman to it to keep close within the shadows. In this mysterious manner they departed, and speedily disappeared in the darkness.

An hour later and the solitary rebel sentry who, musket in hand, paced forward and backward along the parapet of the upper battery, had his thoughts disturbed by a remarkable appearance. He had just entered the depths of a cogitation, the main features of which probably were that Yankees were vulgar, base, low-born mud-sills; that Southerners are chivalrous, noble, knightly, superior; and that one of the latter is just an equal match for from five to twenty-five of the former, when suddenly happening to glance toward the river, his eyes caught sight of numberless black objects drifting slowly toward him, and above these dark masses were luminous points and flashes, which seemed to envelop them like a net-work of ghostly phosphorescent flame. He rubbed his eyes, looked again at these mysterious phenomena, and was about to conclude that something was abroad, when suddenly a voice was heard, “Give way:” fifty oars dropped in the water, and the dark-looking objects, with the swiftness of thought, shot straight for his position. He had only time to see that the supernatural light was the gleam of bayonets, and then to his disordered vision there appeared do be coming at tint a hundred boats, each carrying a thousand Yankees. With a yell of horror he pulled off his piece in the air, and fled with the darkness, no more to be seen.

He had no more than left when the five boats struck the bank, their contents poured ashore and took possession of the battery, and guards were posted around, and their rat-tail files and sledge-hammers were brought into requisition with a success that, in the course of half an hour, effectually spiked every gun—there were seven—in the battery.

Lesson 3—Everyday Life

Camp Life during the Civil War

Objectives

- To explore ordinary tasks of the camp life of soldiers during the Civil War
- To appreciate the differences of camp life experienced by Union and Confederate soldiers during the Civil War

Notes to the Teacher

All soldiers who have experienced war have also experienced camp life. Characterized by long periods of waiting with little or nothing to do, army camps were often places where thousands of soldiers waited for the opportunity to go into battle. Many camps were the equivalent of small cities. Men spent their time writing letters to their families, cooking food, cleaning uniforms, playing cards, and engaging in military drills. Sometimes soldiers, in an effort to pass the time and alleviate boredom, participated in physical activities such as foot races and baseball games. The conditions were similar on both the northern and southern sides during the Civil War, although conditions in southern camps worsened considerably as the war went on.

Most battles took place during the spring, summer, and fall, with the heaviest fighting during the summer months. Winter saw soldiers relegated to living in a semipermanent camp where they were often isolated by snow, bad weather, and poor communications. During the winter months, roads were muddy quagmires, that were often impassable. Winter camps were cold and often continuously damp, especially in the south. A monotonous winter diet of beans, dried beef, hardtack, and coffee, coupled with a lack of fresh fruits and vegetables, often resulted in illnesses such as scurvy.

During the summer months, when troop movements were more common, soldiers often lived in small cities of canvas tents erected in some farmer's corn field. Available food improved, and fresh fruits and vegetables were often foraged by army units. Camps were dusty and hot in the summer and were often plagued by disease-carrying flies and mosquitoes. The continuous presence of disease and death, coupled with homesickness and a desire to see

their families, had a depressing effect on the soldiers, many of whom were teenagers away from home for the first time. Even though punishable by death, desertion was common, especially during the waning months of the war.

In this lesson, students read four accounts of camp life during the Civil War. Students discuss the lives of soldiers during the war and then write and present a series of short vignettes of a soldier's life during the war. For the concluding activity, each student assumes the identity of a soldier during the Civil War and writes a letter that describes camp life to family members.

Reminder to Teachers

- Decide if the appropriate primary sources analysis worksheets from the appendix will be used in this lesson.
- Assign those sections of the basal textbook that are relevant to this lesson.

Procedure

1. Ask students if they have ever spent an extended period away from home. Then ask students to give examples of people who might spend long periods away from home and family (*soldiers, college students, people working in isolated areas*). Have students name feelings that people who have to spend long times away from home might have (*loneliness, homesickness, fear, depression*). Explain to students that they are going to examine the experiences of soldiers who fought during the Civil War and spent long periods of time away from loved ones.
2. Divide the class into groups of four or five. In a large class, more than one group of students may be assigned to the same section of the handout. Distribute **Hand-out 4**. Assign each group a section of the handout. Instruct students that they are to read the selection and summarize the content in four or five sentences. Allow about twenty minutes for this part of the lesson.

3. After students have read and summarized the selection, ask them to give examples of activities soldiers performed while in camp (*guard duty, had celebrations for important events, cooked food, set up tents, tried to clean clothing and themselves, attended church services*). Direct each group to use the information in their selection to write a short vignette of approximately five minutes about soldiers and camp life during the Civil War. Instruct students that each student in the group is to have a part. Presentations are to be no longer than five minutes. Students may write their lines on index cards if they are unable to memorize them. If you wish to carry the activity over to the next day, students might use props or simple costumes to enhance their presentation.
4. Conclude by telling students that each of them is to assume the identity of a soldier in a Civil War camp and describe camp life in a letter to family members. Have selected students share their letters with the class.

Extension Activities

1. While camp life was recorded by Union and Confederate soldiers in diaries and letters, photographers, such as Matthew Brady, provide us with a visual record of camp life. Have students research the visuals of Brady and other photographers, as well as magazine drawings and engravings such as those that can be found in *Frank Leslie's Weekly* and *Harper's Magazine*.

Have selected students make a presentation to the class of the visual record of camp life.

2. Many soldiers spent portions of the war in prison camps, both in the North and in the South. A number of accounts of prison camp life are available. Union soldiers were held in prison camps such as Libby Prison in Richmond, Virginia, and Andersonville Prison in Georgia. Confederate prisoners were often sent far away from their homes to places such as Camp Chase near Columbus, Ohio, and the Union prison camp in Elmira, New York. An interesting prison camp to research is the one located on Johnson Island in Lake Erie. Confederate officers were held there for several years during the war, and water and supplies had to be taken to the island by ship from nearby Port Clinton. Have selected students research prison camp life and make a presentation to the class.

Camp Life during the Civil War

Read the assigned section, and write a four- or five-sentence summary.

“Tenting Tonight”—Life in a Black Regiment

Thomas Wentworth Higginson, a Massachusetts aristocrat, began early in life to challenge the rights of the poor and oppressed. Supporting such causes as the abolition of slavery and women’s rights, he was a Unitarian minister and was given the opportunity to command the 1st South Carolina, an African-American regiment. After being invalided out of the army because of ill health in 1864, Higginson returned to the North and a literary career. Below is a selection from Higginson’s book that chronicled his time as commander of the 1st South Carolina. Read the selection, and be prepared for class discussion.

Camp Saxton, near Beaufort, S.C., December 3, 1862—7 P.M.

. . . They [Higginson’s troops] love passionately three things besides their spiritual incantations; namely, sugar, home, and tobacco. This last affection brings tears to their eyes, almost, when they speak of their urgent need of pay; they speak of their last-remembered quid [cut of chewing tobacco] as if it were some deceased relative, too early lost, and to be mourned forever. As for sugar, no white man can drink coffee after they have sweetened it to their liking. . . .

January 1, 1863 (evening)

. . . The services began at halfpast eleven o’clock, with prayer by our chaplain, Mr. Fowler, who is always, on such occasions, simple, reverential, and impressive. Then the President’s [Emancipation] Proclamation was read by Dr. W. H. Brisbane, a thing infinitely appropriate; a South Carolinian addressing South Carolinians; for he was reared among these very islands, and here long since emancipated his own slaves. Then the colors [flags used to identify the regiment] were presented to us by the Rev. Mr. French, a chaplain who brought them from the donors in New York. All this was according to the programme. Then followed an incident so simple, so touching, so utterly unexpected and startling, that I can scarcely believe it on recalling, though it gave the key-note to the whole day. The very moment the speaker had ceased, and just as I took and waved the flag, which now for the first time meant anything to these poor people, there suddenly arose, close beside the platform, a strong male voice (but rather cracked and elderly), into which two women’s voices instantly blended, singing, as if by an impulse that could no more be repressed than the morning note of the song-sparrow.—

“My Country, ’tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing!”

People looked at each other, and then at us on the platform, to see whence came this interruption, not set down in the bills. Firmly and irrepressibly the quavering voices sang on, verse after verse; others of the colored people joined in; some whites on the platform began, but I motioned them to silence. I never saw anything so electric; it made all other words cheap; it seemed the choked voice of a race at last unloosed. Nothing could be more wonderfully unconscious; art could not have dreamed of a tribute to the day of jubilee that should be so affecting; history will not believe it; and when I came to speak of it, after it was ended, tears were everywhere. . . .¹

¹PT. W. Higginson, *Army Life in a Black Regiment* (Boston: Lee and Shepherd, 1890), 131 ff.

“Starvation, Rags, Dirt, and Vermin”— Life in the Confederate Army

When the first shots were fired at Fort Sumter, Randolph Shotwell was in school in Pennsylvania. He quickly went south to enlist in the first Confederate regiment he came across. He served on active duty until 1864, when he was captured and sent to a Federal prison, where he spent the remaining year of the war. Active in politics and for a time in the Ku Klux Klan, Shotwell made his living after the war as a journalist in North Carolina. His description of life within the Confederate army during the last year of the war is vivid and bitter. Read the selection, and be prepared for class discussion.

. . . In the earlier stages of the war when our men were well dressed and cleanly—every company having its wagon for extra baggage—enabling the private soldier to have a change of clothing and necessary toilet articles—the men . . . volunteering to undergo for a time, the privations and perils of army life. . . . After a while the spirit of the men became broken. Constant marching and fighting were sufficient of themselves to gradually wear out the army; but it was more undermined by the continual neglect and ill-provision to which the men were subjected.

Months on months they were without a change of underclothing, or a chance to wash that they had worn so long, hence it became actually coated with grease and dust, moistened with daily perspiration under the broiling sun.

Pestiferous vermin swarmed in every camp, and on the march—an indescribable annoyance to every well-raised man yet seemingly uneradicable. Nothing would destroy the little pests but *hours of steady boiling*, and of course, we had neither kettles, nor the time to boil them, if we had been provided with ample means.

As to purchasing clothes, the private soldiers did not have an opportunity of so doing once in six months, as their miserable pittance of \$12 per month was generally withheld that length of time, or longer—(I only drew pay three times in four years, and after the first year, I could not have bought a *couple of shirts with a whole month's pay*.) Naturally fastidious in tastes, and habituated to the strictest personal cleanliness and neatness, I chafed from morning till night at the insuperable obstacles to decency by which I was surrounded, and as a consequence there was not one time in the whole four years of the war that I could not have blushed with mortification at meeting with any of my old friends. . . .

Starvation, rags, dirt, and vermin may be borne *for a time* by the neatest of gentlemen; but when he has become habituated to them, he is no longer a gentleman. The personal pride which made many a man act the *hero* during the first year of the war was gradually worn out, and undermined by the open, palpable neglect, stupidity, and indifference of the authorities until during the last year of the war, the hero became a “shirker,” and finally a “deserter.”²

²Randolph Abbott Shotwell, “Three Years in Battle,” in *The Papers of Randolph Abbott Shotwell*, ed. J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton (Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1929), I, 314–316.

“Life with the Thirteenth Massachusetts”

Each state regiment which served in the Union Army during the Civil War had a regimental historian. Charles E. Davis was the historian of the 13th Massachusetts. After the war, he collected diaries from soldiers and used them to tell the story of the regiment and its service during the Civil War. After beginning their journey to war in New York State, the regiment fought at Antietam, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, and Petersburg. Davis himself was wounded and imprisoned at the Second Battle of Bull Run. Davis’s history presents an excellent picture of life in the Union army during the war. Read the following selection, and be prepared for class discussion.

1861. Thursday, Aug. 1

. . . About sunset we struck tents and marched to Boonesboro’, fourteen miles, arriving there at the witching hour of night when it is said church-yards yawn. We were led into an empty corral, lately occupied by mules, to bivouac [camp] for the night.

Ordinarily a mule-yard would not be considered a desirable place in which to spend the night, but it was midnight, and we were weary of marching, and worn out with excitement and loss of sleep. This was our fifth night from home. The first night was spent on a [Long Island] Sound steamer, the second on our way to Philadelphia, the third en route to Hagerstown [Maryland], and the fourth in driving pigs out of camp, so that this old mule-yard, as far as we could see it, appeared the most delightful place in the world. At eighteen to twenty years of age little time is wasted in seeking sleep. . . .

Saturday, Aug. 3

. . . The size of the knapsack was too heavy for men unused to carrying such a weight. It must be reduced, . . .

Among the articles provided us by the State were “havelocks,” commonly used in hot countries by the English army. . . . white linen, to be worn on the head as a protection from the rays of the sun. As it was made sufficiently large to cover the neck and shoulders, the effect, when properly adjusted, was to deprive the wearer of any air he might otherwise enjoy. . . . [Soldiers were] prompted [to] . . . transfer [the havelocks] to the plebian uses of a dish-cloth or a coffee-strainer, which suggestion was universally adopted,—a dish-cloth or coffee-strainer being the only things in the world, apparently, we were unprovided with.

Friday, Aug. 23

. . . hats and uniform coats [were] issued to us by the State, and which were forwarded by express. The coat was much too heavy, with the thermometer in the eighties. It was made with long skirts, and when fitting the wearer was not a bad-appearing garment; . . . They were made large in front, to meet an abnormal expansion of chest. . . .

The hats were neither useful nor ornamental. They were made of black felt, high-crowned, with a wide rim turned up on one side, and fastened to the crown by a brass shield representing an eagle with extended wings, apparently screaming with holy horror at so base an employment. . . . [n]ewspapers were in great demand to lessen the diameter of the crown. Those of us who failed to procure newspapers made use of our ears to prevent its falling on our shoulders. . . .

September 13

. . . [W]e were first made acquainted with an article of food called “desiccated” vegetables. For the convenience of handling, it was made in to large, round cakes about two inches thick. When cooked, it tasted like herb tea. . . . It became universally known in the army as “desecrated” vegetables, . . .

Saturday, Aug. 9

. . . After being deprived of camp kettles, mess pans, etc., each man was obliged to do his own cooking, as already stated, in his tin dipper, which held about a pint [eight ounces] Whether it was coffee, beans, pork, or anything depending on the services of a fire to make it palatable, it was accomplished by the aid of the dipper only. Therefore any utensil like a frying-pan was of incalculable service in preparing a meal. There were so few of these in the regiment, that only men of large means, men who could raise a dollar thirty days after a paymaster’s visit, could afford such luxury. . . .³

³Charles E. Davis, *Three Years in the Army: The Story of the Thirteenth Massachusetts Volunteers* (Boston: Estes & Lauriat, 1894), 3–99, passim.

“The Hardships of Training”

Sixteen-year-old Chauncey Cooke left his family’s Wisconsin farm to enlist in the 25th Wisconsin Infantry. Instead of being sent South to fight the Confederate Army, Cooke found himself fighting the Sioux Indians in 1862. By 1863 his regiment had moved south, where it fought in various campaigns including Vicksburg. This letter describes Cooke’s training near Madison, Wisconsin. Read the selection, and be prepared for class discussion.

Madison, Wis., Dec. 25th, 1862,
Co. G., 25th Regt.

Dear Mother:

You see my paper don’t have the regulation picture on it of Soldiers in file or in battle array. I am tired of such flummery [to be confusing or ostentatious]. The meaning of the whole thing is to make money for the inventor and not for the soldier. We are told that the life of the Nation is at stake, and every fellow that enlists offers himself as a martyr to save his country. I was thinking these things over last, about 2 P.M. in the morning when I was nearly froze and the relief guard came round and I was off duty to go to my tent and get some sleep. It seems like foolery to the common soldier that for two hours we must stand in a temperature of 30 or 40 degrees when we are a thousand miles from the enemy. I had to walk and walk to keep from freezing. The mercury was down near 40 below zero and the guard house where we sat down between reliefs or lay down was little better than out of doors. The health of our Regiment is none too good. One man dies on an average every day. As I write this letter the drum is beating [indicating that someone had died in camp]. The food we get is to blame for our bad health. The boys threaten a riot every day for the bad beef and spoilt bread issued to us and all this in our home state of Wisconsin. I went to meeting yesterday both morning and evening. In the morning at the Baptist, in the evening at the Episcopal church. The preacher discussed the state of the Union. I thot he talked a bit like a traitor. He was sorry the states should go to war over the question of slavery. He hoped the Union would be preserved and he thot Uncle Tom’s Cabin was much to blame for the war. Capt. Dorwin said the preacher ought to live in South Carolina. There is talk that we will get pay tomorrow. I have sent a record of our company home. Hope you got it. I shall send you a lot of clothing just before we leave. . . .

From your son
Chauncey.⁴

⁴Chauncey H. Cooke, “Letters of a Badger Boy in Blue: Into the Southland,” *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, IV (1920–1921), 209–210. (By permission of State Historical Society of Wisconsin.)

Lesson 4—Immigration

The New York Draft Riot of 1863

Objectives

- To gain understanding of the causes of the New York City Draft Riots of 1863
- To examine the results of the riot and its effect on the city and its African American population

Notes to the Teacher

When the Civil War broke out in 1861, the Union Army was dependent on state militias and volunteers for the majority of its soldiers. As the war dragged on in its first two years, the Union Army lost the few battles which were fought. Because many state militia units had signed up for twelve month terms, volunteers often returned home at the end of a year, forcing the army to recruit and train replacements. Eventually President Lincoln instructed the War Department to stop guaranteeing length of service. Enlistments and conscriptions were now extended until the end of the war. A Conscription Act was passed by Congress in 1863 and signed into law. After the Conscription Act was passed, many immigrants were shocked to find out that citizenship carried with it the requirement that they now fight to defend the nation.

Earlier in the year, in January 1863, the Emancipation Proclamation, issued by Abraham Lincoln went into effect. Most ordinary people did not understand the document and few understood that it applied only to those areas still in a state of rebellion against the Union, not in the areas controlled by the Union Army. The immigrants only knew that the document freed African-American slaves from bondage. The abolition of slavery and the emancipation of African Americans were seen by many immigrants as the main cause of the war. Many of the rioters were laborers who feared the emancipation of African Americans, who might compete with them for jobs. As a result, rioters attacked, beat, and tortured African Americans, including one man who was beaten, lynched, and set on fire. The Colored Orphan Asylum, which provided a home to hundreds of African-American children, was attacked, but police were able to maintain control long enough for the children to be evacuated.

Population figures for immigrants living in the tenements of lower Manhattan are sketchy at best. No one is exactly sure what the death toll was during the rioting. One estimate puts the number at 120, and at least eight were African-American men who were lynched. At least two thousand people were injured. Total property damage was estimated to be between one and five million dollars, some of which was reimbursed by the city. Fifty buildings were burned to the ground. A group of merchants in the city, many of whom were strong abolitionists, formed a committee to investigate the riot and its effect on the African Americans of the city. Testimony was taken and the solicitation of donations for a compensation fund was established.

In this lesson, students read an account of the circumstances leading up to the draft riots in New York city in 1863 and answer questions for discussion. They read and discuss an excerpt from the Conscription Act of 1863. In small groups, they read excerpts from the report of the committee of merchants regarding the effects of the riot on the African-American population in the city. Using the information in the handouts, they prepare a position paper on the causes and results of the riot and how a recurrence could be avoided in the future.

Reminder to Teachers

- Decide if the appropriate primary sources analysis worksheets from the appendix will be used in this lesson.
- Assign those sections of the basal textbook that are relevant to this lesson.

Procedure

1. Prior to class distribute **Handout 5** and instruct students to read it and be ready for discussion.
2. Use the following questions for class discussion.
 - What was the largest immigrant group in New York City? (*Irish immigrants*)

- How would you categorize them? (*poor, uneducated, and unskilled immigrants who worked at low-paying jobs*)
 - Why weren't federal troops available to control the rioters? (*Most had been moved to Pennsylvania to relieve troops who had fought at the Battle of Gettysburg.*)
 - What did most of the immigrants believe would happen when the Emancipation Proclamation was enacted? (*They thought the newly freed slaves would flock to the city and take their jobs away.*)
 - What important fact about the Proclamation did the rioters not understand? (*The Proclamation freed only those slaves who were living in states controlled by the Confederate Army.*)
 - Why was the Republican Party attacked? (*The Republicans were the party of Lincoln, who freed the slaves.*)
 - How was the riot brought under control? (*Federal troops were brought into the city and the rioters were finally contained in the Fourth Ward.*)
 - Why is it difficult to determine a death toll for the riots? (*Population figures for the southern part of Manhattan are sketchy and no real records were kept.*)
3. Ask how the call to service was received during each of the following conflicts: World War I; World War II ; Korean War; Vietnam War.

Suggested Responses:

- World War I—*There was a strong belief that Germany was the aggressor in attacking France caused thousands of young men to sign up even though most of them would not be sent to Europe.*
 - World War II—*Millions of young men were either drafted or enlisted voluntarily for service in a war that many regarded as a just war; only men who were physically unfit or objected to service because of religious beliefs were exempted.*
 - Korean War—*Young men who had enlisted near the end of World War II found themselves being called up to serve in Korea.*
 - Vietnam War—*Thousands of young men found themselves on the way to South-east Asia; many regarded this war as an unjust war.*
- Remind students that today's military is a volunteer force, and that while young men must register with Selective Service, a draft has not been instituted.
4. Distribute **Handout 6**. Have students read the excerpt and answer the questions.

Suggested Responses:

- *Troops were needed to help the federal government suppress an insurrection by the southern states, guarantee a republican form of government, and preserve the peace.*
 - *All able-bodied male citizens between the ages of twenty and forty-five were obliged to serve when called out by the President of the United States.*
5. Explain that by 1863, many immigrants believed that the war was being fought not to preserve the Union, but to free African Americans from slavery. Discuss the fears that many immigrants had of the Emancipation Proclamation. (*It would allow freed African Americans to come north and take jobs from immigrants.*) Explain that many African Americans became targets for fears and frustrations of the immigrants.
6. Divide the class into small groups and distribute **Handout 7**. Have students read and discuss the excerpts from the merchants' report.
7. Tell students that each group has been appointed by the military commander and mayor of New York City to prepare a position paper on the causes and results of the riot and how a recurrence could be avoided in the future. Allow class time for students to prepare and present their papers.

Extension Activities

1. Have students conduct additional research on the riots and prepare reports on individuals who played a prominent role in the events.
2. Have students research and prepare a presentation about the Irish Brigade of New York City, which fought in the Civil War.

