# CONTENTS

 Preface xvii

## Part 1: The Sectional Conflict

### The North and South Contrasted

1. Aleksandr Borisovich Lakier, The Rush of Life in New York City (1857) 3
2. Anonymous, The Manufacturing City of Lowell (1847) 4
3. William Lloyd Garrison, I Will Be Heard (1831) 5
4. Declaration of Sentiments of the American Anti-Slavery Convention (1833) 7
5. Frederick Law Olmsted, The South's Lack of a Spirit of Progress (1861) 9
6. Louis T. Wigfall, We Are an Agricultural People (1861) 11
7. Hinton Rowan Helper, Slavery Impedes the Progress and Prosperity of the South (1857) 12
8. J. D. B. De Bow, Why Non-Slaveholders Should Support Slavery (1861) 14
9. Anonymous, A Traveler Describes the Lives of Non-Slaveholders in Georgia (1849) 16
10. William Harper, Slavery Is the Cause of Civilization (1838) 18
12. Frederick Douglass Fights a Slave-Breaker (1845) 23

## The House Dividing

1. David Wilmot, I Plead the Cause of White Freemen (1847) 27
2. Howell Cobb, The South Is at Your Mercy (1847) 28
3. John C. Calhoun, The Cords of Union Are Snapping One by One (1850) 29
4. Daniel Webster, I Speak Today for the Preservation of the Union (1850) 31
5. Appeal of the Independent Democrats (1854) 33
7. Mobile Register, The South Asks Only for Equal Rights in the Territories (1856) 37
8. New York Evening Post, Are We Too Slaves? (1856) 38
9. Richmond Enquirer, They Must Be Lashed into Submission (1856) 40
10. Chief Justice Roger B. Taney Rules against Dred Scott (1857) 41
11. Associate Justice Benjamin R. Curtis Dissents in the Dred Scott Case (1857) 43
12. James Henry Hammond, Cotton Is King (1858) 46
13. The Lincoln-Douglas Debates (1858) 47
14. The Freeport Doctrine (1858) 51
15. John Brown Addresses the Court (1859) 52
16. *Richmond Enquirer*, The Harpers Ferry Invasion Has Advanced the Cause of Disunion (1859) 53
17. Charles Eliot Norton, I Have Seen Nothing Like the Intensity of Feeling (1859) 54

**The Road to War**

1. Robert Toombs, The South Must Strike while There Is Yet Time (1860) 57
3. South Carolina Justifies Secession (1860) 60
4. Abraham Lincoln, I Hold That the Union Is Perpetual (1861) 62
5. George Templeton Strong, The Outbreak of War Galvanizes New York City (1861) 65

**Part 2: The Civil War**

**The War Begins**

1. Alexander H. Stephens, Slavery Is the Cornerstone of the Confederacy (1861) 71
2. Jefferson Davis, Our Cause Is Just (1861) 72
3. Abraham Lincoln, This Is a People’s Contest (1861) 74
4. The Resources of the Union and the Confederacy (1861) 76
5. Abraham Lincoln Calls for Troops (1861) 77
6. Abraham Lincoln Institutes a Blockade of the Confederacy (1861) 78
7. Kentucky Declares Its Neutrality (1861) 79
8. John B. Gordon, The Raccoon Roughs Go to War (1903) 80
9. The *London Times* Foresees a Confederate Victory in the War (1861) 81

