

Starting the game from the Hard Drive: Boot your computer with DOS 3.2 or higher. At your hard disk prompt, type CD\GLORY (NOTE: If you created a directory name other than GLORY, please substitute that name here) and press <Enter>. Now type GLORYEGA to play the EGA version or GLORYCGA to play the CGA version and press <Enter>. The game will now begin.

Giving Commands: You can play the game using the keyboard or the mouse. The joystick is NOT supported. Both the keyboard and the mouse are active to make choices throughout the game. Using the keyboard set NUMLOCK at OFF. To select a command using the keyboard, you can use the numeric keypad keys (2,4,6,8) or the arrow keys to move the arrow pointer over your choice and press <Enter> to select your choice. To give commands using the mouse, drag the mouse pointer to the appropriate box you wish to select and press any mouse button to make your choice.

Copy Protection Question: After selecting the Game Options, you will be asked to select one of the words which appear in the manual. The word that you will be asked to look up is the first word appearing in the first full paragraph or heading on the indicated page. Move the arrow pointer to the box next to the appropriate word and click the mouse or press <Enter>.

Saving and Quitting: You can save or quit at the end of a phase. You can enter the Main Menu and select the Save/Quit option which will tell you that you can save/quit at the end of the phase. First you will be asked if you wish to save and then you will be asked if you wish to quit.

How to Save a game: Selecting YES to save a game, will allow you to select one of four possible save filenames: Save 1, Save 2, Save 3, or Save 4. If one of the filenames has already been selected, it will automatically overwrite the old file. After saving, the game will ask you if you wish to quit.

How to reload a save game: In the Game Options menu, select SAVED GAME (you may ignore the other options). Next answer the copy protection question. You will then be asked to select one of the four save game filenames. This will then load your saved file.

How to Quit and return to DOS prompt: Selecting YES at the Quit option will return you to the DOS prompt in your hard disk directory.

Rule Changes and Clarifications:

Page 2, The Phases in a Turn: Each turn represents four months.

Page 6, Game Options: You have the option to set the difficulty level after selecting the game options. There are five levels of difficulty: Very Easy, Easy, Historical, Hard, and Very Hard. Selecting one of these options will affect the amount of taxes you collect, the amount of attrition your units suffer, the level of defense, your general's initiative level, the level of affect on re-elections, and the amount of support the CSA receives from England/France.

Pages 5 and 40, Victory and Defeat: The CSA Territorial Success rule applies only if the computer is playing the Union side. The computer Union will sue for peace upon losing Cairo, Evansville, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia.

Page 6, Peace Negotiations: You will only receive a post game analysis if you have won the game. Upon losing the game, the winning player will be announced and the game will return you to the DOS prompt.

Page 17, Supply Production: Each 20 supplies cost \$1 to purchase.

Page 19, Naval Building: The Union player is limited in building transports. The computer will display a message indicating you have exceeded your capacity if you try to build more than what is allowed.

Page 21, Strategic Movement Phase-News Segment and Page 26, Balance of Forces: This section has been deleted from the game concerning the imbalance of forces in each region. Players are no longer restricted as to the number or balance of forces in each region.

Page 22, AI Button: Selecting AI to move your troops/supplies will then display a screen asking you to select 25%, 50%, 75%, or 90%. Select one of these options. The computer will then 1) move troops/supplies up to that percentage of your available rail capacity, 2) move your forces with any available naval capacity, and 3) make any river moves. NOTE: You may wish to first make your naval moves and any river moves before selecting this option to get the most out of your available transport.

Page 26, Supplies: Each productive capacity point produces 2 supply points. Excessive looting may reduce the political/economic support by more than one point.

Page 27, Attrition: For game purposes the following names have been changed: Early=Spring, Mid=Summer, and Late=Winter.

Page 27, Campaign Phase: There may occur some situations in which an army is plotted to move to a certain area and at the same time an enemy army has also plotted to attack from your target area to the area you have just moved from. In this case one side will be notified that its move has been hindered by the enemy's offensive and its forces will be returned to the home area.

Page 28, Unit Type Selector: Commander Button should be added. Selecting this button will display the Generals' ID # on the map.

Page 33, Specific Attack Instructions: Raid can cause prestige gains and losses.

Page 39, Elections: The elections occur during the Late turn.

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THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR..57

1861-1865 by *Albert A. Nofi*

THE NORTHERN ECONOMY.105

by *Ed Bever*



INTRODUCTION

No GREATER GLORY puts *you* in the shoes of Abraham Lincoln or Jefferson Davis during the American Civil War. *You* make the great strategic, political, and economic decisions that will determine the fate of the American people for centuries to come. You will lead the government, mobilize the armies, pick the generals, and guide their movements. The epic struggle will ebb and flow — from Northern Virginia to Southern Louisiana, from St. Louis to Jacksonville, Florida. In the end, victory will come because of *your* strategic skills, *your* economic management, and *your* political acumen.

No GREATER GLORY is an all-embracing simulation of national leadership during one of America's greatest crisis.

BEFORE YOU PLAY

Your No GREATER GLORY game disk has no physical copy protection. To verify that you have a legitimate copy of the game, you will be asked to answer questions with information from this rule book.

YOUR COMPUTER SYSTEM

The Data Card will tell you how to install and start No GREATER GLORY. What you do in each phase will vary somewhat depending on your computer system. On all machines you can use a mouse. On the

IBM® you have the option to use the keyboard as well. If you are unfamiliar with your system, or are using the keyboard on the IBM, check the machine specific Data Card. If you have experience using a mouse, the controls should be thoroughly familiar to you.



GETTING STARTED QUICKLY

Winning No GREATER GLORY may be difficult, but playing it is not. Because of its intuitive interface, you should be able to enjoy it with a minimum of instruction. To start playing quickly, just read this section. Better yet, start up your computer and read this section as you walk through the first turn. For more information on inputting commands or on how the program

works, see the detailed Playing Guide section beginning on page 6.

GAME OPTIONS

After the title sequence, start setting up your game. Choose which side you want to be, Union or Confederate, and the computer will take the other. If you do not have much experience with war-games, you may want to select "Full Intelligence" which lets you see more data about your opponent. Otherwise, we suggest that you select the default choices for your first game.

THE PHASES IN A TURN

The game consists of a series of turns, each representing a season or four months. Each turn is subdivided into a series of phases in which all activities of a given type are conducted and resolved. At the end of each turn, a summary screen shows the changes during the turn.

CABINET PHASE OVERVIEW

During the first turn, you must assign five of the twelve available politicians to your cabinet (in later turns you can make changes in the line-up). Each appointee contributes his administrative talent to his department, so appoint the best men available. Each politician comes from one of the major regions of the country, and belongs to one of the two major factions in the government. Keep in mind that regions and factions will turn against you if they are not adequately represented. Therefore, reconcile your need for talented subordinates with the political pressure for balanced appointments.

CIVIL AFFAIRS PHASE OVERVIEW

Here you will set your government's policy toward dissent and subversion in the major regions of the country. You can "administer" in regions where you control at least some areas, and you can "subvert" in regions where the enemy controls at least some areas. In either case, success is measured in increased or decreased support for the two sides.

In general, administer lightly in regions where you have a lot of support (or you will turn the subversives into underdogs) and heavily in region where support is weak (this will buck up your supporters). Follow the opposite tactic with subversion: tread lightly where you just provoke overwhelming opposition; push matters to a head where you are strong and the enemy is weak.

If you succeed in subversion, enemy areas may suffer disturbances and, if no troops are present, may even escape from enemy control. On the other hand, should you fail at administration, your own areas may suffer.

CAPITAL RELOCATION PHASE OVERVIEW

Lose your capital and you will lose a great deal of political support and diplomatic face. Consequently, if the enemy is at the gates, consider relocating your seat of government. There is still a political price to pay, but it is not nearly so high. Of course, you can try holding out....

The Confederate player faces a special situation during the second turn. Historically, Montgomery, Alabama (Mobile on the game map) had limited facilities for a seat of government, so the Confederacy relocated its capital to Richmond, Virginia. But in the game, the Confederate player gets a chance to relocate anywhere without any political penalty.

SLAVERY PHASE OVERVIEW

The Civil War was fought over slavery, for it was the slave question that raised the issue of states' rights. After the first turn, the Union player will come under continual pressure from radical abolitionists to free the slaves. When and how far to act is a critical political decision you must make. Siding with abolitionists will alienate Border state moderates, but gain support from New Engenders, radicals, and English and French workers. It will also add potential black recruits to your armies. As far as timing, you may not be able to choose your moment because the influx of escaped slaves into Union camps may force you to declare a policy prematurely.

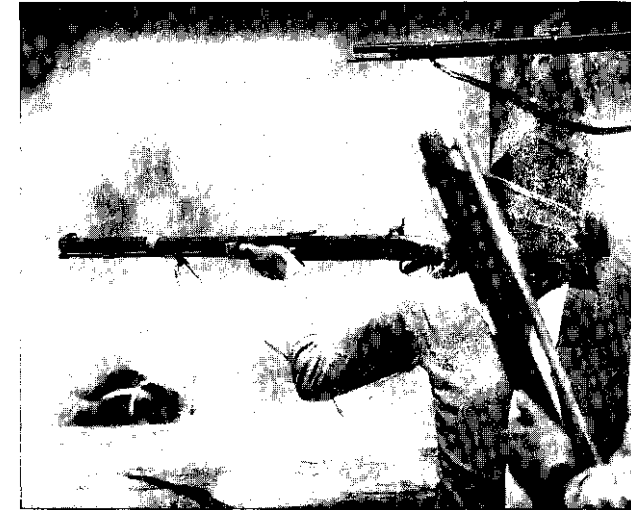
In the Confederacy, slavery was hardly a question for most of the war. But when the military situation gets really bad, the Confederate Secretary of War will remind you of the manpower potential represented by the slaves. Yet you cannot recruit many slaves without at least partially emancipating them. While you may think the price is well worth it, many Southerners may not agree.

FINANCE PHASE OVERVIEW

To run a war, you have to pay for it: by taxing, borrowing, or printing paper money. During this phase, you can set a tax level and an interest level on bonds. Congress may not approve your taxes, and your interest rate will leave a long-term debt that may depress your level of victory. Whatever you spend beyond that income, you will have to print — which will fuel inflation. As inflation rises, your political support will fall.

MOBILIZATION PHASE OVERVIEW

In this phase, you try to raise more forces, balancing the competing need for new recruits, adequate supplies, naval support, and economic growth. Your recruiting level may be rejected by Congress, in which case you will suffer a political loss.



But it may pass even if your Secretary of War fears otherwise, so you decide whether to take the chance. The other choices are more straightforward, but remember that the levels you receive will probably differ from those you were told. If you are disappointed, look at who you put in charge.

STRATEGIC MOVEMENT PHASE OVERVIEW

The object of strategic movement is to reposition veteran troops, to move reinforcements to the front, and to get supplies to the troops (one supply for each unit, if possible). A map at the beginning of the phase shows the eastern states and the eight major regions. You have the option to make the move yourself or let Artificial Intelligence (AI) do it.

To move forces yourself, choose one of the listed regions and press select. The map will zoom in on the region, displaying



a list of its areas. Choose the area you want to move things *from*. Move troops and supplies along rail lines, subject to the availability of transportation (the Union can also move by sea). In addition, you can move supplies and riverine units along rivers. Whatever you move, you can specify the destination and the amount of each type of unit. If a naval move is to a hostile area, you will also specify a general to lead the campaign.

Press the AI button on the "Select Region" screen if you do not want to conduct strategic movement, or if you only want to perform certain moves. AI will pick up wherever you left off. Be forewarned — it may rearrange units you already moved if it thinks it has a better use for them!

At the end of strategic movement, the troops will consume supplies and suffer from attrition.

CAMPAIGN PHASE OVERVIEW

The Campaign phase looks like the Strategic Movement phase as it starts, except that there is no option for AI. Once you select a region, the map zooms in the same way. Choose an area and either move from it or assign a general to defend in it.

Press "Defend In" to get a list of your generals. Select the one to send. Some generals are better than others and obviously, you want to send the best.

But there are two obstacles to this.

First, like Lincoln and Davis, you cannot know the exact ability of your generals. You can only form an opinion after seeing them in action. If you chose "Historical" (the default) at the beginning of the game, you may use your knowledge of

history to help you choose the best generals. (Refer to page 31 for tables of generals' abilities.) But if you chose "Random," you must observe each general's performance and choose accordingly.

Second, each general has a prestige rating (which you can look up), and you will pay a stiff penalty should you ignore this combination of

party politics and seniority.

Two rules of thumb apply: first, the top generals must command the largest armies (the top five generals and armies for the Union; the top three of each for the Confederates); second, no general can be unassigned if a less prestigious colleague has a command. Thus, if general number eight is given a post, then numbers seven, six, and so on must all have commands as well. If not, or if one of the top generals is given an inadequate command, you will feel the heat when you finish giving orders.



erate player, it is better to be Reconciled than Conquered.

ENDING THE GAME

SAVING AND QUITTING

To exit a game before it ends, use the Save and Quit features. Consult the Data Card for the exact procedure you need to follow for your computer system. You can save the current game and then quit; this allows you to resume playing where you left off. Or, you can quit without bothering to save.

VICTORY AND DEFEAT

The other way to exit the game is by playing it through to completion. You can achieve victory through military success, diplomatic means, changes in government, or peace negotiations.

- *Military Success:* Either side can win a military success by controlling all areas on the map. The Confederates can also cause the Federal government to sue for peace by taking significant chunks of territory in the Northwest and Mid-Atlantic regions (Cairo, Evansville, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia). Either player can force the AI to accept terms by taking its six major cities: Richmond, Charleston (S.C.), Atlanta, Mobile, Memphis, and New Orleans for the South; Washington, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Cleveland, and Chicago for the North).

- *Diplomatic means:* The Confederates win automatically if the European powers intervene.

- *Changes in Government:* If Lincoln loses a Presidential election, a peace party will take power and recognize Southern independence. If Davis loses a Presidential election, a peace party will take power and accept Union terms.

If you choose to "Move From" the area, you will follow a procedure similar to movement in the Strategic Movement phase. The difference is that this choice ends with the assignment of a commander (subject to the same constraints as selecting a defender). Furthermore, the process ends not with the actual movement of troops, but with the formation of a force assigned to the general who has orders to undertake the movement (indicated on the map by an arrow pointing from the area of origin to the destination). Whether the general will actually carry out the movement remains to be seen, for each general has a separate, unknown rating for initiative.

Once all orders have been given, the game moves from region to region, conducting the movements of those generals with sufficient initiative under the circumstances, and resolving battles in areas containing forces from both sides.

DIPLOMACY PHASE OVERVIEW

In the last phase of each turn, you set negotiating policies, send ambassadors to England and France, and set your terms for peace. Ambassadors work much like cabinet members: they contribute to negotiations with their host country and are counted into the regional and factional political balances. Setting diplomatic policies involves setting the goals (i.e., the orientation you want each foreign power to take toward the war) and the means (i.e., the way to try and persuade the country to accept your goals).

As the Union, you want both England and France to remain "Uninvolved." As the Confederacy, you want their "Intervention."

Setting peace terms involves simply stating what terms you will accept. The South is fighting for independence, and anything else is more or less a victory for the Union. Nevertheless, for the Confed-

• *Peace negotiations:* The game can end with a settlement if one side decides to accept the other's terms. Consider doing so if your position is becoming hopeless, since the more badly you are beaten, the worse you will do in the post-game analysis. The AI will accept terms if it loses all its major cities (listed above, under "Military Success"), to avoid prolonging the game unnecessarily.

WHERE TO GO FROM HERE

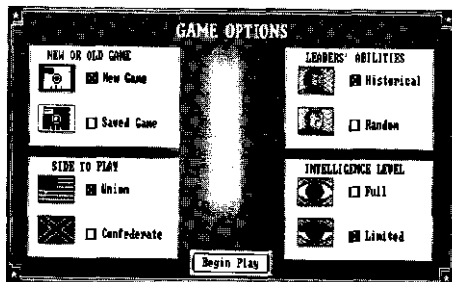
This section is intended to get you playing quickly, and hopefully you have just played or are about to play your first turn. But playing and playing well are two different things.

The following Playing Guide section offers detailed descriptions of all aspects of the game. Unless you are a real glutton for rules, we suggest that you consult the Playing Guide section as questions come up, rather than trying to wade through the Rule Book from beginning to end.

Additional hints on strategy can be found in the TIPS ON PLAY and NOTES sections. The Designer's Notes and the Suggested Readings will give you further insight into the game — and the real Civil War.

PLAYING GUIDE

GAME OPTIONS



Use the Game Options screen to set up your game. Select the desired options, then select "Begin Play."

NEW OR SAVED GAME

NEW GAME: This option will start a new game for you.

SAVED GAME: This option allows you to load a previously saved game. Since the exact procedure varies between versions, directions appear on the screen and/or the Data Card.

SIDE TO PLAY

UNION: YOU play the Union side; the computer plays the Confederate side.

CONFEDERATE: YOU play the Confederate side; the computer plays the Union side.

GENERALS' ABILITIES

HISTORICAL: Each general's Initiative and Ability are rated according to their historical talents. This option is recommended for new players and for those who are interested in using the simulation as an aid for studying the Civil War.

RANDOM: All generals' abilities will be generated randomly. This option is recommended for those familiar with the historical commanders, either from a prior knowledge of history or from experience with the game.

INTELLIGENCE LEVEL

FULL INTELLIGENCE: YOU have access to as complete and accurate information about the computer's side as to your own.

LIMITED INTELLIGENCE: YOU have access to incomplete and only approximate information about the computer's side.

Note: In the campaign phase, the computer knows about your moves (with either intelligence level). Because your natural intelligence gives you an advantage over the computer, we found this provides the optimum play balance.

BEGIN PLAY

Once the desired options have been set, press this button to begin the game.

THE SEGMENTS WITHIN A PHASE

Just as the turns are divided into phases, phases are divided into general segments:

NEWS SEGMENT

As each phase begins, you will be informed of significant developments related to the decisions that you will make during the phase. These may take the form of intelligence reports, advice and/or demands from a cabinet member or political faction. You are advised to pay close attention to all of them, but not to take all the information at face value, either.

CONTROL SCREENS (PLAYER INPUT SEGMENT)

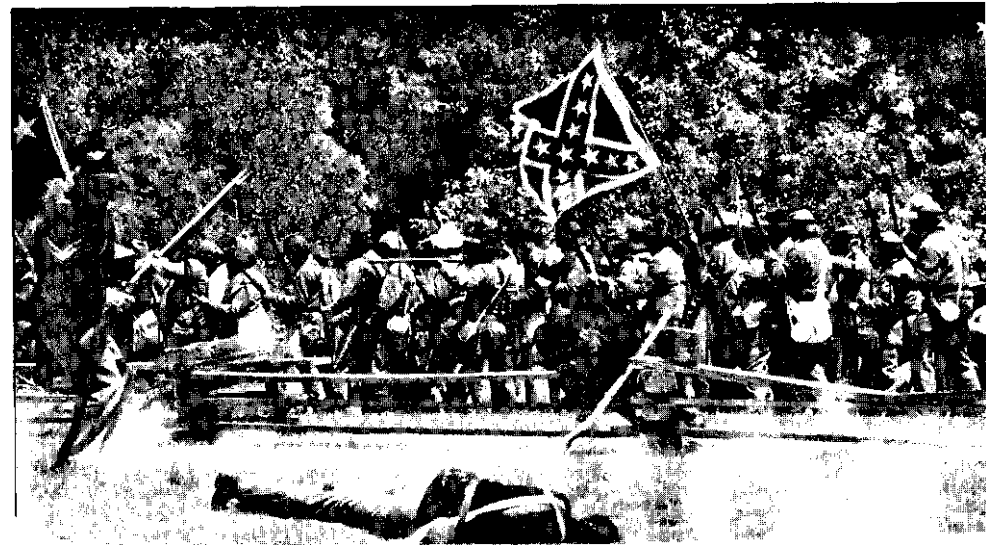
During the main segment of each phase you input your decisions and orders concerning a particular aspect of the war effort through a control screen or set of interconnected control screens. This input takes place through the selection of one or more checkboxes, list items, and/or buttons which appear on the control screens. Depending on the complexity of the decisions to be made, you will make a single input and then go on, input a series of decisions through a single control screen, or cycle between a number of interconnected control screens.

The most relevant information needed to make decisions are displayed on the control screen itself. Moreover, the most directly related portion of the game's database can be accessed via one or more special buttons among the screen's controls. Finally, the entire database can be accessed via a button labelled "Menu" on every control screen.

COMPUTER PLAYER SEGMENT

With artificial intelligence (AI), the computer can control either the Union or the Confederacy routines to input decisions as your opponent. The computer player always inputs its decisions after you do, although it is not always aware of your decisions when it does so.

In the political and economic phases, whenever the computer makes a decision, a screen similar to your control screen will appear, although the controls will not be active. In the military phases, you will simply see a map with a message that the AI is at work, due to the tediousness of watching the large number of decisions that the computer has to make.



RESULTS SEGMENT

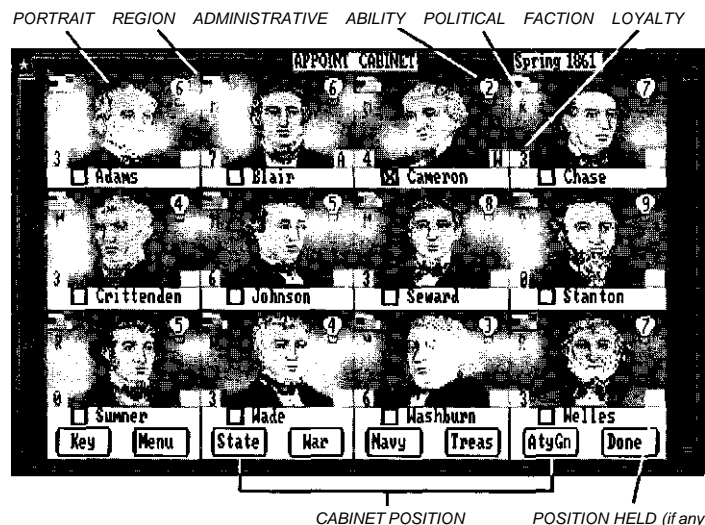
After you input your decisions, their consequences appear in one or more reports. In some cases, you can revise decisions by returning to the input segment. In others, you will simply be told the outcome of a decision, and play will proceed to the next phase.

EXCEPTIONS

Most phases follow the structure outlined above, but there are exceptions:

- **Cabinet:** After the first turn, you may skip the Cabinet segment if you do not want to make any changes to your cabinet. The computer may do the same.
- **Capital Relocation:** You can move your capital if it is adjacent to enemy territory. The Confederate side can always move its capital in the second turn.
- **Slavery Policy:** After the first turn the Union will always be prompted to declare a policy unless the slavery policy is already "Full Emancipation." However, in most turns you may skip this segment if you do not want to make any changes. The Confederate player can only change this policy if the war is going strongly against the South.
- **Finance:** You can choose to skip the input segment in this phase.
- **Mobilization:** The computer player's screen will not appear if you have chosen the "Limited Intelligence" option at the beginning of the game.

CABINET PHASE



During this phase, you create and maintain your cabinet. The cabinet is made up of prominent politicians who direct the different departments responsible for the war effort.

NEWS SEGMENT

On the first turn, the Union will be informed of a prior commitment to appoint Simon Cameron as Secretary of War. (Cameron's support clinched the Republican nomination at the Chicago convention; this is the payoff.) Thereafter, you will be informed of any rumors circulating around the capital concerning the competence of cabinet members, and will be given an opportunity to revise it.

CONTROL SCREENS

The primary display contains portraits of each of the 12 politicians. The portraits include symbols and numbers representing each politician's region, faction, loyalty, ability, and current office.

On the first turn, you must select 5 of 12 prominent politicians to make up your cabinet. On subsequent turns, you may

elect to change the personnel of your cabinet in order to replace a politician with questionable competence, shift your best helpers into new administrative areas, or gain political support.

CHOOSE POLITICIAN: the box next to a politician's name to consider him for a cabinet position: an "x" will appear in the box. Pressing a cabinet position button will cause the currently selected politician to be appointed to that position.

CABINET POSITIONS: TO assign the currently selected politician to a post, press the appropriate cabinet position button. The following are the cabinet positions and the areas they control:

- **State** (Secretary of State): Diplomacy with foreign nations.
- **War** (Secretary of War): Recruitment and supplies.
- **Navy** (Secretary of the Navy): Shipbuilding and naval operations.
- **Treas** (Secretary of the Treasury): Taxation and borrowing.
- **AttyGen** (Attorney General): Civil affairs.

ADMINISTRATIVE ABILITY: A cabinet member's Ability will influence the effectiveness of his department. A good Secretary of War, for example, will maximize recruitment and minimize supply costs, while an incompetent Secretary of the Treasury will collect insufficient taxes and pay more to borrow less money through bond issues.