Immigrants and the Draft

Read the following information, and be ready for class discussion.

During the period before the Civil War, New York City was the main point of entry along the east coast for immigrants. A deadly potato famine in Ireland and political upheaval in Germany increased the numbers of those immigrants in the late 1840s and resulted in a huge increase in the population and density of the city. Usually the poorest of the poor, unskilled, and uneducated, Irish immigrants worked the docks and in construction, settling in densely populated neighborhoods in lower Manhattan. German immigrants, many of whom were skilled workers, settled within the city in fewer numbers. They often preferred to move to the relatively open spaces in upper Manhattan, on farmland along the lower reaches of the Hudson River, and inland to other cities where relatives and friends had settled as farmers, merchants, and craftsmen.

After the Mexican War, the size of the United States army was reduced, except for defense against Native Americans along the western frontier. When the war broke out in 1861, the Union Army was dependent on state militias and volunteers for the majority of its soldiers. Most volunteers believed that the Union Army would defeat the Confederacy quickly and the soldiers would return home as conquering heroes. The reality of war was very different from what they had imagined. As the war dragged on in its first two years, the Union Army lost the few battles which were fought; most of the time, soldiers spent their waking hours drilling and training. Because many state units had signed up for twelve month terms, volunteers often returned home at the end of a year, forcing the army to recruit and train replacements. Eventually Lincoln instructed the War Department to stop guaranteeing length of service. Enlistments and conscriptions were now extended until the end of the war. As the theaters of the war expanded in the South and to the West, the Union's need for more troops increased dramatically and a Conscription Act was passed by Congress in 1863 and signed into law by Lincoln. For years, many Irish immigrants in New York City had been registered to vote by the Democratic politicians of Tammany Hall, who were trying to insure their re-election. After the Conscription Act was passed, these same immigrants were shocked to find out that citizenship carried with it the requirement that they now fight to defend the nation.

The first draft drawings were held on July 11, 1863. With a few exceptions, the drawings were conducted peacefully and plans were in place for a second drawing two days later on Monday, July 13. In New York City, the drawing took place in the Provost Marshal's office on Fifth Avenue. By ten o'clock, a crowd of mostly Irish immigrants, led by the fire department's Black Joke Engine Company 33, attacked the office, threw large paving stones through the windows, and set the building afire. Undermanned and ill-equipped, the New York police force, many of whom had been drafted themselves and were sympathetic to the rioters, struggled to keep control of the situation and prevent the riots from spreading. The military presence in the city had been significantly reduced in early July, 1863. The New York State militia had been ordered to support federal troops fighting at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, and was unavailable to help control the rioters. When the New York Police Superintendent, John A. Kennedy, arrived to survey the situation, he was attacked and severely beaten by the mob. Attempting to

protect the injured Kennedy, the police tried to quell the riot, but only were able to confine the riot to the Fourth Ward. Numerous buildings, including the mayor's residence and the Eighth and Fifth District police stations, were attacked and burned. The offices of the leading Republican newspaper, the *New York Tribune* were attacked, and the rioters were turned back by newspaper employees using Gatling guns mounted on the roof of the building.

Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, which became effective January 1, 1863. Most ordinary people did not understand the document or realize that it applied only in those areas still in a state of rebellion against the Union, not in the areas controlled by the Union Army. They only knew that it freed African-American slaves from bondage. The abolition of slavery and the emancipation of African Americans were seen by many immigrants as the main cause of the war. Many of the rioters were laborers who feared the emancipation of African Americans, who might compete with them for jobs. As a result, rioters attacked, beat, and tortured African Americans, including one man who was beaten, lynched, and set on fire. The Colored Orphan Asylum which provided a home to hundreds of African-American children was attacked, but police were able to maintain control long enough for the children to be evacuated.

By Tuesday, July 14, the rioters had brought the city to a halt. No business was conducted anywhere in the city. Rioters began to attack the homes of prominent members of the Republican Party. By late Wednesday, July 15, the city came under better control when the governor arrived, declared the draft to be unconstitutional, and ordered New York militia men to return to the city. General John E. Wood moved about eight hundred federal soldiers from forts in New York Harbor and upriver at West Point into the city. The Provost Marshal was ordered to suspend the draft and the rioters began to return home. By Thursday, July 16, several thousand additional federal troops had arrived in the city. One final confrontation saw rioters clash with federal troops and the police near Gramercy Park. Twelve people died, including an African-American man and a woman.

Population figures for immigrants living in the tenements of lower Manhattan are sketchy at best. No one is exactly sure what the death toll was during the rioting. One estimate puts the number at 120 and at least eight of them were African American men who were lynched. At least two thousand people were injured. Total property damage was estimated to be between one and five million dollars; some of which was reimbursed by the city. Fifty buildings were burned to the ground.

On August 19, the draft was resumed. About 45,000 of the men drafted actually served. Many middle and upper class men were able to buy their way out of the draft, by paying a commutation fee to have someone substitute for them in the war. Democrats tried to have the law declared unconstitutional, but failed. New York, despite the rioting, provided almost half a million soldiers to the war effort and an estimated 46,000 of them died during the war. The brigade which saw the most action and had the highest percentage of fatalities was, ironically, the Irish Brigade.

The Conscription Act of 1863

In 1863, Congress passed a conscription act to increase and maintain the size of the Union Army. Immigrants did not realize that their newly acquired citizenship carried with it the obligation of military service. Read the following excerpt, then answer the questions.

An Act for Enrolling and Calling Out the National Forces, and for Other Purposes

Whereas there now exist in the United States an insurrection and rebellion against the authority thereof, and it is, under the Constitution of the United States, the duty of the government to suppress insurrection and rebellion, to guarantee to each State a republican form of government, and to preserve the public tranquility; and whereas, for these high purposes, a military force is indispensable, to raise and support which all persons ought willingly to contribute; and whereas no service can be more praiseworthy and honorable than that which is rendered for the maintenance of the Constitution and Union, and the consequent preservation of free government: Therefore—

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all able-bodied male citizens of the United States, and persons of foreign birth who shall have declared on oath their intention to become citizens under and in pursuance of the laws thereof, between the ages of twenty and forty-five years, except as hereinafter excepted, are hereby declared to constitute the national forces, and shall be liable to perform military duty in the service of the United States when called out by the President for that purpose. . . .¹

1. Why was it necessary to institute a draft?

2. Who were subject to the draft?

¹ “An Act for Enrolling and Calling Out the National Forces, and for Other Purposes,” *Congressional Record*. 37th Cong. 3d. Sess. Ch. 74, 75. 1863. March 3, 1863.

African Americans and the Draft Riots

Part A.

When the draft was initiated, many immigrants felt that they were fighting to free slaves, who would compete for the low paying jobs in New York they now held. As a result when the riots broke out, areas of the city where many African Americans lived were the targets of the rioters. After the riots a committee was formed to investigate the effects of the attacks on African Americans and what type of compensation should be given to the victims of the riot. Read the following excerpts from that report and be prepared for discussion.

From Report of the Committee of Merchants for the Relief of Colored People, Suffering from the Late Riots in the City of New York

During the month ending August 21st there have been 3,942 women, and 2,450 men, making a total of 6,392 persons of mature age, relieved; full one-third being heads of families, whose children were included in the relief afforded by your committee, making a total of 12,782 persons relieved.

From these persons 8,121 visits were received and aid was given; to which add 4,000 applicants whose calls were not responded to, as they had previously been aided sufficiently, and you have 12,121 applicants whose cases were considered and acted upon at the office during the month. Add to this the work of the members of the legal profession, Messrs. JAS. S. STEARNS and CEPHAS BRAINERD, who have been indefatigable in their labors, assisted by several other gentlemen, by whom 1,000 notices of claims for damages against the city, have been made out, copied and duly presented to the Comptroller, while our clerks have recorded on the books over 2,000 claimants for a sum of over \$145,000, together with a considerable distribution of clothing by two colored clerks, and a fair idea of the work done in this office during the month may be obtained and a reason for what might otherwise appear a large amount of expenditure.

Of the 2,450 men relieved, their occupations were as follows:

1,267 Laborers and Longshoremen	15 Bootblacks
177 Whitewashers	11 Ministers or Preachers
176 Drivers for Cartmen	11 Shoemakers
250 Waiters	11 Tobacconists
124 Porters	11 Wood sawyers
97 Sailors and Boatmen	8 Carpenters
72 Coachmen	7 Basket-makers
45 Cooks	6 Scavengers.
37 Barbers	5 Carpet shakers,
34 Chimney Sweepers	4 Tailors
25 Tradesmen	3 Artists
20 Butchers	3 Music Teachers

Source: *Report of the Committee of Merchants for the Relief of Colored People, Suffering from the Late Riots in the City of New York* (New York: George A. Whitehouse, 1863), 9–11.

3 Coopers

2 Engravers

2 Janitors

2 Measurers

2 Oystermen

2 Undertakers

1 Landlord

1 Flour Inspector

1 Teacher

1 Copyist

1 Farmer

1 Botanist

1 Physician

1 Book-binder

1 Tin Smith

1 Upholsterer

1 Blacksmith

Of the 3,942 women, were

2,924 Day's Work Women

664 Servants hired by month

163 Seamstresses

106 Cooks

19 worked in Tobacco factory

13 Nurses

13 Hucksters

4 Teachers

1 Artist

1 Boarding-house keeper

1 Basket-maker

32 Infirm

Source: *Report of the Committee of Merchants for the Relief of Colored People, Suffering from the Late Riots in the City of New York* (New York: George A. Whitehouse, 1863), 9–11.

Part B.

The report contained information regarding the treatment of African Americans, particularly men, and was gathered from survivors. Read the following selections, and be prepared to discuss them.

From *Report of the Committee of Merchants for the Relief of Colored People, Suffering from the Late Riots in the City of New York*

Jeremiah Robinson

Mrs. Nancy Robinson, widow of the above, killed in Madison near Catherine street, says that her husband in order to escape dressed himself up in some of her clothes, and in company with herself and one other woman left their residence and went towards one of the Brooklyn Ferries.

Robinson wore a hood, which failed to hide his beard. Some boys seeing his beard, lifted up the skirts of his dress, which exposed his heavy boots. Immediately the mob set upon him and the atrocities they perpetrated upon him are so indecent, they are unfit for publication. They finally killed him and threw his body into the river.

His wife and her companion ran up Madison street and escaped across the Grand street Ferry to Brooklyn.

William Johnson

The first case brought to our notice was that of William Johnson, a colored man, who resides with his family in Roosevelt street. He was walking down the Second avenue near Thirty-sixth street, at a late hour on Wednesday night, July 15th, hoping that the lateness of the hour and the darkness of the street would shield him from observation, and enable him to visit a friend who resides in an alley-way not far from that locality. As he reached the corner he was hailed by a party of young men—none of them more than twenty-two or three years of age—who asked him jokingly to look at his watch and tell them the time. Johnson made no reply but passed quietly on, when one of them running up behind him, struck him a violent blow on the back of the head, and at the same time tripped him, so that he fell full length upon the pavement. Instantly the whole set jumped upon him, kicked him, and brutally bruised him, so that he lay for a while insensible. He was then thrown upon the steps of a grocery and left to die, or got up, as the chances of life might best favor.

Toward morning the unfortunate man came to, and slowly dragged himself the long, weary distance to his home. Fortunately he was unnoticed, and unhindered, so that he reached his door in safety.

But, as though to prove the old adage that troubles never come singly, he had but just stepped in doors, when he was met by his heart-broken wife, who told him of the presence of his dying son, a waiter, whose employer's place is in the lower part of the City, and who, on his way home was beaten and left for dead by a mob of 'longshoremen, and was brought home in a dying state by the kind hands of the police. The son died before noon, but the father, though terribly battered and bruised, is living, and will doubtless fully recover.

An Heroic White Woman

An interesting story of the heroism with which a lady, the wife of one of our firemen, saved the lives of several colored people, is told by Richard Wilson, a Methodist Elder, who resided at No. 95 West 32d.

"On Tuesday at 9 o'clock, A. M. the mob came; my wife and one daughter went out the front basement way, escaping with a few bruises. As it was the men they were most violent against, my other daughter remained with me and my three sons, declaring that she would risk her life with her father. Finding the rioters would soon break through, we all climbed over the back fence into the yard where this lady lived. Instantly she came out to meet us and told us to hide ourselves as quickly as possible in her basement cellar. But the mob had espied us and quick as thought they surrounded her house. She calmly went out to the front door and met them, demanding what they were making all that clamor about, at her house.

The mob were for a moment foiled by her coolness, and she immediately took advantage of the quiet to tell a neighbor to run as quick as his feet could carry him to the Arsenal and bring the soldiers. She then ordered her girl to pack up all her more valuable things in trunks and sent for a carman to come for them.

By this time the mob had become intensely excited—assured by some of their fellows—of the presence of the blacks in the basement. They rushed up the steps and tried to get past the noble woman. 'I tell you, she said, no one goes in this house except over my dead body.' Her resolute manner,

though she was a woman of small stature, awed them. 'If I had my sword here,' muttered a ruffian who appeared like a runaway soldier, 'I would settle you.'

'As soon as I remove my trunks and furniture' she said, 'you can come in, not before.' In a few minutes the military appeared, and the lady, the negroes and the cart load of valuables, were all safely conveyed to the Arsenal."

Burning of the Colored Orphan Asylum

Our attention was early called to this outrage by a number of letters from the relatives and friends of the children, anxiously inquiring as to the whereabouts of the little ones. It is well known that as soon as the Bull's Head Hotel had been attacked by the mob, their next destination was the Colored Orphan Asylum, on Fifth Avenue, near Forty-third street. The crowd had swelled to an immense number at this locality, and went professionally to work in order to destroy the building, and, at the same time, to make appropriation of any thing of value by which they might aggrandize themselves. About four hundred entered the house at the time, and immediately proceeded to pitch out beds, chairs, tables, and every species of furniture, which were eagerly seized by the crowd below, and carried off. When all was taken, the house was then set on fire, and shared the fate of the others.

While the rioters were clamoring for admittance at the front door, the Matron and Superintendent were quietly and rapidly conducting the children out the back yard, down to the police station. They remained there until Thursday, (the burning of the Asylum occurred on Monday, July 13th, when they were all removed in safety to Blackwell's Island, where they still remain.

There were 230 children between the ages of 4 and 12 years in the home at the time of the riot.

The Asylum was located on the Fifth Avenue, between 43d and 44th streets. The main building was nearly 200 feet in length, three stories and light basement in height, with an hospital 100 feet long, three stories high, connected with the main building, by a covered way. Several work shops were attached, and the residence of the Superintendent, Mr. Wm. Davis, was next door. The buildings were of brick and were substantial and commodious structures. A number of fine shade trees and flowering shrubs adorned the ample play grounds and front court yard, and a well built fence surrounded the whole.

The main buildings were burned. The trees girdled by cutting with axes; the shrubs uprooted, and the fence carried away. All was destroyed except the residence of Mr. Davis, which was sacked.

Source: *Report of the Committee of Merchants for the Relief of Colored People, Suffering from the Late Riots in the City of New York* (New York: George A. Whitehouse, 1863), 15, 20–21, 23–25.

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Lesson 5—Larger World/Diplomacy

Great Britain and the War

Objectives

- To examine the relationship between the Confederate strategy for victory and the need for British intervention to accomplish the goal of recognition as an independent nation
- To appraise the Union effort to avoid open conflict with Great Britain

Notes to the Teacher

The mechanization of the textile industry increased the need for raw cotton, especially in Great Britain. The southern agricultural economy, which had been based on rice, indigo, tobacco, and naval stores, became depressed during the antebellum period. Markets for these items dried up and many plantation owners changed over to the cultivation of cotton. By 1860, the American South was shipping five billion bales of cotton, valued at about \$200 million in today's currency, to Britain. This accounted for 60 percent of America's exports at the start of the war. The southern leadership, especially Jefferson Davis, believed that Britain's dependence on American cotton would result in formal recognition of the Confederacy and military aid to the increasingly beleaguered South. Recognition of the Confederacy by Great Britain could result in recognition by other European nations.

The principal diplomatic aim of the Union was to maintain friendly relations with both Great Britain and France and to encourage a policy of mutual nonintervention by the United States and other countries. The United States sought to preserve the policy of resistance to foreign intervention in western hemisphere political and diplomatic affairs, as stated in the Monroe Doctrine. Lincoln wanted to discourage an alliance between European nations and the Confederacy. Such an alliance could result in a blockade of the Atlantic coast by the British or French navy. Lincoln sought to reinforce the anti-slavery sentiments of many Europeans and wanted to continue to attract immigrants to American soil. An alliance with European nations might ensure Confederate access to foreign-built war ships, result in the evasion of Union attempts to control the shipment of cotton through the

use of a naval blockade, and help the South maintain its European markets which generated much-needed cash.

Before the war, British political leadership urged a policy of neutrality. The antebellum era was a time of change in Europe, when revolutions in 1848 disrupted underlying political structures. At the outbreak of the Civil War, ambitious rulers sat on thrones in Germany, France, and Britain and wanted to avoid any costly European conflict. Lincoln appointed Charles Francis Adams, son of former president John Adams, as minister to Great Britain. Adams was to encourage Britain to maintain its policy of neutrality and to convince the British that the Confederacy was not a legitimate state, but rather a part of the United States which was engaged in internal armed insurrection against the government and therefore had no right to seek recognition under international law. Any movement by Great Britain to support or recognize the Confederacy would be recognized as an act of war against the United States. Great Britain was warned that success on the part of the Confederacy could threaten the colonial structure of empire, and encourage movements demanding independence.

In 1861, a U.S. naval vessel stopped the *Trent*, a British mail ship in the Bahamas, and removed James M. Mason and John Slidell, two Confederate diplomats. Mason was headed to Britain and Slidell to France, where they were to represent Confederate interests. Maritime law allowed nations at war to stop and search neutral vessels suspected of carrying contraband or enemy dispatches. The British, however, regarded the seizure of the mail ship as a violation of their neutrality. They sent 11,000 troops to Canada, an action which further inflamed anti-British sentiment in the United States. Lincoln, who was concerned about Britain entering the war, apologized for the Trent affair and ordered the prisoners released.

If the British had intervened in support of the Confederacy, it would have been damaging to the British economy. Many believed that a war would be too costly and have little benefit for Great Britain. Britain considered

acting as a mediator at the beginning of the war when the Union Army failed to engage the Confederates and when they did usually lost. Victories at Antietam in 1862 and subsequent victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg in 1863 further strengthened the British position of neutrality. Almost forty percent of British grain imports came from the United States and poor French harvests in the first years of the war increased European dependence on American imports. The British textile industry, realizing that the Confederacy was going to be blockaded by the Union navy for the duration of the war, began to search for new sources of cotton. India, a British colony, increased its cotton production and began shipping additional bales to Great Britain. War with the United States might also result in an end to the sale of British machinery and supplies in America. There was little support for a war among the British working class, who opposed slavery. Demands for democratic reforms in Great Britain resulted in the enfranchisement of the urban working man and damaged the political power of the upper class.

In this lesson, students work to develop an understanding of the relationship between the southern strategy for victory and the need for British intervention to recognize the Confederacy as an independent nation. Using the jigsaw method, student groups examine documents expressing a variety of British positions on British intervention and recognition and determine how the British position might have been influenced by the strong anti-slavery sentiments within the empire. After class discussion, student groups evaluate the Union effort to avoid open conflict with Great Britain.

Reminder to Teachers

- Decide if the appropriate primary sources analysis worksheets from the appendix will be used in this lesson.
- Assign those sections of the basal textbook that are relevant to this lesson.

Procedure

1. Share the information in Notes to the Teacher with students. Explain that as cotton cultivation spread across the South, the need for field slaves exponentially in-

creased. While the importation of slaves into the United States had been banned, the buying and selling of slaves still flourished. Great Britain, under pressure from a strong abolitionist movement, banned slavery within the Empire in the early nineteenth century. When the southern states seceded from the Union, the British had several factors to consider:

- Did Great Britain want to ignore its long-held position of neutrality in the western hemisphere, and go to war with the United States over the recognition and support of the Confederacy?
- What effect would a resulting Union blockade have on cotton availability, and how would that affect the country's industrial base?
- Would Britain's strong abolitionist movement accept the government's recognition of the slave-holding South?
- Would Great Britain be able to withstand a possible revolt, fueled by Confederate success against the North?

2. Use the Notes to the Teacher to explain the background of the *Trent* Affair. Explain that the resulting confrontation between the Union and Great Britain ended in a neutrality stand-off. Britain's position was that the seizure of the mail ship was a violation of their neutrality. President Abraham Lincoln, whose Union forces had suffered one defeat after another, decided that he did not want to bring a powerful nation like Great Britain into what he considered to be a domestic affair. He backed off, apologized to the British government, and ordered the release of the Confederate diplomats who were seized during the raid.
3. Divide the class into six small groups. Separate the documents contained in **Handout 8**, and distribute one of the documents to a student in each group. Direct students to read their document and determine the following:
 - a. Who is the author of the document?
 - b. What form does the document take? (Is it a letter, a diary or journal entry, or a newspaper article or editorial?)

- c. What is the topic of the document?
 - d. What are the main points of the author's position?
4. Use the jigsaw method to rotate the groups. Have all students assigned to the same segment convene as a group. Give students in these groups time to discuss the main points of their segment and to reach consensus on their answers.
 5. Bring the students back into their original groups. Ask each student to present her or his segment to the original group. Review students' responses.

Suggested Responses:

Document 1

- a. *Henry Ravenal, a distinguished botanist from South Carolina*
- b. *a journal/diary entry*
- c. *Ravenal believed that the British would recognize the Confederacy.*
- d. *Ravenal believed that the abolitionists' position in Great Britain would fall to the self-interest of its industrial demands. The Confederacy would charge Great Britain lower tariffs than the northern states and could develop a better market for their goods. The British needed southern cotton for their mills. The South was not an industrialized nation and would not compete in the marketplace with Great Britain.*

Document 2

- a. *No author is designated.*
- b. *article in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*
- c. *It is highly critical of the North and abolitionism.*
- d. *Coercion will not work. The North cannot force the South to abandon slavery and return to the Union. Setting slaves free would only create a bigger problem, since no provision had been made for the slaves and an adapted or replacement labor force. The northern abolitionists do not care if the army destroys the South, and will follow their plan with*

reckless abandon in order to accomplish their goal.