**The Military Struggle, 1861–1862**

1. Winfield Scott, The Anaconda Plan (1861) 83
2. Lyman Trumbull, The Most Shameful Rout You Can Conceive Of (1861) 84
3. George McClellan, I Have Become the Power in the Land (1861) 86
4. George McClellan, The President Is Nothing More Than a Well Meaning Baboon (1861) 87
5. Abraham Lincoln Explains His Ideas on Military Strategy (1862) 88
6. Cyrus F. Boyd, An Iowa Soldier “Sees the Elephant” at Shiloh (1862) 89
7. Ulysses S. Grant, I Gave Up All Idea of Saving the Union Except by Complete Conquest (1885) 92
8. Abraham Lincoln, But You Must Act (1862) 93
9. George McClellan, You Have Done Your Best to Sacrifice This Army (1862) 94
10. George McClellan, The War Should Be Conducted upon the Highest Principles of Christian Civilization (1862) 95
11. John Pope Adopts Harsher Policies against Southern Civilians (1862) 97
12. Abraham Lincoln Authorizes the Army to Seize Private Property in the Confederacy (1862) 99
13. Robert E. Lee Proposes to Invade the North (1862) 100
14. General Edward Alexander Criticizes Lee at Antietam (1899) 101
15. Rufus R. Dawes, The Most Dreadful Slaughter (1890) 103
16. Harper's Weekly, Northern Despair after the Battle of Fredericksburg (1862) 105

The Naval War

1. G. J. Van Burnt, The Monitor Challenges the Merrimack (1862) 107
2. Horatio Wait, The United States Navy Blockades the Confederacy (1898) 108
3. Thomas Taylor, Aboard a Blockade-Runner (1896) 111

Union Politics, 1861–1862

1. Benjamin F. Butler Encounters the Contrabands (1892) 115
2. The Crittenden Resolution Defines Union War Aims (1861) 117
3. Frederick Douglass, Cast Off the Mill-Stone (1861) 117
4. Abraham Lincoln, To Lose Kentucky Is to Lose the Whole Game (1861) 119
5. Samuel S. Cox, A Democratic Congressman Attacks Emancipation (1862) 121
6. John Sherman, Support for Emancipation Is Increasing (1862) 124
7. Abraham Lincoln, I Would Save the Union (1862) 125
8. Harper's Weekly Gauges the Northern Response to Emancipation (1862) 126
10. Abraham Lincoln Replies to a Republican Critic after the 1862 Elections (1862) 129

Confederate Politics, 1861–1863

1. Governor Joseph Brown Obstructs Conscription in Georgia (1862) 131
2. The Twenty Negro Law (1862) 132
3. A Georgia Soldier Condemns the Exemption of Slaveholders (1862) 133
4. An Atlanta Paper Defends the Exemption of Slaveholders (1862) 135
5. Jefferson Davis Defends His Policies (1862) 136
7. Edward Pollard, A Richmond Editor Denounces Davis’s Leadership (1869) 140

Diplomacy

1. Anonymous, Southerners’ Faith in King Cotton Diplomacy (1861) 143
2. Charles Francis Adams, The Trent Affair Has Almost Wrecked Us (1862) 144
3. Jefferson Davis Complains of Europe’s Refusal to Recognize the Confederacy (1863) 145
4. Charles Francis Adams, This Is War (1863) 145
The Military Struggle, 1863

1. Abraham Lincoln Counsels General Joseph Hooker (1863) 147
2. Henry Halleck, The Character of the War Has Very Much Changed (1863) 148
3. Robert E. Lee Proposes to Take the Offensive (1863) 149
4. Rachel Cormany, A Pennsylvania Woman Encounters Lee's Army (1863) 151
5. John Dooley, A Virginia Soldier Survives Pickett’s Charge (1863) 154
6. Benjamin Hirst, A Connecticut Soldier Helps Repel Pickett’s Charge (1863) 156
7. Anonymous, Daily Life during the Siege of Vicksburg (1863) 159
8. Alexander S. Abrams, The Conduct of the Negroes Was beyond All Expression (1863) 162

Union Politics, 1863

1. Abraham Lincoln, The Emancipation Proclamation (1863) 165
2. Northern Newspapers Debate the Significance of the Emancipation Proclamation (1863) 166
4. Clement Vallandigham, One of the Worst Despotisms on Earth (1863) 170
5. Abraham Lincoln, I Think I Shall Be Blamed for Having Made Too Few Arrests (1863) 172
6. Abraham Lincoln, The Heaviest Blow Yet Dealt to the Rebellion (1863) 175
7. Abraham Lincoln, A New Birth of Freedom (1863) 177