LOYALTY: Loyalty indicates the politician's commitment and support for the administration. It plays a role in passing higher taxes, increasing recruitment, and whether or not you will get re-elected.

REGION: Each politician is affiliated with a region of the country and a political faction. These regions and factions will not support a president whose cabinet does not adequately represent them.

The North and South are made up of four political regions each. These are related to but not always identical to the geographical regions depicted on the military maps in other phases of the game.

UNION POLITICAL REGIONS:

New England
Mid Atlantic
Old Northwest
Border (includes East Border, Central, and West Border regions of the military maps)

CONFEDERATE POLITICAL REGIONS:

Gulf Coast
Tidewater
East Border
West Border (includes Central and West Border regions of the military maps)

POLITICAL FACTIONS: Each side contains two political factions.

- **Radicals:** the politicians most committed to the side, who oppose compromise. Northern radicals are the "Abolitionists," opponents of slavery everywhere. Southern radicals are the "Fire Eaters" who were convinced that the Union would inevitably destroy slavery and with it, the Southern way of life.
- **Moderates:** the politicians disinclined toward war and who would prefer some sort of compromise. Northern moderates include those who accepted slavery as well as those who opposed only its extension into new territories. Southern moderates would have liked to avoid a split, and still hope for compromise.

MENU BUTTON: This brings out the main menu, from which you can access all game data and the Save/Quit button. This menu is described on page 42.

KEY BUTTON: Selecting this button displays a pop-up dialog box that has key to the symbols on the politician portraits.

DONE BUTTON: Selecting this button will end the control segment of the phase.

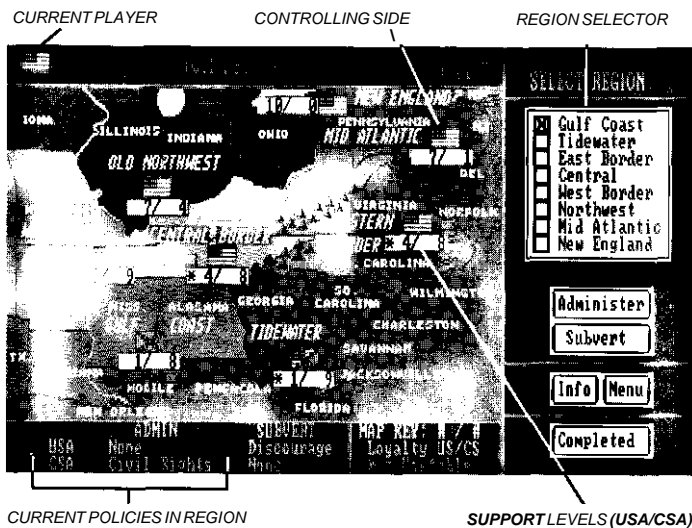
RESULTS SEGMENT

If you have not filled all five positions, the program will return to the control screen.

If a region or faction feels that it is not equitably represented in the cabinet, it will voice its displeasure. You can choose to return to the control screen and rearrange appointments, or you can keep going. As a rule, maintain a politically balanced cabinet. An imbalance may be desirable in some circumstances, but casually alienating important segments of your political constituency will cause your war effort to quickly collapse from within.

A region or faction that is overrepresented in the cabinet will voice its satisfaction. Sometime, you can use this effect to bolster support in an unfavorable region or faction, but at the price of losing some support in another area.

CIVIL AFFAIRS PHASE



sive policies are set for entire regions of the country, which may include areas controlled by you or the enemy. Both sides' policies are evaluated in relation to each other as well as the support enjoyed by the two sides in each area.

NEWS SEGMENT

As the phase begins, you will be informed of which areas, if any, contain areas that are in danger of revolting.

CONTROL SCREENS

Use these controls to set your administration and subversion policies.

CURRENT PLAYER: This indicates whose turn it is: Union or Confederate.

CONTROLLING SIDE: This indicates the side that controls each region: Union, Confederate, or Mixed (a region containing some areas controlled by one side and others by the other).

SUPPORT LEVELS (USA/CSA): The numbers show the average support level for each side of all the areas contained in a region.

Unstable areas are marked with an asterisk (*).

REGION SELECTOR:

This is used to select regions to set administration or subversion policies. Note that these are geographic regions as opposed to the political regions described in the Cabinet Phase. Choose regions by selecting the box next to the region's name.

CURRENT POLICIES IN REGION: This indicates both sides' policies in the current region.

ADMINISTER BUTTON: Brings up a control screen that lets you set administration policies in the region currently selected:

Respect Civil Rights: The government will not interfere in the rights of free expression or assembly.

This policy is appropriate where your government is very secure.

Impose Censorship: The government will supervise publications, prohibiting those that contribute to defeatism or dissent. This policy is effective against mild opposition.

Suspend Habeas Corpus: The government will detain suspected subversives without charges or trial so long as it deems them a threat to

national security. This policy is appropriate against strong opposition.

Declare Martial Law: A military commander will rule the area, issuing decrees and administering justice according to *military* law. This policy will alienate supporters if used against an enemy that seems weak, but will hearten those who feel besieged.

Set Policy: Implements the currently selected policy option.

Cancel: Return to the previous screen without making any changes.

SUBVERT BUTTON: Brings up a control screen that allows you to set subversion policies in the region currently selected:

Discourage Activity: Your agents will actively discourage subversive activities against the enemy. This policy is appropriate where support for the enemy is strong, and support for you is weak.

Encourage Activity: Your agents will promote spontaneous activities by supporters, but will avoid active involvement themselves. This policy is appropriate where your support is significant, but weaker than the enemy's.



Organize Subversion: Your agents will lead anti-government activities. This policy is appropriate where your support is strong, but not overwhelming.

Precipitate Uprising: Your agents will lead an outright revolt against the enemy government. This policy is appropriate when opposition to the enemy is much stronger than support for it.

Set Policy: Implements the currently selected policy option.

Cancel: Return to the previous screen without making any changes.

COMPLETED BUTTON: Indicate that all policies have been entered by pressing this. The game will proceed to the results segment.

INFO BUTTON: Brings out the information display (described in more detail on page 47) for the currently selected region.

MENU BUTTON: Brings up the main menu, which is described on page 42.

RESULTS SEGMENT

There are several types of results information that may be displayed for this phase.

GENERAL INFORMATION: YOU will get a summary for each region detailing:

- The policies pursued by each side.
- Each side's average level of support before the policies were implemented.
- Each side's average level of support after the policies were implemented.

After the regional summaries, you will also get a report of each area within the region where opposition to the current government has resulted in serious disturbances. While you will retain control of the area, if opposition remains high in the Mobilization Phase, recruitment may not be possible, and your government may face an armed uprising during the Campaign Phase as well.

Loss OF CONTROL: YOU will receive notice of any area in which opposition to the current government is so great that it has led to a loss of control.

- Areas can only leave the government's control in this way if there were no military forces present to maintain even the semblance of order.

- Areas where control has been lost are considered to have aligned with the enemy.
- Areas that are lost to a government in this way will raise forces against it during the mobilization phase. Although technically not part of the enemy's army, these forces



are treated as such for game purposes, since they are united by their opposition to the area's original government.

SECESSION: If an area in which the Union government loses control is the capital of a state, that state will secede. When a state secedes, any other areas in the state that are still controlled by the Union side will also go over to the Confederacy unless they are garrisoned by Union forces.

WEST VIRGINIA: The western portion of Virginia, the part to the west of the Appalachian Mountains was very different from the rest of the state, oriented more toward the Ohio Valley than the Atlantic Coast, and alienated from Richmond by a long history of political neglect. Therefore, when both Charleston, W.Va. and Grafton are controlled by the Union, they will secede from Virginia to form the new, Union state of West Virginia.

KENTUCKY'S NEUTRALITY: Kentucky contains the areas Louisville and Paducah in the Central region. If one part of Kentucky is controlled by the Union and one part by the Confederacy, the state will declare

neutrality. So long as Kentucky is neutral, it will expect that neither side will recruit within or move forces into either area of the state. If either side recruits or moves in Kentucky, the state will declare for the other side, decreasing support for the aggressor and increasing it for the other.

CAPITAL RELOCATION PHASE



PRESENCE OF CAPITAL (USA/CSA)

During this phase, you can relocate your seat of government. To do so, select the region of the area that is to be the new capital, then select the area itself.

NEWS SEGMENT

The usual preliminary message in this phase informs you that the current capital is potentially in danger, and asks if you want to consider relocating it.

For the Confederate side, at the beginning of this phase during the second turn (Summer 1861), you are strongly urged to move the capital. The original Confederate capital was Montgomery, Alabama (Mobile in game terms), but this was a small city with limited facilities, not well suited as the seat of government.

CONTROL SCREENS

In general, you pay a political penalty for moving the capital, because it is taken as a sign of weakness at home and abroad. An exception: the Confederacy can decide on a permanent seat of government to replace the provisional capital at Montgomery, Alabama without penalty.

Should you want to move the capital, use the control screen. It is similar at first to the Civil Affairs phase, except that regional loyalties are not displayed.

CURRENT PLAYER:

This indicates whose turn it is: Union or Confederate.

CONTROLLING SIDE:

This indicates the side that controls each region: Union, Confederate, or Mixed (a region

containing some areas controlled by the North and others by the South).

PRESENCE OF CAPITAL: "*" indicates presence of capital. "-" indicates that the region does not contain the capital.

REGION SELECTOR: Select the region to which you want to move the capital. Choose the region by selecting the box and "x" will appear.

SELECT BUTTON: Select the current region by pressing this button. Once you have selected a region, the following controls and information will appear:

Zoom Maps: When you select the active region via the region selector, the map of the eastern United States is replaced by a map of the region. Each zoom map shows the areas into which the region is divided, with a flag in each showing the controlling side (each area is controlled by the North or the South, never by both), and an area adjacent to the control flag in which a symbol ("*" or "-") indicates if the area is the capital.

Current Area: The area to be considered is indicated by an underline underneath its name in the list of the region's areas.

Select Button: Press to make this area the new capital.

New Region Button: Returns you to the Select Region control panel.

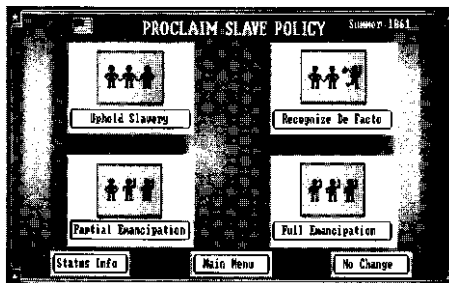
SAME BUTTON: Press this if you decide not to relocate the capital.

RESULTS SEGMENT

When relocating the Confederate capital in the summer of 1861, you will receive a report that tells you the location of the new capital and expresses the the inhabitants' joy at this singular honor.

In all other cases, a message indicates that removal of the government from its current seat has cost political support due to the appearance of cowardice. This price is small, however, compared to the cost of having the capital captured by the enemy.

SLAVERY PHASE



Here you can change your government's policy toward slavery. At the very beginning of the game, both sides support slavery — the status quo in 1861 — so neither side will be asked to set a policy during the first turn.

NEWS SEGMENT

At the beginning of this phase, you may receive messages urging movement on the slavery issue, and you can do so. These messages appear frequently for the Union

player, and rarely for the Confederate player. On occasion, the Union player will have no choice but to declare a policy, since Southern planters demanded the return of slaves who had sought refuge with the Union.

CONTROL SCREENS

UNION SLAVERY POLICY: AS the game progresses, the Union player will come under increasing pressure from the northern radicals to abolish slavery. Doing so will boost the government's popularity in some areas, while reducing it in others. This move will also make English support for the South much less likely while making it possible to recruit into the army large numbers of blacks (they can only be reasonably expected to sign up if they are offered freedom).

SOUTHERN SLAVERY POLICY: The South is unlikely to move against slavery. However, given the disparity of manpower between the Union and Confederacy, the South considered limited emancipation. This would mobilize blacks; it was an option that was discussed late in the war and might have occurred. So, if the war is going very badly, the Southern player can consider this move. Remember, that despite the demographic logic, such a move would be very unpopular among Southern whites.

SLAVERY POLICY OPTIONS: The following are the four possible slave policies.

Uphold Slavery: This will please Southerners and northern Moderates, but infuriate northern Radicals and New Engenders.

Recognize De Facto: As the war disrupted Southern life, more and more slaves gained de facto freedom, either by escaping to Union lines or by being rented by their owners to work in Southern industrial cities, under conditions indistinguishable from wage

laborers. This option allows you to accept de jure these de facto developments. It represents a very limited and grudging step, unlikely to appease the northern radicals, although likely to upset the moderates and infuriate southern radicals.

Partial Emancipation: This option represents a far greater step than Recognizing De Facto. It will largely satisfy the northern radicals and New Engenders, while it will upset northern moderates and border state politicians, alienate southern moderates, and infuriate southern radicals. If adopted by the Union, it will, however, hamstring pro-Southerners in England and France.

Full Emancipation: Representing the complete and total abolition of slavery, this will completely satisfy northern radicals and New Engenders, but will alienate Southerners.

STATUS INFO: Displays basic information about the current nation's slave and peace policies, political support and relative strength of the factions.

MAIN MENU BUTTON: Brings up the main menu, which is described on page 42.

NO CHANGE BUTTON: Keeps present policy. But, you may pay a political price. In politics, sometimes once a topic is broached, not taking a stand is taking a stand.

RESULTS SEGMENT

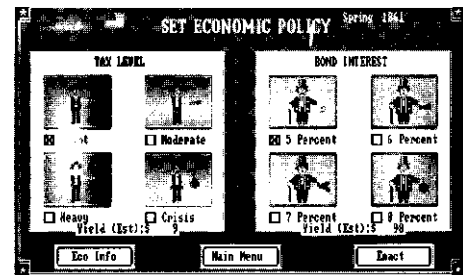
After you have selected a policy, different factions will react to it. In each case, you can return to the control screen and change the policy.

If you continue, a report will indicate:

- The support for your government before the policy was announced
- The support for your government after the policy was announced
- The amount by which support for your government changed
- Each faction's change in support for you.

If the new Union policy is partial or full emancipation, a short celebration will be held.

FINANCE PHASE



During this phase, you set the tax rate and the rate of interest paid for bonds.

NEWS SEGMENT

- As the phase begins, the Secretary of the Treasury will inform you of the current income and spending levels. You can change either the tax rate or the bond interest at this point. Your Secretary of the Treasury will let you know if the inflation rate has reached a dangerous level. (Inflation is the result of spending more than your income over time.)

CONTROL SCREENS

Change your fiscal policies through the Set Economic Policy control screen. The major options are to raise actual funds through bond and tax measures, or to simply print more paper money to pay governments debts.

If you do not get the money from taxes and bonds, you can still buy war materials by printing more money. This choice appears automatically if you spend more money during the Mobilization phase than your government has. You will cause spiraling inflation as the extra money pushes up prices and in turn necessitates further issues of notes.

Inflation is reflected in the game by a price index that can be seen by pressing

the Eco button and displaying the Treasury Information Screen (described later on page 45). As the price index increases, dollar amounts will not be raised (for simplicity's sake), but the country's economy and the government's popularity will both decline.

The Set Economic Policy control screen gives you the following choices:

TAXES: In general, taxes are the best way to pay for the war effort, but they are politically unpopular, particularly in the South.

BONDS: The next best way to raise money, although they will burden the country far into the future. High interest payments will count against you at the end of the game.

YIELD (Estimated) This is the estimated amount of money that the selected economic policy will generate.

Eco (Economy) BUTTON: This displays a data screen that shows the Treasury Information screen described on page 45.

MAIN MENU BUTTON- This shows the Main Menu, which is described on page 42.

ENACT BUTTON: Once the desired options have been selected, press this button to move on to the results segment.

RESULTS SEGMENT

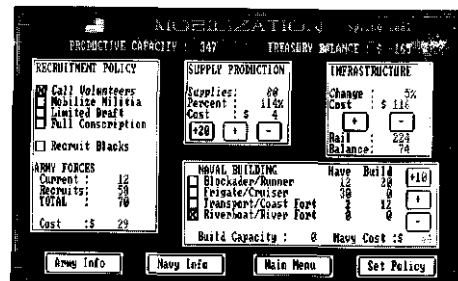
When you increase the tax level, you will receive a message indicating whether Congress has voted to adopt it.

Congress' willingness to accept higher taxes reflects: the current treasury balance; the current military outlook; the ability of the Secretary of the Treasury; and the level of support among the politicians for the administration. If Congress fails to adopt the new tax level, the old level remains.

As the phase ends, a quarterly report informs you what the actual tax and bond yields were, and how much the country's debt has increased. The amount of debt and its levels of interest are factored into your performance evaluation at the end of

the game. In general, the larger the debt and the higher its interest, the greater the negative impact.

MOBILIZATION PHASE



Introduction: During this phase, you create the assets with which to fight the war.

These include recruits for the army, supplies, ships, and economic infrastructure, the manufacturing capacity to build, and the railroads needed to transport it all.

This screen contains four sets of controls which enable you to set recruitment levels, supply production, naval building, and investment in infrastructure.

NEWS SEGMENT

If Kentucky is neutral, the Secretary of War will ask if you want to recruit there. Be forewarned: if you recruit in Kentucky, you will pay a political price.

On your first turn, no naval news appears because your navy has not been built yet. In subsequent turns, detailed news reports appear in the format described in "Naval Affairs" on page 20.

CONTROL SCREENS

The Mobilization Phase has four distinct elements: Recruitment, Supply Production, Infrastructure Investment, and Naval Building.

Recruitment

Recruitment level selections are requests by the President, but are not carried out until approved by Congress. The likelihood of Congress approving increased

recruiting depends on: the current policy; the level of support for the government; the ability of the Secretary of War; the ratio of the two armies; and the enemy's level of recruitment. If Congress rejects a recruitment increase, it will lower support for the government. However, a Congressional acceptance will increase support.

Your Secretary of War will make a projection of success when a new recruitment level is indicated (before the Set Policy Button is selected). Remember though, the Secretary's assessment may not be accurate; you, as President, make the final decision.

The likelihood of Congress approving the recruitment of blacks depends on the same factors as an increase in recruitment, as well as your current slavery policy. If Congress rejects the proposal, it will lower support for the government, while if Congress accepts it, it will increase support. The response of blacks to recruitment will reflect the level of emancipation offered by the current slavery policy.

RECRUITMENT POLICY: YOU can set the Recruitment Policy to one of four levels:

Call Volunteers: yields least number of troops

Mobilize Militia: yields a limited number of troops

Limited Draft: yields a moderate number of troops

Full Conscription: yields the maximum number of troops

Recruit Blacks: In addition to setting recruitment level, either side may attempt to recruit blacks and increase the number of available troops. An attempt to begin recruiting blacks must be approved by Congress.

Supply Production

Each turn has three sources of supply:

- Stockpile: Supplies not consumed in previous turns are accumulated (subject to waste, as reported during Attrition).
- Import (Confederate only): Blockade runners that were not intercepted by blockaders during the Naval Affairs segment at the beginning of the Mobilization Phase will deliver supplies to Confederate ports.
- Purchase: You acquire the bulk of your supplies through purchase during this phase. (Press the "+" or "-" buttons to increase or decrease this amount.)

Each 20 supplies costs \$2 to purchase. Stockpiled and imported supplies do not cost anything.

SUPPLY PRODUCTION: There are two important pieces of information in this box:

- Supplies: This number indicates the number of supply units, both in stockpiles and being produced. One unit of Supply is needed for each 1,000 men. For convenience, soldiers are always counted by 2s



(2,000), and supplies are similarly handled in 2s.

- **Supply Percent:** This is the percentage of estimated requirements you will have. The percentage number includes existing stockpiles and estimated purchases as well as existing soldiers and estimated recruits.

Infrastructure Investment

Spontaneous changes in infrastructure: In addition to changes in the size of the economy due to investment in infrastructure, it can increase or decrease because of the amount of government spending. Moderate amounts of spending will stimulate the economy, increasing the infrastructure without, or in addition to, any spending directly on infrastructure. Heavy spending by the government, in contrast, diverts wealth from investment in growth and maintenance, and causes a percentage decline in the economy. Ironically, this means that in some cases direct investment in infrastructure will have the paradoxical effect of contributing to an overall decline in the economy.

Infrastructure spending represents direct government investment in manufacturing capacity and railroads. The infrastructure box displays four pieces of information that change as you make investments:

- **Change:** Change in Infrastructure is measured in terms of percentage increase or decrease of the economy. (Press the "+" or "-" buttons.)

- **Cost:** The cost of infrastructure investment varies. The smaller the total size of the economy, the less each percentage increase requires. On the other hand, each increment of increase costs more than the last, reflecting the law of diminishing returns. Because of inelasticities in the economy, growth of infrastructure from direct investment is limited.

- **Rail:** This number is an estimate of your total rail capacity at the current level of infrastructure investment. Total rail capacity is the sum of: existing rail capacity and estimated rail increases from investment.

- **Percent:** This is a ratio of your total rail capacity compared to your total troops and supplies.

Naval Building

The primary importance of naval affairs in the Civil War was its effect on the combatants' ability to mobilize resources for war. This was important particularly to the southern economy. The Federal government declared a blockade almost at the outset, aimed at both imports of munitions and exports of cotton with which to

pay for them. For the rest of the war, blockaders and blockade runners played cat-and-mouse in the coastal waters and inlets, while the Southerners responded with commerce raiders against Northern shipping on the high seas. Even Union amphibious operations against coastal islands and ports were conducted largely as adjuncts to the blockade; every base near their duty station multiplied the proportion of time blockaders spent at work rather than in transit. Each player can build four types of ships or fortification.

NAVAL BUILD CLASSES FOR THE NORTH: For mobilization purposes, Union ships are of two primary classes: Oceangoing and Riverine. The three oceangoing types are all built from the same "pool" of build capacity — building one means that much less shipyard capacity for other oceangoing types. Riverboats, the one riverine type, are built by drawing upon another "pool." Use of a boat yard to build one riverboat does not compete with the construction of any other type in the game.

OCEANGOING SHIPS: This capacity represents the shipbuilding capacity of the Union's coastal cities. It can be used to build any combination of the following types.

Blockaders: These are used to intercept enemy blockade runners.

Frigates: These are used to hunt down enemy cruisers.

Transports: These are used to transport troops and supplies by sea.

RIVERINE: This capacity represents the boat building capacity of the Union's river cities. It can only be used to build:

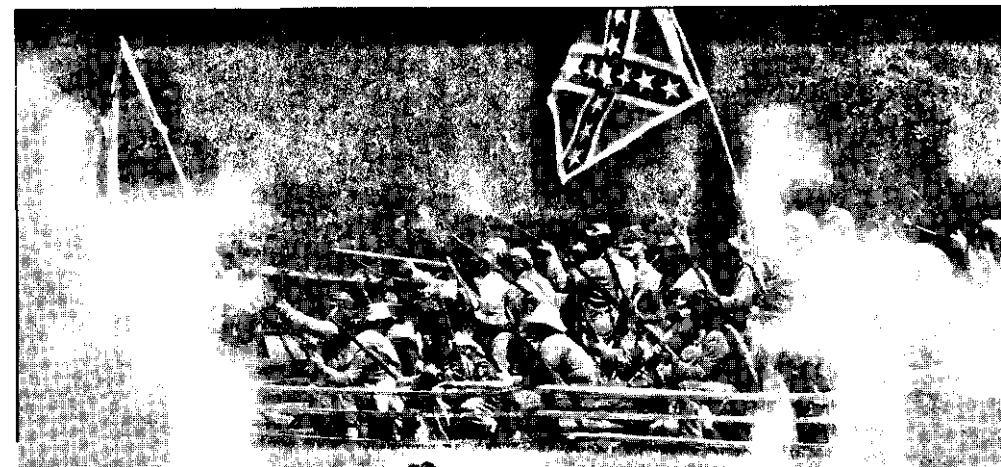
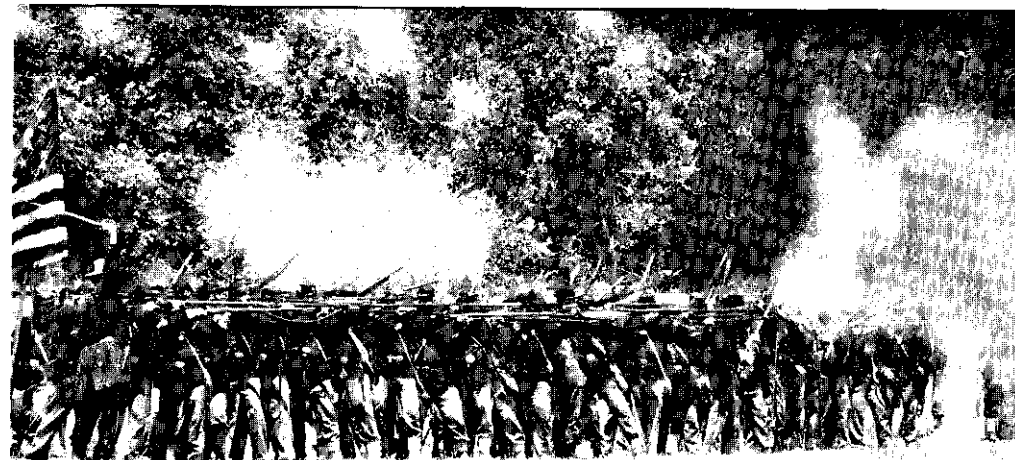
Riverboats: These are used to support land campaigns in areas with rivers (either along their borders or running through them).