Document 3

- a. *George Ticknor was a New England intellectual who strongly supported the Union.*
- b. *letter*
- c. *Ticknor is defending the actions of the Union to his British friends.*
- d. *Ticknor believed that conflict over slavery while inevitable, should be postponed as long as possible. He said that the seizure of Fort Sumter and secession by the southern states put the North in a position of having no choice but to deal with it. Ticknor firmly believed that the South would be defeated by the North. The prosperity of Great Britain and France was tied to the prosperity of the United States. It would be unwise to interfere in the war and would result in bitter hatred of the British and French.*

Document 4

- a. *Prime Minister of England, Viscount Palmerston and the Foreign Secretary, Lord Russell*
- b. *letters*
- c. *The men discussed whether Great Britain should intervene in the war and attempt to mediate between the Union and the Confederacy.*
- d. *Palmerston asked Russell if he believed that the circumstances were such that Great Britain might propose intervening in the conflict as a mediator. Union defeats strengthened the British opinion that mediation should be offered and that the Confederacy should be recognized as an independent state. Palmerston's opinion is that if the British offer to mediate, that would be the same as recognizing the Confederacy as an independent nation. The North might be more willing to accept mediation if Russia was a participant. He believed that the best thing might be to have an armistice declared and have the two groups negotiate directly with each other.*

Document 5

- a. *No specific author is listed.*
- b. *a newspaper article*
- c. *The document enumerates the hostile British position on the transformation of the Civil War from one of internal insurrection and the freeing of slaves under the Emancipation Proclamation.*
- d. *The Emancipation Proclamation did not free all slaves, but only those in certain states which the Union did not control and where President Lincoln had no power to set slaves free. Slaves in states loyal to the Union were not affected by the proclamation.*

Document 6

- a. *the workingmen of Manchester, England, and an answer from President Abraham Lincoln*
 - b. *letters*
 - c. *The workingmen of Manchester strongly supported abolition and supported the Emancipation Proclamation.*
 - d. *The workingmen praised Lincoln for the Emancipation Proclamation and for his enforcement of laws prohibiting the slave trade. Lincoln had ignored prejudices of the time and received the ambassadors of Haiti and Liberia. Lincoln made a treaty with Great Britain enforcing the right of mutual search (which allowed slave ships to be searched and contraband slaves seized and sent back to their point of origin). Congress offered monetary aid to states which freed their slaves and freed the slaves in states in rebellion. Lincoln replied that he believed that the view expressed by the workingmen would assure that there would be continued peace and friendship between Great Britain and the United States.*
6. Conclude by having students write a point of view essay supporting one side or the other of the issue of British intervention in the war.

Extension Activities

- 1. Have students research and prepare a presentation on the Fenian movement and its planned invasion of Canada.
- 2. Have students research and prepare a presentation on the Trent Affair.

British Opinion on America's War

Read your assigned document and answer the following questions.

- a. Who is the author of the document?
- b. What form does the document take? Is it a letter, diary or journal entry, or a newspaper article or editorial?
- c. What is the topic of the document?
- d. What are the main points of the author's position?

Document 1

Henry Ravenel, a South Carolina planter, was a distinguished botanist. Ravenel, like many educated southerners, believed that European nations would recognize the Confederacy as an independent nation.

M[onday] 8. [April 1861]—The Great European powers, as far as we may judge from their leading [news]papers, seem inclined to favor the new Confederacy.

Old prejudices against our misunderstood domestic institution of African servitude (it is the *word* "slavery" that has blinded their eyes) are giving way before the urgent calls of *Self Interest*, & we only need that they should become more intimately acquainted with it, to dissipate their mistaken notions. In addition to their requiring the produce of the Cotton States to keep their manufacturers in motion, & furnish food & employment to their operatives, new complications have arisen which are favourable to their friendly recognition of our independence. The United States have lately increased their Tariff so high on many articles of European manufacture, as to amount almost to prohibition; whilst the Confederate States have lessened theirs from the old standard, & have it in contemplation to reduce still more. The case then stands thus: We furnish what is absolutely essential to their commercial & manufacturing prosperity, & we alone—We offer them a market for their goods on better terms than heretofore. We invite their vessels to do our carrying trade, or at any rate throw open the door of competition to them, which has been hitherto open only to U.S. vessels. On the other hand the United States, now that the Cotton States have seceded, can furnish but little toward supplying their wants with cotton—They have in addition imposed such a tariff, as to cut off trade in a great measure. The U.S. are mainly a manufacturing & commercial nation, & must necessarily come into competition with them. In a word, what the U.S. have lost by our withdrawal from the Union, they have gained. They know too that we are an agricultural people, & will never compete with them in manufactures & commerce, but will always be their best customers.

These various reasons which lie on the surface, & which they already understand, must have their effect. *Self Interest* is the ruling power among nations, no less than among individuals.¹

¹ "Henry Ravenel Expects Foreign Intervention," in *The Private Journal of Henry William Ravenel, 1859–1887*, ed. Arney Robinson Childs (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1947), 59.

Document 2

Most English newspapers and magazines were highly critical of the North. This unsigned article (as was the custom at the time) appeared in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* in 1861.

. . . But we do not suppose that any men possessing the powers requisite for statesmanship can really believe that, if by force of arms the reluctant South should be dragged back to the Union, the Union will thereby be restored in its original basis. Successful coercion would be a greater revolution that the acknowledgement of secession—this only lops the branches, whole that strikes at the root. Nor do we imagine that any such men as these are to be found in the ranks of the Abolition party. Clever people may belong to that party. Mrs [Harriet] Beecher Stowe is a very clever woman, and has written a very clever novel; but she is, by the success of that novel, committed to sentiments more adapted to fiction than to politics. She evidently looks on the South as a vast confederation of [Simon] Legrees, keeping millions of virtuous Uncle Toms in horrible subjection; and quotes Mr Wendell Philipps as if she believes that mischievous monomaniac to be an inspired apostle. The statesmen must ask themselves how the difficulty presented by the condition of the African race would be solved by setting them free. What is to become of the liberated slaves? and how is their labour to be replaced? are questions the very first to be asked, but which we must not expect a crazy Abolitionist to answer. But such considerations do not occur to those enthusiastic philanthropists who testify to their love of the Negro by their hatred of the planter. The destruction of armies, the ravage and ruin of territory, are as nothing, in their heated fancy, compared with the success of their plan. And if secession were accomplished their plan would be at an end, for they would then have no more concern in the liberation of the slaves of the South than in a crusade to set the Georgian and Circassian ladies free from the harems of the Bosphoros. Thus, under present circumstances, their fanaticism has become sanguinary; they are pledged to their course, and will follow it with all the desperate recklessness and tenacity with which weak minds will cling to their only hope of notoriety.²

Document 3

George Ticknor was a major figure in the intellectual life of New England and the author of *History of Spanish Literature*. During the war, he repeatedly defended the actions of the Union to his British friends.

. . . Slavery is too monstrous an evil, as it exists in the United States, to be reached by the resources of legislation. . . . I have, therefore, always desired to treat the South with the greatest forbearance, not only because the present generation is not responsible for the curse that is laid upon it, but because I have felt that the longer the contest could be postponed, the better for us. . . .

But all such hopes and thoughts were changed by the violent and unjustifiable secession, a year ago; and, since the firing of the first gun on Fort Sumter, we have had, in fact, no choice. We must fight it out. Of the results I have never doubted. We shall beat the South. But what after that? I do not see. . . .

² "Democracy Teaching by Example," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 90 (October 1861), 401–402.

Our prosperity has entered largely into the prosperity of the world, and especially into that of England and France. You feel it to have been so. And some persons have been unwise enough to think that your interference in our domestic quarrel can do good to yourselves, and perhaps to us, by attempting to stop this cruel and wicked war. It is, I conceive, a great mistake. I have believed, since last August, France has been urging your government to some sort of intervention,—to break the blockade or to enforce a peace—but the general opinion here has been that England has been the real mover in the matter, thus engendering a bitter hatred of your people, which the unjustifiable tone of your papers and ours increases and exasperates. All this is wrong, and so far as you are excited by it to intervention, it is most unhappy and portentous. . . .³

Document 4

By 1862, the Union army was reeling from defeat after defeat. Pressure from France was mounting. The Prime Minister, Viscount Palmerston, and the Foreign Secretary, Earl Russell, began a correspondence discussing whether an offer of mediation to be undertaken by the British government should be sent to the leaders of the Union and the Confederacy. The Union victory at Antietam caused Palmerston and Russell to have second thoughts, and by the end of the year, any thoughts of proposing to act as mediators in the conflict disappeared.

Russell to Palmerston, Gotha, September 17, 1862

My dear Palmerston—Whether the Federal army is destroyed or not, it is clear that it is driven back to Washington, and has made no progress in subduing the insurgent States. Such being the case, I agree with you, that the time is come for offering mediation to the United States Government, with a view to the recognition of the independence of the Confederates. I agree further, that, in case of failure, we ought ourselves to recognize the Southern States as an independent State. . . .

Palmerston to Russell, Broadlands, September 23, 1862

. . . A question would occur whether, if the two parties were to accept the mediation, the fact of our mediating would not of itself be tantamount to an acknowledgement of the Confederates as an independent State.

Might it not be well to ask Russia to join England and France in the offer of mediation? . . .

We should be better without her in the mediation, because she would be too favourable to the North; but on the other hand, her participation in the offer might render the North the more willing to accept it. . . .⁴

Palmerston to Russell, October 2, 1862

. . . As regards possible resentment on the part of the Northerners following upon an acknowledgement of the Independence of the South, it is quite

³ “George Ticknor Explains the War to His English Friends,” in *Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor*, vol. 2, eds. Anna Ticknor and George S. Hilliard (Boston: Osgood, 1876), 446–48.

⁴ Spencer Walpole, *The Life of Lord John Russell*, vol. 2 (London: Longmans, Green & Company, 1889).

true that we should have less to care about that resentment in the spring when communication with Canada was open, and when our naval force could more easily operate upon the American coast, than in winter when we are cut off from Canada and the American coast is not so safe. . . .

The best thing would be that the two parties should settle details by direct negotiation with each other, though perhaps with the rancorous hatred now existing between them this might be difficult. But their quarrels in negotiation would do us no harm if they did not lead to a renewal of war. An armistice, if not accompanied by a cessation of blockades, would be all in favour of the North, especially if New Orleans remained in the hands of the North. . . .⁵

Document 5

When Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, the tide of the war turned from one of battling an internal insurrection to one of fighting to achieve freedom. The immediate reaction in England was hostile. These excerpts from the *London Times* highlight that hostility and criticize Lincoln's declaration of the end of slavery only in states in rebellion.

. . . The single thing to be said for it [Emancipation Proclamation] is that it is a wickedness that holds its head high and scorns hypocrisy. It does not pretend to attack slavery. It launches this threat of a servile rebellion as a means of war against certain States, and accompanies it with a declaration of general protection to all other slavery.

Where he has no power Mr. Lincoln will set the Negroes free; where he retains power he will consider them as slaves. "Come to me," he cries to the insurgent planters, "and I will preserve your rights as slaveholders; but set me still at defiance, and I will wrap myself in virtue, and take the sword of freedom in my hand, and, instead of siding you to oppress, I will champion the rights of humanity. Here are whips for you who are loyal; go forth and flog or sell your black chattels as you please. Here are torches and knives for employment against you who are disloyal; I will press them into every black hand, and teach their use." . . .

As a proof of what the leaders of the North, in their passion and their despair, would do if they could, this is a very sad document. As a proof of hopelessness and recklessness which prompt their actions, it is a very instructive document. We gather from it that Mr. Lincoln has lost all hope of preserving the Union, and it is now willing to let any quack try his nostrum. . . . Here is a President who has just, against his will, supplied his antagonists with a hundred and twenty guns and millions of stores, and who is trembling the very ground on which he stands. Yet, if we judged only by his pompous proclamations, we should believe that he had a garrison in every city of the South. This is more like a Chinaman beating his two swords together to frighten his enemy than like an earnest man pressing on because of steadfastness and truth.⁶

⁵ E. D. Adams, *Great Britain and the American Civil War*, vol. 2 (New York: Longmans, Green & Company, 1925), 43–44.

⁶ *London Times*, October 7, 1862.

Document 6

The workingmen of Manchester, a center of British textile manufacturing, many of whom had lost their jobs due to the shortage of cotton, put forth a solid front in their support of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. Strong supporters of the abolition of slavery, the men sent a letter of support to Lincoln.

. . . We joyfully honor you, as the President, and the Congress with you, for many decisive steps toward practically exemplifying your belief in the words of your great founders: "All men are created free and equal." You have procured the liberation of the slaves in the district around Washington, and thereby made the centre of your Federation visibly free. You have enforced the laws against the slave-trade and kept you fleet against it, even while every ship was wanted for service in your terrible war. You have nobly received ambassadors from the Negro republics of Haiti and Liberia, thus forever renouncing that unworthy prejudice which refuses the rights of humanity to men and women on account of their color. In order more effectually to stop of the slave trade, you have made with our Queen a treaty, which your Senate has ratified, for the right of mutual search. Your Congress has decreed freedom as the law forever in the vast unoccupied Territories which are directly subject to its legislative power. It has offered pecuniary aid to all States which will enact emancipation locally, and has forbidden your Generals to restore fugitive slaves who seek their protection. You have entreated the slave-masters accept these moderate offers; and after long and patient waiting, you, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army, have appointed tomorrow, the first of January, 1863, as the day of unconditional freedom for the slaves of the rebel States. . . .⁷

Abraham Lincoln replied:

. . . I do not doubt that the sentiments you have expressed will be sustained by your great nation; and on the other hand, I have no hesitation in assuring you that they will excite admiration, esteem, and the most reciprocal feelings of friendship among the American people. I hail this interchange of sentiment, therefore, as an augury that whatever else may befall your country or my own, the peace and friendship which now exist between the two nations will be, as it shall be my desire to make them perpetual.⁸

⁷ "We Are Truly One People," Address to President Lincoln by the Working-Men of Manchester, in *The Rebellion Record*, vol. 6, ed. Frank Moore (New York, 1864), 344.

⁸ "Lincoln's Reply to the Workingmen of Manchester," in *The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*, vol. 2, ed. Nicolay and Hay (New York: The Century Company, 1894), 301–302.

Lesson 6—Law and Society

The Emancipation Proclamation

Objectives

- To examine the motivation behind Abraham Lincoln's issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation
- To explore the reaction of Americans to the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation

Notes to the Teacher

At the outbreak of the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln maintained that the conflict had its roots in the constitutional question of secession. When asked whether the war was being fought to abolish slavery, Lincoln often replied cautiously in order not to offend Union supporters residing in the border states and to keep the support he needed. Lincoln's personal view on the abolition of slavery was similar to many other Americans—that slavery was wrong and in order to abolish it, the Constitution had to be amended.

Under pressure from Congress, prominent Northern abolitionists, and his own army commanders, Lincoln had become convinced by August 1861 that only the abolition of slavery could save the Union. In May 1861, General Benjamin Butler had declared that any and all runaway slaves were to be considered "contraband of war" and did not have to be returned to their masters. Later, in August 1861, General John C. Fremont freed the slaves of Confederate sympathizers in the border state of Missouri. Lincoln, however, revoked the order fearing it would antagonize Union sympathizers in the border states. Between the spring and summer of 1861, Congress passed additional laws abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia and in all United States territories; prohibited Union officers from returning fugitive slaves that came under their control; allowed the enlistment of African Americans in the Union Army (an action that Frederick Douglass and others had called for since the beginning of the war); and called for the seizure of all property belonging to soldiers on active service with the Confederate Army. In August 1861 Congress had passed the Confiscation Act, which allowed for the seizure of all property, including slaves, that was used by the Confederate Army for military purposes.

By the spring of 1862, Lincoln had begun to pursue actively the abolition of slavery with Union supporters in the border states, offering them financial compensation if state legislatures would voluntarily abolish slavery. Almost unanimously, these offers were refused.

On September 22, 1862, Lincoln met with his Cabinet and informed his advisors that he intended to issue an executive order emancipating the slaves in designated parts of the South. Lincoln explained his actions by stating that the emancipation of slaves in the South would undermine the Confederacy from within. This action would also forestall the possibility that liberal foreign governments, particularly Great Britain, would come to the aid of the Confederacy. Southerners believed that Britain would aid them in their struggle by breaking through the Union Navy's blockade of key southern ports in order to preserve the major source of supply for their textile manufacturing industry.

Lincoln's decision was not universally popular. In particular, Peace Democrats in the North opposed Lincoln's actions, on the grounds that his actions went beyond the constitutional powers of the Presidency. This was nothing new. The Peace Democrats had made similar charges before, charging that Lincoln had violated the Constitution when as Commander-in-Chief he had ordered the blockade of southern ports and the use of state militia forces to fight in the war. In addition, they accused Lincoln of spending federal funds without proper Congressional authorization, and of illegally suspending the writ of habeas corpus in order to control espionage within the District of Columbia and silence critics of his administration. Some of Lincoln's own Cabinet opposed emancipation on strictly political grounds. They feared the loss of control of the Congress to the Peace Democrats in the fall elections of 1862.

Rather than continuing to ignore the problem presented by the proposed abolition of slavery, Lincoln ordered the Proclamation to be put into effect on January 1, 1863. With the stroke of a pen, Lincoln had changed the army of union into one of liberation.

In this lesson, students read an account of a meeting in 1862 between Lincoln and a group of Northern businessmen and summarize Lincoln's view of emancipation. Students then read three selections expressing views of the Emancipation Proclamation. Students write a letter to the editor of a southern newspaper challenging one of the views. To conclude the lesson, students choose one of the selections and draw a political cartoon expressing the view of that opinion.

Reminder to Teachers

- Decide if the appropriate primary sources analysis worksheets from the appendix will be used in this lesson.
- Assign those sections of the basal textbook that are relevant to this lesson.

Procedure

1. Ask students to define *emancipation* (to set free from bondage). Explain to students that the Emancipation Proclamation set free those individuals living in slavery in states controlled by the Confederacy. Explain that Lincoln's decision to emancipate the slaves was a difficult one. Distribute **Handout 9** to students. Allow students about fifteen minutes to read the handout. After students have completed the reading, instruct them to summarize in five to seven sentences Lincoln's views of emancipation in early 1861.

Suggested Responses:

- *Lincoln was unable to enforce the Constitution in the Southern states, which were in rebellion.*
- *Laws passed by Congress had no effect on the lives of the slaves who lived in the South.*
- *It would be difficult to feed and care for large numbers of newly freed slaves, when it was already difficult to feed the army.*
- *The Confederate Army seized slaves who were free and sold them into slavery.*
- *Lincoln had no argument against slavery on Constitutional grounds but believed that he had the power as Commander-*

in-Chief to do anything necessary to win the war.

- *Arming black troops and placing them in the army would draw off supplies and equipment, which were already in short supply.*
 - *The emancipation of the slaves could cause the border states to change over to the side of the Confederacy.*
4. Ask students how Southerners, like Jefferson Davis, might have felt about emancipation. (*Lincoln was taking action in an area in which he had no authority in ordering the slaves to be freed in lands controlled by the Confederacy; emancipation was a powerful tool to encourage slaves to fight in the Union Army against their masters; it made all but impossible the sending of aid by foreign nations to the Confederacy*). Explain that all people in America did not agree with Lincoln's plan to free the slaves. Use Notes to the Teacher to discuss the feelings of the Northern Peace Democrats towards Lincoln's actions regarding emancipation and the powers of the president during wartime. Ask students for a reason why Union soldiers might have opposed the freeing of the slaves. (*Former slaves would present a cheap labor force that might take jobs away from returning Northern soldiers.*)
 3. Distribute **Handout 10**, and instruct students to write a letter to the editor of a newspaper challenging one of the views represented in the handout. Have selected students share their letters with the class.
 4. Conclude the lesson by instructing the students to choose one of the views expressed in the reading selections and draw a political cartoon illustrating the view. Display student cartoons in the classroom.

Extension Activities

1. Assign selected students to use newspapers to research the reaction to the Emancipation Proclamation in their local area. If no newspapers are available for this time period, assign students to use newspapers for major cities of the day—New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, San Francisco, etc. (Old newspapers for these cities should be available on microfilm.) Have students present short summaries to the class.
2. Have students research the reaction of African Americans to the passage of the Emancipation Proclamation. Have students write a twenty- to twenty-five-minute play that portrays these reactions. Have students present the play to selected classes.

Abraham Lincoln's View of Emancipation

Below you will find a statement from Lincoln's first inaugural address and an account of a meeting between Lincoln and a group of northern businessmen who urged him to emancipate America's slaves. When you have finished reading the selection, summarize Lincoln's view of emancipation in five to seven sentences.

1861

. . . I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. . . .¹

1862

What good would a proclamation of emancipation from me do, especially as we are now situated? I do not want to issue a document that the whole world will see must necessarily be inoperative, like the Pope's bull against the comet.* Would my word free the slaves, when I cannot even enforce the Constitution in the rebel states? Is there a single court, or magistrate, or individual that would be influenced by it there? And what reason is there to think it would have any greater effect upon the slaves than the late law of Congress, which I approved, and which offers protection and freedom to the slaves of rebel masters who came within our lines? Yet I cannot learn that that law has caused a single slave to come over to us.

And suppose they could be induced by a proclamation of freedom from me to throw themselves upon us, what should we do with them? How can we feed and care for such a multitude? General Butler [in New Orleans] wrote me a few days since that he was issuing more rations to the slaves who have rushed to him than to all the white troops under his command. They eat, and that is all; though it is true General Butler is feeding the whites also by the thousand, for it nearly amounts to a famine there.

If, now, the pressure of the war should call off our forces from New Orleans to defend some other point, what is to prevent the masses from reducing blacks to slavery again? For I am told that whenever the rebels take black prisoners, free or slave, they immediately auction them off. They did so with those they took from a boat that was aground in the Tennessee River a few days ago. And then I am very ungenerously attacked for it! For instance, when, after the late battles at and near Bull Run, an expedition went out from Washington under a flag of truce to bury the dead and bring in the wounded, and rebels seized the blacks who went along to help, and sent them into slavery, Horace Greeley said in his paper [*New York Tribune*] that the government would probably do nothing about it. What could I do?

* The tale that a terrified Pope Calixtus III excommunicated Halley's comet by a papal bull in 1456 is baseless, but he did decree "several days of prayer for averting the wrath of God . . ." (A. D. White, *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology* [New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1896], vol., p. 177).