The Union Home Front

1. Conscription in the Union (1866) 179
4. J. W. C. Pennington, This Country Also Belongs to Us (1863) 185
5. Anonymous, A Rieter Condemns the $300 Commutation Fee (1863) 187
6. The New York Evening Post Defends the $300 Commutation Fee (1863) 187
7. Cornelia Hancock, A Union Nurse at Gettysburg (1863) 189
9. Fincher's Trade Review, Working Women Protest Their Low Wages (1865) 194

The Confederate Home Front

1. Montgomery Advertiser, Slavery Is a Tower of Strength to the South (1861) 197
2. Samuel L. Holt, Slave Owners Ought to Bear the Principal Burden of the War (1863) 198
3. "Agnes," A Resident Observes the Richmond Bread Riot (1863) 199
4. John B. Jones, This Is War, Terrible War (1862–1864) 201
5. Phoebe Yates Pember Becomes a Hospital Matron (1879) 204
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Author and Extract</th>
<th>Title and Dates</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Sally Putnam</td>
<td>Southern Women Enter the Government Bureaucracy (1867)</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Daniel O'Leary</td>
<td>The War Corrodes Female Virtue (1863)</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Theodore Lyman</td>
<td>A Union Officer Marvels at the Endurance of the Southern People (1864)</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Ella Gertrude Thomas</td>
<td>Until Adversity Tries Us (1861–1865)</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Mary Chesnut</td>
<td>Is Anything Worth It? (1862–1865)</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Mary Cooper</td>
<td>Dear Edward (1906)</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Judith McGuire</td>
<td>The Revulsion Was Sickening (1865)</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>African Americans</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>John Boston</td>
<td>An Escaped Slave Writes His Wife from a Union Camp (1862)</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Frederick Douglass</td>
<td>Urges Black Men to Enlist (1863)</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Hannah Johnson</td>
<td>A Mother Calls on the Government to Protect Black Soldiers (1863)</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Lorenzo Thomas</td>
<td>A Union General Describes Slaves Entering the Union Lines (1863)</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Susanna Clay</td>
<td>The Negroes Are Worse Than Free (1863)</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Isaiah H. Welch</td>
<td>A Black Soldier Explains His Motives for Fighting (1863)</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>A Black Soldier Protests Unequal Pay (1864)</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Spotswood Rice</td>
<td>A Black Soldier Writes His Daughter’s Owner (1864)</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Rachel Ann Wicker</td>
<td>The Hardship of Black Soldiers’ Families (1864)</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Mittie Freeman</td>
<td>Meets a Yankee (1937)</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Former Slaves</td>
<td>Recall the End of Slavery (1937)</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Eliza Evans</td>
<td>The Slave Eliza Acquires a New Name (1937)</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Common Soldiers</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Randolph Shotwell</td>
<td>The Comforts of a Soldier’s Life (1929)</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Wilbur Fisk</td>
<td>Hard Marching (1863)</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Samuel E. Burges</td>
<td>A South Carolina Soldier Confronts His Captain (1862)</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Tally Simpson</td>
<td>Trading with the Enemy (1863)</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Chauncey H. Cooke</td>
<td>Fraternization among Soldiers of the Two Armies (1864)</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>T. J. Stokes</td>
<td>Religious Revivals in the Confederate Army (1864)</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>John A. Potter</td>
<td>Antiblack Prejudice in the Union Ranks (1897)</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Chauncey Welton</td>
<td>A Union Soldier’s Changing Views on Emancipation (1863–1865)</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Reuben A. Pierson</td>
<td>A Louisiana Soldier Links Slavery and Race to the Cause of the Confederacy (1862–1864)</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>T. D. Kingsley</td>
<td>A Wounded Soldier Describes a Field Hospital (1863)</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>William Fisher Plane</td>
<td>The Scourge of War (1862)</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Military Struggle, 1864