NAVAL BUILD CLASSES FOR THE SOUTH: For mobilization purposes, Confederate naval assets are of three classes: oceangoing ships, coastal forts and river forts.

OCEANGOING SHIPS: This represents the ability of Confederate coastal cities to build seagoing ships, and their ability to procure ships overseas.

Blockade Runners: These are used to import supplies. (In addition to Blockade Runners commissioned by the Confederacy, many European ships will also attempt to run the blockade.)

Cruisers: These are used as commerce raiders, to disrupt Union shipping and thereby reduce the Union economy.



COASTAL AND RIVER FORTS: This represents the ability of the Confederates to create, arm, and garrison fortifications and to operate small flotillas of gunboats.

- **Coast Forts:** These are used to strengthen Confederate defenses in port areas
- **River Forts:** These are used to strengthen Confederate defenses in river areas

Note that the Confederate fort values are used to represent several related sources of defensive strength:

Garrisons: The forts are assumed to contain a garrison of soldiers

Gunboats: The coast and river fort strengths actually include a limited number of coastal and river gunboats employed by the Confederacy. They are not represented separately because they were not a significant offensive force at the scale of the game, and therefore are adequately accounted for as part of the Confederacy's defensive strength.

Set Policy and Information Buttons

SET POLICY BUTTON: Once you have set all mobilization values to the desired levels, press this to end the input segment.

ARMY INFO BUTTON: This button displays the Military Information screen (described on page 48). The screen includes summaries of recruitment policies, populations for recruitment and supply production capacity and levels.

NAVY INFO BUTTON: This button displays the Navy Information Screen (described on page 44). This screen shows information about current ships under construction, transport capacity, and controlled ports.

MAIN MENU BUTTON: Pressing this displays the Main Menu (described on page 42).

RESULTS SEGMENT

The result of any attempt to change the recruitment level will be reported first. If the attempt is unsuccessful, the political penalty will be imposed, and play returned to the Input Segment.

You will receive a message if you are unable to recruit troops in an area because of low loyalty. If the AI suffers from the same problem in one or more of its areas in its turn, you will receive a similar message after the AI input segment.

You will then receive a report indicating the number of troops recruited, supplies procured, ships on order, railroads built, and the percentage change in infrastructure. Note that the totals may not match the estimates shown during the input segment. The difference reflects the ability of the Secretary of War.

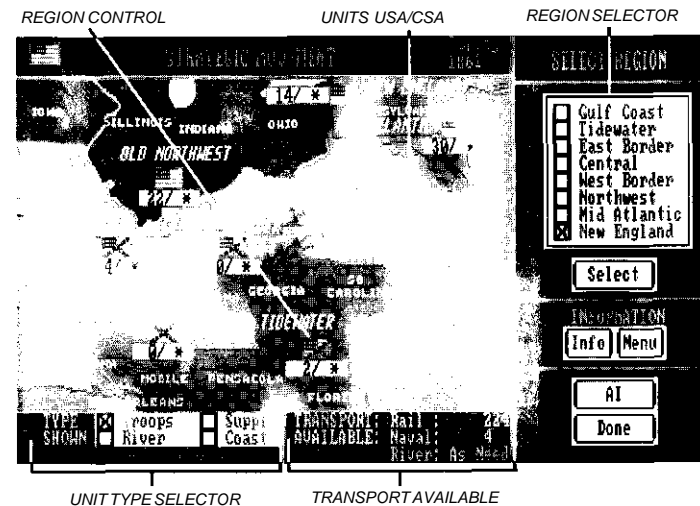
NAVAL AFFAIRS

After the first turn, news about naval affairs opens the mobilization phase. Because ocean-going ships take a long time to build, the ships ordered last turn will come into play at this point. You will receive a report from the Secretary of the Navy indicating the number of new ships of each type added to each navy. This report will also include additions to the number of European ships engaged in blockade-running into Confederate ports. **BLOCKADE RESULTS:** This report shows results of the blockade and the major influences responsible: the number of Union blockaders; the number of Southern ports held by the Union; the number of ships engaged in blockade running; the number of runners intercepted, the number of blockaders lost; and the final amount of supplies delivered to the Confederacy.

PRIVATEER RESULTS: This report shows you the effects of Southern commerce raiding: the number of Confederate raiders and Union frigates operating on the high seas;

the extent of damage to the Union economy caused by the raiders; and the losses suffered by each.

STRATEGIC MOVEMENT PHASE



During the Strategic Movement phase, you can move troops, supplies, and riverine assets (riverboats or river forts) by rail, river, or sea. During the computer's phase, you may be able to examine enemy troop movements before proceeding to the Campaign Phase.

Strategic movement can only be conducted from one player-controlled area to another. Exception: Union naval invasions (naval movement from a player-controlled area to an enemy-controlled area) are also ordered at this time (although they are not carried out until the results segment of the Campaign Phase).

NEWS SEGMENT

If a region has split control and your armies are relatively weak, your Secretary of War will warn you that local politicians are upset by the imbalance of forces. Union armies are considered weak in a region if their numbers are fewer than the

number of Confederate forces in that region. Or, if less than twenty percent of the Union army is in that region.

Confederate armies are considered

weak in a region if their numbers are fewer than half the number of Union forces in that region. Or, if less than twenty percent of the Confederate army is in that region. If you do not strengthen the forces in the region before you end your Strategic Movement phase, then you will pay a political penalty.

CONTROL SCREENS

The following are the options you have from the main control screen in Strategic Movement.

UNIT TYPE SELECTOR: The type of unit currently displayed is both controlled and indicated by the boxes in the lower left of the screen. Four types of units can be displayed on the map:

Troops: field forces consisting of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, along with supporting services like signal, engineer, staff, and supply services.

Supplies: new weapons, ammunition, food, fodder, clothing, etc. needed to keep an army fed and ready to fight.

Riverine: number of armed Union riverboats or the strength of Confederate fortifications with their garrisons, along with any gunboats.

Coastal (Confederate only): strength of Confederate coastal fortifications with their garrisons, along with any warships available.

REGION CONTROL: Each region contains a flag showing which side controls it; Union, Confederate, or split.

UNITS IN REGION: Below each flag are numbers showing the units of a the selected type in the region. These units are those of the side that controls the area. The display can show the same types that are shown on the main map: troops, supplies, riverine, and coastal.

TRANSPORT AVAILABLE: Shows your available transportation resources.

Rail Transport: Rail transport exists as a "pool" that is expended each time you move a troop or supply unit by rail. The total "pool" of railroads available each turn is equal to the starting total plus any rail created by infrastructure investment plus a percentage of enemy rail for each new area captured, minus losses from military action (plunder and devastation) and from the loss of areas to the enemy. The amount lost and gained as an area changes hands equals the same percent of the original side's railroad that the area's economy represents of the side's total economy.

One unit of rail transport is used for each unit of troops or supplies moved from one area into an adjacent area. The "pool" of transports is replenished at the beginning of the strategic transport phase each turn; in other words, railroads are used but not consumed.

Naval Transport: Naval transports also exist as a "pool" that is expended as you move units by sea. Only the Union can use naval transport. The amount of naval transport available to the Union in a turn is equal to the number of

transports at the start of the game plus the number procured for the navy, minus any losses during amphibious attacks in previous turns.

One naval transport is used to move one unit of troops or supplies from a player-controlled port to any other port area. As with railroads, the "pool" of naval transports is replenished each turn; they are not consumed through use, and can be used once each turn.

Note that Confederate coastal forts cannot be moved.

River Transport: Unlike rail and naval transport, an unlimited number of eligible units can move by river. Both sides can move any number of supply and riverine units by river. (In the case of Confederate riverine units, this represents the movement of guns and construction materials to defensive locations.) Only the Union can move troops by river.

REGION SELECTOR: Use this to indicate from which region you wish to move units.

SELECT BUTTON: Pressing this selects the currently indicated region for movement. When you select this button a detailed region map is displayed. This map, and details on allocating units appears in the following "Strategic Movement Region Map" section on page 23.

AI BUTTON: If you want to let the computer conduct strategic movement for you, press the AI button. Selecting this button will cause the program to immediately engage the AI to move units of your army.

You can elect to have the AI conduct your movements during this segment, even if you have already moved some units and already expended some transport capacity.

At the end of AI moves, you will have the opportunity to survey the movements,

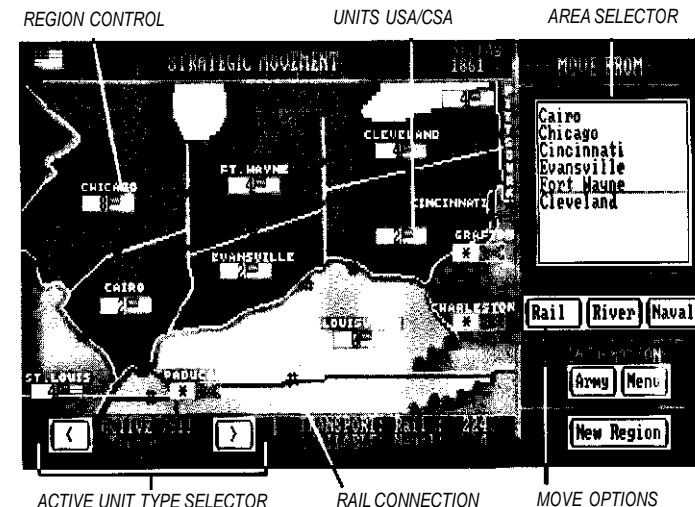
at which point you can use any remaining transport capacity to change the moves just made. Note, however, that you cannot "undo" the AI moves, you can only use additional transport capacity to modify them. Therefore, you should first make special moves — and let the computer make the more routine movements, such as funnelling troops and supplies from the rear to the front. In particular, the AI will not instigate naval invasions for you.

DONE BUTTON: Press to indicate that all strategic moves have been made, or that you are finished reviewing AI moves.

INFO BUTTON: Press to display the Region Information Screen (described on page 47).

MENU BUTTON: Press to display the Main Menu (which is described on page 42).

STRATEGIC MOVEMENT REGION MAP



The display shows a map of the eastern United States, with states and regions delineated, and flags indicating control of the different regions (Union, Confederate, or split).

As orders are given to generals to move units from one area into another,

arrows appear showing the intended movement. Adjacent to each arrow in the area of origin will be a box displaying the number of the currently displayed type in the force that is moving.

RAIL CONNECTION: These indicate that rail movement is possible between adjacent areas. Rail movement cannot be used to move into enemy-controlled areas, and sometimes rail connections will be damaged due to sabotage.

AREA CONTROL: Each area contains a flag showing which side controls it. An area is controlled by one side or the other; control is never shared. However when Kentucky is neutral, both areas will display a white flag.

UNITS IN AREA: Adjacent to the control is a display showing the number of units of the currently selected type in the area.

These units are of the side that controls the area. The display can show the same types that are shown on the main map: troops, supplies, riverine, and coastal.

ACTIVE TYPE: The currently displayed type is shown at the bottom left of the screen. Change the currently displayed type by using the "<" and ">" buttons to

cycle through the list.

Move From Controls

AREA SELECTOR: Choose the area where units will move from. The area currently selected will be underlined.

MOVE VIA BUTTON: There are three options for moving units: Rail, River Transport and Naval Transport (Union only). Selecting a movement mode indicates your desire to move from the currently underlined area.

Rail: Use this if rail transport is available. Rail moves can only be made into areas connected to the area of origin by rail lines, which is indicated by a section of railroad tracks straddling the border between them. Rail transport is not possible in areas plundered or devastated by armies in previous turns—unless the damage has been repaired.

River: Both sides have unlimited capacity to move eligible units by river. Units can move out of an area by river if the area has a river running along one of its borders or contains a river running through it. River transport is not possible if your side doesn't control both banks of the section of river where the units must travel. Also, the Confederacy may not move troops by river, only supplies.

Naval: Only the Union player can use naval movement. Naval movement can only be used if there are still transports available. Naval movement can only be used by units that are currently in a

port, an area containing an anchor. Naval moves into friendly-controlled ports are like other transfers. Naval moves into enemy-controlled ports are amphibious assaults that are actually resolved during the Campaign Phase.

The specifics for each of these moves appears in the following pages.

ARMY BUTTON: Press to display the Army Information Screen (described on page 48).

MENU BUTTON: Press to display the Main Menu (described on page 42).

NEW REGION BUTTON: Pressing this returns you to the previous strategic-level map and allows another region to be selected.

Destination Controls

After selecting a transport mode, an area selector with areas connected to the origin by the selected type of transportation and the following controls will be displayed. Rail and river transport use the Move To controls, while the naval transport uses the Naval Destination controls.

AREA SELECTOR: Choose the area where units will move to. The area currently selected will be underlined.

SELECT AREA BUTTON: Pressing this chooses the current area as a destination, and brings up a Dispatch control panel that is described below.

ZOOM BUTTON: (Naval Only) Press to display the region map for the area currently under consideration. Pressing the button again returns to the main map.

REVOKE BUTTON: (Naval only) Press to revoke the orders of the general assigned to the current area. If a general's orders are revoked, then all units assigned to him will be returned to their origin, and the arrow showing their movement will be removed from the map display.

In certain cases standard moves are temporarily prohibited. The program will inform you of any of these situations at the moment the move is attempted. For example, if Kentucky is neutral, neither side can conduct strategic movement into either area in the state.

ARMY BUTTON: Press to display the Army Information Screen (described on page 48).

CANCEL BUTTON: Pressing this exits the current move.

Dispatch Controls

After selecting a destination with the Select Area Button, these Dispatch controls appear on the right side of the screen:

"+" Button: Allocate additional units by pressing the "+" button.

"-" Button: Subtract already allocated units from the total to be moved by pressing the "-" button.

"<" and "Type >" Buttons: Units of more than one type at a time can be specified by changing the type, which is done by pressing the "<" and "Type >" buttons.

All Button: Press to allocate all the units of all types (not just the type displayed at the top) in an area for movement.

Autosupply: When the Autosupply box is checked, one supply unit will be automatically allocated to be moved for each troop allocated to be moved.

Orig Button: Accesses information about the moving force's area of origin.

Pest Button: Accesses information about the moving force's destination.

Menu Button: This displays the Main Menu (described on page 42).

Cancel Button: This button aborts the move and returns you to the "Move To" controls.

Ready Button: When all units of all types to be moved have been allocated, press Ready.

If the transport mode is rail or river, the allocated unit will be transferred into the destination area once "Ready" is pressed, with the appropriate amount of transport deducted from the pool if rail is being used. Keep in mind that the experience and morale of the units being moved are averaged with the experience and morale of the troops in the destination. For example, the experience and morale of a small and elite unit will be diluted if it is combined with a large, inexperienced unit.

If the transport mode is naval and the destination port is controlled by your forces, the units being moved will simply be transferred. Morale and experience will be averaged, and the appropriate amount of naval transport will be deducted from the pool. If the destination port is enemy controlled, the units will be formed into an army under control of a general (see Campaign Phase, page 27), and will stage an amphibious invasion during the Campaign Phase.



Assigning Generals (Naval Invasions Only)

Access these controls in two ways:

1) through the Revoke button on the Naval Destination controls, or 2) by pressing the Ready button on the Dispatch screen when the transport type is naval and the destination is enemy controlled.

General Selector: Choose the general that you want to assign; his name will be underlined.

Assign Button: Appoints the currently selected general to command the invasion force.

AllGen Button: Lists the USA and CSA generals with their ID number, prestige ranking, and whether or not they currently hold a command.

Info Button: Brings up detailed information about the general currently selected.

Menu Button: This displays the Main Menu, which is described on page 42.

Pest Button: Accesses information about the moving force's destination.

Orig Button: Accesses information about the moving force's area of origin.

In the Campaign Phase, generals without, a command will protest if a less prestigious colleague (one with a higher number prestige) is assigned to lead an army. They will not make similar protests during this phase (for amphibious assaults), but will object if they still do not have an assignment at the end of the Campaign Phase. Consequently, you have some latitude to assign a less prestigious general to lead a naval invasion, but by the end of the Campaign assignments, all generals with more prestige will need to be employed, or your government will suffer politically.

Once a general has been assigned to lead an invasion, an arrow will appear in

the sea, and point to the destination area. Adjacent to the arrow is a box containing a number. This indicates the amount of the currently selected type of unit assigned to the amphibious force. When the display is changed to the main map, an arrow will be displayed pointing to the destination's region, and showing the amount of the currently selected type assigned to the attack.

RESULTS SEGMENT

Once you and the AI have made your strategic movements, the program will assess the logistical situation of the armies in each area.

Balance of Forces

If you have not balanced your forces by the end of the phase, you will be warned and given a chance to revise your move. If you leave regions without sufficient forces you will pay a high political price.

Supplies

If an army has less supply than it needs (one supply unit for each troop unit), the program will automatically attempt to procure the needed supply locally. If the area has more productive capacity than was used during the Mobilization phase, the army will first attempt to satisfy its needs by buying extra supplies — the army will pay a premium for supplies thus procured, twice the normal cost.

If the army cannot satisfy its requirements by buying the area's surplus production, it will then requisition supplies by looting the area's productive capacity itself.

Looting depletes 1 unit of productive capacity for each unit of supply procured. This reduction of the area's productive capacity is permanent, although the controlling side's infrastructure investment may boost it. One level of political support will be subtracted from the army's side,

and one will be added to the enemy's in the area for each unit of production requisitioned.

Only some of the resources available in an area can be procured via supplementary procurement in any one turn. If your army has any excess supplies, you will receive a report on the percentage of supplies that were wasted.

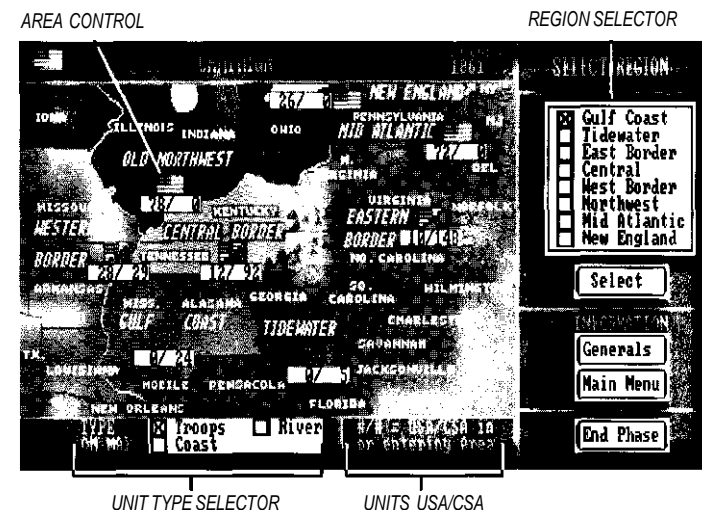
Attrition

Each army will suffer attrition, reflecting the loss of effective strength to disease and desertion. The rate of attrition is influenced by the following:

- The season and the region: Armies in the North (Northwest, Mid Atlantic, and New England) will suffer particularly in the winter, with Confederate armies suffering especially in this case. Armies in the Deep South (Gulf Coast and Tidewater) will suffer particularly in the summer, with Union armies suffering especially in this case.
- The army's morale: Dispirited soldiers were most likely to desert.
- The army's experience: Soldiers new to camp life were especially vulnerable to disease.
- The commander's talents: Good generals inspired their troops and took care of their needs as far as possible.

The average rate of attrition is approximately 10-15%, although large concentrations of troops will suffer more noticeably than small ones. They were harder to provision, harder to control, and more susceptible to epidemic diseases.

CAMPAIGN PHASE



In this phase, order your armies to move, attack enemy areas, and defend friendly areas from enemy attacks. Campaign movement is conducted by ordering a general to lead a specified body of troops from one area to an adjacent area. Unlike Strategic Movement, which takes place as soon as it is ordered, Campaign orders are registered for all generals on both sides, and only then executed.

An attack will take place if forces from one side move into an area containing enemy forces. Troops can also be moved from one friendly area to another in order to bolster its defenses. As you make moves, keep in mind that the experience and morale of your units will be averaged as they form a combined army in their destination, so you may need to balance greater numbers against higher quality.

In order to bolster an area's defensive power, you can send a general to assist friendly forces that are not moving. A general is never required, but the presence of a general can make the defense much more effective.

NEWS SEGMENT

In the first few turns, the Secretary of War will warn you that most generals find their troops are too raw to conduct offensives. You can ignore this advice and order moves into enemy territory, but some generals may report that they are unready to move, making coordinated attacks from several areas dangerous. You may be able to get a few generals to move aggressively in the first turns, but carefully building up an experienced strike-force may prove more useful for when the real fighting begins in 1862.

CONTROL SCREENS

As the phase begins, you will see a control screen similar to control screens of the Civil Affairs, Capital Relocation, and Strategic Movement phases.

UNIT TYPE SELECTOR: The type of unit currently displayed is both controlled and indicated by the checkboxes in the lower left of the screen. Three types of units can be displayed on the map:

Troops: field forces consisting of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, along with supporting services like signal, engineer, staff, and supply services.

Riverine: number of armed Union riverboats or the strength of Confederate fortifications with their garrisons, along with any gunboats.

Coastal (Confederate only): strength of Confederate coastal fortifications with their garrisons, and any warships available.

REGION SELECTOR: Use to indicate the region from which you wish to move units.

SELECT BUTTON: Pressing this selects the currently indicated region; it is the region

where you will give orders. When you select this button a detailed region map appears. More information about this map appears in the Campaign Region Map screen description, see below.

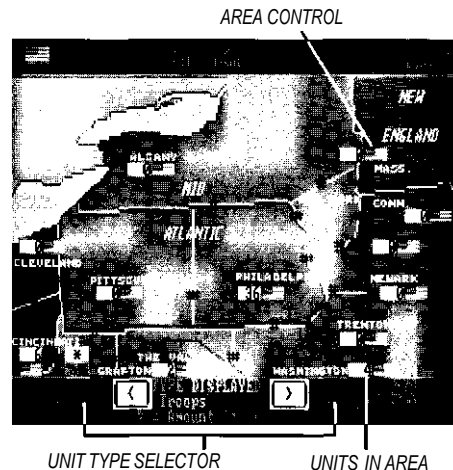
GENERALS BUTTON: This button displays a list of USA and CSA generals. The PRES column indicates the general's prestige ranking; the best ranked general is prestige 1, the second best is prestige 2, etc. The ID column indicates the general's identification number.

(The ID number appears on the region map when you use "Type Displayed" controls to display Commanders on the map.)

MAIN MENU BUTTON: This displays the Main Menu (described on page 42).

END PHASE BUTTON: TO indicate that all strategic moves have been made, or that you are finished reviewing AI's moves, press this button.

CAMPAIGN REGION MAP



The display shows a map of the eastern United States, with states and regions delineated, and flags indicating control of the different regions (Union, Confederate, or split).

As orders are given to generals to move units from one area into another, arrows appear showing the intended movement. Adjacent to each arrow in the area of origin will be a box displaying the number of the currently displayed type in the force that is moving.

UNIT TYPE SELECTOR: The currently displayed unit type is shown at the bottom left of the screen, under "Type Displayed." Change the unit type by using the "<" and ">" buttons to cycle through the list.

AREA CONTROL: Each area contains a flag showing which side controls it. An area is controlled by one side or the other; control is never shared.

UNITS IN AREA: Adjacent to the control flag, is a display showing the number of units of the currently selected type in the area. These units are those of the side that controls the area. The display can show the same types that are shown on the main map: troops, supplies, riverine, and coastal.

Orders For Controls

AREA SELECTOR: Use this to indicate the area you wish to move forces from. The area currently selected will be underlined.

MOVE FROM BUTTON: Selecting Move From indicates you wish to move from the currently underlined area. After selecting this, an area selector will appear with valid destinations. See the following section on "Move Controls" on page 30 for details.

DEFEND IN BUTTON: This button allows you to select or replace a general to defend the area. See the following section on "Assigning and Revoking Generals" on page 30 for details.

GENS BUTTON: This button displays a list of USA and CSA generals. The PRES column indicates the general's prestige ranking; the best ranked general is prestige 1, the second best is prestige 2, etc. FORCE indicates the number of units he commands.

MENU BUTTON: This displays the Main Menu (described on page 42).

ARMY BUTTON: This button displays the Army Information screen. It includes information about troops, morale, supply and experience.

REVOKE BUTTON: This button allows you to revoke any generals' orders. See the following section on "Assigning and Revoking Generals" on page 30 for details.

All the units that were assigned to a general will be returned to the origin, and the arrow showing their movement will disappear from the map. If you remove a defending general, he is simply removed from command in the area.