¹ J. G. Nicoloy and John Hay, eds., *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln* vol. 6 (New York: The Tandy-Thomas Co., 1905), 170.

Now, then, tell me, if you please, what possible result of good would follow the issuing of such a proclamation as you desire? Understand, I raise no objections against it on legal or constitutional grounds; for, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, in time of war I suppose I have a right to take any measure which may best subdue the enemy. Nor do I urge objections of a moral nature, in view of possible consequences of insurrection and massacre at the South.

I view this matter as a practical war measure, to be decided on according to the advantages and disadvantages it may offer to the suppression of the rebellion.

I admit that slavery is the root of the rebellion, or at least its *sine qua non* [the factor without which it could not exist]. The ambition of politicians may have instigated them to act, but they would have been impotent without slavery as their instrument. I will also concede that emancipation would help us in Europe, and convince them that we are incited by something more than ambition. I grant, further, that it would help somewhat at the North, though not so much, I fear, as you and those you represent imagine. Still some additional strength would be added in that way to the war, and then, unquestionably, it would weaken the rebels by drawing off their laborers, which is of great importance, but I am not so sure we could do much with the blacks. If we were to arm them, I fear that in a few weeks the arms would be in the hands of the rebels; and, indeed, thus far we have not had arms enough to equip our white troops.

I will mention another thing, though it meet only your scorn and contempt. There are fifty thousand bayonets in the Union Armies from the border slave states. It would be a serious matter if, in consequence of a proclamation such as you desire, they go over to the rebels. I do not think they all would—but so many, indeed, as a year ago or six months ago—not so many today as yesterday. Every day increases their Union feeling. They are also getting their pride enlisted, and want to beat the rebels.

Let me say one thing more: I think you should admit that we already have an important principle to rally and unite the people, in the fact that constitutional government [Union] is at stake. This is a fundamental idea going down about as deep as anything.²

² Nicoloy and Hay, eds., *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln* vol. 8, 30–33.

Speaking Out against the Emancipation Proclamation

Many individuals expressed an opinion regarding the Emancipation Proclamation, which freed only those African Americans living in slavery within territories controlled by the Confederacy. While hailed by abolitionists in the North, the proclamation caused great resentment among the South's leadership. Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederacy, spoke out in opposition to Lincoln's action. Even soldiers in the Union Army found it difficult to justify fighting the South to abolish slavery. Read the following excerpts, and be prepared to analyze and respond to them.

Jefferson Davis Opposes Emancipation

January 12, 1863

We may well leave it to the instincts of that common humanity which a beneficent Creator has implanted in the breasts of our fellow men of all countries to pass judgment on a measure by which several million human beings of an inferior race, peaceful and contented laborers in their sphere, are doomed to extermination, while at the same time they are encouraged to a general assassination of their masters by the insidious recommendation "to abstain from violence unless in necessary self-defense." Our own detestation of those who have attempted the most execrable measure recorded in the history of guilty man is tempered by profound contempt for the impotent rage which it discloses. . . .

In its political aspect this measure possesses great significance, and to it in this light I invite your attention. It affords to our whole people the complete and crowning proof of the true nature of the designs of the party which elevated to power the present occupant of the presidential chair at Washington, and which sought to conceal its purpose by every variety of artful device and by the perfidious use of the most solemn and repeated pledges on every possible occasion. I extract in this connection as a single example the following declaration, made by President Lincoln under the solemnity of his oath of Chief Magistrate of the United States, on the 4th of March, 1861: . . .

"I declare that I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so; and I have no inclination to do so. . . ."

Nor was this declaration of the want of power or disposition to interfere with our social system confined to a state of peace. Both before and after the actual commencement of hostilities the President of the United States repeated in formal official communication to the Cabinets of Great Britain and France that he was utterly without constitutional power to do the act which he has just committed. . . .

This proclamation is also an authentic statement by the Government of the United States of its ability to subjugate the South by force of arms, and as such must be accepted by neutral nations, which can no longer find any justification in withholding our just claims to formal recognition.³

³ J. D. Richardson, comp., *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, vol. 1 (1904), 290–93.

A Northern Publisher's Opinion

The Proclamation is an incalculable element of strength to the Union cause. It makes an alliance between the Rebels and Foreign States as impossible as it is for millions of Bondsmen to love Slavery better than Freedom. They loving our Government in proportion as it becomes a free land of promise and shelter from oppression, thus saving thousands of precious lives and millions of treasure from being lost in foreign wars. It perfects the purposes of the Declaration of Independence and impairs those whom it would affect having forfeited those rights by proving false to their country, to humanity and religion. No real support to the Union cause will be lost by this Proclamation, while time-serving traitors, who always covertly opposed the war, will be exposed. It will be a powerful incentive to the slave to fight for the Union instead of his rebel master, and when it becomes executed and Freedom reigns throughout the land, the colored man will leave the Northern regions, whither he has fled from slavery, and join his kindred beneath those sunny skies where nature invites him. Labor will be rewarded, justice fulfilled, and the Old Ship of State will again sail majestic o'er the unrippled waters of Liberty and Peace. Confusion and shame rest upon those who fight against a free government, and songs of thankfulness and love glorify its defenders.⁴

A Union Soldier's View

We are going on in the same old sorts—plenty to do, plenty to eat, plenty of grumbling and plenty of damning and plenty of preaching—while the Country all together seems to be going to the devil if possible at a faster rate than ever.

Old Abe[']s] stock is clear down—Stanton-Halleck-Seward and in fact all the administration are generally damned by the soldiers and their friends wherever they have any. . . .

The Journal of Commerce editorials are more popular with the army than those of other newspapers—it is a dreadful shame that the administration should have forced this thing or this state of feeling upon us but here it is. . . .

[The soldiers] unanimously want to go home and let the Southern Confederacy, Negroes, our own administration, and all go to the devil together—and save what they can for themselves and of themselves.

Many are sick of fighting if it is purely on the Negro questions and now that really seems to be made the whole question—or to determine who shall or shall not be the next president and whose friends shall do the big stealing—or what is the same thing, manage the contract business.

Our company has . . . shot at the rebels . . . and are now only anxious to be . . . sent home. . . .⁵

⁴ A Soldier in the 12th Vermont Militia, January 18, 1863, to R. W. Southgate, Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, Mss. 2617.

⁵ Rufus Blanchard, ca. 1864. Publisher Blanchard's footnote on his color lithograph broadside of the Emancipation Proclamation, http://www.Clements.umich.edu/exhibits/online/proclaiming_emancipation/emancipationsrepresent.php.

Lesson 7—Minority Experience

Stand Watie and the Cherokee Confederates

Objectives

- To examine the role of Native Americans in the Civil War

Notes to the Teacher

Beginning around 1820, some members of the Cherokee Nation moved to what became known as the Indian Territory. Later, during the Trail of Tears in 1838, most of the remaining members were forcibly moved to the territory from Georgia. They were joined by members of other Native American tribes and confederacies, which were recognized as sovereign nations by the U.S. government through treaties. Many Cherokees, Choctaws, and Creeks had been plantation owners in Georgia and owned slaves, a practice they continued in the Indian Territory. Before the relocation of the Cherokees to Oklahoma the nation split into two factions. One, the Treaty Party, favored removal and promoted a treaty with the national government. They signed the Treaty of New Echota in 1835. The National Party, which was in the majority, opposed removal. Bloodshed followed when members of both sides initiated violent actions, including assassinations.

When the Civil War broke out, Native Americans from the Indian Territory fought on both sides. One of the most prominent Confederate leaders was Stand Watie, commander of the First Cherokee Mounted Rifles and later the First Indian Brigade. Watie and his troops took part in several important battles at the beginning of the war. The Battle of Pea Ridge was an important Confederate victory in the west. Later Watie was forced to re-group and fight a guerilla war. He and his Cherokee troops were the last Confederate soldiers to surrender to Union forces in June, 1865, almost two months after General Lee had surrendered at Appomattox Courthouse in April, 1865.

In this lesson, students read a short background piece on Stand Watie. They then read and discuss an excerpt from the Cherokee Nation's declaration in support of the Confederacy and a letter recommending a promotion for Stand Watie. In small groups, they read and summarize excerpts of letters written to

or from Stand Watie. In a whole group setting, they create a biographical portrait of Stand Watie, stressing his importance to the success of Confederate forces in the West.

Reminder to Teachers

- Decide if the appropriate primary sources analysis worksheets from the appendix will be used in this lesson.
- Assign those sections of the basal textbook that are relevant to this lesson.

Procedure

1. Distribute **Handout 11**, and have students read it and be prepared for discussion. Explain that a number of Native American groups, including those designated as "The Five Civilized Tribes" (Cherokee, Creeks, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Seminoles) were regarded by the federal government as sovereign nations. Treaties had been signed with these groups at the time of their removal from Georgia and North Carolina, which in effect made them sovereign countries within the United States, with their own leadership, police force, legislature, and laws.
2. Distribute **Handout 12**. Have students read the excerpt from the Cherokee Declaration in part A, and answer the questions for discussion. Review students' responses.

Suggested Responses:

1. *The Cherokee believed their civil liberty was in peril; that the United States had turned into a military despotism under which civil power and law were silenced; that the right to habeas corpus had been disregarded; that the war was based on a battle against slavery, which frightened the Cherokees, many of whom were slaveholders themselves; that the federal government would forcibly free the Cherokees' slaves and, if the Indian Territory desired statehood, the Cherokee would be plundered*
2. *The Chickasaws, Seminoles, Choctaws, and Creeks sided with the Cherokees.*

3. Distribute **Handout 13**, and have students read it. Ask why the white commander suggested that Watie and his troops be guerilla fighters. (*White army commanders had little respect for the skill and discipline of the Native Americans who fought as allies and believed that they were only suited to an ambush style of fighting.*)
4. Divide the class into small groups of three or four, and distribute **Handout 14**. Explain that the mail system in the South was sporadic and that many soldiers depended on friends or couriers to carry messages to family and friends. Assign each group one of Stand Watie's letters to summarize. Reassemble and ask each group to summarize the content of the letter.
5. Using the information in the handouts and, if necessary, additional information gathered from the Internet, have students create a biographical portrait of Stand Watie, stressing his importance to the success of Confederate forces in the West.

Extension Activities

1. Have students read and report on the Newberry Award-winning novel *Rifles for Watie* by Harold Keith.
2. Have students research and report on the structure of the modern Cherokee Nation.

Stand Watie

Read the information about Stand Watie and be prepared for discussion.

Stand Watie was a prominent leader in the Cherokee Nation. He moved to Oklahoma from Georgia with his family at an early age. His brother, Elias Boudinot, was one of the founders of the *Cherokee Phoenix*, a newspaper which was printed using the Cherokee syllabary developed by Sequoyah. Stand Watie was the nephew of Major Ridge and a cousin of John Ridge, both of whom were important figures in the history of the Cherokee Nation. By 1827, Stand Watie's father had become an important and wealthy planter. Educated by Moravian missionaries, Stand was sent to Connecticut for further schooling. During the conflict over removal, members of the National Party targeted the leaders of the Treaty Party for assassination and Elias Boudinot, John and Major Ridge, and Stand Watie, all of whom supported removal, were attacked. Only Watie survived. In 1835, the Watie family moved to the Indian Territory. In 1842, Stand Watie encountered one of his uncle John Ridge's assassins and shot him dead. He was acquitted on the grounds of self-defense, but retaliatory killings followed. Between 1845 and 1846, thirty-four politically related murders were committed.

Stand Watie served on the Nation's Council and was elected speaker of the legislature. The Cherokee realized that the peace between the North and South was tenuous at best and again, just as factions had developed over the Cherokee removal, the Nation split. In the beginning, the majority of the Nation supported the Confederacy. Almost immediately, Watie organized a regiment of cavalry and in October, 1861, he was commissioned as a colonel in the First Cherokee Mounted Rifles. Watie's role was not confined to fighting the Union Army; he also led his troops against Seminoles, Creeks, and others who had allied themselves with the North. Eventually, Watie was promoted to brigadier general and given command of the First Indian Brigade of the Army of the Trans-Mississippi. Toward the end of the war, cut off from his supplies and given little support by the Confederate army, Watie and his men operated as guerilla fighters. They even sacked and burned the Cherokee capital of Tahlequah. By 1865, realizing that the southern cause was lost, Watie signed a cease-fire agreement and surrendered his command.

The Cherokee Declaration

The Cherokee Nation's Council issued a proclamation which explained their position regarding an alliance with the Confederacy. Read the excerpt below and answer the questions.

From "Declaration by the People of the Cherokee Nation of the Causes Which Have Impelled Them to Unite Their Fortunes with Those of the Confederate States of America"

. . . But in the Northern States the Cherokee people saw with alarm a violated Constitution, all civil liberty put in peril, and all the rules of civilized warfare and the dictates of common humanity and decency unhesitatingly disregarded. In States which still adhered to the Union a military despotism has displaced the civil power and the laws became silent amid arms. Free speech and almost free thought became a crime. The right to the writ of *habeas corpus*, guaranteed by the Constitution, disappeared at the nod of a Secretary of State or a general of the lowest grade. The mandate of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court was set at naught by military power, and this outrage on common right approved by a President sworn to support the Constitution. . . .

. . . The war now raging is a war of Northern cupidity and fanaticism against the institution of African servitude; against the commercial freedom of the South, and against the political freedom of the States, and its objects are to annihilate the sovereignty of those States and utterly change the nature of the General Government.

The Cherokee people and their neighbors were warned before the war commenced that the first object of the party which now holds the powers of the government in the United States would be to annul the institution of slavery in the whole Indian country, and make it what they term free territory and after a time a free State; and they have been also warned by the fate which has befallen those of their race in Kansas, Nebraska, and Oregon that at no distant day they too would be compelled to surrender their country at the demand of Northern rapacity, and be content with an extinct nationality, and with reserves of limited extent for individuals, of which their people would soon be despoiled by speculators, if not plundered unscrupulously by the State.

Urged by these considerations, the Cherokees, long divided in opinion, became unanimous and like their brethren, the Creeks, Seminoles, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, determined, by the undivided voice of a General Convention of all the people, held at Tahlequah, on the 21st day of August, in the present year, to make common cause with the South and share its fortunes.¹

1. Why did the council of the Cherokee Nation choose to support the Confederacy?
2. Who else was supporting the Cherokee's choice?

¹ Thomas Pegg (President National Committee) and Joshua Ross (Clerk National Committee), concurred by Lacy Mouse (Speaker of Council) and Thomas B. Wolfe (Clerk Council), "Cherokee Declaration of Causes," Tahlequah, OK (October 28, 1861), [http://www.cherokee.org/AboutTheNation/History/Events/CherokeeDeclarationofCauses\(October28,1861\).aspx](http://www.cherokee.org/AboutTheNation/History/Events/CherokeeDeclarationofCauses(October28,1861).aspx).

Official Report Regarding Colonel Stand Watie

Read the following information and the letter, and be prepared for class discussion.

The Cherokees fought bravely hand-to-hand, but could not see the point of standing their ground and letting Union cavalry armed with sabers charge or allow a pounding artillery barrage to punish their line. The Cherokees usually retreated to a safer position. Many white commanders believed that the Indian brigades were better suited to guerilla warfare. Toward the end of the war, when Indian brigades were cut off from Confederate support and supplies, Watie and his men were able to fight on, even though the regular Confederate Army was brought to a standstill. This letter recommended early in the war that Stand Watie be promoted and encouraged to fight a guerilla war.

Skullyville, near Fort Smith, Ark., May 6, 1862

Maj. Gen. Earl Van Dorn, C.S.A., Memphis, Tenn.:

GENERAL: I take the liberty of inclosing copy of report of a skirmish between Cherokee troops under Col. Stand Watie, and the Federals. General Pike being near Fort Washinta, at Nail's Bridge, miles southwest, I have thought it might be well to advise you direct of Col. Stand Watie's movements.

As we are likely to resort to guerilla warfare, at least those who are outside the new lines of defense, it would, in my opinion, be advisable to confer additional rank upon Col. Stand Watie, with authority to receive into service all the reliable Indian force north of the Canadian rivers. The Indians have great confidence, and justly, in Col. Stand Watie's patriotism, prudence, and courage, and I think would rally to his standard. His thorough knowledge of the country renders him eminently suitable to direct the movements of guerilla bands along the border of the Cherokee country, and the Indians will make the very best guerillas. White troops should also be sent into the Cherokee country. As matters now stand, if a Federal force should advance into the Cherokee country I think Stand Watie would be driven out and a large majority of the Cherokees go over to the Federals. They complain that by treaty they were promised protection; but instead of protection they have been involved with a war with the Federal Government and then left to shift for themselves.

I am ordered to fall back to the neighborhood of Boggy Depot, and shall march day after to-morrow.

I am, general, yours, respectfully and truly,

Douglas H. Cooper¹

¹Douglas H. Cooper to Earl Van Dorn, 6 May 1862, in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, vol. 13 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1885). 823–24.

Letters of Stand Watie

Read the selection, and be prepared for class discussion.

The following excerpts are from four letters written by Stand Watie and his family and friends during the war. Most mail service at the time was sketchy at best, especially in the South. Most mail was carried by couriers or ordinary citizens who promised to deliver mail during their travels. That was how most of Watie's letters were delivered.

**A. W. Wilson and J. W. Washbourne to Stand Watie,
Fayetteville, Ark., May 18, 1861**

. . . Every day strengthens the probability that the soil of the Cherokee People will be wrested from them unless they bow down to Abolitionism and every day convinces us that it is very important that the Cherokee be up and doing to defend their soil, their homes, their firesides, aye their very existence. To this end the State of Arkansas and the Confederate Government will also strive, and bloodless will not be any victory over us. The integrity of the soil of the Southern Indians must and shall be maintained. We shall do all that men can do to so maintain them.

We are happy to inform you in accordance with our promise of said letter that we would afford you all the aid we could that a certain number of guns, good guns, have been granted to the State of Arkansas, for the use of the Cherokees in the defence of their and our frontier. So, push on the good work and train your men and apply for these guns. Under your management they will certainly do effective service for the Cherokee soil and so serve Arkansas as effectually. We earnestly exhort you to take this matter immediately in hand and advise that you should hasten to the organization of your companies.

**Stand Watie to Mrs. Stand Watie,
Camp near North Fork, Nov. 12th, 1863**

My dear Sally:

I have not heard from you since your letter brought in by Anderson. When Medlock went away I was out on a scout.

I went to Tahlequah and Park Hill. Took Dannie Hicks and John Ross. Would not allow them killed because you said Wm. Ross must not be killed on old Mrs. Jack Ross's account. Killed a few Pins in Tahlequah. They had been holding council. I had the old council house set on fire and burnt down, also John Ross's house. Poor Andy Nave was killed. He refused to surrender and was shot by Dick Fields. I felt sorry as he used to be quite friendly towards me before the war, but it could not be helped. I would great deal rather have taken him prisoner. Since my return I have been sick but now good deal better. Another scout has since been made to Tahlequah under Battles. He returned today. They found some negro soldiers at Park Hill, killed two and two white men. They brought in some of Ross's negroes. . . .

**Stand Watie to Mrs. Stand Watie on Middle Boggy,
April 24th, 1864**

My Dear Sallie,

Captain Alberty is going to Rusk and he will take this letter. News from all quarters is very cheering but you have heard all so I will only relate what is going on here. The wild Indians from Kansas are getting to be very troublesome on the western border. Col. Adair crossed Arkansas river below Gibson but I have not heard from him since; a few men left off from him and returned they fell in with some pins [soldiers who wore crossed straight pins on their clothing to indicate their loyalty to the Union.] one of their number young Bent is supposed to be killed. Adair has stirred up the Pins no doubt before now. None but Creeks are at Gibson part of the pin Regts [Regiments] have gone to Scullyville.

Two men and two women came out from Fort Smith a few days since they reported the Feds there about 800 a few days after two young boys came out they report the same story. All agree that the Feds are short of provisions, since the failure of the enemy to occupy Texas. Troops at Fort Smith and Gibson, I think will act on the defensive. We are now ready to move, only waiting for orders. Quantrell crossed the Arkansas river near the Creek Agency and killed eight men (Creeks) one of them shot a little boy and killed him. Some of the Creeks who were along returned today and brought this news. I have always been opposed to killing women and children although our enemies have done it, yet I shall always protest against any acts of that kind. Two days ago a part of Quantrells men fired on the guard at Boggy. Killed one man and wounded another.

A few days ago a party of Missourians took off Arch Shelton's black boy (Peter) he was recaptured by some men below in the affray Wiley Forester was killed. No property is safe anywhere, stealing and open robbery is of every days occurrence.

I am very tired of this camp we have very bad water. . . .

**Elias Cornelius Boudinot [Stand Watie's nephew] to Stand Watie,
Shreveport, La., May 11, 1865**

. . . The surrender of Lee and Johnson virtually puts an end to the war on the other side of the river. The people from Virginia to the Miss. river are willing to try the experiment of absolute submission and return to the old Union. Gen Smith in my opinion will hold on if possible a month or two yet, until the hopelessness of further resistance is apparent to the world, before he will yield the contest.

From all that I learn his army will fall to pieces. The war will close in some shape by the 1st day of August, unless the old story of foreign intervention should be verified. Our policy should be to remain still and watch the current of events. Cooper is Superintendent. . . .

Source: Edward E. Dale, "Some Letters of General Stand Watie," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 1, no. 1 (January, 1921), 34–35, 41–42, 46–47, 54–55.

Lesson 8—Politics

The Trial of Mary Surratt

Objectives

- To examine and analyze documents about the conspiracy trial of Mary Surratt and her involvement in the assassination of Abraham Lincoln and its aftermath

Notes to the Teacher

In 1865, the terrible war which had torn the nation apart was ending. By April, the main part of the Confederate Army, under the command of Robert E. Lee, put down arms and surrendered to Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox Court House, Virginia. Jefferson Davis and other Confederate leaders were on the run and only small pockets of resistance remained, mostly in the West. Many of the more radical southerners did not wish to surrender, but rather sought to continue the fight, either openly or covertly. One such radical was John Wilkes Booth.