1. Ulysses S. Grant Devises a New Union Strategy (1885) 249
2. Horace Porter, A Union Officer Depicts the Fury of the Fighting at Spotsylvania (1897) 251
3. Robert E. Lee, Our Numbers Are Daily Decreasing (1864) 252
4. Robert Stiles, A Confederate Soldier Describes the Pressure of Fighting in the Trenches (1903) 253
5. William Tecumseh Sherman, War Is Cruelty, and You Cannot Refine It (1864) 253
6. William Tecumseh Sherman Proposes to March to the Sea (1864) 255
7. James Connolly, An Illinois Soldier Marches with Sherman to the Sea and Beyond (1864–1865) 256
8. Dolly Lunt Burge, The Heavens Were Lit with Flames (1864) 258

Union Politics, 1864

1. The New York Times Is Amazed by the Change in Public Opinion on Slavery (1864) 261
2. Party Platforms in 1864 262
3. Abraham Lincoln, Events Have Controlled Me (1864) 265
4. Horace Greeley, Our Bleeding Country Longs for Peace (1864) 266
5. Abraham Lincoln Outlines His Terms for Peace (1864) 267
6. Henry J. Raymond, The Tide Is Setting Strongly against Us (1864) 268
7. Illinois State Register, A Negotiated Peace with the Confederacy is Possible (1864) 270
8. New York Tribune, An Armistice Would Lead to a Southern Victory (1864) 271
9. The Republican and Democratic Parties' Final Appeal to the Voters (1864) 273
10. J. N. Jones, A Democratic Soldier Votes for Lincoln (1891) 275
11. Abraham Lincoln, The Election Was a Necessity (1864) 276
12. Chicago Tribune, Lincoln's Election Is a Mandate to Abolish Slavery (1864) 277
13. Abraham Lincoln Hails the Passage of the Thirteenth Amendment (1865) 278

Confederate Politics, 1864–1865

1. Josiah Gorgas Notes the Achievements of the Confederate Ordnance Bureau (1864) 281
2. Alexander H. Stephens, Once Lost, Liberty Is Lost Forever (1864) 282
3. Richmond Examiner, We Are Fighting for Independence, Not Slavery (1864) 285
4. Richmond Examiner, We Prefer the Law (1864) 286
5. Charleston Mercury, We Want No Confederacy without Slavery (1865) 287
6. Richmond Enquirer, Slavery and the Cause of the Confederacy (1865) 288
7. Howell Cobb, Opposition and Disloyalty Are Increasing Daily (1865) 290

The End of the War

1. Judith McGuire, A Bleak Confederate Christmas (1864) 293
2. Catherine Edmondston Reflects on the Situation of the Confederacy (1865) 294
3. George Ward Nichols, Southerners Have Lost the Will to Resist (1865) 297
4. Luther Mills, Desertion Now Is Not Dishonorable (1865) 298
5. Abraham Lincoln, With Malice toward None (1865) 299
6. Mary A. Fontaine, Bitter Tears Came in a Torrent (1865) 300
7. A. W. Bartlett, Richmond's Black Residents Welcome Abraham Lincoln (1897) 302
8. Joshua L. Chamberlain, An Awed Stillness (1915) 303
9. Gideon Welles Describes Lincoln's Death (1865) 305
10. Edmund Ruffin Fires the Last Shot of the Civil War (1865) 307
11. Samuel T. Foster, A Confederate Soldier Reflects on the War’s Cost and Significance (1865) 308
12. Kate Cumming, A Confederate Nurse Discusses the Internal Causes of the Confederacy’s Defeat (1865) 309
14. Sarah Hine, We Have No Future (1866) 312
15. George Templeton Strong, We Have Lived a Century of Common Life (1865) 313

Part 3: Reconstruction

Presidential Reconstruction

1. Abraham Lincoln Vetoes the Wade-Davis Bill (1864) 317
2. Benjamin F. Wade and Henry Winter Davis, The Wade-Davis Manifesto (1864) 318
3. Abraham Lincoln, We Shall Have the Fowl Sooner by Hatching Than Smashing the Egg (1865) 319
4. Ulysses S. Grant Affirms the Loyalty of Southern Whites (1865) 321
5. Carl Schurz Questions Southern Whites’ Loyalty (1865) 323
6. The Mississippi Black Codes (1865) 325
7. Andrew Johnson, The Radicals Will Be Completely Foiled (1865) 328
8. Virginia Blacks Petition for Suffrage (1865) 329
9. Andrew Johnson Reports on the Success of His Program of Reconstruction (1865) 330