It is not necessary to revoke a general's orders in order to issue him new orders. If he has orders, you will be warned and given the option not to change his orders; but if you choose to go ahead, then the old orders will automatically be revoked. It is necessary to revoke a general's orders in order to free up units moving with him in order to reassign them to another move.

NEW REGION BUTTON: Allows you to leave the area map and return to the initial Campaign Phase screen. Continue to issue orders until you have made all the moves you wanted.

Move Controls

After selecting a destination area by pressing the "Move From" button, you will have several options:

TYPE DISPLAY: The currently displayed type is shown at the bottom left of the screen, under "Active Type." Change the currently displayed type by using the "<" and ">" buttons to cycle through the list.

DESTINATION SELECTOR: Indicate the location to which you wish to move forces to.

SELECT BUTTON: Press to choose the current area as a destination and to bring up a "Send" control panel. "Send Controls" are described below.

ARMY BUTTON: Displays the Army Information screen. It includes information about troops, morale, supply and experience.

GENS BUTTON: Displays a list of USA and CSA generals. The PRES column indicates the general's prestige ranking; the best ranked general is prestige 1, the second best is prestige 2, etc. FORCE indicates the number of units he commands.

MENU BUTTON: Displays the Main Menu (described on page 42).

CANCEL BUTTON: Cancels your current orders for this destination, and returns you to the area map for the area of origin.

Send Controls

After selecting a destination, the following controls appear:

FORCE INDICATOR: Check the box for the type of units to move.

ALL BUTTON: Allocates all available units.

"+" BUTTON: Allocates additional units.

"-" BUTTON: Deallocates units.

ISSUE ORDER BUTTON: Issues your order after you have adjusted the number of troops to move.

ORIG BUTTON: Displays the Army Information screen for the area that is the origin. It includes information about troops, morale, supply and experience.

DEST BUTTON: Displays the Army Information screen for the area that is the destination. It includes information about troops, morale, supply and experience.

GENS BUTTON: Displays a list of USA and CSA generals. The PRES column indicates the general's prestige ranking; the best ranked general is prestige 1, the second best is prestige 2, etc. FORCE indicates the number of units he commands.

MENU BUTTON: Displays the Main Menu (described on page 42).

CANCEL BUTTON: Cancels your current orders for this destination, and returns you to the area map for the area of origin.

Assigning and Revoking Generals

After choosing the "Defend In" or "Revoke" buttons, you can assign or revoke generals with the following options:

GENERAL SELECTOR: Choose the general to be assigned; his name will be underlined.

ASSIGN Button: Appoints the currently selected general to command the invasion force.

CANCEL BUTTON: Return to the area map of the origin area.

ALLGEN BUTTON: Lists the USA and CSA generals with their ID number, prestige ranking, and whether or not they currently hold a command.

INFO BUTTON: Brings up detailed information about the general currently selected.

MENU BUTTON: Displays the Main Menu (described on page 42).

DEST BUTTON: Accesses information about the moving force's destination.

ORIG BUTTON: Accesses information about the moving force's area of origin.

Table of Union Generals' Abilities*

NAME	ABILITY	INITIATIVE
N. Banks	1	5
D. C. Buell	4	3
A. E. Burnside	2	5
B. F. Butler	1	4
U. S. Grant	8	8
H. W. Halleck	7	2
J. Hooker	3	8
G. McClellan	4	1
I. McDowell	3	7
G. G. Meade	6	4
J. Pope	2	6
W. Rosecrans	6	3
W. T. Sherman	7	6
G. H. Thomas	5	5

Table of Confederate Generals' Abilities*

NAME	ABILITY	INITIATIVE
P. T. Beauregard	6	5
B. Bragg	5	6
N. B. Forrest	8	8
J. B. Hood	4	10
T. J. Jackson	7	9
A. S. Johnston	4	4
J. E. Johnston	4	6
R. E. Lee	9	8
L. Polk	2	3
E. K. Smith	5	4

* 1=worst; 10=best. Note that these figures represent not only the individual capabilities of the general, but also factor in the overall performance of their command hierarchy.

RESULTS SEGMENT

Prestige, Protests, and the Politics of Assignments

If a general is dissatisfied with his orders, he will protest.

The Union generals with the top 5 prestige rankings (1-5) expect to lead the five largest contingents that exist anywhere in the North. The Confederate generals with the top 3 prestige rankings (1-3) expect to lead the three largest contingents that exist anywhere in the South.

All generals expect to be assigned to a command if another general with less prestige has been given a command. For example, if a general with a prestige ranking of 10 were assigned a command, then all generals with rankings of 1 through 9 expect to be given commands too.

If a general is dissatisfied for either of these previously mentioned reasons, he will protest. Play will return to the Player Input segment to allow you to reconsider his assignments.

Should you refuse changing unsatisfactory assignments, support for your administration will decline in the general's home region, the general's loyalty to the government will decrease along with the general's prestige.



• *Implementation of Orders*

PROCEDURE: The program will execute your orders and the AI's orders region by region, and inform you as each general attempts to execute his orders.

EXECUTION OF ORDERS: Generals will always report to areas they are assigned to defend. They will always move if their destination is controlled by friendly forces. If the destination is enemy controlled, the general will make the final judgement whether his army is ready. He will consider the army's experience level, and his decision will reflect his initiative rating.

KENTUCKY'S NEUTRALITY: If Kentucky is neutral and the destination area is in Kentucky, then the state will immediately declare for the other side, which will give a boost to its political support in the Central and Northwest regions.

Prioritizing Multiple Commanders

There can be only one commander per side in an area. If there is already a friendly commander in an area in which a general executes his orders, you will be asked to select a single commander.

PRESTIGE AND PRIORITIZING: If you assign the one with less prestige (higher number),

the other will protest, giving you the opportunity to reverse your decision.

CONSEQUENCES OF IGNORING PRESTIGE: If you do not change the assignment, then; 1) the government will lose support in the offended general's home region, and 2) the general's loyalty will go down, and the general's prestige will drop.

THE COMPUTER PLAYER AND PRESTIGE: When the "Historical Generals" option is used, the computer player is also restricted by prestige considerations, but the program follows a different procedure. It must appoint each commander in order of prestige as it issues orders.

Specific Instructions

As a general executes orders to defend a friendly area or move into an enemy area, you will have the opportunity to issue specific instructions (unless the general is not chosen to be commander in a multiple-commander situation).

DEFENSE COMMANDS

Delay Button: A general with this order will yield easily if attacked, in order to minimize casualties. A lost battle with these orders will have a reduced prestige cost to the general and the side.

Defend Button: The general will stand and fight normally.

Hold Button: The general will attempt to hold the area at all costs. The prestige lost or gained will be greater.

Devastate Button: The general will hold the area as if delaying, but in addition will implement a "scorched earth" policy, damaging the economy and railroads in the area to deny them to the enemy. This policy will automatically decrease the general's prestige.

SPECIFIC ATTACK INSTRUCTIONS

Raid Button: The general will make a tentative attack to minimize casualties. There will be no prestige penalty for retreat in this case.

Attack Button: The general will conduct a normal offensive.

Conquer Button: The general will attempt to seize the area, even if it means suffering great casualties. The prestige lost or gained will be greater.

Plunder: The general will attack the enemy and will also try to damage the area's economy and railroads.

DEFAULT SPECIAL ORDERS: If a general declines to move into an enemy area, his orders will default to Defend. If a general moves troops into a friendly area, and the enemy moves a force in as well, the friendly general's orders will default to Defend.

LOCAL FORCES

The program will report if any bushwhackers have appeared. Bushwhackers will appear in areas with considerably greater support for the enemy than for the controlling side and without enough troops to offset the difference.

If hostile forces have entered an area, the program will also report if local militia have reported for duty. The amount of militia is proportional to the size of the total population.

Combat Resolution

REPORT OF CONTACT: If units from both sides are in an area, you will receive a report of a battle.

PRELIMINARY INFORMATION: YOU can see the forces engaged on both sides.

OUTCOME: YOU will receive a report on the outcome of the battle, with a summary of the forces engaged and their losses.

DETAILED REPORT: YOU may at this point see a detailed report on the battle if you desire. This report displays the initial and final values of all forces involved, as well as the factors that contributed to the outcome. The information is essentially the same for both sides:

- General: Commander's name.
- Orders: The Special Instructions issued by the player.
- Tactics: The battlefield stance adopted by the general. Tactics reflect the ability and initiative of the general as well as the size and quality of the opposing forces and the special instructions issued by the player.
- Troops: The number of troops from this side engaged in the campaign, including initial and final figures and casualties.
- Morale: The enthusiasm displayed by the troops at the beginning and end of the campaign. This number goes up if the army is successful, down if it is not.
- Experience: The amount of soldiering the troops in the force have gone through, including training, campaigning, and battle. This value will increase for both armies.
- Riverboats/River Defenses: The number of riverboats (Union) or value of river forts (Confederate) supporting the army during the campaign. These can be lost as casualties during battle, and



only riverboats can retreat from unsuccessful combat.

- **Transports/Coast Defense:** The number of transports (Union) or coastal fortifications (Confederates) in the area. Transports do not contribute to combat, but can remove defeated troops if no other means of retreat is available. Coastal fortifications do contribute to the defense of the area, but cannot be retreated if the army is defeated.

CHANGES IN PRESTIGE: If either of the generals involved gained or lost prestige, you will be informed of the change.

ANOMALOUS COMBATS: YOU may occasionally see a battle reported at the end of the resolution segment, out of sequence, and without the appropriate region map displayed. This avoids unusual situations where forces from both sides would otherwise end up in the same area.

Retreats

After all orders have been executed and battles fought, the program will cycle through the regions to conduct retreats.

RESTRICTIONS: Retreats can only be made into areas controlled by friendly forces.

RIVERBOATS IN RETREATS: If the retreating army includes riverboats and you choose an area they cannot retreat to, you will be given the opportunity revise your choice if an alternative that is accessible to the riverboats is available. If none is available, or you choose an inaccessible area, the riverboats are lost.

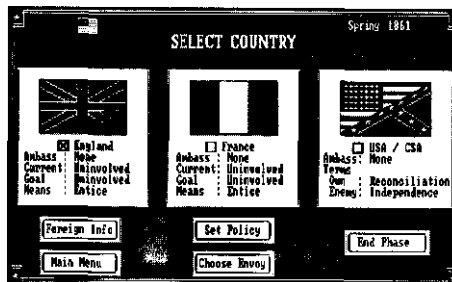
Training and Experience

At the end of the Campaign Phase, troops with little or no experience will gain experience points that reflect routine training. Troops also gain additional experience points after battle.

Political Effects

After all retreats have been conducted, you will be informed if the balance of victories and defeats during the turn has changed the political support for either side. Such changes are based on the fluctuations in prestige for the generals involved in combat during the turn, although it is not a straight average.

DIPLOMACY PHASE



During this phase, you try to influence England and France to favor your side, and you explore the possibility of a negotiated settlement with the enemy.

For each foreign country, you must appoint an ambassador and set a diplomatic posture. The Union's overall diplomatic goal is to keep European involvement as low as possible; the Confederacy's overall goal is to get the European involvement as high as possible.

The means available to each side to accomplish its goal vary from bribery to force. The more extreme means are more likely to achieve their purpose, but each carries with it dangers.

The Confederates must gain independence in order to win; yet the Union must bring the Confederate states back into the country. The Confederacy will lose if it accepts anything but independence, but if it is losing, it will be better off in the post-war period with reconciliation or even reconstruction than conquest, which will essentially put Northern radicals in charge.

NEWS SEGMENT

There are three different types of messages that may appear at this time. You may be informed of reports that one or more of your ambassadors has created a bad impression at his post. You may also be informed of other rumors circulating in Europe concerning the attitude of the different powers toward the American combatants. You may also be encouraged towards certain policies by members of your cabinet and/or by members of one of the political factions.

CONTROL SCREENS

When you select ambassadors, remember to balance your talent pool, and political and regional factions. Assigning diplomats is subject to the same constraints as assigning cabinet positions.

SELECT COUNTRY: Select the box next to the name of the country for which you wish to set policy.

FOREIGN INFO BUTTON: Press to get a summary screen that lists information about your Secretary of State; and your policies toward Britain, France, and peace.

SET POLICY BUTTON: Press to set negotiating policy with the currently selected country. The options are different when you select USA/CSA.

The following policy options appear if you select England or France.

GOALS: choose the level of involvement you wish the European power to have. There are four possible goals:

Uninvolved: The country will maintain a strict neutrality, avoiding any actions that might affect the outcome of the war. This is the Europeans' starting policy, and because the Union has superior resources, this is the orientation that it wishes to maintain.

Covert: The country maintains formal neutrality, but in fact will contrive to assist the Confederacy in beating the blockade and will also prey on Union shipping.

Recognize: The country will open full diplomatic relations with the Confederate States of America, acknowledging it as an independent nation. Recognition will give a tremendous political boost to the Confederacy, and the Europeans will extend some much-needed financial aid as well.

Intervene: The country will send military forces to help the Confederacy. While the war might drag on, its nature would be radically altered, with the North blockaded and invaded, and the South's independence virtually guaranteed. Consequently, at this point you will be informed that the Union will sue for peace, and the game will end with a victory for the Confederacy.

MEANS: This is the diplomatic technique you will use to try and get the selected country to adopt the orientation that is your current goal for it. There are four different means available:

Bribe: You will offer a material concession if the country will adopt the orientation advocated.

Bribing the English: Bribe English with trade concessions.

Bribing the French: Bribe The French by giving them a free hand in Mexico.

Drawbacks of Bribes: These concessions will haunt the North Americans long after the war, whatever its outcome, so an accepted bribe will be counted against you in evaluating your level of victory.

Entice: Your ambassador will hint at the concessions that your government

might make in return for a favorable orientation, without committing you to anything. This option is less powerful than a bribe, but carries no penalty at the end of the game.

Threaten: Your ambassador will hint at the retribution that his government might take if the country does not adopt a favorable orientation, without committing you to anything. This option is less powerful than coercion, but carries no risk of causing major problems.

Coerce: You will try and compel the European power to adopt the policy you want. This is a powerful option, but one that carries great dangers. Each side has a different means of coercion.

Union Coercion: The Union player can coerce the Europeans by having forces actually carry out acts of war or near acts of war against the country. In particular, the Union navy will harass the European country's vessels on the high seas. The danger of this policy is that, while it may force the European power to bend to your will, it may also provoke European intervention, ending the game with a Union defeat.

Confederate Coercion: The Confederate player can coerce the Europeans by embargoing cotton, upon which English and French industries are very dependent. The danger of this policy is that the reduction in foreign exchange from lost cotton exports may outweigh any diplomatic gains.

CANCEL BUTTON: Press to return to the main diplomacy phase screen.

DONE BUTTON: Press when you have finished setting policies.

If you select USA/CSA, then the following options appear.

PEACE POLICIES:

Independence: This policy calls for the Union to recognize the Confederacy as a fully independent, sovereign state. If both sides agree to Independence, the game ends with a Confederate victory.

Reconciliation: This policy calls for the Confederacy to rejoin the United States, with no penalty to the Confederate leaders and with no changes to southern society. If victory is beyond the Confederacy's grasp, this option may represent the best policy.

If the Union agrees to this policy, it will essentially repudiate any moves to free the slaves. Therefore proposing this option will cost the Union politically if the policy is anything but uphold the status quo.

Reconstruction: This option commits the Union to restructure southern society, to carry through the abolition of slavery and restructure southern politics to prevent the planter elite from regaining its earlier power. This policy will involve only limited intervention by Northerners, with cooperative Southerners actually defining and implementing the new political and social structures within overall guidelines set by the North.

Conquest: This option means that the Union will treat rebellious states as "conquered provinces," entitling the victorious Northerners to directly and absolutely rule over the conquered South, implementing reforms and remaking institutions by fiat. This policy will gain the strong political support of Northern radicals, but will alienate most Southerners after the war.

MAINTAIN CURRENT POLICY: Press the button in the box with the thin green outline.

ENEMY INFO BUTTON: Press to get information about your opponent's foreign relations policies.

CHOOSE ENVOY BUTTON: Press to call up your choices for ambassadors. The screen that appears is very similar to the screen that appeared in the Cabinet Phase (see page 8). However, this screen has a row of four buttons at the bottom with the following functions:

Display Key: Calls out a legend that describes what the icons on this screen signify.

Main Menu: Displays the Main Menu, which is described on page 42.

Cancel: Returns to the previous screen without assigning a new ambassador.

Appoint: Assigns the selected politician to the selected country.

The three ambassadors must maintain a numerical balance between the regions

and factions or you will suffer politically. This condition will only be evaluated at the end of the phase, not as each appointment is made.

END PHASE BUTTON: Press after you have made all adjustments to policies and personnel, and are ready to end the phase.

MAIN MENU BUTTON: Displays the Main Menu (see page 42).

RESULTS SEGMENT

Political Reaction to Appointments: If your appointments are not balanced, you will receive complaints from the slighted party at this point. If you choose to revise them, return to the input segment. Ignore the protests and you will suffer a loss in political support.

Political Reaction to Policy: If one of your policies does not please one of the political factions, you will be informed of this fact and given the opportunity to revise it by returning to the input segment.

European Reactions: You will receive reports about the diplomatic policy of



each of the two European powers, first England and then France.

Summary Reports: This message will be either that the European power is continuing its old policy or that it has decided to pursue a new policy.

Detailed Reports: You will be given the opportunity to examine the reasons for the decision in more detail. This report presents the balance of the factors that determine the policy the power thinks is best for it.

Recognition: If England opts for Recognition, you will be informed of the political boost for the Confederacy and the political blow to the Union that this represents.

Negotiated Peace: You will be informed if the two sides were able to negotiate peace.

END OF TURN INFORMATION

QUARTERLY REPORT

At the end of each turn, you will get a Quarterly Report displaying changes in significant political, economic, military, and diplomatic indices during the preceding turn. This report sums up the changes in loyalty over the entire turn, and may be different from news at the end of the Diplomacy phase.



POLITICS: YOU will see the level of political support for both the Union and the Confederacy at the beginning and the end of the turn. The overall level of sup-

port is shown, along with the level of support in each of the two political factions. In all three cases, the values will range from 0 (no support) to 10 (very strong support).

MODERATE: These values show the support for the two governments among moderates in the areas they control. If this value is less than the overall level of support, it suggests either the dan-

ger that you are alienating the moderates or the opportunity that you have to increase your support by courting them.

RADICAL: These values show the support for the two governments among radicals in the areas they control. If this value is less than the overall level of support, it suggests either the danger that you are alienating the radicals or the opportunity you have to increase your support by courting them.

OVERALL: These values show the general level of support for the two governments among all people in the areas they control. The value may not appear to be a strict average of the two factions, because the

factions do not represent equal numbers of people in the population. It is the strongest single guide to your overall performance.

ECONOMY: These figures summarize the fiscal health of the two sides.

INCOME: The amount of revenue collected by each side last turn and then this turn, including both tax returns and bond sales.

SPENDING: The total amount of money spent for all purposes by each side in both turns.

INFLATION: The gap between income and expenditures creates inflation.

Price Index: In the game, prices do not actually rise (a bookkeeping headache), but instead, the price index increases by 1 each time the cumulative amount spent rises to a multiple of 10 times the cumulative amount taken in.

Cumulative vs. Total Amounts: Note that the cumulative amounts are not the same as total amounts: cumulative amounts include net spending and income from all previous turns, not just the totals from the present turn. Thus, inflation will tend to change more slowly than the totals for any one year might superficially suggest.

MILITARY: This category includes figures that show how well the two sides have been doing, suggest how well they are likely to do in the future, and how their prospects are perceived at home and abroad.

Areas: These figures show the total number of areas (out of 43) controlled by each side at the beginning and then the end of the turn. They provide a measure of how much was accomplished during the turn.

Troops: These figures show the total number of men in the armies at the beginning and end of the turn. While

they suggest something about the specific performance of each side during the turn, their main value is as an indicator of future trends: if the gap in strengths is widening, it bodes well for the growing side; if it is narrowing, it suggests that the contest will become closer.

Outlook: This is a qualitative assessment of each side's prospects as they appear to European diplomats and the American public. It plays a particularly important role in influencing European diplomatic policies.

DIPLOMACY: This category displays the starting and ending diplomatic policies of England and France toward the conflict. Because the Europeans' policies relate to the conflict as a whole rather than to the individual combatants, only one "before and after" set is needed for England and one for France.

ELECTIONS

TIMING: Elections take place during the autumn, every 4 to 6 years depending on the side. For both sides, congressional elections occur twice as often as presidential elections.

Congressional Elections: For the Union, these occur every two years in even years (1862, 1864, etc.), while for the Confederacy they take place every three years (1863, 1866, etc.).

Presidential Elections: Union presidential elections take place every four years (1860, 1864), while Confederate presidential elections were slated to take place every six years (1866).

Because presidential elections have a much greater impact on policy than congressional contests, the game ignores congressional elections which fall in presidential election years.

FACTORS IN ELECTIONS: The outcome of elections is determined by the level of support in all "core" areas controlled by the side.

"CORE" AREAS

Union: All areas in the Northwest, Mid Atlantic, and New England regions, as well as in the states of Missouri, Kentucky, West Virginia, and Maryland.

Confederate: All areas in the Gulf Coast, Tidewater, East Border, Central, and West Border regions.

Proportionality: The level of support in each area is modified by the relative size of the population before it is factored into the national total.

EFFECTS OF ELECTIONS:

Congressional Elections: Congressional elections both reflect and influence public opinion: if the election is favorable (revealing more support for the government), it will boost support and create a bandwagon effect. Yet if the election is unfavorable, that will further depress support.

Presidential Elections: If the results are favorable, it will boost the government's support substantially. If the results are unfavorable, a party pledged to peace will take over, ending the game with a victory for the enemy.

ENDING THE GAME

SAVING AND QUITTING

You can exit the game before it ends by using the Save and Quit features. How you use these depends on the computer system you are using, so please consult your Data Card for the exact procedure you need to follow.

You can save your current game and then quit; this allows you to resume playing where you left off. Or, you can quit without bothering to save.

VICTORY AND DEFEAT

The other way to exit the game is by playing it through to completion. There are several ways that one side or the other can gain victory: through military success, through diplomatic means, and through peace negotiations. You can bring the game to an end in a number of ways.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS: LOSS of a presidential election will bring to power an opposition party pledged to negotiate peace on the enemy's terms, effectively ending the war at that point in defeat.

MILITARY CONDITIONS: The only way to win a military victory is to win control of all areas on the map. However, military developments can force a negotiated peace if the Confederates take a significant chunk of northern territory or if the AI loses all of its major cities.

Confederate Territorial Success: A coup by the cabinet will topple the Union president if the Confederates take control of Cairo, Evansville, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia. This junta will then accept the Confederacy's independence.

Concession by the AI: The AI will accept terms if it loses control of its side's major cities. The major Union cities are Washington, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Cleveland, and Chicago. The major Confederate cities are Richmond, Charleston SC, Atlanta, Memphis, Mobile, and New Orleans.

DIPLOMATIC CONDITIONS: Intervention by England or France will force the game to end, since, while the war might have continued in this case, the Confederate independence would almost certainly have been secured. Knowing this, and knowing the terrible cost continued struggle would bring to the Union, the northern Secretary of State will announce that the struggle must be abandoned.

NEGOTIATED PEACE: A side can bring the game to an end at any point by agreeing to the enemy's terms. If the terms are Independence, the Confederacy wins; if the terms are anything else, the Union wins. However, the Confederates may prefer to accept relatively mild conditions early if defeat seems certain.

VICTORY ANALYSIS

If your side wins, your performance in several areas will be analyzed and the level of victory will be rated. Thus, achieving victory is not the only goal in playing No GREATER GLORY. Achieving an "overwhelming" victory is the ultimate measure of successful play.

The victory analysis display shows the labels of the categories considered on the left, the "raw" or "actual" value at the end of the game in the center, and the conversion into victory points on the right.

Evaluation Categories

POLITICS: Each player will be rated on the levels of support for each side at the end of the game.

Union: Because a Union victory means that the Federal government must now begin to heal the wounds of war throughout the country, the Union player will be rated for the level of support in all areas.

Confederate: Since the Confederacy needs only to consolidate its rule in the territory it controls after a victory, the successful Confederate player will be rated on support in areas Confederate forces control at the end of the game.

ECONOMY: Both sides face the same problems here: debt and inflation.

Interest: The higher the average interest pledged for bonds during the war, the worse the rating.

Inflation: The lower the inflation rate, the better the rating.

DIPLOMACY: Here, too, both sides face similar issues: how well did they do in getting the Europeans to pursue favorable policies, and what long term interests (if any) did they have to sacrifice to get them to do so?

Involvement: The two sides' interests here are the mirror image of each other. The less involvement, the better for the Union; the more involvement, the better for the Confederacy.

Concessions: On this point the two sides want to give away as little as possible. Each concession will weigh against the side; both concessions will weigh particularly heavily.