A member of a prominent acting family, Booth was virulently against surrender and vowed to carry on the fight. Booth planned to kidnap President Abraham Lincoln and hold him for ransom. Booth believed that Lincoln's kidnapping would unify the South and encourage its people to continue fighting. When Booth realized that he would have no opportunity to kidnap Lincoln, his plans turned to assassination, and he began to recruit his co-conspirators. Once this was accomplished, Booth began to prepare in earnest, and by the beginning of April 1865, the assassination plan was in place. On April 14, 1865, Booth and his co-conspirators carried out their plan, and Lincoln was shot at Ford's Theater.

Most of the conspirators were captured almost immediately, and within days Booth was dead, shot in the neck by a soldier at a farm in Virginia. By early May the prisons and jails of the capital were filled with possible conspirators. A controversial decision was made to try the conspirators before a military tribunal. By the end of June, a verdict and sentence were handed down for seven of the alleged conspirators. Lewis Powell (also known as Lewis Payne), George Atzerodt, David Herold, and Mary Surratt were found guilty and sentenced to be hanged. Samuel Mudd, Michael O'Laughlan, Edmund Spangler,

and Samuel Arnold were sentenced to prison terms. Spangler and Arnold were eventually pardoned by President Andrew Johnson. The executions were carried out on July 6, 1865.

In this lesson, students examine and analyze documents concerning the conspiracy trial of Mary Surratt, her involvement in the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, and its aftermath. Using the information gained from the documents and other sources, students evaluate her guilt or innocence and the fairness of the trial.

Reminder to Teachers

- Decide if the appropriate primary sources analysis worksheets from the appendix will be used in this lesson.
- Assign those sections of the basal textbook that are relevant to this lesson.

Procedure

1. Distribute **Handout 15** to be completed as homework. Review responses.

Suggested Responses:

1. *Booth hoped to force a resurgence of the Confederacy and make the Union recognize the sovereignty and legal status of the Confederacy.*
2. *Booth was unable to carry out his plan to kidnap the president and was angered by Lincoln's speech about granting voting rights to freed slaves.*
3. *Mrs. Surratt was asked to take a package to her tavern.*
4. *Lewis Powell was to assassinate William Seward; George Atzerodt was assigned to kill Andrew Johnson; David Herold was to guide Atzerodt to Johnson; Booth planned to assassinate Lincoln and Grant himself.*
5. *Booth went across the Navy Yard Bridge into Maryland and then into Virginia.*
6. *The secretary was stabbed, as were his daughter and son, one of his guards, and a messenger sent with news that*

Lincoln had been shot. Seward's other son was bludgeoned.

7. *Atzerodt was denied entry to the hotel where Johnson was staying.*
 8. *Booth stored guns and ammunition at the tavern.*
 9. *Booth was shot by a Union soldier in a barn at a farm in Virginia.*
 10. *John Surratt fled to Canada.*
 11. *Atzerodt, Powell, Mary Surratt, Herold, Arnold, Mudd, O'Laughlin, and Spangler were tried and convicted.*
 12. *The rules of evidence for a tribunal require less proof for conviction, and only a simple majority was required for conviction, not a unanimous agreement required by a civil trial.*
 13. *Originally Reverdy Johnson and two of his young associates were to defend her.*
 14. *Johnson's participation was questioned because he had refused to take an oath of loyalty to the Union.*
 15. *Powell, Atzerodt, Herold, and Mrs. Surratt were convicted and sentenced to hang. Samuel Mudd, Samuel Arnold, and Michael O'Laughlan were all sentenced to life in prison. Edmund Spangler was sentenced to six years in jail.*
 16. *They obtained a writ of habeas corpus to delay the execution and asked for a new trial, but this was denied.*
 17. *Johnson denied it and ordered the executions to take place as scheduled.*
 18. *O'Laughlan died in prison, Mudd, Spangler, and Arnold were eventually pardoned and set free.*
2. Explain that trials for the conspirators were a controversial subject in postwar Washington. When the decision to try them by military tribunal was reached, many felt that they should be tried in a civilian court. Washington was under martial law during the latter days of the war, and the military authority had the power to determine the type of trial. They

chose a tribunal format because the rules of evidence were not as strict as those of a civilian trial and they believed it would be easier to get a conviction. At the time, defendants did not testify in court, either in a civilian or a military trial. The modern interpretation of the right of the accused to confront witnesses had not yet been clearly defined. Conduct a discussion on the fairness of using a military tribunal to try the conspirators instead of a civilian trial.

3. Explain that the most controversial defendant was Mary Surratt. Very few women had been tried before military tribunals. The prosecution used the tactic of linking Mrs. Surratt to the conspirators and when she was convicted, it was not as an assassin, but as a conspirator who helped the assassins.
4. Distribute **Handout 16**, and explain that the documents deal with Mary Surratt's trial. Ask students to pay careful attention to the charges and to the testimony which was used to convict Mrs. Surratt. Then divide the class into small groups of four or five students and direct them to use the information in both handouts to decide if Mrs. Surratt received a fair trial. Tell them they must present supporting evidence.

Also ask students to evaluate Mrs. Surratt's guilt or innocence. If they were a trial judge at the tribunal, would they have sentenced her to death based on the evidence presented? If they were the president of the United States, would they have commuted her sentence? Allow class time for students to present their conclusions.

Extension Activities

1. Have students view the 2010 film *The Conspirator*, which covers the trial of Mary Surratt, and compare the accuracy of the film portrayal of the trial with the primary source accounts contained in Handout 16.
2. Have students research and prepare a presentation comparing the use of the military tribunal today with its use during the Civil War.

The Assassination of Abraham Lincoln

Read the following information, and answer the questions for discussion.

When the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln occurred on April 14, 1865, the Civil War was drawing to a close. Robert E. Lee had surrendered to Ulysses S. Grant, and the President of the Confederacy, Jefferson Davis, had fled Richmond. Many of the most rabid supporters of the Confederacy and its cause did not support surrender and wanted to continue the fight. John Wilkes Booth, a known Confederate sympathizer and the brother of the foremost American actor of the time, Edwin Booth, was one of these.

Booth plotted to kidnap Lincoln and create a disruption that would force a resurgence of the Confederacy and compel the Union to recognize its sovereignty and legal status in exchange for Lincoln's release. Booth's plan to kidnap the president failed when the president changed his schedule at the last minute. On April 11, 1865, Booth was in attendance at a speech given by Lincoln at the White House, which supported the granting of voting rights to freed slaves, an idea which Booth found to be abhorrent. This so angered Booth that he changed his plan from kidnapping to one of assassination. Booth's list of targets was expanded to include not only Lincoln, but also Ulysses S. Grant, Vice President Andrew Johnson, and Secretary of State William Seward. Booth recruited his group of conspirators: Samuel Arnold, George Atzerodt, David Herold, Michael O'Laughlan, Lewis Powell (also known as Lewis Paine), and John Surratt. The most controversial of those accused in the conspiracy was John Surratt's mother, Mary. Mrs. Surratt owned a tavern in Maryland and a boarding house in Washington which served as meeting places for the conspirators.

On Friday, April 14, Lincoln and his wife planned to attend a performance of the play *An American Cousin* at Ford's Theater. Lincoln invited General Grant and his wife to be his guests at the event. While picking up his mail backstage at the theater, Booth overheard someone talking about Lincoln's attendance at the play and decided that this would be an ideal time to carry out the assassination.

On the fourteenth, Booth asked Mary Surratt to move a package from her boarding house in Washington to her tavern in Maryland, where Booth had previously stored guns and ammunition. Accompanied by one of her boarders, Louis J. Weichmann, Mary Surratt took the package to Maryland, an act which involved her in the conspiracy and resulted in her conviction by military tribunal and subsequent execution. Lewis Powell was assigned to kill William Seward, Atzerodt was sent after Andrew Johnson, and David Herold was to guide Powell to Seward's home. Booth himself planned to shoot Lincoln and stab Grant at the theater, but Grant cancelled late in the day, probably because his wife found it difficult to endure Mary Lincoln's company.

The President and Mrs. Lincoln invited Major Henry Rathbone and his fiancée, Clara Harris, to attend the play with them. Arriving late, the Lincoln's party settled into the presidential box. The play was briefly interrupted to acknowledge the president's arrival and then the actors resumed their performance. John Frederick Parker had been assigned to guard duty outside of the box. For reasons never explained, sometime during the play he went across the street to a nearby tavern, leaving the presidential box unguarded.

Booth, who had tampered with the lock on the box, entered and shot President Lincoln. Rathbone tried to prevent Booth from leaving and was stabbed in the arm. Booth jumped from the balcony of the box to the stage, catching his spur in the bunting draped across it. Booth then hobbled backstage to the exit, possibly slowed by a broken leg suffered during his jump. Booth had made arrangements for his horse to be held outside the stage door of the theater and he fled across the Navy Yard Bridge into Maryland to meet Powell and Herold. Lincoln was carried across the street to William Peterson's boarding house, where doctors attended the mortally wounded president. At 7:22 a.m. on April 15, Lincoln was pronounced dead.

While Booth was assassinating Lincoln, Lewis Powell arrived at Secretary Seward's home to find him bedridden from injuries suffered in a carriage accident nine days earlier. Powell entered the house and tried to convince Seward's butler to allow him to see the Secretary, but Seward's son, Frederick, tried to stop Powell, telling him that his father was asleep. Fanny, Seward's daughter, informed her brother that Seward was awake, and Powell began to climb the stairs. Frederick tried to stop him and Powell placed the gun against Frederick's head and pulled the trigger. When the gun misfired, Powell bludgeoned Frederick and gained access to the Secretary. The gun now useless, Powell stabbed Seward repeatedly in the neck and head. Only a splint on his broken jaw stopped Powell from cutting the Secretary's throat. David Herold, waiting outside for Powell, heard the screams of Seward's daughter and fled. As he left the house, Powell stabbed Fanny, Sergeant George Robinson, a soldier acting as a nurse for Secretary Seward, and Seward's other son, Augustus. A messenger delivering a telegram informing Seward of the attack on Lincoln was also stabbed.

George Atzerodt arrived at the Kirkwood Hotel in Washington intent on assassinating Vice President Andrew Johnson, who was in residence there. Failing to gain access to Johnson, Atzerodt spent some time in the hotel bar and became drunk and disoriented. He wandered around and eventually paid for a room at the Pennsylvania House Hotel and went to sleep.

Meanwhile, Booth fled to Maryland, where he reunited with Herold, who had abandoned Powell at Secretary Seward's House. They stopped at Mary Surratt's tavern and picked up supplies and weapons. Booth proceeded to the home of a local doctor, Samuel Mudd, who was a southern sympathizer. Mudd put Booth's broken leg in a splint and equipped him with a pair of crutches, and the men proceeded to the home of Samuel Cox, another sympathizer, who took them to Thomas Jones, who hid Booth and Herold for five days. When it was safe to cross the Potomac River into Virginia, Booth and Herold arrived at the home of Richard Garrett. Meanwhile, Union forces in Washington continued to search for the assassins. On April 26, Union soldiers arrived at Garrett's farm and surrounded the barn where Booth and Herold were hiding. Herold surrendered, but Booth refused to leave the barn. When soldiers set fire to the barn, Booth tried to escape through a rear door. A soldier, Boston Corbett, shot him in the neck, and Booth died two hours later.

When Lewis Powell returned to the Surratt house in Washington on April 17, he was arrested along with Mary Surratt. Atzerodt was tracked down and arrested in Germantown, Maryland on April 20. The remainder of the alleged conspirators, except for Mary Surratt's son John, who had fled to Quebec, were arrested. In addition, people who had only passing contact

with the conspirators were arrested and imprisoned, but eventually released. Only Atzerodt, Powell, Mary Surratt, Herold, Arnold, Mudd, O'Laughlan, and Edmund Spangler, who had held Booth's horse outside Ford's Theater, were ordered to be tried by a military tribunal by President Andrew Johnson.

Controversy surrounded the decision to use a military tribunal instead of a trial in civil court. The use of the military tribunal was justified by declaring the conspirators enemy combatants and by the fact that martial law was in effect in the District of Columbia, where the assassination took place. Only a simple majority of the officers serving on the jury was required for a guilty verdict and a two-thirds vote for execution. If convicted, the only recourse the conspirators had was to appeal, to President Johnson. In 1865, defendants were not permitted to testify in their own defense in any court, civil or military. Initially, the conspirators found it difficult to find lawyers to defend them. Mary Surratt asked a prominent lawyer, the Democratic Maryland State Senator Reverdy Johnson to defend her. Johnson, a Southern sympathizer, brought two of his young associates, Frederick Aiken and John W. Clappitt, each with only months of legal experience, to assist him. The tribunal required all lawyers participating in its proceedings to take a loyalty oath to the Union. Johnson refused and was forced to withdraw as Mrs. Surratt's attorney. Aiken and Clappitt became her principal defenders, although Johnson continued to advise his very inexperienced colleagues. With the inexperience of her defense team and Surratt's refusal to cooperate, she seemed doomed from the start.

After seven weeks and the testimony of 366 witnesses, all the conspirators were found guilty. Mary Surratt, Lewis Powell, David Herold, and George Atzerodt were convicted and sentenced to death by hanging. Samuel Mudd, Samuel Arnold, and Michael O'Laughlan were sentenced to life in prison. Edmund Spangler was sentenced to six years in prison. Even as the scaffold was being constructed at the Arsenal Prison, Aiken and Clappitt worked to secure a writ of habeas corpus from a District of Columbia judge. The judge ordered a U.S. marshal to deliver the writ to the commander of the prison and stop the execution until he could determine whether clemency should be granted to Mrs. Surratt. The gates to the prison were ordered locked and the marshal was denied entrance. Under the Suspension of Habeas Corpus Act (1863), President Johnson suspended the writ and ordered the executions to take place as scheduled, even though members of the tribunal had recommended clemency for Mary Surratt. President Johnson refused to act on a clemency plea, and on July 7, 1865, Powell, Atzerodt, Mary Surratt, and Herold were hanged at the Old Arsenal Penitentiary. O'Laughlan later died in prison from yellow fever. Mudd, Spangler, and Arnold were eventually pardoned and freed by Johnson in 1869.

1. What did Booth hope to accomplish by kidnapping Lincoln?
2. Why did Booth change his plan from kidnapping to one of assassination?
3. What was Mrs. Surratt asked to take to her tavern in Maryland?

4. What was each of the conspirators assigned to do?
5. Where did Booth go after the assassination?
6. What was the result of Lewis Powell's attack at the Seward house?
7. Why did Atzerodt fail to assassinate Andrew Johnson?
8. What did Booth have stored at Mrs. Surratt's tavern?
9. What eventually happened to Booth?
10. Why was John Surratt not tried as a conspirator?
11. Which conspirators were eventually tried and convicted?
12. Why did the military want to try the conspirators by tribunal rather than a civilian trial?
13. Who defended Mrs. Surratt?
14. Why was Johnson almost an invisible presence at the trial?
15. What was the final verdict?
16. How did Aiken and Clappitt try to stop Mrs. Surratt's execution?
17. What did Andrew Johnson do when a plea for clemency for Mrs. Surratt was sent to him?
18. What happened to the other conspirators?

The Trial of Mary Surratt

Examine the following documents carefully.

Decision about Method of Trial of the Accused Conspirators

After President Lincoln's assassination, there was some question as to how the accused conspirators were to be tried. President Andrew Johnson asked U.S. Attorney General James Speed to examine the precedents and prepare a legal opinion on the format the trial should assume. Speed, after much careful study, determined that the method to be used was a military tribunal, since at the time of the assassination, Washington, D.C. was under martial law and the crime was committed to advance the cause of the Confederacy. Below is Speed's summary of his decision.

Obedience to the Constitution and the law, then, requires that the military do their whole duty; they must not only meet and fight the enemies of the country in open battle, but they must kill or take the secret enemies of the country, and try and execute them according to the laws of war. The civil tribunals of the country can not rightfully interfere with the military in the performance of their high, arduous and perilous, but lawful duties. That Booth and his associates were secret active public enemies, no mind that contemplates the facts can doubt. The exclamation used by him when he escaped from the box on to the stage, after he had fired the fatal shot, *sic semper tyrannis*, and his dying message, "Say to my mother that I died for my country," show that he was not an assassin from private malice, but that he acted as a public foe.¹

Charges Against the Accused

Brigadier General Joseph Holt was the judge advocate, or chief prosecutor, for the trial. He opened the trial on May 9, 1865, by reading the charges against the accused.

For maliciously, unlawfully, and traitorously, and in aid of the existing armed rebellion against the United States of America, on or before the 6th day of March, A.D. 1865, and on divers [sic] other days between that day and the 15th day of April, A.D. 1865, combining, confederating, and conspiring together with one John H. Surratt, John Wilkes Booth, Jefferson Davis, George N. Sanders, Beverly Tucker, Jacob Thompson, William C. Cleary, Clement C. Clay, George Harper, George Young [None of the men listed were ever tried for their alleged part in the conspiracy; Booth was killed by a Union soldier within days of the assassination; John Surratt fled to Canada and later to England; Jefferson Davis was captured during the trial], and others unknown, to kill and murder, within the Military Department of Washington, and within the fortified and intrenched lines thereof, Abraham Lincoln, late, and at the time of said combining, confederating, and conspiring, President of the United States of America, and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy thereof; Andrew Johnson, now Vice-President of the United States aforesaid; William H. Seward, Secretary of State of the United States aforesaid; and Ulysses S. Grant, Lieutenant-General of the Army of the United States aforesaid, then in command of the Armies of the United States, under the direction of the said Abraham Lincoln; and in pursuance

¹Benn Pitman, comp., *The Assassination of President Abraham Lincoln and the Trial of the Conspirators* (New York: Moore, Wiltach & Baldwin Publishers, 1865), 409.

of in prosecuting said malicious, unlawful and traitorous conspiracy aforesaid, and in aid of said rebellion, afterward, to wit, on the 14th day of April, A.D. 1865, within the Military Department of Washington, aforesaid, and with the fortified and intrenched lines of said Military Department, together with said John Wilkes Booth and John H. Surratt. Maliciously, unlawfully, and traitorously murdering the said Abraham Lincoln, the President of the United States and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navies of the United States, as aforesaid; and maliciously, unlawfully, and traitorously, to kill and murder the said Andrew Johnson, then being Vice-President of the United States; and the said Ulysses S. Grant, then being Lieutenant-General, and in command of the Armies of the United States, as aforesaid.²

Mary Surratt was named specifically by Holt for her alleged role in the conspiracy.

. . . in further prosecution of said conspiracy, Mary E. Surratt did, at Washington City, and within the military department and military lines aforesaid, on or before the 6th day of March, A.D. 1865, and on divers [sic] other days and times between that day and the 20th day of April, A.D. 1865, receive, entertain, harbor, and conceal, aid and assist the said John Wilkes Booth, David E. Herold, Lewis Payne, John H. Surratt, Michael O'Laughlan, George Atzerodt, Samuel Arnold, and their confederates, with the knowledge of the murderous and traitorous conspiracy aforesaid, and with the intent to aid, abet, and assist them in execution thereof, and in escaping from justice after the murder of the said Abraham Lincoln, as aforesaid.³

Testimony of Louis J. Weichman, May 13, 1865

The prosecution's strategy was to present testimony which would tie Mary Surratt to the others involved in the assassination conspiracy. Perhaps the most damaging testimony against Mrs. Surratt was that of Louis J. Weichmann, a boarder who worked as a handyman for Mrs. Surratt. Weichmann testified that he drove Mrs. Surratt to a Maryland tavern owned by her family on the day of the assassination. John Lloyd was Mrs. Surratt's tenant and ran the tavern in Surrattville. He testified about guns which had been hidden in the property by the conspirators with Mrs. Surratt's knowledge.

. . . On Friday, the day of the assassination, I went to Howard's stable, about half-past 2 o'clock, having been sent there by Mrs. Surratt for the purpose of hiring a buggy. She herself gave me the money on that occasion, a ten-dollar note, and I paid \$6 for the buggy. I drove her to Surrattsville the same day, arriving there about half-past 4. We stopped at the house of Mr. Lloyd [John Lloyd was originally held as one of the conspirators, but later released], who keeps a tavern there. Mrs. Surratt went into the parlor. I remained outside a portion of the time, and went into the bar-room a part of the time, until Mrs. Surratt sent for me. We left about half-past 6. Surrattsville is about a two-hours' drive to the city, and is about ten miles from the Navy Yard bridge.

Just before leaving the city, as I was going to the door, I saw Mr. Booth in the parlor, and Mrs. Surratt was speaking with him. They were alone. He did not remain in the parlor more than three or four minutes; and immediately after he left, Mrs. Surratt and I started.

² Pitman, 18–19.

³ Pitman, 20.

I saw the prisoner, Atzerodt, at Howard's stable, when I went to hire the buggy that afternoon. I asked him what he wanted, and he said he was going to hire a horse, but Brook Stabler told him he could not have one. . . .

. . . About the 15th of January last I was passing down Seventh Street, in company with John H. Surratt, and when opposite Odd Fellows' Hall, someone called "Surratt, Surratt;" and turning round he recognized an old acquaintance of his, Dr. Samuel A. Mudd, of Charles County, Md.; the gentleman there [pointing to the accused, Samuel A. Mudd.] He and John Wilkes Booth were walking together. Surratt introduced Dr. Mudd to me, and Dr. Mudd introduced Booth to both of us. They were coming down Seventh Street, and we were going up. Booth invited us to his room at the National Hotel. When we arrived there, he told us to be seated, and ordered cigars and wines for four. Dr. Mudd then went out into a passage and called Booth out, and had a private conversation with him. When they returned, Booth called Surratt, and all three went out together and had a private conversation, leaving me alone. I did not hear the conversation; I was seated on a lounge near the window. On returning to the room the last time Dr. Mudd apologized to me for his private conversation, and stated that Booth and he had some private business; that Booth wished to purchase his farm, but that he did not care about selling it, as Booth was not willing to give him enough. Booth also apologized, and stated to me that he wished to purchase Dr. Mudd's farm. Afterward they were seated round the center-table, when Booth took out an envelope, and on the back of it made marks with a pencil. I should not consider it writing, but from the motion of the pencil it was more like roads or lines. . . .