Johnson’s Clash with Congress

1. Thaddeus Stevens Designates the Southern States as Conquered Provinces (1865) 333
2. Andrew Johnson Says Black Suffrage Will Lead to Race War in the South (1866) 335
3. The Joint Committee Reports on the Status of the Former States of the Confederacy (1866) 336
4. Andrew Johnson Vetoes the Civil Rights Bill (1866) 339
5. The Chicago Tribune Blames Johnson for the New Orleans Riot (1866) 342
6. Oliver P. Morton Waves the Bloody Shirt (1866) 344
7. Andrew Johnson, I Am Fighting Traitors in the North (1866) 346
Congressional Reconstruction

1. Thaddeus Stevens's Land Confiscation Bill (1867) 351
2. Andrew Johnson Accuses Congress of Seeking to Africanize the South (1867) 352
3. The Articles of Impeachment (1868) 355
4. William Evarts Defends Johnson in the Impeachment Trial (1868) 357
5. Elizabeth Cady Stanton Appeals for Universal Suffrage (1869) 360
6. James T. Rapier, A Black Congressman Complains about Unequal Treatment (1874) 362
7. Richard Cain, Equal Rights and Social Equality (1874) 364

Political Reconstruction in the South

1. Alabama Blacks Voice Their Aspirations for Equality (1867) 367
2. South Carolina Democrats Protest against the New State Constitution (1868) 369
3. R. I. Cromwell, An African American Leader Instructs New Black Voters (1867) 371
5. Alexander White, A Defense of Carpetbaggers (1875) 374

Economic and Social Reconstruction

1. A. B. Randall, Former Slaves Are Anxious to Record Their Marriages (1865) 377
2. Sidney Andrews, Southern Whites Have No Faith in Black Free Labor (1866) 378
3. N. B. Lucas, Freedpeople Complain about Their Former Owners' Attempts to Cheat Them (1865) 379
4. Jourdon Anderson, A Freedman Writes his Former Master (1865) 380
5. John W. DeForest, The Tribulations of a Freedmen's Bureau Agent (1868) 382
6. New Orleans Tribune, They Are the Planter's Guards (1867) 384
9. Mariah Baldwin and Ellen Latimer, Two Black Workers Settle Accounts at the End of the Year (1867) 388
10. New Orleans Tribune, A Black Newspaper Calls for Integrated Schools in New Orleans (1867) 389
11. A Sharecropping Contract (1886) 391

Opposition and Northern Disillusionment

1. Ulysses S. Grant Signals a Retreat from Reconstruction (1874) 393
2. James S. Pike, Society Turned Bottom-Side Up (1874) 395
3. The Nation, This Is Socialism (1874) 397
4. South Carolina Black Leaders Defend the State Government’s Fiscal Record (1874) 400
5. Ulysses S. Grant Vetoes the Currency Act (1874) 403
6. James G. Blaine, The Blaine Amendment (1875) 405
7. Edwards Pierrepont, The Public Is Tired of These Outbreaks in the South (1875) 406
8. James W. Lee, The Mississippi Plan in Action (1876) 408
9. Margaret Ann Caldwell, The Assassination of an African American Political Leader (1876) 409
10. James Lusk, A Southern White Leader Abandons the Republican Party (1913) 411

The End of Reconstruction

1. Rutherford B. Hayes Outlines His Southern Policy (1877) 413
2. Governor Daniel Chamberlain Surrenders the Southern Carolina Governorship (1877) 414
3. Frederick Douglass Assess the Mistakes of Reconstruction (1880) 416

Appendix

1. United States Constitution 419
2. Confederate Constitution 429

Permissions Acknowledgments 439