PEACE: In this area, the two sides have rather different goals.

Terms: This item is a freebie for the Confederates, since to be evaluated at all, they will have had to have secured independence. It is an important variable for the Union, however, since the Union player will be rated highest for choosing the terms most likely to bind all parties into the national fabric in the post-war period.

Emancipation (Union only): Slavery was the root cause of the war; it was the issue that made "states' rights" a matter of principle rather than politics. The Union can be restored without emancipation, but the root cause of division will remain. Therefore, the Union player's victory will be greater if the divisive issue is done away with in the process.

Areas (Confederacy only): The more areas the Confederacy controls, the more secure it will be; northern territories that do not want to remain in the new nation can be bargained away for other gains. Therefore, the Confederate player gains victory points for holding as much territory as possible at the end of the game.

Total

POINTS: The point total is the average of the victory points awarded in the evaluation categories.

VALUE: Based on the point total, the side is given one of the following ratings:

Marginal: Your side has won, but barely. The country is in for serious difficulties in the postwar period.

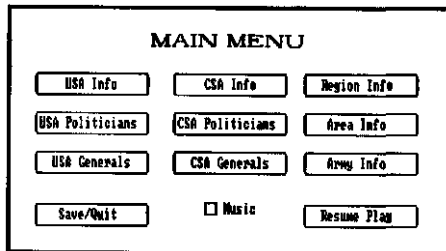
Substantial: You have won a more solid victory, but your country can still expect problems in the future.

Decisive: You have won a strong victory, bringing your country through the trial in good shape for the future.

Overwhelming: You have won completely and utterly.

INFORMATION SCREENS

THE MAIN MENU



You can access the main menu from all major control screens and many secondary decision points. The main menu gives you access to all the information screens (except for your opponent's military information when you play with the "Limited Intelligence" option). The menu also has buttons if you want to save, quit, turn the music on and off, or resume play.

The following options are available from the Main Menu:

USA INFO: This option leads to a sub-menu that in turn gives you access to information about the national government, national finances, foreign policy, military affairs, and naval affairs.

CSA INFO: Leads to a sub-menu that in turn gives you access to information about the national government, national finances, foreign policy, military affairs, and naval affairs.

USA POLITICIANS: Leads to a sub-menu that gives you access to information about each of the twelve Union Politicians

CSA POLITICIANS: Leads to a sub-menu that gives you access to information about each of the twelve Confederate Politicians

USA GENERALS: Leads to a sub-menu that gives you access to information about each of the twelve Union Generals

CSA GENERALS: Leads to a sub-menu that gives you access to information about each of the twelve Confederate Generals

REGION INFO: Leads to a sub menu that gives you access to information about each of the eight geographic regions of the country.

AREA INFO: Leads to a sub menu that gives you access to information about each of the 43 geographic areas of the country.

ARMY INFO: Leads to a sub menu that gives you access to information about the military forces in each of the 43 areas.

SAVE/QUIT: Use to Save or Quit your game

MUSIC CHECKBOX: Place or remove the "x" to turn the sound on and off.

RESUME PLAY: Use this option if you would like to return the previous screen and resume play.

USA AND CSA INFO

POLITICAL INFO BUTTON

This is general information about the side's central government.

CAPITAL CITY: The area currently containing the country's seat of government. This can be set to any area controlled by the side during the Capital Relocation phase (see page 13).

SLAVERY POLICY: The current policy toward slavery. This can be set during the Slavery Phase (see page 14).

PEACE POLICY: The current offer of peace terms. This can be set during the Diplomacy Phase (see page 34).

POLITICAL SUPPORT: The average support for this government in the country at large.

Moderate: The average support among moderate politicians on this side for the government.

Radicals: The average support among radical politicians on this side for the government.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: The name of the politician who currently holds this office.

MILITARY INFO BUTTON

SECRETARY OF WAR: The name of the politician who currently holds this position.

POPULATION:

White: The number of Caucasians in the population. When the game begins, only whites can be recruited into the army by either side.

Black: The number of Negroes in the population. They can be added to the pool of potential recruits during the course of the game by a combination of recruitment policy and slavery policy. These can be set in the Mobilization and Slavery Phases, respectively (see page 16 and 14).

RECRUITS:

Policy: The level of recruitment currently in effect. This can be set during the Mobilization Phase (see page 16).

Black: Whether or not the side is currently attempting to recruit blacks into the army. This can be set in the Mobilization Phase (see page 16).

Total: The total number of troops of both races recruited in the latest Mobilization Phase (see page 16).

ARMY:

Record: The reputation of the army in the eyes of European diplomats and the American people. The value changes as a result of battles.

Size: Total number of men in the army.

PRODUCTION: The total productive capacity of the side, used to create supplies, ships, factories, and railroads. This is done during Mobilization (see page 16).

SUPPLY:

Amount: The total amount of supply available to maintain the army. This value will usually be relatively low, since the bulk of supplies are created during the Mobilization Phase and consumed during the subsequent Strategic Movement Phase (see page 21). A better measure of supply capability is the production value, and, for the Confederacy, its fleet of blockade runners (see page 44, Navy information).

Cost: The amount of money expended on supplies during the last Mobilization Phase (see page 16).

INFRASTRUCTURE: the factories and transport that make up the production capacity.

% Change: The percent by which the infrastructure — production capacity — changed during the last Mobilization Phase (see page 16).

Cost: The amount of money expended by the government to increase the country's production capacity during the last Mobilization Phase (page 16).

RAILROADS:

Available: The amount of rail transport capacity available to move men or material this turn.

Total: The maximum amount of rail transport capacity available to the side in a turn. This will usually be the same as the available amount, since railroads are only used during the Strategic „ Movement Phase (see page 21).

NAVY INFO BUTTON

Because of differences in their resources and strategic positions, the information is slightly different for the two sides.

NAVY SECRETARY: The politician who currently responsible for naval affairs.

• UNION

Blockaders: The number of ships engaged in stopping blockade runners from carrying supplies to Confederate ports (see page 19).

Frigates: The number of warships engaged in patrolling the high seas to hunt down Confederate commerce raiders.

Transports: The number of ships capable of transporting men and supplies by sea.

Riverboats: The number of armed and armored boats available to conduct riverine operations.

BUILD CAPACITY

Oceangoing: The amount of production capacity that can be used to create oceangoing ships — blockaders, frigates, and transports (see page 19).

Riverboats: The amount of production capacity that can be used to create boats for river warfare.

Ports Taken: The number of southern ports controlled by the Union. The more ports, the more effective the Union blockade will be.

CONSTRUCTION: The number of ships of the different types currently under construction. Ships become available one full turn after they are bought (riverboats, however, become available immediately).

TOTAL COSTS: The total cost of the navy in the last turn, including both maintenance and construction of vessels.

• CONFEDERATE

SHIPS

Blockade Runners: The number of ships carrying supplies to Confederate ports (see page 19).

Raiders: The number of warships raiding Union merchant shipping.

FORTS

Coastal: The number of forts designed to protect against Union seaborne attacks on the coast (see page 20).

Riverine: The number of forts sited to block Union riverine operations.

BUILD CAPACITY

Ship Building: The amount of production capacity that can be used to create oceangoing ships — blockade runners and raiders (see page 19).

Fort Building: The amount of production capacity that can be used to create fortifications.

TOTAL COSTS: The total cost of the navy in the last turn, including both maintenance and construction of vessels.

SHIP CONSTRUCTION: The number of ships of the different types currently under construction. Ships become available one full turn after they are bought.

FORT CONSTRUCTION: The number of forts of the different types constructed during the last Mobilization Phase. Forts become available one full turn after they are bought.

TREASURY INFO BUTTON

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY: The politician currently holding this office.

TAXES

Level: The tax rate. Set this during the Finance Phase (see page 15).

Income: The amount of money derived from taxes during the last Finance Phase.

BONDS

Interest: The rate of interest currently being offered on government bonds. Set this during the Finance Phase (see page 15).

Income: The amount of revenue generated through bond sales during the last Finance Phase.

TOTAL: The sum of tax and bond income in the last Finance Phase.

DEBT AT 5%, 6%, 7%, 8%: The value of bonds sold at the different interest rates. The higher the average, the greater the penalty at the end of the game.

SPENDING

Interest: The amount of money paid in interest during the last Finance Phase to service the government's debt (see page 15).

Current: The amount of money spent by the government since the last Finance Phase.

TOTAL: The sum of spending on interest and current purchases.

BALANCE: The difference between income and spending during the last Finance Phase.

PRICES: The inflation level.

FOREIGN INFO BUTTON

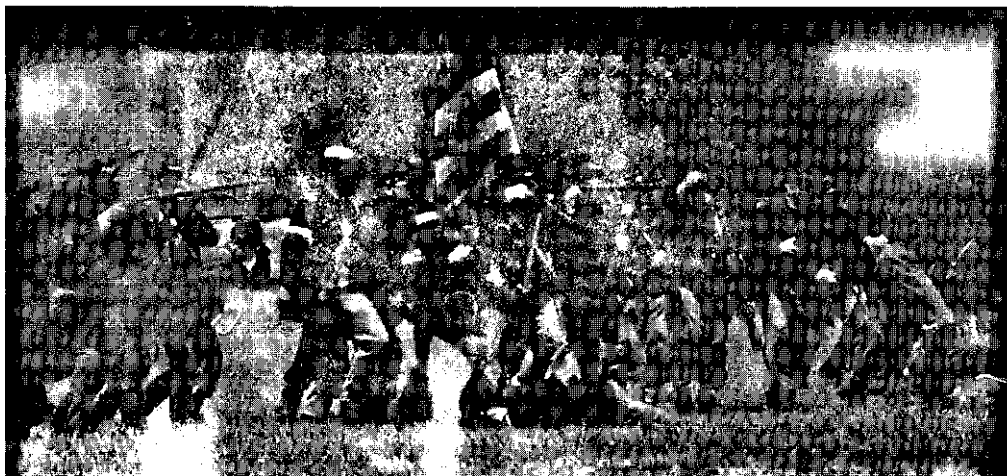
SECRETARY OF STATE: The name of the politician currently occupying this position.

BRITAIN AND FRANCE: Both of these countries have similar information displayed.

Envoy: The politician currently serving as ambassador to the country.

Orientation: The country's current orientation toward the American's civil war. This is reevaluated during the Diplomacy Phase each turn (page 34).

Goal: The orientation that the side wants the European power to adopt. Set this during the Diplomacy Phase (see page 34).



Means: The way in which the side is trying to persuade the European power to adopt the orientation that is the side's goal in the negotiations. This can be changed during the Diplomacy Phase.

Special: If a bribe has been offered by the side whose information is being examined and has been accepted by the European power (it changed to the desired orientation in the turn the bribe was offered), it will be listed here.

PEACE

Envoy: The politician who will act as peace commissioner if the opportunity to negotiate arises.

Policy: The peace terms that the side being examined is currently offering.

USA AND CSA POLITICIANS

Politicians on both sides have the same types of information recorded about them. A picture of the politician appears to the left of his information display.

NAME: Name of the politician.

SIDE: A politician is either on the Union side or the Confederate side.

TIES: The politician's political connections. These are important when the politician is appointed (see page 9).

Region: The part of the country the politician comes from.

Faction: The political group in the nation's capital that the politician identifies with.

CHARACTER

Ability: The administrative talent the politician will bring to the duties of any office to which he might be assigned.

Loyalty: The strength with which the politician supports the present administration.

POSITION: The government office the politician holds (if any).

USA AND CSA GENERALS

Generals on both sides have the same types of information recorded about them. A picture of the politician appears to the left of his information display.

NAME: Name of the general.

SIDE: A general is either on the Union side or the Confederate side.

PERSONAL: Information about the general.]

Region: The part of the country the general comes from. Slight to a general will depress support for the government in his home base. (See page 31.)

Prestige: The popularity of the general. This value is very important in assigning generals to command (see page 31).

Loyalty: The degree to which the general supports the government.

COMMAND: Information about the forces that the general commands. Most of this information is only maintained while the general is in the process of moving a force from one area to another during the Campaign Phase (or, in the case of naval invasions during the Strategic Movement Phase as well).

Area: The area in which the general commands. This information is maintained from turn to turn.

Orders: The general's current orders.

Orig: The area a moving general originates from.

Dest: The destination area of a moving general.

Troops: The number of soldiers accompanying a moving general.

Supply: The number of supplies carried by a moving general's army. Since supplies are moved and consumed during

Strategic Movement, this value will be zero except when a general has been ordered to lead a naval invasion.

River: The number of riverboats accompanying a moving Union general's force.

Trans: The number of transports carrying a Union general's force in a naval invasion.

Morale : The morale of troops moving with a general.

Exper: The experience of troops moving with a general.

REGION INFO

Click on the name of the region you would like to know more about.

ADMINISTRATION POLICY: The administration policies used by the Union and the Confederacy during the previous Civil Affairs Phase. (See page 10.)

SUBVERSION POLICY: The subversion policies used by the Union and the Confederacy during the previous Civil Affairs Phase. (See page 10.)

JOBS: The number of appointments given to politicians from this region by the Union government and by the Confederate government.

LOYALTY: The amount of support in the region for the Union and for the Confederacy.

AREA INFO

Select the name of the area you would like more information on, then press the Get Information button.

NAME: The name of the area you selected.

STATE: The state of which the area is part.

CONTROL: The side whose forces currently control the area.

PEOPLE

White: The number of Caucasian residents. This population is the base of recruitment from the beginning of the game.

Black: The number of Negro residents. This part of the population can be drawn into a side's the recruitment pool during the game.

RECRUITS

White: The number of Caucasian men taken into the army during the most recent Mobilization Phase.

Black: The number of Black men taken into the army during the most recent Mobilization Phase.

LOCATION

Port: This area is a seaport.

River: This area is a river port.

TAXES

Base: The total taxable wealth in the area.

Take: The amount of taxes actually received from the area.

PRODUCTION

Potential: The capacity of the area to produce supplies, ships (if a port or river port), factories, and railroads.

Current: The production capacity actually used during the most recent Mobilization Phase. This amount may have been increased if a large, under-supplied army was parked here.

LOYALTY: The strength of support for the two sides among the people living in the area.

ARMY INFORMATION

The army information display contains information about the military forces of both sides in an area. The information about the two sides is similar, so, while there are separate sets of data for each side, the information will be described in this section only once. Where differences exist, they are noted; otherwise, it can be assumed that the data is the same for both sides.

COMMANDER: The name of the general assigned to lead his side's troops in the area.

ARMY

Troops: The number of men in the force.

Supply: The amount of supply stockpiled in the area.

Morale: The morale of the troops in the force.

Exper: The experience of the troops in the force.

NAVY (UNION ONLY)

Trans: The number of naval transport used to move the army into the area.

River: The number of riverine gunboats supporting the Union force.

DEFENSES (CONFEDERATE ONLY)

Coast: The number of coastal forts in the area.

River: The number of river forts in the area.'

SAVE/QUIT

Press this button if you would like to Save or Quit your game.

Music CHECKBOX

Place or remove the "x" to turn the sound on and off.

RESUME PLAY

Press this if you would like to return the previous screen and resume play.

NOTES

TIPS ON PLAY

No GREATER GLORY has been designed to easy to play, but it has not been designed to be easy to win! It is a complex game, encompassing a traditional strategy game, common grand-strategic add-ons (taxation, diplomacy), and some unique features as well: cabinet politics, emancipation, and bond issues, to name a few. To win the game you must successfully manage the entire war effort, from strategy and logistics to finance and politics.

There is no reason why all this should be easy, and you should not be discouraged if it takes a game or two before you are comfortable with all aspects of your task. To help you get started, though, we include the following tips on play for each phase of the game. You do not, of course, have to follow them — it is possible to win following radically different strategies — and you may not win the first time even if you try to apply them. In the long run though, they should help you because they incorporate both the experience of dedicated playtesters and some insights from the designer himself.

One overall piece of advice before we move on to the specific aspects: try to keep in mind at all times that this is a game of national leadership. It is very easy to lose by slighting the political, economic, and diplomatic aspects. A successful military effort is vital to win, but dissent on the home front can cripple you more than a lost campaign. Non-military factors are more subtle than military ones, but they are just as important. Keep your eye on the indexes of your popularity and your financial stability, and put as much

thought into an appointment or an administrative policy as you would into a military maneuver.

CABINET APPOINTMENTS AND POLITICS

In this phase, your fundamental decision is ability versus politics. If there were no political dimension to the game, your choices would be obvious: appoint the politicians with the greatest ability to your cabinet. If ability played no role in the rest of the game, your choices would be equally obvious: take the first set of leaders who maintain factional and regional balances. The problem is that both ability and politics do matter.

While there is no single best pattern of appointments, in general, appoint the most talented array of politicians you can put together while maintaining the necessary political balance. And you can avoid some of the problems of political pressure by making sure to appoint your best men to the most crucial jobs. All positions are important, but some are more important than others.

CIVIL AFFAIRS AND LOYALTY

When you administer, you should be aware that the consequences will reflect the interaction of your policy with the balance of loyalties in each area of the region, and the policy of your opponent as well. Remember that these policies are blunt instruments indeed: there may be a range of loyalty balances in the different areas in a region, and a policy that bolsters your position in one may undercut it in another. As you get more experience with the game, you may want to look at the information display for critical areas in a region, in order to tailor your policy to enhance your position in it, or at least to avoid losing ground there.

Administration

In general, harsh policies will do more damage than good in areas with a strong balance of loyalty toward you. People resent the imposition and may see the enemy supporters as the underdog. On the other hand, harsh policies are effective in areas where support is relatively weak: it will demonstrate your commitment to them, and give you the legal means to shield your supporters.

Subversion

Be careful not to overplay your hand. If support is weak, your agents had better lie low, lest they bring the authorities down upon their heads. On the other hand, be careful not to miss an opportunity. Your support does make a difference, and a well timed "Precipitate" can push a dissatisfied area over the edge into outright resistance.

One final word for the Union: you will lose areas on the first turn. Don't worry too much about it, but be aware that your policies will make a difference in some places. Holding The Valley or Paducah can make a big difference in your strategic position, and it is possible. You will lose a lot of areas, but you may be able to hang onto a few crucial ones.

RELOCATING THE CAPITAL

Ideally, the Union player will never have to use this option, and the Confederate will use it just once. But it is better to use the option than lose your capital, so before you decide to tough it out look carefully at the balance of forces, not only in and near the capital, but that can come up during strategic movement.

The Confederate player has a unique opportunity to relocate the capital in the second turn: not only is there no penalty, but there is a penalty for leaving it in Montgomery (Mobile in the game — it was too hot, hotel space was too limited,

and there were not enough bars).

Richmond was the historical choice, and it does have some advantages. The choice will please the Virginians, and their political support is important; the fortifications that protect the capital will make it the city like a cork blocking Union moves in the East; and Virginia will have to be defended anyway because of its population and productive resources.

On the other hand, placing the capital so close to the Union commits the Confederates to a forward defense, making it impossible to trade space for time, or to let the Union overextend itself through an early invasion in the east. Other sites further south have these advantages, but have drawbacks as well. The coastal cities are vulnerable to naval raids, while interior cities may be vulnerable to rapid Union advances along the river lines. Atlanta is in many ways an attractive choice, but you must make the final determination by balancing the pros and cons of each possibility.

SLAVERY AND EMANCIPATION

The Confederate player will provoke a huge political backlash if he attempts to emancipate the slaves. The Union player, on the other hand, will gain politically, diplomatically, and militarily by doing so. How much how fast will be one of the

major political issues of the game. Politically speaking, moves toward emancipation while support for the war in the north is high may be wasted, for support can only go so high (a rating of 10). Emancipation will, however, give the northern cause a shot in the arm when support is flagging, and the amount is proportional to the extent of the change. Similarly, though, support in the Border regions will go down, and a big boost in the North may be accompanied by a critical drop to the South. Gradual moves therefore are often best politically, because it revives Northern spirits while it does not hurt the position in the Border areas too much.

Military considerations also suggest a gradualist approach, simply because there are few potential black recruits in the areas controlled by the North at first. Only as significant amounts of southern territory come under your control will the recruitment pool grow to the point that it will make a significant difference.

Diplomatic considerations, however, recommend moving with dispatch. Emancipation does nothing but good for the Union's diplomatic position, for the English will find it harder and harder to support the Confederacy as the Union frees the slaves.

One final consideration to keep in mind is the North's military prospects. If emancipation comes while they are poor, the move will be perceived as a sign of material weakness rather than moral strength. Plan on using this most potent weapon, but use it with a special regard for timing and political effect.

TAXATION, BONDS AND INFLATION

Battles may be won by the bigger battalions, but wars are won by the deeper pockets. The North has a strong advantage in this regard, but it is possible for the Union to blow it, and for the Confederacy to make the best of a bad situation. Remember that taxes are the best way to finance the war, bonds (especially low interest bonds) are the next best, and printing paper is the worst way of all. Be assured, inflation will hurt—politically, economically, and, ultimately, militarily. Keep pushing for more taxes, and reduce your bond interest whenever possible, but try and keep your income and spending in as close balance as you can.

MOBILIZATION AND RESOURCES

An ironic problem in No GREATER GLORY is that in most instances, you can buy anything that is physically available. The problem is that you must not only decide what to buy, but how much to buy as well. Is short-term strength worth long-term weakness? Or should you restrain your purchases now so you can build up your strength for the long haul?

Recruitment

Both raising the recruitment level and recruiting Blacks require Congressional approval. Be more careful about raising recruitment than raising taxes. A Congressional rebuff on taxes costs you nothing, but failure to get your requested recruitment policy does hurt your political support. Once you are able to raise the recruitment level, be careful that you have

sufficient production and railroads to support the troops. Obtain supplies first and then transport both the troops and supplies to where they can do some good.

Union recruitment of Blacks presents several special problems. First of all, when recruitment is voluntary, black troops will be resisted because even Northern whites questioned whether blacks were capable of carrying arms. Ironically, though, when recruitment is compulsory, lack of black recruitment will be resented by whites. They will complain of being sent to die for others who are not being asked to make the same sacrifices themselves. Finally, Blacks themselves have varying attitudes toward military service, depending on the emancipation policy. If the government upholds slavery, it can expect little support from blacks. If it offers them freedom, it can expect their enthusiastic support.

Supply

All other things being equal, create a bit extra. You never know when you might fall short.

Infrastructure

At first, build as much as you can. Later, as the strains of war appear, building infrastructure may become counter-productive, as much of a drain on the economy as a help. Keep an eye on the difference between what you pay for and what you get. If a gap appears, try cutting back here first.

Navy

The first priority for the Union should be blockaders, followed by transports and only then frigates (you have a lot to start with, and inflicting significant economic damage to the Confederacy is more important than staving off the commerce raids). The Union should also build lots of riverboats as long as the war in the West requires. But, the Union should turn them off when extras become superfluous.



As the Confederate player, concentrate your limited shipbuilding capacity on raiders, since the Europeans will contribute the bulk of the blockade runners. Plan on building lots of forts, but keep an eye on the number of Union naval transport and riverboats, since there may be a point of overkill if the threat is low.

STRATEGIC MOVEMENT: REINFORCEMENT, SUPPLY, AND ATTRITION

To spare the railroads, both sides should use river transport whenever possible. As the Union player, be sure to use naval transport as well; there is no point making it if you are not going to use it. And use the Union's ability to seize enemy areas from the sea. Not only does this tie down scarce Southern manpower, but it also creates a more effective blockade.

To use the AI to do strategic movement for you, consider making important moves yourself beforehand. Just beware, the computer may revise your dispositions (except naval invasions). Develop a feel for the computer intelligence in order to make optimum use of it.

When distributing supplies to your armies, remember that they can supplement somewhat from local sources. If supplies are short, shortchange lots of areas by a small amount in order to get as much as possible to your big concentrations. Be careful not to overdo this as you will do serious damage to your economy, which will drive down your support. Remember also that massive armies are harder to supply even if the supplies are available since they strain your officers' organizational abilities. Large concentrations may be attractive from an operational point of view, but they may be more costly in attrition than they are worth.

CAMPAIGN TECHNIQUES AND TACTICS

Pay attention to politics when appointing generals. You may want to override their

protests in a pinch, but if you do it consistently, you will suffer.

Be careful about complex attacks from several areas against one, especially early in the game. If one general balks, it may bring your whole plan to ruin.

Keep active. Use the "Raid" option to pin the enemy, to divert him from your main effort or preempt an attack on a vulnerable point in your line. A sneaky variant is to assign an unreliable general who will probably not execute your order. This will draw the enemy's attention at no cost to your own forces.

Pay attention to the morale and experience of both your own troops and the enemy's. They have an important impact on battles, and are easy to overlook. Because experience and morale are averaged, remember that small elite units are diluted if combined with large masses of raw recruits.

Use the "Plunder" and "Devastate" orders to hurt the enemy logistically where you can't stop him militarily.

Leave garrisons. Recently conquered areas may rise up against you, and even areas in your home territories may revolt if they are dissatisfied enough.