. . . I met the prisoner, David E. Herold, at Mrs. Surratt's, on one occasion; I also met him when we visited the theater when Booth played *Pescara*; and I met him at Mrs. Surratt's, in the country, in the spring of 1863, when I first made Mrs. Surratt's acquaintance. I met him again in the summer of 1864, at Piscataway Church. These are the only times, to my recollection, I ever met him. I do not know either of the prisoners, Arnold or O'Laughlan. I recognize the prisoner Atzerodt. He first came to Mrs. Surratt's house, as near as I can remember, about three weeks after I formed the acquaintance of Booth, and inquired for John H. Surratt, or Mrs. Surratt, as he said. Since then he must have been at the house ten or fifteen times. The young ladies of the house, not comprehending the name that he gave, and understanding that he came from Port Tobacco, in the lower portion of Maryland, gave him the nickname of "Port Tobacco." I never saw him in the house with Booth.

At the time Booth played the part of *Pescara*, in the "Apostate," he gave Surratt two complimentary tickets, and as Surratt and I were going to the theater, we met Atzerodt at the corner of Seventh Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, and told him where we were going. He said he was going there, too; and at the theater we met David E. Herold [pointing to the accused, David E. Herold, who smiled and nodded in recognition.] We also met Mr. Holahan, who boarded at Mrs. Surratt's. . . .⁴

Testimony of John Loyd, May 15, 1865

I reside at Mrs. Surratt's tavern, Surrattsville, and am engaged in hotel-keeping and farming. Some five or six weeks before the assassination of the President, John H. Surratt, David E. Herold, and G. A. Atzerodt came to my

⁴Pitman, 113–15.

house. . . . All three, when they came into the bar-room, drank, I think. John Surratt then called me into the front parlor, and on the sofa were two carbines, with ammunition; also a rope from sixteen to twenty feet in length, and a monkey-wrench. Surratt asked me to take care of these things, and to conceal the carbines. I told him there was no place to conceal them, and I did not wish to keep such things. He then took me to a room I had never been in, immediately above the store-room, in the back part of the building. He showed me where I could put them underneath the joists of the second floor of the main building. I put them in there according to his directions.

I stated to Colonel Wells that Surratt put them there, but I carried the arms up and put them in there myself. There was also one cartridge-box of ammunition. Surratt said he just wanted these articles to stay for a few days, and he would call for them. On the Tuesday before the assassination of the President, I was coming to Washington, and I met Mrs. Surratt, on the road, at Uniontown. When she first broached subject to me about the articles at my place, I did not know what she had reference to. Then she came out plainer, and asked me about the “shooting-irons.” I had myself forgotten about them being there. I told her they were hid away far back, and that I was afraid the house might be searched. She told me to get them out ready; that they would be wanted soon. I do not recollect distinctly the first question she put to me. Her language was indistinct, as if she wanted to draw my attention to something, so that no one else would understand. Finally she came out bolder with it, and said they would be wanted soon. I told her that I had an idea of having them buried; that I was very uneasy about having them there.

On the 14th of April I went to Marlboro to attend a trial there; and in the evening, when I got home, which I should judge was about 5 o'clock, I found Mrs. Surratt there. She met me out by the wood-pile as I drove in with some fish and oysters in my buggy. She told me to have those shooting-irons ready that night, there would be some parties who would call for them. She gave me something wrapped in a piece of paper, which I took up stairs, and found to be a field-glass. She told me to get two bottles of whisky ready, and that these things were to be called for that night.

Just about midnight on Friday, Herold came into the house and said, “Lloyd, for God’s sake, make haste and get those things.” I did not make any reply, but went straight and got the carbines, supposing they were the parties Mrs. Surratt had referred to, though she didn’t mention any names. From the way he spoke he must have been apprised that I already knew what I was to give him. Mrs. Surratt told me to give the carbines, whisky, and field-glass. I did not give them the rope and monkey-wrench. Booth didn’t come in. I did not know him; he was a stranger to me. He remained on his horse. . . . Herold, I think, drank some out of the glass before he went out.

I do not think they remained over five minutes. They only took one of the carbines. Booth said he could not take his, because his leg was broken. Just as they were about leaving, the man who was with Herold said, “I will tell you some news, if you want to hear it,” or something to that effect. I said, “I am not particular; use your own pleasure about telling it.” “Well, said he, “I am pretty certain that we have assassinated the President and Secretary Seward.”⁵

⁵ Pitman, 85–86.

Testimony of Lt. John W. Dempsey

Lt. John W. Dempsey was part of the group of soldiers who searched the Surratt boarding house on May 19, 1865. He found photographs which were used as evidence during the trial to support the prosecution's position that Mrs. Surratt was a southern sympathizer.

I found this in the back room of the first floor of Mrs. Surratt's house. The back part was all sealed, and my curiosity was excited by noticing a piece torn off the back. I opened the back and found the likeness of J. Wilkes Booth, with the word "Booth" written in pencil on the back of it.

I may have seen photographs of Davis, Lee, and other leaders of the rebellion in newspapers—the Sunday newspapers particularly; and I have seen some of eminent actors—Forrest, Macready, and some others—exposed for sale at different places. I was a prisoner for thirteen months, and during that time I saw a good many of the leaders of the rebellion, both personally and in pictures, but I have not seen them in the loyal states, except as I have mentioned.⁶

Testimony of Anna Surratt

Anna Surratt, daughter of Mary Surratt, was originally arrested and held in prison with her mother. She testified at the trial in her mother's defense on May 30, 1866, about photographs of Confederate leaders which had been found by Lt. John Dempsey when he searched the Surratt house.

That picture belonged to me; it was given to me by that man Weichman, and I put a photograph of John Wilkes Booth behind it. I went with Miss Honora Fitzpatrick to a daguerrean gallery one day to get her picture; we saw some photographs of Mr. Booth there, and, being acquainted with him, we bought two and took them home. When my brother saw them, he told me to tear them up and throw them in the fire, and that, if I did not, he would take them from me. So I hid them. I owned photographs of Davis, Stephens, Beauregard, Stonewall Jackson, and perhaps a few other leaders of the rebellion. My father gave them to me before his death, and I prize them on his account, if on nobody else's. I also had in the house photographs of Union Generals—of General McClellan, General Grant, and General Joe Hooker.⁷

The Defense's Closing Argument

Reverdy Johnson, a prominent lawyer, wrote the closing argument for the defense. It was presented by John Clampett and took hours to read. Johnson continuously told Clampitt and Aiken, associates of Johnson, who actually represented Mrs. Surratt at the trial, to argue that the proceedings were unconstitutional. He had them outline many precedents to support this position. They were overruled every time the point was raised. Below is part of his closing argument.

As you have discovered, I have not remarked on the evidence in the case of Mrs. Surratt, nor is it my purpose; but it is proper that I refer to her case, in particular, for a single moment. That a woman, well educated, and as far as we have it in evidence, a devout Christian, ever kind, affectionate, and charitable, with no motive disclosed to us that could have caused a total change in her very nature, could have participated in the crime in question it is almost impossible to believe. Such a belief can only be forced upon a

⁶Pitman, 124.

⁷Pitman, 131.

reasonable, unsuspecting, unprejudiced mind by direct and uncontradicted evidence, coming from pure and perfectly unsuspected sources. Have we these? Is the evidence uncontradicted? Are the two witnesses, Weichmann and Lloyd, pure and unsuspected? Of the particulars of their evidence I say nothing. They will be brought before you by my associates. But this conclusion in regard to these witnesses must have in the minds of the Court, and it's certainly strongly impressed upon my own, that if the facts which they themselves state as to their connection and intimacy with Booth and Payne are true, their knowledge of the purpose to commit the crimes and their participation in them, is much more satisfactorily established than the alleged knowledge and participation than Mrs. Surratt. As far, gentlemen, as I am concerned, her case is now in your hands.⁸

Verdict and Sentence

The verdict and sentence were handed down on June 30, 1865. Newspapers in Washington received news of the verdict before Mrs. Surratt's defense team. The verdict was not unanimous, and several of the commission members asked for mercy for Mrs. Surratt. Andrew Johnson, after much discussion, decided that the conspirators had to be executed and issued the death warrant.

After mature consideration of the evidence adduced in this case of the accused, MARY E. SURRATT, the Commission find the said accused—

Of the Specification [Conspiracy to Murder] . . . GUILTY.

Except as to "receiving, sustaining, harboring, and concealing Samuel Arnold and Michael O'Laughlan,; and except as to "combining, confederating, and conspiring with Edward Spangler;" of this . . . NOT GUILTY.

Of the Charge [Aiding and Abetting] . . . GUILTY.

Except as to "combining, confederating, and conspiring with Edward Spangler;" of this . . . NOT GUILTY.

And the Commission do, therefore, sentence her, the said Mary E. Surratt, to be hanged by the neck until she be dead, at such time and place as the President of the United States shall direct; two-thirds of the members of the Commission concurring therein.⁹

General David Hunter and four other members of the military commission that tried the Lincoln conspirators sent a message to President Andrew Johnson about the verdict in the trial of Mary Surratt (29th June, 1865).

The undersigned members of the Military Commission detailed to try Mary E. Surratt and others for the conspiracy and the murder of Abraham Lincoln, late President of the United States, do respectively pray the President, in consideration of the sex and age of the said Mary E. Surratt, if he can upon all the facts in the case, find it consistent with his sense of duty to the country to commute the sentence of death to imprisonment in the penitentiary for life.¹⁰

⁸Pitman, 263.

⁹Pitman, 248.

¹⁰Pitman, 18–19.

Conspirator's Death Warrant

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 5, 1865.

The foregoing sentence in the cases of David E. Herold, G. A. Atzerodt, Lewis Payne, and Mary E. Surratt, are hereby approved; and it is ordered, that the sentences in the cases of David E. Herold, G. A. Atzerodt, Lewis Payne, and Mary E. Surratt, be carried into execution by the proper military authority under the direction of the Secretary of War, on the 7th day of July, 1865, between the hours of 10 o'clock, A.M., and 2 o'clock P.M., of that day.

(signed) ANDREW JOHNSON, President.¹¹

The Execution

Captain Christian Rath was placed in charge of the execution of Mary Surratt, Lewis Powell, George Atzerodt, and David E. Herold. He was later interviewed about his role in the event.

I was determined to get rope that would not break, for you know when a rope breaks at a hanging there is a time-worn maxim that the person intended to be hanged was innocent. The night before the execution I took the rope to my room and there made the nooses. I preserved the piece of rope intended for Mrs. Surratt for the last.

I had the graves for the four persons dug just beyond the scaffolding. I found some difficulty in having the work done, as the arsenal attaches were superstitious. I finally succeeded in getting soldiers to dig the holes but they were only three feet deep.

The hanging gave me a lot of trouble. I had read somewhere that when a person was hanged his tongue would protrude from his mouth. I did not want to see four tongues sticking out before me, so I went to the storehouse, got a new white shelter tent and made four hoods out of it. I tore strips of the tent to bind the legs of the victims.¹²

William Coxshall, a member of the Veteran Reserve Corps, was assigned the task of dropping the trapdoor on the left side of the gallows.

The prison door opened and the condemned came in. Mrs. Surratt was first, near fainting after a look at the gallows. She would have fallen had they not supported her. Herold was next. The young man was frightened to death. He trembled and shook and seemed on the verge of fainting. Atzerodt shuffled along in carpet slippers, a long white nightcap on his head. Under different circumstances, he would have been ridiculous.

With the exception of Powell [Powell was an alias of Lewis Payne], all were on the verge of collapse. They had to pass the open graves to reach the gallows steps and could gaze down into the shallow holes and even touch the crude pine boxes that were to receive them. Powell was as stolid as if he were a spectator instead of a principal. Herold wore a black hat until he reached the gallows. Powell was bareheaded, but he reached out and took a straw hat off the head of an officer. He wore it until they put the black bag on him. The condemned were led to the chairs and Captain Rath seated them. Mrs. Surratt and Powell were on our drop, Herold and Atzerodt on the other.

¹¹ Pitman, 249.

¹² Statement of Captain Christian Rath, <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/USACWtrial.htm>.

Umbrellas were raised above the woman and Hartranft, who read the warrants and findings. Then the clergy took over talking what seemed to me interminably. The strain was getting worse. I became nauseated, what with the heat and the waiting, and taking hold of the supporting post, I hung on and vomited. I felt a little better after that, but not too good.

Powell stood forward at the very front of the drop. Mrs. Surratt was barely past the break, as were the other two. Rath came down the steps and gave the signal. Mrs. Surratt shot down and I believed died instantly. Powell was a strong brute and died hard. It was enough to see these two without looking at the others, but they told us both died quickly.¹³

¹³ Testimony of William Coxhall, executioner, <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/USACWtrial.htm>.

Lesson 9—Religion

The War Affects Religious Culture

Objectives

- To understand the differences in attitude towards religion in the Union and Confederate armies

Notes to the Teacher

At the start of the nineteenth century, religion was an important part of American culture and came to be characterized by individualism and a growing sectionalism. Most Americans belonged to one Protestant denomination or another, and their personal beliefs came to be characterized by social action in the North and personal piety in the South. The revivalism of the Second Great Awakening in the North, led by preachers such as Charles G. Finney, promulgated a modified form of Calvinism, which was laced liberally with an anti-slavery fervor. The South resisted the revivalists' attempts to shape their religious culture to the beliefs of abolitionism. As revivalism waned, its leaders in the North began to transfer their anti-slavery fervor to the most likely organization to take up the cause and further their political and social agendas, the Republican Party, which adopted the agenda and language of Evangelical Protestantism and used them to further shape the political culture of the North.

The major Protestant denominations—Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians—had no bond of national unity or national leadership to provide guidance on social issues, which was left up to individual church congregations. In contrast, Episcopalians and a growing Catholic population were governed by a hierarchical system which provided firm leadership and steadfastly controlled dissent. Protestant denominations in the North and South were in agreement on most significant issues. However, in 1837, the Presbyterian Church in the United States split into sectional churches, followed in 1844 by the Methodists and in 1845 by the Baptists. The catalyst for the splits was the one issue on which the North and South disagreed: slavery.

Northern Protestantism was heavily influenced by the Puritan/Calvinist idea of the intervention of Divine Providence. Many believed that God had a special plan for

America and that the North was the center of and driving force in the success of this plan. Southerners, on the other hand, were certain that God was on their side and that they were the chosen people. Slavery was deeply rooted in the religious culture of the South, where most Protestant clergymen were accommodating to slavery and assumed a position that spoke softly on controversial social issues. Some Southern clergymen preached an acceptance of slavery as long as its practitioners fulfilled their Christian duty towards their slaves. There was little religious dissent in the South, and by the mid-nineteenth century, most dissenting clergy had been forced to leave the South rather than face the loss of their congregations.

Once the war broke out, many Southern clergymen reluctantly supported secession. Religion served as a weapon in the Confederacy's fight against what seemed to be impossible odds. As the war progressed and defeats became a regular occurrence, some Southerners began to ask why God was punishing them and to question the legitimacy of their support of the practice of slavery. In the North, a resurgence of the revivalism of the Second Great Awakening swept through portions of the Union Army. By early 1863, faced with repeated losses to Confederate forces, Union chaplains used the revival to encourage participants to continue to have faith in the righteousness of their cause. Victories at Vicksburg and Gettysburg buoyed Union confidence even further. Rather than emphasizing the rebellion of the South as the principle cause of the war, clergymen now began to stress the idea that the war was being fought to defeat the South and free the slaves held in bondage.

In this lesson, students read and analyze two short sermon excerpts from the North and the South, comparing and contrasting the attitudes expressed in the selections. They read prayers used by soldiers in the Confederate and Union armies, comparing and contrasting the tone and main points of the prayers. To conclude, students read a short description by Julia Ward Howe about her experience writing *The Battle Hymn of the Republic* and pick out the war-related images

in the lyrics of the song. You might want to bring a recording of the song to class to play for the students.

Reminder to Teachers

- Decide if the appropriate primary sources analysis worksheets from the appendix will be used in this lesson.
- Assign those sections of the basal textbook that are relevant to this lesson.

Procedure

1. Explain that all through history, religion has caused conflict. One church regards a breakaway sect as heretical and conflict breaks out into open warfare. Religious groups with different beliefs come into conflict those beliefs. Sometimes conflicts between religious groups result from each taking the position of being the only true faith. Ask students for examples of wars or conflicts which have religion at their roots.

Suggested Responses:

- *Orthodox and Western churches came into conflict in the early days of Christianity. In the beginning, Christians fought the Crusades with Muslims over control of sites in the Holy Land, but these conflicts later became no more than excuses on the part of Christians to attack and loot prosperous kingdoms in the Middle East. As Islamic states, like the Ottoman Turks, spread across northern Africa, they imposed their religion on the people they conquered.*
- *Protestant churches broke away from Catholic churches over issues of doctrine, often resulting in wars and conflict (Peasants' Revolt, Thirty Years' War).*
- *Sometimes religious beliefs supported conflicts, such as the wars between England and Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which were also rooted in rivalries over colonial possessions and world power status.*
- *Colonial settlements in the United States were divided along religious lines. Pennsylvania was settled by the Society of*

Friends, Maryland by Roman Catholics, Massachusetts Bay by the Puritans.

2. Ask students what the predominant religion was in the United States in the years immediately before the Civil War. (*Various forms of Protestantism, such as Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists, were most prominent.*) Explain that as immigration from countries such as Ireland increased, the number of Roman Catholics in the United States also increased.
3. Use information from Notes to the Teacher to explain the differences between the Protestant denominations in the North and the South. Also mention that the Episcopalians, who traced their roots to the Anglican Church, and Roman Catholicism, were governed by a strict hierarchical system, which dictated doctrine and practice, and left little room for dissent.
4. Ask students what issues they think would have contributed the most to the differences between northern and southern churches (*slavery and abolitionism*). Explain that by the start of the Civil War, the main Protestant denominations had split into northern and southern churches.
5. Distribute **Handout 17**. Have students read the excerpts from the two sermons and determine the main points of each. Stress that both men wrote with the exaggerated rhetoric of the mid-nineteenth century. Review responses.

Suggested Responses:

Beecher

- *Southern states are organized around a rotten core of slavery. The North is organized around a vital heart—liberty.*
- *There are irreconcilable differences between liberty and slavery.*
- *The South does not wish to compromise.*
- *The aim of the South is to create an empire of slavery which will spread westward across the United States and eventually into Latin America and around the world.*
- *The southern states do not want to respect the beliefs of the North; they*

want the North to give up beliefs and adopt the beliefs of the South.

Tucker

- *The southern cause is sacred and has been consecrated by fire and blood and by the martyr-like devotion of its men who have given their lives for the freedom of their country.*
 - *Southerners are encouraged to be brave and faithful and assured they would be victorious.*
 - *Southerners were fighting for everything that was near and dear to them.*
 - *The southern cause was the cause of God.*
 - *Northern beliefs were wrong and they had corrupted Christianity with fanaticism and despotism.*
 - *Southerners would triumph because they were brave, true, noble, and pure.*
5. Distribute **Handout 18**, and have students read the prayers. Ask student what is the main point of each prayer.

Suggested Responses:

In the South

- *The first prayer asks God to bless and protect the leadership of the Confederate states and grant them grace, heavenly gifts, and health and prosperity.*
- *The second prayer asks God for mercy for those who have fled the oppressor in the North and to support the righteousness of the cause. The prayer asks God to give wisdom to their army leaders and valor in the field of battle, to help defeat their enemies, to convince the Northerners of the unrighteousness of their cause and to punish them if they persist in the war.*

In the North

- *In the first prayer, the northerners ask God to bless and favor their leader, the President of the United States, that they may always do God's will and walk in his way. They ask God to grant their leaders health and prosperity.*

- *The second prayer asks God to have pity on the South, which had taken up arms against the legally constituted authority of the United States government, and show them the error of their ways. It asks for wisdom, moderation, and firmness for those in positions of authority and for a return to the unity and order brought by peace and happiness.*

7. Ask students how many of them have heard "The Battle Hymn of the Republic." Explain that the song has withstood the test of time and is still sung today. Mention that most of them should be familiar with at least the first two verses of the song.
8. Share the following information. The poem has many biblical references (trampling out the vintage; grapes of wrath; fateful lighting of His terrible swift sword; watch-fires of a hundred circling camps; fiery gospel writ in burnished rows of steel; crush the serpent with his heel; never call retreat; he died to make men holy, let us die to make men free). Several phrases from the poem have been used by authors as titles for books, such as *The Grapes of Wrath*, *The Terrible Swift Sword*, and *Never Call Retreat*. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., used the first line of the poem in the last public sermon he preached, "Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord."
9. Distribute **Handout 19**, and have students read Julia Ward Howe's reminiscences about the writing of the poem that became the lyrics to the song. Have them read the poem as it appeared in *Atlantic Monthly* and pick out phrases and imagery that express a theme of war and conflict.

Extension Activities

1. Have students conduct more detailed research and prepare a presentation on the split between northern and southern Protestant denominations before and during the war.
2. Have students research and prepare a presentation on the differences between African-American churches in the North and South immediately following the war.

Irreconcilable Differences

Read the sermons and determine the main points of each. Be prepared for discussion.

From “Against a Compromise of Principle”

The following excerpt is from a sermon delivered by famed abolitionist Henry Ward Beecher, the brother of Harriet Beecher Stowe, on Thanksgiving Day, 1860, at the beginning of the war.

The Southern States, then, have organized society around a rotten core,—slavery: the North has organized society about a vital heart,—liberty. . . . They stand in proper contrast. God hold them up to ages and to nations, that man may see the difference. Now that there is a conflict, I ask which is to yield? . . .

The truth that men cannot hush and that God will not have covered up, is the irreconcilable difference between liberty and slavery! Which will you advocate and defend? . . .

The secret intentions of those men who are the chief fomenters of troubles in the South cannot in anywise be met by compromise. . . . What do these men that are really at the bottom of this conspiracy mean? Nothing more or less than this: Southern empire for slavery, and the reopening of the slave trade as a means by which it shall be fed. . . . Their secret purpose is to sweep westward like night, and involve in the cloud of darkness all Central America, and then make Africa empty into Central America, thus changing the moral geography of the globe. And do you suppose any compromise will settle that design, or turn it aside, when that have made you go down on your knees, and they stand laughing while you cry with fear because you have been cozened [to cheat or defraud] and juggled into a blind helping of their monstrous wickedness?

They mean slavery. They mean an Empire of Slavery. They don't any longer talk of the evil of slavery. It is a virtue, a religion! . . . You cannot compromise with them except by giving up your own belief, your own principles, and your own honor. Moral apostasy [the renunciation of a political or religious belief] is the only basis on which you can build a compromise that will satisfy the South!

From “God's Providence in War”

This sermon was delivered by Reverend J. W. Tucker, a Presbyterian minister in Fayetteville, North Carolina, on May 16, 1862.

We should pray to God to give success to our cause, and triumph to our arms. God will defend the right. . . .

Our cause is sacred. It should ever be so in the eyes of all true men in the South. How can we doubt it, when we know it has been consecrated by a holy baptism of fire and blood. It *has* been rendered glorious by the martyr-like devotion of Johnson, McCulloch, Garnett, Bartow, Fisher, McKinney, and hundreds of others who have offered their lives as a sacrifice on the altar of their country's freedom.

Soldiers of the South, be firm, be courageous, be brave; be faithful to your God, your country and yourselves, and you shall be invincible. Never forget that the patriot, like the christian, is immortal till his work is finished. You are fighting for everything that is near and dear, and sacred to you as men, as christians and as patriots; for country, for home, for prop-

erty, for the honor of mothers, daughters, wives, sisters, and loved ones. Your cause is the cause of God, of Christ, of humanity. It is a conflict of truth with error—of the Bible with Northern infidelity—of pure christianity with Northern fanaticism—of liberty with despotism—of right with might. In such a cause victory is not with the greatest numbers, nor the heaviest artillery, but with the good, the pure, the true, the noble, the brave. We are proud of you, and grateful to you for the victories of the past. We look to your valor and prowess, under the blessing of God, for the triumphs of the future.

Source: *"God Ordained This War": Sermons on the Sectional Crisis, 1830–1865*, ed. David B. Chesebrough (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991).

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Prayers and Petitions

Read the prayers for each side. Then compare and contrast the tone and main points of the two sides.

Confederate Prayers

A Prayer for the President of the Confederate States,
and all in Civil Authority.

O LORD, our heavenly Father, the high and mighty Ruler of the universe, who dost from thy throne behold all the dwellers upon the earth; Most heartily we beseech thee with thy favour to behold and bless thy servant, THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES, and all others in authority; and so replenish them with the grace of thy Holy Spirit, that they may always incline to thy will, and walk in thy way. Endue them plenteously with heavenly gifts; grant them in health and prosperity long to live; and finally, after this life, to attain everlasting joy and felicity; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*¹

Southern Prayers

A Prayer for the Southern Cause.

O LORD, Our Heavenly Father, high and mighty King of kings and Lord of Lords—who dost from Thy throne behold all the dwellers on earth, and reignest with power supreme and uncontrolled over all kingdoms, empires, and governments—look down in mercy, we beseech Thee, on these “Confederate States,” who have fled to Thee from the rod of the oppressor, and thrown themselves on Thy gracious protection, desiring to be henceforth dependent only on Thee. To Thee they have appealed for the righteousness of “their cause.” To Thee do they now look up for that countenance and support which Thou alone canst give. Take them, therefore, Heavenly Father, under Thy nurturing care; give them wisdom in council and valor in the field; defeat the malicious designs of our cruel adversaries; convince the North of the “unrighteousness of their cause;” and, if they still persist in their sanguinary purposes, oh! let the voice of Thine own unerring justice, sounding in their hearts, constrain them to drop their weapons of war from their unnerved hands, in the day of battle.

Be Thou present, O God of wisdom, and direct the councils of that honorable assembly; enable them to settle things on the best and surest foundation,—that the scene of blood may be speedily closed.—that order, harmony, and peace may be effectually restored,—and truth and justice, religion and piety, prevail and flourish among Thy people.

Preserve the health of their bodies and the vigor of their minds; shower down upon them and the millions they represent such temporal blessings as Thou seest expedient for them in this world; and crown them with everlasting glory in the world to come.

All this we ask in the name and through the merits of Jesus Christ, Thy Son and our Savior. *Amen.*²

¹ *The Order for Daily Morning and Evening Prayer, According to the Use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America, Together with the Ante-Communion Office and a Selection of Occasional Prayers from Various Offices of the Book of Common Prayer* (Atlanta: R. J. Maynard, Publisher, 1863).

² *A Prayer for the Southern Cause*, 1860. Printed Ephemera Collection, Library of Congress, Union Prayers.

For the President, &c.

O LORD, our heavenly Father, the high and mighty Ruler of the universe, who dost from thy throne behold all the dwellers upon earth; Most heartily we beseech thee, with thy favour to behold and bless thy servant *The President of the United States*, and all others in authority; and so replenish them with the grace of thy Holy Spirit, that they may always incline to thy will, and walk in thy way. Endue them plenteously with heavenly gifts; grant them in health and prosperity long to live; and finally, after this life, to attain everlasting joy and felicity; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Prayer during our present National Troubles.

O ALMIGHTY God, who art a strong tower of defence to those who put their trust in thee, whose power no creature is able to resist, we make our humble cry to thee in this hour of our country's need. Thy property is always to have mercy. Deal not with us according to our sins, neither reward us according to our iniquities; but stretch forth the right hand of thy Majesty, and be our defence for thy name's sake. Have pity upon our brethren who are in arms against the constituted authorities of the land, and show them the error of their way. Shed upon the counsels of our Rulers the spirit of wisdom and moderation and firmness, and unite the hearts of our people as the heart of one man in upholding the supremacy of Law, and the cause of justice and peace. Abate the violence of passion; banish pride and prejudice from every heart, and incline us all to trust in thy righteous Providence, and to be ready for every duty. And oh, that in thy great mercy, thou wouldest hasten the return of unity and concord to our borders, and so order all things that peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, may be established among us for all generations. These things, and whatever else thou shalt see to be necessary and convenient for us, we humbly beg through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. *Amen.*³

³ *The Soldier's Prayer Book: Arranged from the Book of Common Prayer with Additional Collects and Hymns* (Philadelphia: Protestant Episcopal Book Society, 1789).

The Battle Hymn of the Republic

Read the background information. Then read Julia Ward Howe's reminiscences about writing the words. The lyrics of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" follow the excerpt. Make a list of the words, phrases, and images in the song which might be associated with war and conflict.

"The Battle Hymn of the Republic" is one of the most popular and recognizable songs from the Civil War. Its author, Julia Ward Howe, was the wife of Samuel Gridley Howe, abolitionist, and founder of the Perkins School for the Blind in Boston, Massachusetts. A published poet, she met Abraham Lincoln when she visited Washington, D.C., with her husband in 1861. While there, she also heard a version of "John Brown's Body," a popular marching song with Union army troops. Shortly before leaving Washington, at the suggestion of a friend, she wrote new words to be set to the music of "John Brown's Body." The already existing music was written by William Steffe as the song "Canaan's Happy Shore," and had been used for a number of popular songs. Howe's version was published in the *Atlantic Monthly* in February, 1862.

We were invited, one day, to attend a review of troops at some distance from the town. While we were engaged in watching the manœuvres, a sudden movement of the enemy necessitated immediate action. The review was discontinued, and we saw a detachment of soldiers gallop to the assistance of a small body of our men who were in imminent danger of being surrounded and cut off from retreat. The regiments remaining on the field were ordered to march to their cantonments. We returned to the city very slowly, of necessity, for the troops nearly filled the road. My dear minister was in the carriage with me, as were several other friends. To beguile the rather tedious drive, we sang from time to time snatches of the army songs so popular at that time, concluding, I think, with

"John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the ground;

His soul is marching on."

The soldiers seemed to like this, and answered back, "Good for you!" Mr. Clarke said, "Mrs. Howe, why do you not write some good words for that stirring tune?" I replied that I had often wished to do this, but had not as yet found in my mind any leading toward it.

I went to bed that night as usual, and slept, according to my wont, quite soundly. I awoke in the gray of the morning twilight; and as I lay waiting for the dawn, the long lines of the desired poem began to twine themselves in my mind. Having thought out all the stanzas, I said to myself, "I must get up and write these verses down, lest I fall asleep again and forget them." So, with a sudden effort, I sprang out of bed, and found in the dimness an old stump of a pen which I remembered to have used the day before. I scrawled the verses almost without looking at the paper. I had learned to do this when, on previous occasions, attacks of versification had visited me in the night, and I feared to have recourse to a light lest I should wake the baby, who slept near me. I was always obliged to decipher my scrawl before another night should intervene, as it was only legible while the matter was fresh in my mind. At this time, having completed my writing, I returned to bed and fell asleep, saying to myself, "I like this better than most things that I have written."⁴

⁴ Julia Ward Howe, *Reminiscences 1819–1899* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1899), 274–75.

THE
ATLANTIC MONTHLY.

A MAGAZINE OF LITERATURE, ART, AND POLITICS.

VOL. IX.—FEBRUARY, 1862.—NO. LII.

BATTLE HYMN OF THE REPUBLIC.

MINE eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord :
He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored ;
He hath loosed the fateful lightning of His terrible swift sword :
His truth is marching on.

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

I have read a fiery gospel writ in burnished rows of steel :
“ As ye deal with my contemnners, so with you my grace shall deal ;
Let the Hero, born of woman, crush the serpent with his heel,
Since God is marching on.”

He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call retreat ;
He is sifting out the hearts of men before His judgment-seat :
Oh, be swift, my soul, to answer Him ! be jubilant, my feet !
Our God is marching on.

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,
With a glory in his bosom that transfigures you and me :
As he died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,
While God is marching on.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1862, by TICKNOR AND FIELDS, in the Clerk's Office
of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts.

VOL. IX.

10

Fig. 9.1.

Fig. 9.1. “The Battle Hymn of the Republic,” *The Atlantic Monthly* 9, no. 52 (February, 1862), 10.

Lesson 10—Women

Nursing during the Civil War

Objectives

- To examine the contributions of women as nurses during the Civil War
- To discuss the place of women in mid-nineteenth-century society

Notes to the Teacher

Social conventions of the Antebellum era restricted the role of women outside the home. Nursing was one profession open to women but was severely limited in its application. Women were encouraged to nurse their relatives who became ill but were discouraged from assuming the profession of nursing as public calling. The Civil War changed that attitude significantly. The horrendous casualties of the war made change necessary in how medicine was practiced. The terrible injuries suffered by the wounded on both sides had to be dealt with, and the field hospital, as well as hospitals to house convalescing soldiers and the dying, were established both in the North and South. In this setting, nursing became an acceptable profession for women.

In this lesson, students read four different accounts by nurses during the Civil War. One account is by a well-known American woman of the time, Louisa May Alcott, the author of *Little Women*. Also included are excerpts from the diaries or journals of three lesser-known figures: Emma Edmunds and Hannah Ropes, who were nurses in the North, and Ada W. Bacot, who was a nurse in a southern hospital in Charlottesville, Virginia. Students compare the experiences of these women. Lastly, students write an essay discussing the changing role of women in midnineteenth-century America.

Reminder to Teachers

- Decide if the appropriate primary sources analysis worksheets from the appendix will be used in this lesson.
- Assign those sections of the basal textbook that are relevant to this lesson.

Procedure

1. Ask students to give examples of acceptable jobs for women during the Antebellum period (*child care; working in a family business,*

such as a store; school teaching; factory work). Explain to students that the types of jobs available to women of the middle and upper classes were limited during the Antebellum period by the social conventions of the time. Women were expected to marry and raise families; women in the upper classes were not permitted to seek employment unless they were destitute. Explain to students that women in the lower classes were expected to work, in some cases even when they married and had children. Typically, young women worked to save enough money for a dowry. Ask students whether they believe nursing was an acceptable job for women before the Civil War. (*Nursing was permissible if the women were caring for relatives, children, or other women but was not permitted for male patients.*) Ask students why this attitude changed. (*The women's rights movement of the late 1840s helped to change women's attitudes toward what they were expected to do in their lives; the demands of war made it necessary for women to take the places usually held by men.*) Ask why women were permitted to work as nurses during the war. (*Men were needed to fight on the battlefield, and women were available to act as nurses.*)

2. Randomly distribute one of the four sections of **Handout 20** to each student. Allow approximately twenty minutes for this portion of the lesson. After twenty minutes, call students to order. Divide students into groups of four with each group having one student for each section of the handout. Allow extra students to form a final group of less than four. Distribute **Handout 21**. Instruct students to complete the questions and to discuss within the group the four women. Debrief students' answers, and solicit group opinion about the women.

Suggested Responses:

A. Louisa May Alcott

1. *She wanted new experiences, help was needed, and she loved nursing.*
2. *as a motherly figure*

3. *because he was dying with dignity and without remorse*
4. *It was dirty and a perfect place for disease to flourish; there was no leadership to put matters right; the staff was good, bad, and indifferent.*
5. *She helped feed and wash the patients, dressed wounds, taught her attendants how to make a bed and sweep the floor, sew bandages, dust, write letters for the patients.*
6. *Death came most often at night when the men and the hospital were asleep.*

B. Emma Edmunds

1. *crowded; large tents housing twenty to twenty-five men; some tents had board floors, others were placed on rubber blankets; straw ticks and some bedspreads*
2. *a surgeon, an assistant surgeon, a steward, a ward master, four nurses, two cooks, and a man of all work*
3. *Terrible thunderstorms made it impossible to keep the tents from being flooded. Windstorms sometimes blew down the tents.*
4. *that she had been killed or wounded during the battle*
5. *bringing water to the wounded*
6. *Hundreds of men were laid under its branches, so close together that you could not walk between them; the ground was drenched with blood, and the surgeons treated men and amputated limbs out in the open.*

C. Hannah Ropes

1. *The men seemed to get better when they first arrived, but infection usually set in and the men got worse. The wounds were often dirty and had debris embedded in them, causing infection.*
2. *He was using a hole dug in the earth to hold uncooperative patients.*
3. *She went to Washington to see the Surgeon General. He refused to see her.*

4. *He listened to her story and sent for the Provost Marshal. He instructed the Provost Marshal to go to the hospital and examine the hole, arrest the steward, take him to the Old Capitol Prison, and report back to him on the conditions in the hospital.*
5. *The patients were joyful, and the head surgeon was in terror of Mrs. Ropes.*

D. Ada C. Bacot

1. *Heavy winds damaged the building.*
 2. *They could not believe that southern men would surrender and that there must have been a very good reason for their actions.*
 3. *There was too much work to be done in the hospital.*
 4. *"Such a day to be obliged to go out I would not look out this morning for fear I would not have the courage to venture."*
 5. *She was afraid that Jackson's army would have a great falling back and suffer from the dreadful weather.*
3. To conclude the lesson, have students write a short essay on the following topic: Nurses during the Civil War—Changing Perceptions of the Role of Women. Allow time to have selected students share their essays with the class.

Extension Activities

1. Have selected students research and prepare reports on other aspects of medicine during the Civil War and present the reports to the class.
2. Have selected students research other individuals who were active in the field of medicine during the Civil War. The book *Civil War Medicine* by Robert E. Denney (New York: Sterling Publishers, 1994) is an excellent source. It contains diary accounts of both men and women who served in the Union Army medical corps during the Civil War. Have the students create a bulletin board display to share their information with the class.

Accounts from Civil War Nurses—Louisa May Alcott

Born in Massachusetts in 1832, Louisa May Alcott, daughter of transcendentalist Bronson Alcott and his abolitionist wife Mary, is perhaps best known for *Little Women*, her autobiographical novel. Raised in a poor family that placed intellectual achievement above wealth, Alcott became an ardent supporter of the women's movement and wrote about the simple themes stressed by her parents: self-denial, patience, and hard work. During the winter of 1862–63, Alcott traveled to Washington D.C. to join the newly created nurses corps. After a few weeks, illness forced her to seek treatment from the hospital medical staff. Large doses of calomel, which contained excessive amounts of mercury, severely damaged Alcott's health, resulting in a semi-invalid condition. She kept journal accounts of her work as a nurse and wrote several books based upon her experiences. Below is an excerpt from her diary. Read the selection, and be prepared for discussion.

November 1862

—Thirty years old. Decided to go to Washington as a nurse if I could find a place. Help needed, and I love nursing, and must let out my pent-up energy in some new way. Winter is always hard and a dull time, and if I am away there is one less to feed and warm and worry over.

I want new experiences, and am sure to get 'em if I go. So I've sent in my name, and bide my time writing tales, to leave all snug behind me, and mending up my old clothes,—for nurses don't need nice things, thank Heav-en!

. . . All went well, and I got to Georgetown one evening very tired. Was kindly welcomed, slept in my narrow bed with two other room-mates, and on the morrow began my new life by seeing a poor man die at dawn, and sitting all day between a boy with pneumonia and a man shot through the lungs. A strange day, but I did my best, and when I put my mother's little black shawl round the boy while he sat up panting for breath, he smiled and said, "You are real motherly, ma'am." I felt as if I was getting on. The man only lay and stared with his big black eyes, and made me very nervous. But all were well behaved, and I sat looking at the twenty strong faces as they looked back at me,—hoping that I looked "motherly" to them; for my thirty years made me feel old, and the suffering round me made me long to comfort every one.

January 1863

I never began the year in a stranger place than this; five hundred miles from home, alone among strangers, doing painful duties all day long, & leading a life of constant excitement in this great house surrounded by 3 or 4 hundred men in all stages of suffering, disease & death. Though often home sick, heart sick, & worn out, I like it—find real pleasure in comforting tending & cheering these poor souls who seem to love me, to feel my sympathy though unspoken, & acknowledge my hearty good will in spite of the ignorance, awkwardness, & bashfulness which I cannot help showing in so new & trying a situation. The men are docile, respectful, & affectionate, with but few exceptions, truly lovable & manly many of them. John Suhre a Virginia blacksmith is the prince of patients, & though what we call a common man, in education & condition, to me is all that I could expect or ask from the first gentleman in the land. Under his plain speech and unpolished manner I seem to see a noble character, a heart as warm & tender as a woman's, a nature fresh & frank as any child's. He is about thirty, I think, tall &

handsome, mortally wounded & dying royally, without reproach, repining, or remorse. Mrs. Ropes & myself love him & feel indignant that such a man should be so early lost, for though he might never distinguish himself before the world, his influence & example cannot be without effect, for real goodness is never wasted.

Monday, 4th

— I shall record the events of a day as a sample of the days I spend:—

Up at six, dress by gaslight, run through my ward & fling up the windows though the men grumble and shiver, but the air is bad enough to breed a pestilence & as no notice is taken of our frequent appeals for better ventilation, I must do what I can. Poke up the fire, add blankets, joke, coax, & command, but continue to open doors & windows as if life depended on it, mine does, & doubtless many another, for a more perfect pestilence-box than this house I never saw—cold, damp, dirty, full of vile odors from wounds, kitchens, wash rooms, & staples. No competent head, male or female, to right matters, & a jumble of good, bad, & indifferent nurses, surgeons, & attendants to complicate the Chaos still more.

After this unwelcome progress through my stifling ward I go to breakfast with what appetite I may, find the inevitable fried beef, salt butter, husky bread, & washy coffee, listen to the clack of eight women & a dozen men, the first silly, stupid or possessed of but one idea, the last absorbed in their breakfast & themselves to a degree that is both ludicrous and provoking.

Til noon I trot, trot, giving out rations, cutting up food for helpless “boys”, washing faces, teaching my attendants how beds are made or floors swept, dressing wounds, taking Dr. Fitz Patrick’s orders, (privately wishing all the time that he would be more gentle with my big babies,) dusting tables, sewing bandages, keeping my tray tidy, rushing up and down after pillows, bed linen, sponges, books & directions, till it seems as if I would joyfully pay down all I possess for fifteen minutes rest.

At twelve the big bell rings & up comes dinner for the boys who are always ready for it & never entirely satisfied. Soup, meat, potatoes & bread is the bill of fare. Charley Thayer the attendant travels up & down the room serving out the rations, saving little for himself yet always thoughtful of his mates & patient as a woman with their helplessness. When dinner is over some sleep, many read, & others want letters written. This I like to do for they put in such odd things & express their ideas so comically I have great fun interiorally while as grave as possible exteriorally. A few of the men word their paragraphs well & make excellent letters. John’s was the best of all I wrote. The answering of letters from friends after some one has died is the saddest & hardest duty a nurse has to do.

Supper at five sets every one to running that can run & when that flurry is over all settle down for the evening amusements which consist of newspapers, gossip, Drs last round, & for such as need them the final doses for the night. At nine the bell rings, gas is turned down & day nurses go to bed. Night nurses go on duty, & sleep & death have the house to themselves.¹

¹Joel Myerson, ed., *The Journals of Louisa May Alcott* (Little Brown, 1989).

Accounts from Civil War Nurses—Emma Edmunds

Emma Edmunds was a native of Canada who traveled extensively in the United States during the period immediately before the Civil War. Early in 1860, she made a decision to support the Union cause and volunteered her services as a nurse. Most women who served as nurses during the Civil War worked in hospitals in cities and towns. Edmunds, however, worked in the field, often seeing the wounded during or immediately after a battle. Later, Edmunds served the Union army as a spy. These excerpts appeared in her autobiography written in 1865. Read the selection, and be prepared for discussion.

June 13, 1861

Typhoid fever began to make its appearance in camp, as the burning sun of June came pouring down on us, and the hospitals were soon crowded with its victims. . . . I shall notice, briefly, the manner in which the hospitals are conducted in camp. There are large tents furnished for hospital purposes, which will accommodate from twenty to twenty-five men. These tents are usually put up in the most pleasant and shady part of the camp; the inside is nicely leveled, and board floors laid, if boards can be procured, if not, rubber blankets are laid down instead. Sometimes there are straw ticks [mattresses] and cot bedspreads furnished, but not in sufficient quantity to supply all the hospitals. Along each side of the tent the sick are laid, on blankets or cots, leaving room to pass between the beds. . . . The hospitals corps consists of a surgeon, an assistant surgeon, a hospital steward, a ward master, four nurses, two cooks, and a man of all work to carry water, cut wood, and make himself generally useful. . . .

Draining the grounds is a very important part of hospital duty, for when those terrible thunderstorms come, which are so frequent in the South, it is . . . impossible to keep the tent floors from being flooded. . . . Great excitement prevails in camp during these tempests—the rain comes down in torrents, while the wind blows a hurricane—lifting the tents from the ground, and throwing everything into wild confusion. I have seen a dozen men stand for hours around one hospital, holding down the ropes and tent poles to prevent the sick from being exposed to the raging elements. . . .

July 21, 1861

After ascertaining the position of the enemy, Gen. McDowell ordered forward three divisions. . . . Sunday morning before dawn, those three divisions moved forward, presenting a magnificent spectacle, as column after column wound its way over the green hills and through the hazy valleys, with the soft moonlight falling on the long lines of shining steel. Not a drum or bugle was heard during the march, and the deep silence was only broken by the rumbling of artillery. . . .