Remember your next turns' supplies. There are places your army can move where their supplies will not be able to follow. It is always discouraging to see your main strike force melt away because you cannot get enough food and ammunition to them.

CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

In purely military terms, the Civil War was a classic linear battlefield confrontation, but on a grander scale. One flank was in the west along the Mississippi River, the center was in Kentucky and Tennessee, and the other flank was in the East. The eastern flank was isolated by an impassible obstacle, the Appalachian Mountains, while the center and west formed a con-

tinuous front to the straddling Mississippi Valley, which sloped gently toward the south and west.

From this perspective, the overall course of the actual war was like a turning movement, with the Union first crushing the Confederate left flank, then its center, and finally rolling up behind the right. The North's amphibious attacks were the equivalent of light cavalry raids sweeping wide around the eastern flank to link up with the Union right at New Orleans, and while harassing the Confederate right and rear.

Using this perspective, you can formulate your own grand strategy. There were good reasons for the historical approaches of both North and South. The South stayed on the defensive except for a few raids because it was so heavily outnumbered on all sections of the front, and it lacked the ability to get around either flank. The North turned the South's western flank because the terrain there favored the offense; if anything, the proximity of the Southern capital in the east lured the Union into a series of head-on attacks in constricted terrain that favored the strategic defense.

Nevertheless, you can try alternatives, and may find one that works better. As the Union, you might try a more aggressive strategy in the east, using your amphibious capability to outflank and isolate the enemy between your forces, the sea, and the mountains. As the Confederate, you may find that a more aggressive strategy early in the war works better than the historical approach. Time is generally not on your side, and the Union is in a state of disorder and demoralization as the war begins. Perhaps a strong offensive will push it over the brink politically despite the odds in the military equation. For either side, develop other alternatives as well, test them out and settle on the one that works best for you.

DIPLOMACY

The key to diplomacy depends on what you are asking for and what you have to back it up with. Foreign powers are more likely to agree to a request (or a threat) that seems commensurate with your resources. You can, though, lose an opportunity if you are not aggressive enough.

As the Confederate side, you may well decide that the long-term costs of bribes are outweighed by the short term benefit of winning independence. As the Union side, you should be more careful about using both bribes and coercion. In the former case, you may give up too much to gain a temporary advantage that was not necessary anyway; in the latter case, you can end the game with one false move.

NOTES FROM THE DESIGNER

Creating No GREATER GLORY has been an immense challenge, far greater than I imagined when I began. The process has been richly satisfying, but has posed many problems that have in turn required difficult design decisions. While I am satisfied with the solutions used in the game, some of them will certainly raise questions among players, which hopefully can be answered through a few comments here.

How to handle selecting generals was the most persistent problem in the project. The influence of historical hindsight is always problematic in designing historical wargames, but it is particularly acute in the case of the Civil War. One central feature was the uncertainty about the quality of the generals until they had undergone the test of battle. In retrospect, of course everybody knows that Lee and Grant were the two best generals, and the qualities of others are only slightly less well known. The prestige rating system was developed to deal with this, but it is a forced solution at best. The real answer is to use the random leader option. I strongly urge you to

get in the habit of using this option: you will have to accept that Lee or Grant may be a turkey this time around, but only with this option can you really understand the difficulties facing Lincoln and Davis, and at the same time experience the most challenging game possible.

Robert E. Lee presented certain additional difficulties. He is so well known that almost everyone seems to know that he only turned down command of the Union army because Virginia seceded, and that he later displayed lamentably little interest in the war beyond the Blue Ridge mountains. Some playtesters have objected to finding him in their roster if Virginia fails to secede, or if they confront him leading an army along the Mississippi. On the first point, I decided that in those circumstances the South has so much going against it, it would be cruel to take away its best general. On the second point, it simply seemed too much to implement special-case logic to tie him to Virginia in a game of this scale. Anyway, if I had been Jefferson Davis, I would have sat down with Lee and said, "Listen, Bobby, I know you love Virginia, but if we lose Vicksburg (or Chattanooga, or Atlanta), we'll lose Virginia too, and where's the sense in that?" Then I would have put him on a train headed west. In this game, you get to do just that.

Similarly, in this game, the Confederates get to move their capital anywhere they want, rather than having to move it to Richmond. I've always thought they should have chosen Atlanta, which would have given their armies a lot more strategic flexibility and might have also promoted a more balanced grand strategy. Richmond certainly had things to recommend it (which I discuss in the "Tips on Play"), but I've always wanted to try it my way. Now you can too.

One feature that caused a lot of concern among the playtesters, especially in

early versions of the game, was losing control of areas in their rear due to revolts. I resisted the solution of just making this impossible, because the Confederacy did lose control of large areas in western North Carolina, eastern Tennessee, and northern Alabama to gangs of deserters and draft-dodgers. The Union not only had to garrison its lines of communication as it advanced, but also faced nascent secession movements in the Northwest and Mid Atlantic early in the war. Had the political situation evolved differently, the Union could well have fallen apart. It may seem strange when areas in the Northwest, Tennessee, or North Carolina rebel against their government during the course of the war, but it was a distinct possibility. There were local grievances in the "Butternut" country of southern Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois and the disenchantment with the "planter aristocracy" that characterized the Appalachian portions of the Confederate states.

Perhaps the real cause of the problem is the use of the enemy flag to indicate control of these areas — some playtesters objected to the paratroopers landing behind their lines (!)— but it is just an unanticipated side effect of the way control was implemented early on in creating the program. It is disconcerting to see enemy areas spring up behind your lines, but the best solution is to pay attention to the loyalties of each area and make sure to garrison those with markedly more enthusiasm for the enemy than for your government. Then you won't have to see anything but your own flag in your rear.

I was not aware of the extent of resistance and dissent behind the lines before I began researching for this game, and so designing it certainly opened my eyes about this little acknowledged aspect of the war. Similarly I had never really understood the importance of the slave question to the conduct of the war. I could of

course see its role in bringing the war about, but I couldn't grasp why historians referred to emancipation as "inevitable" or as a "potent weapon" in Lincoln's arsenal. It was only when I made the game system that I began to see its concrete relationship to Northern politics, diplomacy, and recruitment. I feel that now I have a much stronger understanding of that aspect of the war, and I hope that you will come to as well.

These last points raise a final issue for these notes. I hope that No GREATER GLORY will increase your understanding of the war rather than just reconfirm what you already know. During the course of development it certainly confronted me with aspects about which I had thought and known little, and I hope it will do the same for you. I did not start out intending to challenge anyone's notions (least of all my own), but in retrospect, I can see that the grand strategic scale made it all but inevitable. Aspects of the war held as constants or ignored entirely in other games are variables here, pressing issues to be confronted and resolved by the player. I know that I came to value this aspect of developing the game, and I hope that you will value this aspect of playing it as well.

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THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR 1861-1865

by Albert A. Nofi

Between 1861 and 1865 the United States of America was almost torn apart in the bloodiest war in its history. In a strange conflict combining features of the Napoleonic Age with features of the Machine Age, fully 600,000 men perished fighting for sectional particularism, constitutional principle, economic self-interest and moral righteousness. And, in the end, vast changes were made in the nation, yet the nation remained unchanged. All with fateful implications for the present.

THE OUTBREAK OF THE CIVIL WAR

Ultimately, the American Civil War was the result of a constitutional crisis sparked by a question so elementary, so obvious and so logical that the "Founding Fathers" managed to completely overlook it when framing the Constitution. This question was whether or not a state had the right to dissolve the ties which bound it to the Union: in a word, secession. But if secession was the question it was by no means the issue. The entire matter might never have arisen

were it not for the development of significant political differences between the Southern and the Northern and Western sections of the country. These political differences were themselves rooted in the serious economic, social and religious differences which had developed between the two sections. Moreover, these economic, social and religious differences were, in large measure, rooted in the existence of slavery in the South. And these differences seemed irresolvable. So, in the spring and summer of 1860 the United States of America began to come apart.

It is not difficult to see why things began to fall apart in mid-1860. The decennial census was taken that year. It was also the last year in which the South held a sufficient margin of votes in the Congress to require the other sections to compromise and cooperate with it. According to the Census of 1860 the nation had some 31,400,000 inhabitants. Of these, 10,300,000, or 32.8%, lived in the South. Now 32.8% was still a considerable chunk of the national population. But 3,800,000 of those people, some 36.9% of the 32.8%, were black slaves (12.1% of the national population). And black slaves did not count as "real" people for congressional apportionment purposes. On the basis of the "Three-Fifths Compromise" established at the *Constitutional Convention* each slave counted for but 60% of a free person for purposes of taxation and representation. This effectively reduced the Southern delegation to the House of Representatives to 29.4%. Even counting in probable defections from the North and West, and the probable adherence of Border State representatives to the Souther position, there were no longer enough votes available to control the House. And the Senate had already been lost.

In 1820 there was an unspoken agreement to admit slave and free states in rough parity, to preserve the balance between the two sections of the country, the slaveholding South and the free North and West. But by the 1850's this had broken down. Most of the new land available for the establishment of states was essentially unsuited to slavery.

Although the South tried to interest the rest of the country in foreign expansion with an eye towards acquiring the Carribean, no one was listening. Thus, by 1860 the South held but 40% of the seats in the Senate, with no likelihood of significant defections from the North or West and with little chance that the Border States would fully support a Southern position.

Now were it not for the existence of economic, social and religious differences between the South and the other sections, the matter would have had but little import. However, the South was terrified of the possibility that the North and West would strike out against slavery. And it was upon the backs of slaves that the entire structure of Southern life was built. Slavery had been good to some people. The South was dominated by a small planter aristocracy who held almost feudal influence over their region. Southerners had been mouthing off for years about secession, never really meaning it, never understanding that the North and West were not really upset over slavery, but that they *would* get upset over secession. Ultimately, the South became caught up in its own rhetoric. The Southerners said they would secede if any move was made against slavery. Then they labeled any position even mildly anti-slavery as a fanatically abolitionist position. And then the elections of 1860 were held.

Even before the election Lincoln's victory was apparent. This was not due to any political skill on his part or that of his party. The Republicans, a new coalition of "liberal" capitalists and small holders, had been crushingly defeated in

1856. So their chances of victory in 1860 were not good. Not good, that is, unless the opposition bungled badly. And that is precisely what happened.

First off, the opposition splintered. Then, the South failed to support the one man who might have had a chance to win. This was the Democrat, Stephen A. Douglas. Unfortunately, Douglas had once made some rather innocuous remarks concerning the ways in which a state could ban slavery without making the institution itself illegal. The South would have none of that. Instead, the Southern Democrats nominated John C. Breckinridge, the vice-president in the existing Buchanan administration. Breckinridge was a pro-slavery man. He was totally unknown outside of the South. To make matters worse, a fourth party was set up, designed to keep everybody happy. This was the Constitutional Union Party, which selected John Bell, an old Tennessee Whig with the most moderate views of all, and the least chance of winning.

The campaign was conducted with much energy but little impact, since most people voted emotionally. The result was that the election ran its inevitable course. Lincoln, with but 40% of the popular vote, collected 60% of the electoral votes. This meant that on 4 March 1861 he would be inaugurated President. And the South's rhetoric began to run away with itself. The "abolitionist" had been elected. On 30 December 1860, after consulting in secret with other Southern states, South Carolina proclaimed itself a free and sovereign country outside the bounds of the Union.

Within weeks South Carolina had been joined by Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, and Texas. On 8 February 1861 six of the seceding states (the Texans were late) formed the "Confederate States of America" at a congress in Montgomery, Alabama, with a provisional constitution not unlike that of the United States except that it expressly permitted slavery (like its predecessor, it was silent on secession). Jefferson Davis of Mississippi was elected provisional president and the break was complete. But one delegate, nameless but prescient, asked if this did not mean war. He was shouted down for suggesting such a ridiculous idea.

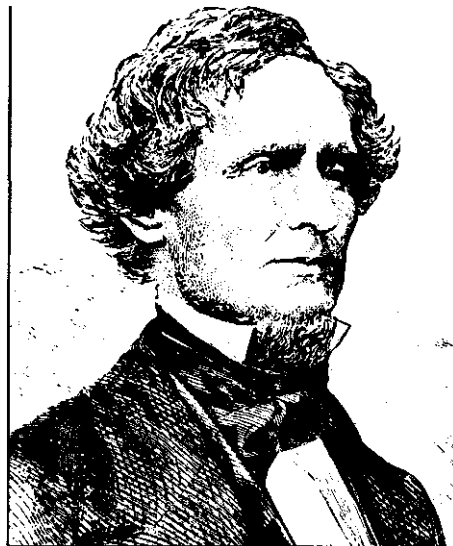
Now, even at this late date, things might have been worked out. No blood had been shed, the South claimed it was moving reluctantly at best. President Buchanan, a "Northern gentleman of Southern sympathies," had avoided any moves likely to cause a break. And politicians, Northerners and Southerners alike, but with Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky in the forefront, worked at compromise. Crittenden proposed a compromise not unlike that of 1850. Slavery to be protected by a constitutional amendment; new states north of the 36°30' to be forever free; states below that line to be subject to "popular sovereignty"; and Federal enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law. Lincoln, still not President, expressed a willingness to accept the program except the portions dealing with new states. He was adamantly opposed to the extension of slavery. And he was also intelligent enough to

realize that even this compromise would only postpone the issue. Even accepting the compromise would not solve anything except the immediate situation. Thus, the break was complete.

Nevertheless, Lincoln was cautious. Even after his inauguration he moved slowly, while the Confederacy organized a government and an army. He even avoided antagonizing the Confederacy by not taking such obvious measures as refusing to accept the resignations of army and navy officers who wished to "go South" and by not taking steps to block Southern efforts to procure arms and supplies in the North. He wanted the onus of violence to be squarely on the South, even though he knew it would come to violence sooner or later. And it came to that at a half-finished fort in Charleston harbor. Lincoln had stated that he intended to continue to hold all Federal property, wherever found, even in the "seceded" states. Fort Sumter was such a property. On 12 April 1861 the South Carolina militia opened fire on the fort. The tiny garrison replied as best it could, but having been under virtual blockade for several months, possessed little ability to carry on a tenacious fight. On 13 April the fort was evacuated and surrendered to the South. Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers to put down "combinations too powerful to be suppressed" by the ordinary mechanism of government. In the North, tens of thousands of young men answered the call. In the South, Virginia seceded, unwilling to continue its affiliation with a country which was resorting to arms to keep its citizens. After Virginia, went North Carolina, Arkansas, and Tennessee. The die was cast.

THE STRATEGY OF CIVIL WAR

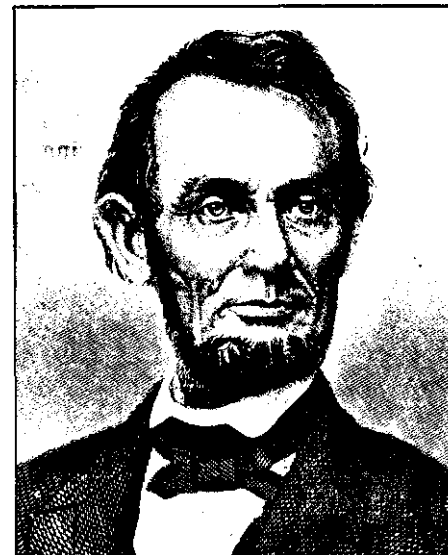
Strategy is the highest realm of war. As such, it transcends purely military considerations and becomes far more a political than a military exercise. Strategy is, or rather ought to be, dictated by national political leadership, which is conversant with the purposes



Mr. Jefferson Davis of Mississippi
President of the Confederate States of America

for which a war is being fought, as advised by military leadership, which is conversant with the technical aspects of war. Now this is all fairly straightforward. But in reality it requires two things to work: national political leadership which understands that its role is to define strategy, and military leadership which understands that its role is to advise. Unfortunately, throughout history the tendency has often been for national political leadership to let military leadership dictate strategy (sometimes, of

course, national political leadership tries to dictate tactics too). This is not necessarily disastrous. But it can be. And what happens when neither national political leadership nor military leadership is willing to define strategy? During the American Civil War both situations could be found. For a time, the Union



Mr. Abraham Lincoln of Illinois
President of the United States of America

permitted military leadership to define strategy, and the result was disastrous. And for the duration of the war, the Confederacy never managed to get around to defining strategy at all.

At the highest level, answering the question "why are we fighting?", Union and Confederate strategy was obvious. The Union was fighting to preserve the Union and the Confederacy was fighting for independence from the Union. Rarely have the objectives two nations at war been so neatly opposite. In order

to preserve the Union the Federal government had to invade and subdue what amounted to a functioning nation. In order to obtain its independence, the Confederacy had only to avoid being conquered. This gave the South a distinct advantage. The situation was not unlike that which confronted the Americans during the Revolutionary War of 1775-1783. In any war for independence the rebels don't so much have to win as to demonstrate that they can and will defend themselves. And this the South was definitely able to do. Yet in the end, the Confederacy lost, which raises the question of what went wrong.

Ultimately, what went wrong was that the South never enunciated a strategy for conducting the war. This was partially due to the personal shortcomings of Jefferson Davis. As national leader in time of war Davis was somewhat lacking. Lincoln had one significant asset over Davis in this job: he lacked a formal military education. Davis, a former regular army officer, a graduate of West Point and a former Secretary of War would seem almost perfect for the job of leading a nation at war. But his military background was precisely his problem. He was incapable of seeing the forest for the trees. He was too interested in the minutiae of military affairs to see the proverbial "big picture." Lincoln, utterly ignorant of military affairs except for some militia experience dating the Black Hawk War of the 1830's, did have a good background in history and politics. He rarely interfered in the everyday details of running the war without compelling political reason and never in the details of administering the army. He actually

started out respecting generals too much, which led to serious Union reverses in 1861-1863. But he learned fast, so that by 1863 he was beginning to see where his proper place was in the scheme of things.

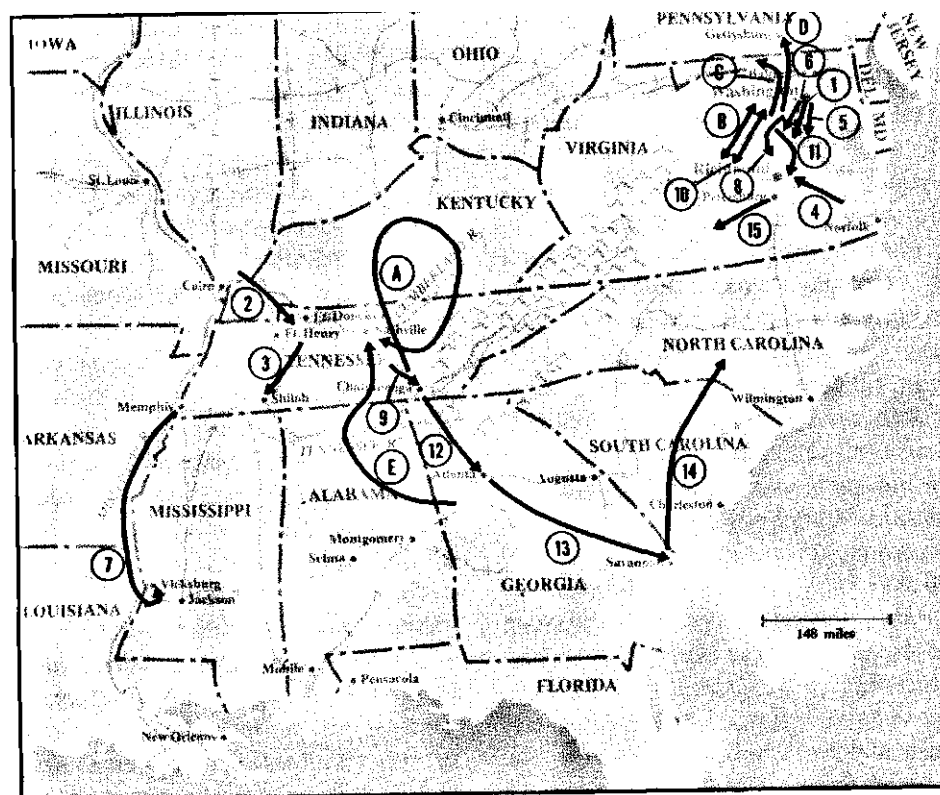
We should not really blame Davis for his inability to run a nation at war. Like all of his contemporaries from military backgrounds, he had been raised on the writings of Baron Antoine Henri Jomini, Jomini, a Swiss in Napoleon's service, had worked up a huge body of material on how wars were fought. Unfortunately, Jomini completely failed to comprehend the interrelationship of the civil and military sectors in the conduct of war. This was, an easy error for him to make since Napoleon had personally combined the two. But Napoleons are rare in this world and none were on hand during the American Civil War. Having imbibed jomini at West Point, most Union and Confederate generals also failed to understand the proper relationship between war and politics, seeing them as separate spheres which did not impinge upon each other. In the end, Lincoln assumed a more active role in strategy making. Davis, hampered by his background, never did.

Ideally, Davis and Lincoln should have provided centralized strategic direction to their respective war efforts. Failing that, they could have arranged*¹¹ for the preparation of cooperative plans and helped coordinate the efforts of individual field commanders. At the very least, they could have appointed a commander-in-chief to assume at least part of these functions. Lincoln started the war with a commander-in-chief. Davis

got around to appointing one, Robert E. Lee, in the Winter of 1865. By then it was too late. Given these differing situations, it is not surprising that the Confederacy lost the war. It was almost lost from the start.

Confederate strategy was quite simple. It was a massive holding action, or cordon defense, designed to keep the Federal armies out of the South wherever they attempted to enter. But this wasn't really formulated. It was more or less fallen into. At the beginning of the war, when both sides were still mobilizing, Southern resources were too slender to do more than cover the frontiers with a thin line of troops. A cordon defense at this point was the only one possible. However necessary this strategy might have been in 1861, it was by no means an optimum strategy. While the South could win the war by demonstrating that the North could not win it, this sort of approach would be relying a bit too much on the political and moral collapse of the North. In a war of attrition, which is what the South ended up waging, the North held all the cards. What the South really needed was a bold strategic offensive.

Though incapable of protecting everything everywhere, the South was certainly possessed of the resources to strike out against the Union during the first eighteen months of the war (July 1861-December 1862). Lacking centralized strategic direction, possessed of a defensive complex, this is precisely what the South did not undertake.



The Principal Campaigns of the Civil War, 1861-1865

This map represents the principal offensive operations of the Civil War in chronological order, on a terrain and communications map of the Confederacy east of the Mississippi, with adjacent regions. Union offensives are indicated by digits and Confederate operations by letters.

1. First Bull Run Campaign, July 1861.
2. Henry-Donelson Campaign, Feb. 1862.
3. Shiloh Campaign, Feb.-Apr. 1862.
4. Peninsular Campaign, Mar.-Aug. 1862.

- A. Bragg's Invasion of Kentucky: Perryville-Stones River Campaign, May 1862-Jan. 1863.
- B. Jackson's Valley Campaign, May-June 1862.
5. Second Bull Run Campaign, July-Aug. 1862.
- C. Antietam Campaign, Sep. 1862.
6. Fredericksburg Campaign, Oct.-Dec. 1862.
- Dec. 1862-July 1863.
8. Chancellorsville Campaign, Apr.-May 1863.
- D. Gettysburg Campaign, June-July 1863.
9. Chickamauga-Chattanooga Campaign, Aug.-Nov. 1863.

10. Shenandoah Campaign, May 1864-Mar. 1865.
11. Grant's Operations Against Richmond and Petersburg, May 1864-Apr. 1865.
12. Sherman's Atlanta Campaign, May-Oct. 1864.
- E. Hood's Invasion of Tennessee, Oct.-Dec. 1864.
13. Sherman's March to the Sea, Nov.-Dec. 1864.
14. Sherman's Campaign in the Carolinas, Jan.-Apr. 1865.
15. The Appomattox Campaign, Apr. 1865.

The Confederacy five times launched offensives into Union controlled territories (Jackson's Valley Campaign, 1862; Lee's Invasion of Maryland, 1862; Bragg's Invasion of Kentucky, 1862-1863; Lee's Invasion of Pennsylvania, 1863; and Hood's Invasion of Tennessee, 1864), but in each case the operation was essentially a strategic diversion, designed to relieve Federal pressure in another theater. A true strategic offensive would have concentrated a considerable Confederate force against some vitally important center in the North, such as Washington, Cincinnati, or Southern Illinois. Capitalizing on the superior marching abilities of Southern troops, such an invasion could have brought a Union army to battle at a time and place of the Confederacy's choosing. And, since the Southern forces would be on Northern soil, they could stand on the tactical defense, at which the Confederacy excelled, particularly in 1861-1862. But only one person in the South saw this as a viable strategy.