Mrs. B. and myself took our position on the field, according to orders, in connection with General Heintzelman's division. . . . I imagine now, I see Mrs. B. as she stood there, looking as brave as possible in her narrow-brimmed leghorn hat, black cloth riding habit, shortened to walking length by the use of a gage, a silver-mounted seven-shooter in her belt, a canteen of water swung over one shoulder and a flask of brandy over the other, and a haversack with provision, lint, bandages, adhesive plaster, etc. hanging by her side. She was tall and slender, with dark brown hair, pale face, and blue eyes.

The first man I saw killed was a gunner belonging to Col. R.'s command. A shell burst in the midst of the battery, killing one and wounding three men and two horses. . . . Now the battle began to rage with terrible fury. Nothing could be heard save the thunder of artillery, the clash of steel, and the continuous roar of musketry. . . . I was hurried off to Centreville, a distance of seven miles, for a fresh supply of brandy, lint, etc. When I returned, the field was literally strewn with wounded, dead and dying. Mrs. B. was nowhere to be found. Had she been killed or wounded? A few moments . . . and then I saw her coming toward me, running her horse with all possible speed, with about fifty canteens hanging from the pommel of her saddle. . . . "Don't stay to care for the wounded now; the troops are famishing with thirst and are beginning to fall back." Mr. B. then rode up with the same order, and we three started for a spring a mile distant, having gathered up the empty canteens which lay strewn on the field. . . . We filled our canteens while the Minnie balls fell thick and fast around us, and returned in safety to distribute the fruits of our labor among the exhausted men. We spent three hours in this manner, while the tide of battle rolled on more fiercely than before. . . . Mrs. B. and I dismounted and went to work again among the wounded.

Still the battle continues without cessation; the grape and canister [shot] fill the air as they go screaming on their fearful errand; the sight of that field is perfectly appalling; men tossing their arms wildly calling for help; there they lie bleeding, torn and mangled; legs, arms and bodies are crushed and broken as if smitten by thunderbolts; the ground is crimson with blood; it is terrible to witness. . . .

June 1, 1862

On the evening of the same day in which the victory was won I visited what was then, and is still called, the "hospital tree," near Fair Oaks. It was an immense tree under whose shady, extended branches the wounded were carried and laid down to await the stimulant, the opiate, or the amputating knife, as the case might require. The ground around that tree for several acres in extent was literally drenched with human blood, and the men were laid so close together that there was no such thing as passing between them; but each one was removed in their turn as the surgeons could attend to them. . . . Those wounded but not mortally—how nobly they bore the necessary probings and needed amputations . . . !²

² S. Emma E. Edmunds, *Nurse and Spy in the Union Army* (Hartford, Conn.: W. S. Williams and Co., 1865).

Accounts from Civil War Nurses—Hannah Ropes

Born in New Gloucester, Maine, Hannah Ropes was fifty-three years old when she volunteered to serve as a nurse at the Union Hospital in Georgetown, near Washington. Her father had been a prominent Maine lawyer, and many members of her family were abolitionists. Married in 1834, she had four children, two of whom lived to adulthood. In 1847 her husband abandoned her and her children. Ropes became active in the abolitionist movement in Boston and early in 1856 moved to the Kansas Territory in support of the movement to settle the territory with abolitionists. She remained in Kansas less than a year and at the end of 1856 returned to Boston. In 1859 she published a novel based loosely on her experiences in Kansas. Early in 1861, she volunteered to serve as a nurse and was assigned to the Union Hospital. Rising to the position of head matron, Ropes was a formidable opponent to anyone who challenged the well-being of her patients. Below are two excerpts from her diary. Read the selections, and be prepared for discussion.

July 13, 1862

The healing process is very slow. When they first come they appear to gain because we feed them and tend so well their wounds, but soon the suppuration [infection] takes place, lead has to be probed for, and then they get sad and lose their appetite. Our men are fine specimens. Miss Stevenson, who has been in the army a year, says the heroes are in the ranks. . . . I have learned now how to take care of a shoulder wound. They are slow to cure and must have many dressings a day. Indeed, I had no idea it was such a slow and painful process—the uncertainty about what is in the wound, the waiting for the indications of suppuration alone furnishes. We have one man with a shoulder wound who has just been put under the influence of ether and not only a bullet was dug out under his shoulder blade but a piece of his coat. Since that he has discharged at least a pint [of pus] a day. We put three clean dressings and a shirt upon him daily, cutting the shirt open on the shoulder, down in front, and taking out the left sleeve. All of these shirts and bandages have to be thrown away, they are so offensive. . . .

November 1, 1862

Today the steward's reign reaches a culminating point. I had said yesterday to Dr. Ottman, in his room, "Do you know a *dark hole* has been parted off in the cellar, said to be for any patient the steward chooses to incarcerate therein?" The chaplain was in the room at the time, a gentle refugee from Virginia and a professor in some college there. Peaceful, retired citizens both, neither answered directly. The question was incidental, after I had closed the object of my call. I rose from my chair to leave, but turned placing my hands on the back of the chair, looking askingly at both. I said, "You men may have fears too strong to allow you to act, I have no office to lose or gain. I am free to do right, and if any patient in this house is put into that black hole I will go to Washington and stay until I gain the 'open sesame' to that door. How can you let this hospital be turned into a prison?" It was eleven o'clock and the stir for dinner preparation began as I finished my rounds and slumped into my chair to look at the morning paper. . . . Hardly was I seated with spectacles on my nose before Fanny appeared, pale and trembling, holding by the door. "Mrs. Ropes! Julius is in that awful place!" "What! In the cellar?" "Yes, what shall we do?" "Do?" Off went the glasses, down went the paper, away broke my prospective rest of half-an-hour in my

easy chair; and when I had tumbled noisily out of that chair, another figure appeared in the door by Fanny's side, our little mite of a Miss Kendall. . . . I caught sight of her quivering face, her earnest, sad eyes, glistening with tears that drift and float there always, and . . . I said, "Come, will you go with me?"

Our bonnets were soon on and we in the car. Our first call was at General Banks' headquarters: He had gone to New York! . . . We took a car back to the Surgeon General's office. Three chairs lined the side of the public entrance; two strong men held up respectively, the side of the door and the rail of the stairs. I asked audience of the Surgeon General; the man at the doorpost said, "It is three o'clock, and he is never here after that time." As he spoke, the Surgeon General walked in and, passing us . . . vanished behind the opening door of his inner office. . . . The man at the staircase followed his master, then came back to ask if I could send in my message. "No, it must be given in by myself." He returned only to say that we could see the Asst. Surg., but at his door in the rear of the entry we were met with the notice that we must wait, he was engaged.

Two rebuffs seemed about enough for a woman of half a century to accept without compromising her own dignity, and [these rebuffs were] sufficient to take us to the Secretary of War[s] office. Here the tone of things was very much more genial; we were welcomed at least as having a right to sit in a nice room, and received the promise of seeing the Secretary as soon as he came to his room. Ten minutes passed . . . a large man with a dark beard, bald head, and legal brow walked into the room, stationing himself in front of a desk. The gentleman who had so kindly greeted us when we came, told me who it was. I went to the end of the desk and, without introducing myself at all, stated in the fewest words possible the facts about Julius. Secretary Stanton's eyes gleamed with the fire of a purpose, "Call the Provost Marshal" was all he said, and went on writing. Before we got hold of the importance of the order, that functionary appeared. Stanton lifted the pen from the paper and, looking at him, said, "Go to the Union Hospital with this lady, take the boy out of that black hole, go into it yourself so as to be able to tell me all about it, then arrest the steward and take him to a cell in the Old Capitol Prison, to await further orders!"

Very soberly he said it, and as soberly he said to me, "I am very much obliged to you, very much, for giving me this information. . . ." The same car that brought us out, brought the men to take away our ogre, the steward. It was a frightfully grand scene to see the [a]maze[ment] of the steward, the joy of the men, and pale terror of the head surgeon. . . .³

³ Hannah Ropes, *Diary and Letters of Hannah Ropes*, University of California, Riverside, Rivera Library, Special Collections Department.

Accounts from Civil War Nurses—Ada W. Bacot

Ada W. Bacot was born the daughter of a wealthy plantation owner in Darlington, South Carolina, in 1832. When her husband was killed in a dispute with a plantation overseer, she was left as a young childless widow when the Civil War began in 1861. Leaving behind her friends and family, (a very daring act for a woman in midnineteenth-century America), Bacot left South Carolina and served as a nurse at the Monticello Hospital in Charlottesville, Virginia, between September 1860 and January 1863. In her diaries, Bacot provides us with an interesting account of the life of a nurse in the South during the War. Read the selections, and be prepared for discussion.

Charlottesville

Monday Noon, Feb 24" 62

I never saw a more terific wind. It whistles & sigh's mournfully around the house, & through the ruins of the old Monticello, one of the tallest slenderest chinmeys of the ruin has become its victim, about eleven oclock it was seen to sway back & forth, looking as if every fresh puff would bring it against the end of the house. Directly there was a crash, bricks & durt fly-ing in every direction, but fortunately there was no injury done. If we could only hear that the enemys boats had suffered. I've just been in to see Dr. McIntosh he is worse again today he took fresh cold last night, & is suffering terably with his eyes. He has permitted me to nurse him a good deal, & realy seems to like me to wait on him. I told him to let me take Lous place, that I would gladly do what I could for him.

Charlottesville

Monday Night Feb 24" 62

Had a nice long letter from Pa after dinner. The wind has continued very high all afternoon & tonight, keeping up the greatest {cavatina} with the winds, slamming & banging about. About a half dozen men left the Monticello this morning, discharged for camp. None very ill there now[.] Dr. Lafar returned today from Richmond. He says that the enauguration passed off quietly without excitement of any kind, he says there is no dispondency there at our reverses. They are felt, but cause no discouragement.

The papers today say that twelve or thirteen thousand of our troops surrendered to the Yankees at fort Donelson.* I cant believe it, I will hope it is not true. Dr. Rembert is indignant to think that Southern men would commit such folly so am I. There must have been some very good reason for the surrender or the men would never have alowed them selves to be given up to so contemptable a foe.

Dr. McIntosh has been very sick all day, I have been with him almost incessently since one oclock. . . . I am formaly established as the Dr.'s nurse, no one else is called upon to [do] any thing for him, I am delighted he will alow me to nurse him. Mr. Jones is very ill, Dr. Rembert asked me if I woul-dent go see him tomorrow, of course I will do so with pleasure, am always glad to do what I can to relieve the suffering of any one, & especially of one who had made himself so beloved & repected by his acts of kindness & at-tention to his fellow creatures. Mrs. Barnwell came down to tea tonight for the first time in some weeks. The wind had some what lulled. Tis a beauti-ful night, clear, cold, & the sky studded with stars.

*General Simon Bolivar Buckner surrendered Fort Donelson unconditionally to General Ulysses S. Grant on February 16, 1862. Special Collections Department.

Charlottesville
Thursday, April 17” 62

The heat has been oppressive today, almost like a may day in Carolina. I was so faged last night that I could not sleep. The moon light streamed into the room lighting it, was up very early this morning & was down stairs before breakfast, one side of my face was a good deal swollen from a sensitive tooth. Dr. Rembert told me all my men were much better today & that he found every thing in perfect order on my wards. This morning as I dressed an old mans blisters he shed tears they were so soar he said he could not help it. I go through many painful scenes. This evening just as I was about to leave my upper ward, it occured to me to go into one of the rooms again & ask after the men, they were all better except one who said “my head ache is coming on again, & my blisters pain me very much, if you could dress them for me in the morning I would thank you so much.” I told him if he would like it I would do it for him then, poor creature the most greatful expression lit up his face in an instant, I of couse dressed his blisters, he was profuse in thanks. Got over just before tea, Dr. Walker** took tea with us, very warm tonight [.] I am so sorry I cant attend the services at our church which take place every morning this week at eleven oclock, I have so much to do at the hospital that I cant spare a half hour during the morning. Had a short nap after dinner today which refreshed me very much.

Charlottesville
Monday night April 21” 62

Such a day to be obliged to go out I would not look out this morning for fear I would not have the courage to venture. Marie & myself had our breakfast sent up to us as we wished to go immediately to the hospital. I couldnt put on a clean dress to drag over those dirty stairs in, nor could I go down to breakfast in the one I wished to wear over there, found two more of my convalessants in bed this morning, the weather I supposed had effected them. . . . I went over to the hospital in a pouring rain this after noon, I dont know how I kept dry, I had no umbrella. . . . The rain seems to be over, the stars are all out. Mr. McMaster had a telegram from Mr. Barnwell tonight telling him to send on supplies to Richmond for Petersburg as soon as possible. The papers have full accounts of our great victory over the Yan-kees them selves acknowledge they were badly whiped.*** Heard tonight that we had an Army of 75 or 80 thousand men at Yorktown, more than were wanted, some have been sent to reinforce Jackson. Hear the mortality at the Delevan is very great, five died there today. Am afraid Jacksons army will suffer greatly falling back in such dreadful weather. . . .⁴

**R. E. Walker of Beaufort was a physician at the Soldiers’ Home.

***Bacot may be referring to the Battle of Shiloh; there were no decisive Confederate victories at this time.

⁴ Jean V. Berlin, ed., *A Confederate Nurse: The Diary of Ada W. Bacot, 1860–1863* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1994), 84, 85, 106, 107.

Nursing during the Civil War

Use the information contained in the diary selections to help you answer the following questions.

Louisa May Alcott

1. Why did Alcott become a nurse?
2. How did Alcott's patients view her?
3. Why did Alcott admire John Suhre?
4. What was Alcott's opinion of the hospital?
5. What were some of Alcott's duties as a nurse?
6. What do you think Alcott meant when she said that “. . . sleep and death have the house to themselves”?

Emma Edmunds

1. Describe the hospital camp in which Edmunds worked.
2. List the members of the hospital's staff.
3. Why was draining the ground where the hospital was located important?
4. What did Edmunds fear had happened to Mrs. B.?
5. What was the primary task Edmunds performed after and during the battle?
6. Describe the hospital tree at Fair Oaks.

Hannah Ropes

1. Why did Ropes describe the healing process as very slow?
2. Why did Ropes take action against the steward at the hospital?
3. What was Ropes' first action against the steward? What happened?
4. What resulted from her visit to the Secretary of War?
5. How did the staff react to Ropes' actions?

Ada C. Bacot

1. What was the problem the weather created for the hospital at Monticello?
2. How did Bacot and the staff react to the surrender of Confederate troops at Fort Donelson?
3. Why was Bacot unable to attend church?
4. What statement in Bacot's diary gives the impression that she is discouraged and tired?
5. What were Bacot's fears for Jackson's army?

Appendix

Written Document Analysis Worksheet*

1. Type of document (check one):

_____ Newspaper	_____ Map	_____ Advertisement
_____ Letter	_____ Telegram	_____ Congressional record
_____ Patent	_____ Press release	_____ Census report
_____ Memorandum	_____ Report	_____ Other _____

2. Unique physical qualities of the document (check one or more):

_____ Interesting letterhead	_____ Seals	_____ Other _____
_____ Handwritten	_____ Notations	
_____ Typed	_____ "Received" stamp	

3. Date(s) of document: _____

4. Author (or creator) of the document: _____

Position (title): _____

5. For what audience was the document written? _____

6. Document information (There are many possible ways to answer a–e.)

- a. List three things the author said that you think are important.

1.

2.

3.

- b. Why do you think this document was written?

- c. What evidence in the document helps you to know why it was written? Quote from the document.

- d. List two things the document tells you about life in the United States at the time it was written:

1.

2.

- e. Write the author a question that is left unanswered by the document.

*Adapted from worksheets developed by the staff of the Education Branch, National Archives, Washington, DC 20408.

Map Analysis Worksheet*

1. Type of map (check one):

- | | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------|
| _____ Raised relief map | _____ Satellite photograph/mosaic | _____ Artifact map |
| _____ Political map | _____ Weather map | _____ Pictograph |
| _____ Natural resource map | _____ Topographic contour-line map | _____ Other _____ |
| _____ Bird's-eye view | _____ Military map | |

2. Physical qualities of the map (check one or more):

- | | | |
|---------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| _____ Compass | _____ Title | _____ Notations |
| _____ Date | _____ Legend (key) | _____ Name of mapmaker |
| _____ Scale | _____ Handwritten | _____ Other _____ |

3. Date of map: _____

4. Creator of map: _____

5. Where was the map produced? _____

6. Map information

a. List three things in this map that you think are important:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

b. Why do you think this map was drawn?

c. What evidence in the map suggests why it was drawn?

d. What information does the map add to the textbook's account of this event?

e. Does the information in this map support or contradict information that you have read about this event? Explain.

f. Write the mapmaker a question that is left unanswered by this map.

*Adapted from worksheets developed by the staff of the Education Branch, National Archives, Washington, DC 20408.

Cartoon Analysis Worksheet*

	Visuals	Words (not all cartoons include words)
Step one	1. List the objects or people you see in the cartoon.	1. Identify the cartoon caption and/or title. 2. Locate three words or phrases used by the cartoonist to identify objects or people within the cartoon. 3. Record any important dates or numbers that appear in the cartoon.
Step two	2. Which of the objects on your list are symbols? 3. What do you think each symbol means?	4. Which words or phrases in the cartoon appear to be the most significant? Why do you think so? 5. List adjectives that describe the emotions portrayed in the cartoon.
Step three	a. Describe the action taking place in the cartoon. b. Explain how the words in the cartoon clarify the symbols. c. Explain the message of the cartoon. d. What special interest groups would agree/disagree with the cartoon's message? Why?	

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Photograph Analysis Worksheet*

Step 1. Observation

- Study the photograph for 2 minutes. Form an overall impression of the photograph and then examine individual items. Next, divide the photo into quadrants and study each section to see what new details become visible.
- Use the chart below to list people, objects, and activities in the photograph.

People	Objects	Activities

Step 2. Inference

Based on what you have observed above, list three things you might infer from this photograph.

Step 3. Questions

- What questions does this photograph raise in your mind?
- Where could you find answers to them?

*Adapted from worksheets developed by the staff of the Education Branch, National Archives, Washington, DC 20408.

Poster Analysis Worksheet*

1. What is the message of the poster?

2. What is the purpose(s) of the poster?

3. What symbols (if any) are used in the poster?

4. If a symbol is used, is it
 - a. clear (easy to interpret)?

 - b. memorable?

 - c. dramatic?

5. Are the messages in the poster more visual or verbal?

6. Who do you think is the intended audience for the poster?

7. What does the poster hope that the audience will do?

8. The most effective posters use symbols that are unusual, simple, and direct. Is this an effective poster?

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Motion Picture Analysis Worksheet*

Step 1. Pre-viewing

a. Title of film: _____

Record Group source: _____

b. What do you think you will see in this motion picture? List three concepts or ideas that you might expect to see based on the title of the film. List some people you might expect to see based on the title of the film.

Concepts/Ideas	People
1.	1.
2.	2.
3.	3.

Step 2. Viewing

a. Type of motion picture (check where applicable):

_____ Animated cartoon _____ Combat film _____ Training film
_____ Newsreel _____ Documentary film _____ Other _____
_____ Theatrical short subject _____ Propaganda film

b. Physical qualities of the motion picture (check where applicable):

_____ Music _____ Animation _____ Background noise
_____ Special effects _____ Narration _____ Dramatizations
_____ Live action _____ Color

c. Note how camera angles, lighting, music, narration, and/or editing contribute to creating an atmosphere in this film. What is the mood or tone of the film?

*Adapted from worksheets developed by the staff of the Education Branch, National Archives, Washington, DC 20408.

Sound Recording Analysis Worksheet*

Step 1. Pre-listening

- a. Whose voices will you hear on this recording?
- b. What is the date of this recording?
- c. Where was this recording made?

Step 2. Listening

- a. Type of sound recording (check one):

_____ Policy speech	_____ Arguments before a court	_____ Press conference
_____ News report	_____ Panel discussion	_____ Campaign speech
_____ Entertainment broadcast	_____ Congressional testimony	_____ Other _____
_____ Convention proceedings	_____ Interview	
- b. Unique physical qualities of the recording

_____ Music	_____ Live broadcast	_____ Narrated
_____ Special sound effects	_____ Background sound	
- c. What is the tone or mood of this sound recording?

Step 3. Post-listening (or repeated listening)

- a. List three things in this sound recording that you think are important:
 - 1.
 - 2.
 - 3.
- b. Why do you think the original broadcast was made and for what audience?
- c. What evidence in the recording helps you to know why it was made?

*Adapted from worksheets developed by the staff of the Education Branch, National Archives, Washington, DC 20408.

Artifact Analysis Worksheet*

1. Physical qualities of the artifact

Describe the materials from which it was made: bone, pottery, metal, wood, stone, leather, glass, paper, cardboard, cotton, wool, plastic, other material.

2. Special qualities of the artifact

Describe how it looks and feels: shape, color, texture, size, weight, movable parts, anything printed, stamped, or written on it.

3. Uses of the artifact

a. What might it have been used for?

b. Who might have used it?

c. Where might it have been used?

d. When might it have been used?

4. What the artifact tells us

a. What does it tell us about technology of the time in which it was made and used?

b. What does it tell us about the life and times of the people who made it and used it?

c. Can you name a similar item used today?

5. Bring the artifact (or a sketch or photograph of the artifact) to class.

*Adapted from worksheets developed by the staff of the Education Branch, National Archives, Washington, DC 20408.

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Online Sources

Online sources are an excellent way to obtain primary source historical documents and related material. Especially helpful are the five Web sites listed below, which are arranged by their degree of value to the historian.

The National Archives

<http://www.archives.gov>

Provides a wide variety of pages, including lessons on primary sources. An excellent place to start a search for historical documents or information on the Web.

The Library of Congress

<http://www.loc.gov>

Offers extensive holdings of historical documents and information, including the American Memory collection.

The Presidential Library System

<http://www.archives.gov/presidential-libraries>

Provides access to the Presidential Library System through the National Archives. Visitors may review papers and holdings of presidents from Herbert Hoover to George W. Bush.

Yale University Library
<http://www.library.yale.edu>

Provides detailed research guides for many topics; one guide specifically addresses primary sources and presents tools for locating this type of material. Offers access to more than three hundred thousand images in the library's digital collections.

University of Michigan Documents Center
<http://www.lib.umich.edu/government-documents-center>

Contains large holdings of U.S. government publications.

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