James Longstreet, one of Lee's fine corps commanders proposed just such an offensive in the late Spring of 1863, when Lee was contemplating an invasion of the North to help relieve Federal pressure along the Mississippi and, incidentally, to help revictual his army. Longstreet proposed that Lee keep the bulk of his army on the defensive in Virginia and take one corps into Tennessee, using the South's marginally superior interior lines of communication to make the move quickly and quietly. In the West were some 100,000 battle-hardened Confederate troops who, with Lee's

125,000 men, the largest ever fielded by the C.S.A. With this host under his command, Longstreet proposed that Lee crush Union forces in Tennessee and then take the war into Ohio, threatening Cincinnati, thereby forcing the Union to fight an offensive battle for its jugular vein. Given the prior performance of Federal troops against entrenched Confederates, the outcome was likely to be favorable and the course of the war would have been changed, perhaps even brought to a victorious conclusion. But Lee, incapable of seeing beyond the confines of his theater, demurred. He planned to go into Pennsylvania and could not be swayed. The result was Gettysburg, perhaps the most unnecessary and most mismanaged battle of Lee's career.

Actually, Lee's shortsightedness with respect to viewing the war as a larger entity was shared by most Confederate officers, and most Union officers as well. Individual Confederate commanders behaved towards each other like Patton and Montgomery in Western Europe in 1944-1945. And lacking a supreme commander they could never be brought to heel. So the cordon defense, an expedient at best in 1861, remained the principal Confederate strategy for the duration of the war. In a sense, of course, it worked. The South was able to stave off defeat for years. But a closer examination of the matter reveals an interesting point. In four bloody years of war the South never regained a significant amount of territory from the Union. With a purely defensive strategy, of course, they never had the opportunity. So in the end, their strategy was a failure.

Now none of this has been by way of saying that the North possessed any brilliant strategists. For most of the war Federal strategy was in as much of a muddle as Confederate strategy. But Union strategy changed and developed as time went on, a thing which

Confederate strategy never did. And in the end the Union came up with a viable strategy. Curiously, they could have had it from the start.

When the Civil War broke out the General-in-Chief of the United States Army was Winfield Scott, a 74-year old veteran of the War of 1812 and the Mexican War. But if Scott's body was old and infirm, there was nothing wrong with his brain. Although a Virginian, he was fiercely loyal to the Union and evolved a plan which, although derided at the time as the "Anaconda Plan," proved to be the basis of a Union victory. Briefly, Scott proposed to spend several months of organizing and training an army and then sending 60,000 men down the Mississippi while other forces held the frontiers of the South and the navy tightened a blockade around the Southern coasts. Once the Mississippi was in Union hands, Scott envisioned a massive, leisurely mopping up operation to destroy the remnants of rebel forces. If adopted, his plan might have brought victory in 1862. But no one wanted to listen to a 74-year old who talked about a long and bloody war. The cry at the time was "Forward to Richmond." And even after the debacle at Bull Run (21 July 1861) Union eyes, and arms, were focused on Richmond. So Scott, hurt by accusations of senility, retired. But he lived long enough to see his plan vindicated.

When Scott went, centralized strategic direction of the war almost disappeared. To be sure, a succession of generals occupied Scott's old office, but their attentions were firmly focused on Richmond. It was all that Lincoln could do to convince them that other theaters should get some attention, particularly in the allocation of resources. Of course Lincoln could have peremptorily ordered his generals to cooperate, but he was learning the trade too, and firmly believed that there was a difference between the military and political spheres. So repeated Union attempts were made to take Richmond. But Richmond was not a legitimate military objective in 1861-1863 except in so far as the Confederacy was willing to commit troops to defend it. The legitimate objective of the Union armies in the East was the defeat of the Confederate armies. Unfortunately, few Union generals-in-chief saw it that way. Grab Richmond, they reasoned, and the war would be at an end. It was all very geographical, almost Eighteenth Century in fact, and very Jominian. As late as June of 1863, whilst Lee was marching into Pennsylvania, Lincoln had to tell Joe Hooker to ignore Richmond and chase after the *Army of Northern Virginia*. By that time, of course, Lincoln was beginning to tell his generals things; he was learning. As the war went on, and as Union armies were repeatedly thrown back from Richmond, the place became militarily valuable, much as Verdun assumed an importance far beyond its real value in the First World War. But by 1864-1865 Lincoln had found the sort of

leadership he needed to fight the war and win. He had also found a strategy, formulated by U.S. Grant.

Basically, Union strategy evolved into something very much akin to what old General Scott had proposed in 1861. The line of the Mississippi would be seized to cut the Confederacy in two. Then, while major armies continued to apply pressure to pin considerable Confederate forces in the vicinity of Richmond, strong Union forces would drive deep into the vitals of the Confederacy in the West. And the blockades would be pulled tighter. Unlike Southern strategy, it *was* spelled out, but it really didn't have to be since Scott had more or less elucidated the matter in 1861.

This strategy was not brilliant. It didn't envision the sort of hammer-blow victory which people wanted so desperately in 1861-1863. But both sides could deliver hammer blows, while only the North could successfully wage a war of attrition. If the strategy wasn't brilliant, at least it worked. The South needed a brilliant strategy. Instead, they had an uninspired one. And so, by trying to defend everywhere, the South ended up defending nowhere.

ARMIES NORTH AND SOUTH

In 1861 both North and South sent untrained but enthusiastic bands of young men into the field against each other. By 1863 two of the finest fighting machines in the world had emerged, tried and tested in the hardest school possible. And the process was painful and costly. But if in the end there was not much to choose from between

the two armies, such was not the case at the beginning. Both sides had some important advantages and disadvantages influencing their ability to field an army, and in the beginning the advantages generally lay with the South.

ORGANIZATION

At the start the Union threw away a considerable asset. This was the Regular Army, some 16,000 of the toughest professional soldiers in the world. Used as a leaven, to be spread among volunteer and militia units, the Regulars might well have produced a finely tuned fighting machine considerably earlier than was the case. But the Regulars were needed on the frontier, to hold down the Indians. And there were serious political objections to using the Regular Army in this fashion. For one thing, most Regulars didn't like the idea. For another, Lincoln had to get his manpower from the states, and the only way he could ensure cooperation on the part of state governments was to permit the states to organize the troops. This aside, the advantage lay with the South, in getting together at the earliest possible moment an army which had some chance of success.

In mid-Nineteenth Century America one of the ways in which the upper and middle classes passed their time was in the militia. In addition to permitting a man to strut around in a remarkably fancy uniform, the militia held a series of social events in the course of the year, few of which had any military function. Many militia units were very well connected politically. And it all gave a man a sense of doing something for his coun-

try, since the militia was supposed to be available for war service should that unlikely event occur. But the most important function of the militia was in keeping the "lower orders" under control. In the North this meant firing a few volleys over the heads, or into the bodies, of factory workers demonstrating for more pay or just blowing off steam on a Saturday night. In the South this meant suppressing slave rebellions.

The South lived in paranoid terror of its slaves. On the one hand the slaveocrats claimed that their slaves were simple, well-cared for folk very content with their lot. And on the other hand, they were haunted by the memory of Haiti, where the slaves had risen up, slaughtered their masters and established a republic. The South had its slave rebellions too — hundreds of them. Most were spontaneous spasmodic outbursts of violent reaction to oppression. Some, a few, were the result of well-planned conspiracies. None lasted more than a few days. And all were brutally suppressed by the local militia. By the time of the Civil War the frequency of slave revolts had declined, partially due to an increase in repression and partially to an increase in the efficiency of the militia. The South became almost militarized through its large militia. This militia, with a more serious role than merely holding picnics and occasionally breaking up a riot, was considerably more prepared for war than its Northern counterpart.

In both North and South it was the militia which responded to the first calls for manpower. In April of 1861 Lincoln had called for 75,000 men and shortly

thereafter Davis called for 82,000. These calls were allotted to the individual states which answered them by forwarding their standing militia regiments, supplemented by newly raised volunteer regiments. Some states actually found more volunteers on hand than they were called to supply and several kept these men on the state payroll, as standing state forces. But all of these initial enlistments were for three months only. Then came Bull Run and a realization that the war was going to be a long one.

Actually, even before Bull Run both sides had authorized some enlistments for three years. And the Confederacy began recruiting all manpower on this basis shortly before the battle. But the initial manpower calls in both North and South had been fairly small. In the Summer of 1861 came more massive calls, with the Confederacy asking for 400,000 men on a one-to-three year enlistment basis and the Union for 500,000. These calls were answered enthusiastically. The situation was not to last. By the Fall of 1861 the Confederacy was beginning to feel a manpower pinch. People were not volunteering in sufficient numbers. When enlistment bounties in cash proved ineffective in raising the required number of men, the Confederacy resorted to conscription. *The Conscription Act of 16 April 1862* became the means by which the bulk of Confederate manpower entered the army. Confederate conscription was highly undemocratic. State governments, exercising their "state's rights"

exempted thousands of petty functionaries. The act itself exempted slaveholders in a certain ratio because someone had to watch the slaves. The act also permitted the buying of substitutes and exempted tens of thousands of people for occupational reasons.

Many of the exempted individuals actually enlisted on their own. But the undemocratic features of the act caused much dissatisfaction. In many areas there were draft riots and the Southern desertion rate was always incredibly high.

By various methods, but principally through volunteering, the North managed to avoid resorting to conscription until 8 March 1863. By then, it was obvious that something more than an enlistment bonus and patriotic zeal was necessary to get men into the ranks. The *Federal Enrollment and Conscriptions Acts* had many of the same features which the Confederate program had, and added the possibility of paying a \$300.00 exemption fee. But, unlike the situation in the South, relatively few men actually entered the army by being drafted, though the draft did spur many to enlist, which was its primary purpose. As in the South, the act was considered highly undemocratic and draft riots broke out, that in New York being particularly fierce largely because the state militia was away in Pennsylvania getting ready to fight Lee, who was then at Gettysburg.

In the end, whether through activated militia, volunteer enlistments or conscription, the Union reached a peak paper strength of 1,000,000 men in the Spring of 1865. The total number of *enlistments*, including 30- and 60-day militia, three-month men, 100-day men,

six-month men, eight-month men, one-year men, two-year men, and three-year men was nearly 2,700,000, but many passed through the ranks several times and the total number of men who actually served was something like 1,700,000 or 8.1% of the population of the Union States.

The Confederacy actually mobilized a far greater proportion of its population than did the Union. Fully 900,000 men passed through the Confederate ranks, with a peak strength of 500,000 around the middle of 1863. The figure 900,000 represents only 8.7% of the total Southern population, but 14.5% of the white population and a remarkable 75% of the male population between 15 and 50. It was this outstanding effort, combined with certain other Confederate assets and several significant Union handicaps, which kept the Federal armies at bay for so many years.

Much has been said about the superiority of Southern manpower. To some extent this was true. At least initially, the Southern soldier was a better soldier than the Northern soldier. Raised in a rural setting, inured to the outdoors, familiar with firearms, the Southern farm boy was certainly better prepared than his Northern cousin to be molded into a soldier. But as the war grew longer the differences tended to become less important. In addition the Southerner was not all that much better than the Northerner. Most Northerners lived on small farms in 1860 too. By 1863 there was little difference between the troops, although the Southerners could still march rings

around the Northerners. And by 1865 even that advantage was gone. But the South still understood how to organize its manpower more efficiently.

For political reasons the Union was never able to institute a replacement system like that of the Confederacy. In the Confederate service relatively few regiments were raised. As recruits became available they were assigned to various existing regiments. This had two results. First, it preserved combat hardened regiments in the order of battle, thereby improving morale among the troops. It also meant that the recruits would become good soldiers in a fairly short time. In daily contact with experienced veterans, the "green" men would rapidly lose their rough edges. Going into their first engagement would be made somewhat easier by the presence of their battle-wise comrades. And a higher proportion of the recruits would survive their first battle as a result. The North had no such system. As recruits became available they were organized into new regiments, largely in order to provide political patronage in the form of colonelcies, majorities and captaincies. While veteran regiments faded away for want of manpower, green regiments took their place. The loss of veteran cadres was understood, but the political importance of keeping certain state governors happy outweighed this consideration. Throughout the war, the average Southern regiment tended to be stronger and better trained than its Northern counterpart, until the South began to run out of manpower in late 1864. It was a critical factor in the efficiency of the Rebel armies.

WEAPONS AND TACTICS

In any given situation, tactics are a reflection of weaponry. Or rather, tactics *ought* to be a reflection of weaponry. In the Civil War, as in many other wars before and since, tactical developments had fallen behind progress in weaponry. While inexcusable, this lag is understandable. Progress in weaponry is linear; one thing tends to lead to another. Progress in tactics is in terms of quantum jumps: at some point in time a revolutionary breakthrough occurs, but usually there is no progress. The result was that, although equipment changed, technique didn't. And men died unnecessarily.

In 1861 the United States had not fought a major war for twelve years. And the Mexican War (1846-1848) had been fought with the same weapons used during the Napoleonic Wars. Indeed, there was little difference between the weapons used in the Mexican War and those used in the American Revolution. The principal weapon was the smooth-bore musket firing a one ounce ball with an effective range of about 100 yards. Standard tactics with this weapon were to keep your troops in two or three lines and advance to within a very short range of the enemy, perhaps as close as 40 yards, before firing. Then the troops would exchange volleys. Sooner or later one side would falter. Then the steadier side would attack with the bayonet. This was all fine as long as a smoothbore musket was being used. But in the 1840's a revolution in weaponry occurred with the introduction of the cheap, easily loaded rifled musket.

Rifled muskets had been around for some time, but were not considered effective weapons except for light troops and snipers. The basic problem was that they took too long to load. But in 1848 Captain Minie of the French *Garde National* devised a simple conical bullet with a hollow base into which a tiny steel ball fitted. The bullet was actually narrower than the bore of the musket, to permit it to slide down the barrel easily. But once fired, the "Minie ball" in the base of the bullet forced the bullet to expand and fit the rifling grooves. Suddenly the infantryman had a reach of 350 yards, for the rifle was far more accurate than the smoothbore. By the mid-1850's the U.S. Army was equipped almost exclusively with rifled muskets and these remained the principal firearm of the Civil War for both sides.

But if the rifled musket became the standard firearm, tactics did not change to deal with the new weapon. In the early part of the Civil War both sides made attacks in the old Napoleonic style, with successive lines of infantry trying to march up to very short ranges. Occasionally, even massed columns were used in a perverse attempt to imitate the French tactics of 1793-1815. The result was a remarkably long casualty list. As the war progressed new tactics were evolved to cope with the increased accuracy of the musket. The spacing between troops was increased, more effective use was made of available cover. Yet the basic problem still remained. The defense had a considerable advantage over the attack, an advantage which persisted to the end of the war.

The matter was not dissimilar with respect to defensive tactics. Under the old system troops stood in the open to receive the attack. But this, too, produced fearful casualties. So the troops began to go to ground. Digging became a way of life. And even if there was no time to dig, the troops could make use of available cover. But this had its own disadvantages since the rifled musket, being a muzzle-loader, was almost impossible to load when lying prone. There were breech-loaders available at this time. Indeed, the Prussian Army had begun to issue one as standard equipment as early as 1843. But breech-loaders were more expensive than muzzle-loaders, and many officers felt that they would consume too much ammunition, thus creating a logistical nightmare. And, more importantly, the time required to tool up for the large scale production of breech-loaders would have been prohibitive. Neither side had enough of the muzzle-loaders to meet their needs from the start. Indeed, even the Union had to rely rather heavily upon imports at the beginning of the war. For either side to have attempted to convert its production from muzzle-loaders to breech-loading rifles would have seriously hampered its war effort, conceivably to the point of defeat. Nevertheless, the general superiority of breech-loaders was recognized by some. Lincoln himself helped get the Union cavalry equipped with the Spencer breech-loading repeater in mid-1863. And by that time, special infantry units were also being given breech-loaders, although the muzzle-loader remained the principal firearm of the war. Generally speaking the Confederate infantry was

superior in technical skill and combativeness in the early part of the war. But as Union forces became more seasoned, the differences began to disappear. By mid-1863 there was not much to choose from between the two armies. And in the end the war was an infantryman's war. Fully 91.3% of all battle casualties were caused by musketry.

Artillery, which during the Napoleonic Age had been a major killer, and which would become one again in the Twentieth Century, was relegated to an essentially secondary role during the Civil War. Only 8% of the casualties in the war were from artillery fire. This was primarily because progress in artillery weaponry fell behind that in infantry weapons. The 12-pounder "Napoleon," widely used by both sides during the war, was not particularly superior to 12-pounders used by the Great Napoleon himself. With a maximum range of only 1,600 hundred yards, it was often the case that artillery units found themselves under musketry fire in the front lines, for being direct fire weapons there was no other post they could occupy. As an offensive arm artillery proved significantly ineffective. But as a defensive arm it was quite good, particularly when some fool tried a frontal assault with infantry or cavalry, such as "Pickett's Charge" at Gettysburg.

One curious development of the war was the introduction of rifled breech-loading cannon. This development was curious because the new weapons were not as efficient as the old "Napoleons." They still had too many "bugs" in them, including a lower rate of fire and a smaller bursting charge in their explosive

shell. Although the rifled guns had a greater range, they were still direct fire weapons, which placed them in the front lines with the infantry anyway, where their range didn't matter overmuch. It was a case of technological innovation coming just a few years too soon. By 1870 the breech-loading rifled cannon was perfected. In 1863 it was something of a novelty.

Both sides attained rather high states of efficiency fairly early in the war. This is understandable since artillery was a highly technical arm. One was either good at it or not good. The guns on both sides were well served. It was a simple professional fact.

There was one arm in which the Confederacy excelled throughout the war, although the extent of its excellence gradually declined. This was the cavalry. Unfortunately for many young men, no one was quite certain as to the proper role of the cavalry at the beginning of the war. Far too many cavalrymen, particularly in the North, thought in terms of "Murat and all the Emperor's cavalry." They wanted to make glorious charges. But against fairly good infantry, even without artillery support, glorious charges tended to turn into bloody routs. The idea that cavalry was a romantic arm persisted throughout the entire war. By the middle of the war, however, a fairly clear picture of the role of cavalry was emerging. This was a reconnaissance, screening and skirmishing force. Many cavalrymen also liked to think that raiding was a glorious way to play at being cavalrymen. To be sure, a well executed raid could produce remarkable results.

But too often, the employment of large mounted forces on a raid deprived the main forces of vitally needed cavalry support at critical times. A prime example of this was J.E.B. Stuart's idiotic raid into the Federal rear during the Gettysburg Campaign, which left Lee without any reliable intelligence for nearly a week and led directly to the Battle of Gettysburg.

The best cavalrymen of the war, and these were mostly Southerners, usually left their sabers home. If they had to fight they did it on foot using carbines. By 1864 Federal cavalrymen were getting to be as skillful as their Rebel counterparts, particularly after they were issued the Spencer repeating rifle, which greatly improved their firepower and accuracy. But right up to the end, the Southern cavalry managed to retain an edge in technical skill and audacity. It was the only technical advantage which the South retained throughout the entire war, for by 1864 even their leadership was being surpassed by Union leadership.

LEADERSHIP

Napoleon once said that an army of rabbits led by a lion was superior to an army of lions led by a rabbit. In the American Civil War neither army was composed of rabbits. But there were times, notably in the Union service, that the leadership was distinctly rabbit-like.

Much has been made of the importance of the West Pointer to the war efforts of both North and South. And to be sure, virtually all of the high level leaders on both sides had a West Point background. But up to and including

1861, West Point had had only about 2,000 graduates. Even if one adds in the relatively large number of non-West Pointers who had served as officers in the army in the decades prior to the Civil War and who then returned to civil life; even if one adds in all the militia officers with a modicum of real field service; even after adding the considerable number of foreign military adventurers and immigrants with military backgrounds; after all this, the number of officers available was just too small to fill the requirements of just one of the armies. Roughly speaking, during the course of the war, the Union needed something like 75,000 regimental officers and the Confederacy about 36,000. This is at the rate of 36 officers per regiment. It completely ignores officers needed for staffs, higher field formations such as brigades, divisions, corps and armies, and for general headquarters and logistical commands. It is not difficult to see why the West Pointers, and the handful of former regular officers who returned to the colors, rose rapidly to high rank. There was no one else who knew the business. But where were the tens of thousands of other officers to come from? From civilian life.

In the beginning most militia and volunteer regiments elected their officers. The men had a ballot and the winner was a lieutenant or a captain or a colonel. On rare occasions, such as when one wealthy person subsidized the formation of a regiment, it might be offered as a command to a more or less experienced officer, possibly an ex-regular, who might then appoint some officers. In both of

the armies, the standard method for procuring officers in new regiments was to elect them. Now the election of officers has been criticized as being bad for discipline and permitting incompetents to attain positions of importance. This is certainly true. But it is also true that there was no other way possible to get the large numbers of officers needed in the short time available. Many of these people were incompetent. But most of them had the confidence of their men, which certainly counted for something when both armies were grouping around learning their trade. By 1862 both sides had established review procedures and had mechanisms for the removal of particularly bad officers. But combat can turn an inexperienced man into a fair field officer in a relatively short time. A man who spent his life managing a factory or a plantation or a law office at least had the administrative skills, and some of the leadership skills, needed to make a good officer. If he survived his first few battles he might also acquire some tactical sense. In World War II, the Soviets were forced to resort to much the same process, bringing men almost directly from civilian life into officer positions. Casualties were heavy, but in time the men learned. And as with the Soviet Army in 1941-1945, so too with Union and Confederate Armies of 1861-1865.

Actually, in the lowest ranks there was not much to choose from between the Union and Confederate officers. But as one moved higher through the ranks, differences began to emerge. Approximately 43% of all the regular army officers in 1861 were of Southern

origins. Of course, approximately 65% betrayed their oaths and "went South," representing about 29% of the total officer corps once one included some sixteen men who were of Northern origins but Southern sympathies. It is important to note that fully a third of all Southern officers in the Regular Army in 1861, and 50% of Southern West Pointers, stayed loyal to their oaths of office. In addition, many officers who, though of Northern origins had married into Southern families or lived long years in the South also remained loyal. Unfortunately, for a considerable time Union officers of Southern origins or with Southern connections were not entirely trusted. This had a negative effect on the war effort since many of these men were among the more talented Union personnel.

But if most of the Regular Army officers remained loyal to their oaths, the 313 who went South must be considered by far the better portion. Men such as Robert E. Lee, Albert Sidney Johnston, Joseph Johnston, Pierre G.T. Beauregard, James Longstreet, and others. In addition, a considerable number of former Regular Army officers returned to duty with the Confederacy such as Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson and Leonidas Polk. These men provided the top military leadership of the Confederate armies for four years. And they were quite good at it.

In 1861 no American had ever commanded as many as 20,000 men in the field. The largest American field force had been Winfield Scott's 14,000-man expedition to Mexico in 1846-1848. But Scott and his division and brigade commanders were getting on in years by 1861.

None would take the field during the Civil War. So the war began with relatively inexperienced personnel on both sides. Suddenly, men who had never commanded more than the rump of a regiment found themselves leading tens of thousands of men. This situation greatly favored the Confederacy. Added to the other advantages already enjoyed by the South on the outbreak of the war, and the considerable native talent of much of the Southern military leadership, it spelled disaster for Union arms time and time again. Standing on the defensive, the Southern Armies had fewer technical problems. Union forces required to march into and conquer a hostile land, were at a distinct disadvantage in such a situation.

In the beginning Union leadership vacillated between excessive caution and incredible foolhardiness. Everyone was new to the task and everyone had an idea as to how it could be done. Audacity seemed to be called for, but the most audacious leaders in the parlor and in side shows often turned out to be the most cautious in the field. Many, like George McClellan, took counsel of their fears. Others accepted command reluctantly, such as Ambrose Burnside, rightly believing themselves poorly equipped for such positions. The net result was that such men were bold when they should have been cautious and cautious when they should have been bold. Nevertheless, they performed one vitally important function, they created the Union armies. Unfortunately, they hung around far too long. Once they were

removed from the scene the Union began to win victories. Not that the Union hadn't been winning victories right from the start. Smashing victories were gained in 1862. But these were in the West and the focus of attention ultimately was in the East. It was in the West, nevertheless, where the leadership was growing. And that was perhaps the most important aspect of it. It grew.

At the beginning of the war, Union generals were no more skillful at their trade than Confederate ones. In addition, they were handicapped by being on the offensive at a time when the balance between offense and defense was shifting decisively over to the defensive. This put a remarkable burden on these men. Not only did they have to learn how to conduct large scale operations, but they had to do it while waging an offensive war. Not many were good at this at the beginning of the war on either side. Lee and Grant both bungled their first operations. Both battles were relatively unimportant in the course of the war. But they do serve to illustrate a significant difference between Union and Confederate leadership, a difference which was not fully evident for several years. This was that Union leadership grew with time. Confederate leadership never did.

In September of 1861 Lee was conducting operations in West Virginia, around Cheat Mountain, designed to conquer that region for the Confederacy. (The Secessionist state of Virginia didn't believe that a portion of Virginia had the right to secede from it in turn!) Lee managed to bungle the entire affair

rather completely. His handling of his subordinates was poor, his staff work execrable, he was excessively optimistic, and his evaluation of intelligence was inadequate. The result was that he failed. At Belmont, Missouri (7 November 1861), Grant did very much the same things with the same result. But here was where the difference emerged. Lee's first offensive operation was Cheat Mountain. His second was the Antietam Campaign of 1862 and his third, and last, was the Gettysburg Campaign of 1863. During each of these operations he made virtually the same mistakes that he made at Cheat Mountain, particularly so at Gettysburg. But after Belmont, Grant went on to conduct still more offensives. With each one his talents improved. After the near-disaster of Shiloh there were no more stupid failures. And Grant rarely fought anything but an offensive battle. The net result was that by 1865 Grant was a very much finer general than he had been in 1861, while Lee was very much unchanged. To be sure, Lee started out being a very good general within certain limits, notably in the conduct of the active defense in a strategic defensive situation. He was a master at that and remained one for the entire war, perhaps the best on either side. But he was never able to do anything else. As with Lee, so too with most other Confederate generals. And as with Grant, so too with many other Union generals.

Actually, there were Confederate officers who improved in stature as generals during the war. Most notable of

these was Nathan Bedford Forrest. In fact Forrest, had he but had the benefit of military education, might have been one of the top leaders of the war. But much of his growing was in terms of learning things the West Pointers and "Old Army" men had learned years before. Then there were men like Joseph Johnston and Pierre G.T. Beauregard. These were fairly good generals in 1861 and 1862. But their full talents were never permitted to develop since they both had personal problems with Jefferson Davis, who relegated them to minor posts for the duration of the war, giving them no chance to work on their skills. But in the end the critical factor in this difference between growing and not growing was that the Southerners lacked the incentive to grow. Union leadership at the beginning of the war was generally poor and disaster dogged Union heels through mid-1863 in the Eastern theater. This provided a remarkable spur to improvement. Challenged, Union generalship improved. The Southerners, generally doing well during the first two years of the war, lacked such incentive. There was no reason to bring up new men, no reason to improve staff procedures, no reason to see beyond the need to "defend" the South, no reason to take a broad view of the conflict. Such incentive only developed as defeat began to become more apparent. But by that time it was too late. It was a magnificent example of resting on one's laurels.

THE ARMIES AT WAR

The Confederacy had a significant advantage in the field in the early part of the war. Through 1862 it was never outnumbered by more than 3:2 on a strategic basis. This gave the Confederacy a rather secure position during this period. With marginally superior manpower, with significantly superior leadership, and with the technological advantages offered by the rifled musket to a defending army, the Confederacy was well able to protect itself during 1861-1863. But as the war went on many of these advantages eroded away. By mid-1863 the manpower ratio had fallen to about 2:1. The strategic situation had become untenable. Union manpower and leadership were becoming more skillful. And the new Union leadership was taking a different look at the nature of the war.

Confronted with these changes, uncertain as to how to obtain victory, the Confederate armies became increasingly unable to cope with the military situation. And in the end that meant defeat.

THE WAR FOR THE UNION

In the beginning, in early 1861, both sides pretended that it need not come to a fight. Yet neither could see a viable alternative to war. And neither was willing to back down from its position. So, while the Buchanan Administration gave way to the Lincoln Administration, the Confederacy moved to seize Federal property throughout "Secessia". But on such piece of property, Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, refused to surrender peacefully. So there was where it began.

The firing on Fort Sumter (12 April 1861) marks a convenient starting date for the war. But the situation was essentially unchanged for weeks and weeks after that. Neither side had sufficient strength to try conclusions immediately. So both called for volunteers, Lincoln's call resulting in the secession of Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas and Tennessee, further complicating his problems. However, if fighting had not yet broken out in earnest, there were other ways of waging war. On 16 April Lincoln prohibited trade with the rebellious states, following that closely with a proclamation of blockade. Eventually, the blockade would seal every Southern port tightly. But in April of 1861 time was needed to make the blockade effective. And time was precisely what Lincoln lacked and what the Confederacy had plenty of.

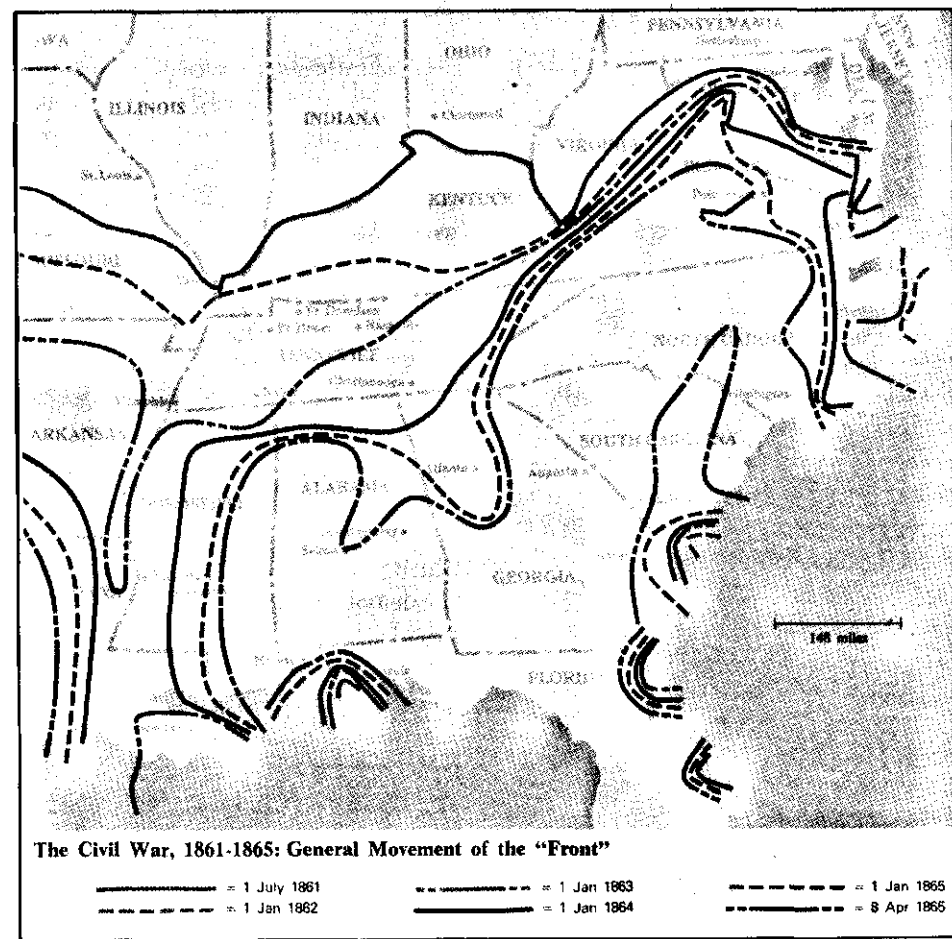
THE WAR IN THE EAST

Generally, the Eastern Theater is looked upon as being the principal theater of the war. This is so because the great battles which were fought there were almost within cannon-shot of the respective capitals of the Union and Confederacy, Washington and Richmond. Federal strategy initially held that the fall of Richmond would bring the war to a swift close. And so the Union made repeated attempts to seize Richmond. Indeed, for virtually the entire war the capture of Richmond remained the primary concern of the Federal armies in the East. But for four years they were frustrated in their efforts by one of the finest defensive campaigns ever waged in modern history.

BULL RUN

In the late Spring of 1861, with tens of thousands of short term volunteers pouring into Washington, Lincoln was under considerable pressure to assume the offensive. Although old General Scott warned him the troops were not yet ready, Lincoln placed Irvin McDowell in command and ordered an advance with the 30,000 men then available in Washington. The Confederacy had some 22,000 men under Pierre G.T. Beauregard about 30

miles west of Washington a Bull Run Creek and another 11,000 under Joe Johnston some 50 miles to the northwest, guarding the Shenandoah Valley. Some 14,000 additional Union troops were told to watch Johnston, but he managed to give them the slip. On 21 July 1861, a hot, dusty Sunday afternoon, McDowell's troops attacked Beauregard's across Bull Run. Initially successful, McDowell's inexperienced men soon had most of the equally inexperienced Confederate troops in retreat, although



Thomas Jackson's brigade gave them some trouble, earning itself and its commander the nickname, "Stonewall." Just about this time, the last arriving element of Johnston's troops from the Valley came up, however. This, plus a confusion in uniforms which permitted some Confederate troops to come up very close to the Federal lines, caused the Union position to crumble. McDowell ordered a retreat which soon degenerated into a rout. Fortunately, the Confederate troops were in almost as bad shape as the Federals and a pursuit was impractical. Union losses were some 2,900 men, Confederate losses about 1,800. The war was definitely going to be a long one. And Lincoln soon called George McClellan out of West Virginia, where he had gained some petty victories, to assume command of the armies.

McClellan, a fine administrator and a fair strategist, soon had the Army of the Potomac in hand, turning it from a mass of three-year volunteers into a tough, well-trained army. But McClellan lacked the strength of character and intestinal fortitude necessary in a good general. Although he would often be in a favorable situation with considerable force, he never managed to push hard enough at the right time, but always hung back fearfully. Nevertheless, some of his operations were brilliantly conceived, such as the Peninsular Campaign (4 April—19 July 1861).

THE PENINSULA

Making effective use of the Union's mastery of the sea, McClellan transferred some 100,000 men down the coast of Virginia and landed them on the Virginia Peninsula. But then he faltered, giving the Confederacy time to transfer troops from the Washington front and the Shenandoah Valley, where Jackson was completing a brilliant, but essentially diversionary, campaign against small Union forces. Through April, McClellan conducted a leisurely siege of Confederate positions on the Peninsula. When, on 4 May, the Confederate troops finally fell back, he pursued listlessly, only joining the battle on the last week in May, by which time Joe Johnston had some 60,000 men to confront McClellan's 85,000 or so. Now began a series of bloody battles which would see the Army of the Potomac reach within five miles of Richmond, only to be halted for almost a month by effective Confederate defense and ineffective Union leadership. Then on 26 June, Robert E. Lee, who had but lately replaced Johnston in command of the forces defending Richmond, launched series of well led, well conceived counterattacks. In the Seven Day's Battle which followed (26 June-1 July 1861) Lee demonstrated for the first time his remarkable ability to conduct an active defense. By 1 July the Army of the Potomac was backed up against the coast, its commander almost totally incapable of undertaking further operations. The Peninsular Campaign, which had opened with high hopes, was over. It had cost the Union about 30,000 men and the Confederacy about 20,000.

SECOND BULL RUN

While McClellan was being beaten in the Peninsula, Lincoln had appointed John Pope to command the forces in front of Washington. Pope had conducted some successful operations in Missouri. Advancing with some 45,000 men to threaten Lee's rear, he managed to permit "Stonewall" Jackson to halt him with but 12,000 men. And then Lee brought up the rest of the Army of Northern Virginia. Pope fell back towards Bull Run where a second battle was waged on 29-30 August. The Union forces, ineptly handled, disintegrated. The entire campaign had lasted barely two months (26 June-30 August) but cost the Union some 15,000 men and the Confederacy some 10,000. But the fault was not the troops, it was the leadership. McClellan and Pope were completely unsuited to the tasks confronting them, although both were talented within certain limits. Even Lee was not up to handling an offensive operation of the scope now being conducted. And he proceeded to prove it.

ANTIETAM

On 5 September, Lee took the Army of Northern Virginia across the Potomac and into Maryland, where it was hoped that a rising of Secessionists would result from the incursion. But the rising never came as most Marylanders fervently wished the war was elsewhere, rather than being active partisans of one side or the other. And Lincoln, desperate, appointed

McClellan to command the army again. Moving with unusual energy and speed, McClellan soon had Lee pinned against the Potomac river near Antietam Creek, in western Maryland. And there he proceeded to lose thousands of men in a series of ill-conceived, poorly coordinated frontal attacks. Nevertheless, it was the first Union victory in the East, albeit a less than smashing one. The *Army of Northern Virginia* was back in Virginia on 19 September, having lost slightly more than 15,000 men. McClellan's casualties had been slightly less. But the victory had far reaching political consequences. It gave Lincoln the opportunity to issue the "Emancipation Proclamation" which greatly improved America's relations with Britain and helped assuage the feeling of Northern abolitionists, while at the same time trying to conciliate some slaveholders. It was a powerful political weapon which had a marked effect on the course of the war. Not the least of these effects was that McClellan left the army, having clashed with Lincoln over the document. In his place came Ambrose E. Burnside, "a brave soldier but a third-rate field leader."

Burnside didn't lack the courage to order the attack. He lacked the brains to organize one. And he was completely overwhelmed by the task of running an army. To his credit he didn't want the appointment, feeling that a corps was about the best he could handle. He was right.

FREDERICKSBURG

On 7 November 1862 Burnside began a series of maneuvers which eventually brought him and Lee face to face across the Rappahanock River at Fredericksburg. There, on 10 December, the Army of the Potomac began crossing over to the Confederate side of the river, aided by favorable weather and the fact that Lee had spread his army a bit too thinly. On 13 December Burnside threw his army against Lee's in a series of frontal assaults. Lee, with his troops well positioned, beat back each and every assault. By nightfall the Army of the Potomac had taken 10,000 casualties, out of 110,000 engaged, while the *Army of Northern Virginia* had lost 5,000 out of about 60,000. Fortunately, for some reason, Lee did not counterattack. Lincoln replaced Burnside with "Fighting Joe". Hooker, who had proven himself a fair corps commander.

CHANCELLORSVILLE

Hooker found the army in terrible shape, with morale deteriorating and desertion high. He soon proved a remarkable administrator. The Winter and Spring of 1863 were spent in rebuilding and reorganizing. And then, on 27 April, Hooker launched his campaign by sending part of the Army of the Potomac on a long, but brilliantly conceived and well executed flank march around Lee's main position at Fredericksburg. But, with Lee's army greatly outnumbered (about 60,000 to 110,000) and effectively flanked, Hooker lost his nerve. Inexplicably the army

halted, just when it could have smashed Lee up against the Fredericksburg position. Lee, reacting brilliantly to the desperate situation, divided his small army in three parts: one to screen the Fredericksburg position, one to hold the main portion of the Army of the Potomac in front, and one under Jackson, to execute a long and dangerous flank march into Hooker's rear. Each of these Confederate forces was greatly inferior to the forces in front of them. At any time during this critical portion of the campaign (1-2 May 1863) Hooker could have moved forward and crushed any portion of Lee's army. Instead, he vacillated, permitting Jackson to get 26,000 men on his right flank, which fell to pieces. But even then, Hooker still had the strength to crush Lee. The strength perhaps, but clearly not the will.

The Campaign and Battle of Chancellorsville (27 April-6 May 1863) cost the Union 17,000 men and the Confederacy 13,000, one of whom was Jackson himself, accidentally shot by his own pickets while on reconnaissance. Chancellorsville was to be Lee's most perfect battle and one of the most perfectly conducted defensive actions in history. But it was also deceptive. Lee had not broken the will of the Army of the Potomac, only that of Hooker. The troops were still full of fight when Hooker led them back across the Rappahannock on 6 May. Unfortunately, Lee did not fully understand this. And he made a deadly error.

GETTYSBURG

In mid-1863 the Confederacy was under severe pressure everywhere. The Mississippi was almost under Union control, with only the twin bastions of Vicksburg and Port Hudson holding out. The coasts were tightly blockaded. The balance of force was turning ever more heavily in favor the Union. The South needed an offensive victory to revive its spirits. And Lee intended to give it one. But where? He those to go into central Pennsylvania, with the dual objective of relieving pressure in the West and collecting stores and supplies for the coming Winter. Longstreet suggested that now was the time to stand on the defensive in the East and take one corps to the West to conduct operations against Federal forces in Tennessee and possibly invade Ohio. But Lee overruled him. Even more fatally, Lee left Longstreet in the dark as to the kind of battle he was going to conduct. This set the stage for Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania and the Battle of Gettysburg.

On 25 June, Lee crossed the Potomac again and marched into Maryland, taking along some 75,000 of the finest troops the South had to offer. The Army of the Potomac followed. But Lincoln had become so disenchanted with Hooker that he replaced him with George G. Meade, a cautious but able corps commander. And Meade made very few errors even if he wasn't as brilliant as McClellan or Hooker. Keeping the 85,000-man Army of the Potomac well in hand and between Washington and Lee, while Lee spread his people all

over Pennsylvania, Meade moved up cautiously. The two armies ran into each other near the little town of Gettysburg on 1 July 1863. For three days Lee hurled assault after assault against Meade, who clung to a fine defensive position and fought with all he had. For the first time the tables were reversed: Lee was doing the attacking and someone else had the advantages of defensive posture. Lee, who erred in even attempting an offensive battle, was badly beaten. But Meade, conservative as always, was unwilling to follow up his advantage. Lee had taken over 28,000 casualties, and was losing still more men daily through desertion. Meade's loss of 23,000 was replaced almost instantly. But Meade, over cautious, threw his advantage away and let Lee slip back into Virginia. The two armies settle down into their old positions on 24 July. The war had reached a critical juncture and mastery of the battlefield had begun to pass to the Union in the East, as it already had in the West.

Through the Fall of 1863 and the Winter and early Spring of 1864, Lee and Meade conducted several important operations against each other. But both were being extremely cautious and a major engagement failed to develop. Although Meade was hurting Lee far more than Lee was hurting Meade, Lincoln was dissatisfied. At the rate things were progressing, the war could last forever. So on 9 March 1864, Lincoln appointed U.S. Grant, most successful of the "Western" generals, to command all the Federal armies. Grant left Meade in command of the Army of

the Potomac, but made his headquarters with it in the field. Back in Washington, Henry Halleck, a poor field officer but able administrator, was appointed chief-of-staff to relieve Grant of administrative burdens. Lincoln had said of Grant, "...this man fights." Grant intended to prove it.

THE WILDERNESS TO PETERSBURG

On 3 May 1864, Grant sent the Army of the Potomac across the Rapidan River with some 120,000 men against Lee's 64,000. Thus began a bloody series of battles in the Wilderness, around Spottsylvania Courthouse, along the North Anna River, and finally, on 3 June, at Cold Harbor, in front of Richmond itself. But, although repeatedly and badly hurt, the Confederate armies refused to disintegrate. Casualties were appalling on both sides, something like 50,000 for the Union and 20,000 for the Confederacy. But the situation soon stalemated in front of Richmond. And trench warfare began around Petersburg, a small town a few miles south of Richmond, as Grant tried to turn Lee's flank. Each attempt to turn the lines only extended the trenches further. Casualties mounted and results were insignificant. But Grant recognized one vital factor. The Army of Northern Virginia was pinned down defending Richmond. As long as he could keep up the pressure, however high the casualties, that army would be unable to recover its balance. So, instead of retreating as McClellan had in 1862, he hung on. Lee would be given no chance to rebuild his army. The situation would remain static through the winter.

Curiously, the glamor theater of the Civil War was the East. And to be sure great battles were fought there and brilliant strokes delivered. But the war in the East was essentially a stalemate. It was in the West where decisive actions were being fought. And it was in the West where the war was won.

THE WAR IN THE WEST

While the war in the East was an almost uninterrupted string of Union disasters, the war in the West was very much an almost uninterrupted string of Union successes. But events were not nearly so concentrated in the West. The theater was far larger, the objectives more numerous, the armies spread more thinly than in the East. But the battles were no less bloody, though they were far more decisive.

The war in the West began slowly, after Bull Run. But then it developed a life of its own, focusing on the river systems initially and then spreading through the heartland of the Confederacy.

FORTS HENRY AND DONELSON

By the end of 1861 the Confederacy had established a string of outposts across central Kentucky, bolstered by a set of forts near the Kentucky-Tennessee border, where the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers run close together. In February 1862, U.S. Grant led 20,000 men and a small flotilla of gunboats against these forts. They fell within a week. The surrender of Forts Henry and Donelson split the Confederate front in Kentucky and Tennessee. It also liberated large pro-Union areas. Finally the move permitted

the Union armies to advance deep into Tennessee and forced the Confederate commander, Albert Sidney Johnston, to surrender virtually all of both states without a fight in order to concentrate and avoid defeat in detail.

SHILOH

The following April, Grant brought 35,000 men to the vicinity of Shiloh Church in southern Tennessee, with the intention of beginning an advance against Memphis. But Johnston had collected some 40,000 troops and launched a surprise attack. The resulting battle (6-7 April 1862) was one of amateurs, of men who scarcely knew how to fight. Yet it was one of the hardest fought battles of the war. Grant, surprised and badly defeated on the first day, clung tenaciously to his position while reinforcements came up. On the second day he counterattacked, destroying the cohesion of the Confederate army, now under Pierre G.T. Beauregard, after Johnston fell in action. The losses were heavy, over 13,000 for the Union and 10,000 for the Confederacy. But the battle broke Confederate strength in Tennessee. Confederate fortresses along the Mississippi as far south as Memphis fell to combined land and riverine operations, while Grant assumed a secondary role to Henry Halleck who wanted some of the glory. Meanwhile, the Union Navy, led by David Farragut, seized New Orleans virtually unopposed on 25 April 1862. With Grant's success in controlling the upper reaches of the river and Farragut's in controlling the lower reaches, the Confederacy was in danger of

being cut in two. It was time for decisive action. Instead, Braxton Bragg, the new Confederate commander in the West decided to attempt a strategic diversion.

BRAGG'S INVASION OF KENTUCKY

With 35,000 men, and a further 20,000 in two other commands more or less cooperating with him, Bragg launched an invasion of Kentucky. But the Union forces there, under Don Carlos Buell and later William Rosecrans, fought tenaciously. Through the Summer and Fall of 1862 the two armies clashed, with the Union gradually pushing Bragg towards Chattanooga, the final battle being a bloody affair at Murfreesboro on 31 December 1862-2 January 1863. Bragg's invasion accomplished little. Grant still had about 40,000 men in western Tennessee and northern Mississippi, and he intended to seize Vicksburg, militarily the most important town on the Mississippi after New Orleans. But seizing Vicksburg would not be easy. Lengthy preparations would be necessary and Grant was somewhat wary of the threat Bragg posed. Meanwhile he organized his expedition and cleared northern Mississippi of Confederate forces.

VICKSBURG

In mid-December Grant sent William T. Sherman down the Mississippi with 32,000 men in an attempt to take Vicksburg by storm. But the attempt failed. Rather than withdraw all the way back to Memphis, Grant held Sherman's forces in readiness near Vicksburg. He held them there all winter while preparing for another attempt.

With the onset of spring Grant began his operations, finally getting under way on 31 March. Through the winter he had undertaken a series of four attempts to by-pass the Confederate defenses by moving through swamps and bayous and such. All attempts were frustrated by terrain more than anything else. Now, in a brilliant strategic maneuver, Grant struck south of Vicksburg with over 40,000 men, crossing the Mississippi River and vanishing into the center of Mississippi. This was an incredibly unorthodox maneuver, entailing the total abandonment of Grant's lines of communication. But it worked, for the Confederate commander at Vicksburg, John Pemberton, spent days trying to locate Grant's lines of communication. Meanwhile, Grant marched across Mississippi and soundly defeated a small relief army under Joe Johnston in the central part of the state. With the possibility of relief now slim, Grant turned his attentions to Pemberton, and in a series of sharp actions forced him back into the Vicksburg defenses. This was Pemberton's principal error (but Jefferson Davis was primarily responsible, having ordered Vicksburg to be held). Had Pemberton kept his army free and joined with Johnston, they would have had 60,000 men and might have been able to contest control of the Mississippi far longer than was the case. Once bottled up, on 18 May, it was only a matter of time.

Vicksburg and 30,000 men surrendered on 4 July 1863 after a determined siege. The Mississippi now ran "unvexed to the sea," for the fall of Vicksburg caused the surrender of Port Hudson, the

only other important fortress left on the river. The cost had been great, Union casualties in the period from May through the surrender alone totalling 9,000 men. But the operation paid incredible dividends. In addition to capturing some 30,000 troops and inflicting serious casualties on the Confederate armies, Grant's operation around Vicksburg resulted in the splitting of the Confederacy. The Far West, which had played an important role in supporting the Confederacy before the fall of Vicksburg, now became a sideshow.

CHATTANOOGA

But while Grant was operating in the vicinity of Vicksburg, Rosecrans and Bragg glared at each other across Southeastern Tennessee. On 26 June, as Grant pulled his siege lines around Vicksburg tighter, Rosecrans led 64,000 Union troops against Bragg's 44,000. Thus began a series of bloody battles around Chattanooga which would not end until 25 November. Victory, at first apparently firmly in Rosecrans' hands, eluded the Union forces. Gradually the Confederates were able to force the Union armies back to Chattanooga. By mid-October the situation was desperate. Lincoln appointed Grant supreme commander in the West, and Grant replaced Rosecrans with George Thomas, a loyal Virginian. With Thomas to conduct the defense of Chattanooga, Grant rushed reinforcements and supplies forward. Then, reaching the city itself, he organized the defenders into two armies, the Army of the Cumberland under Thomas and the

Army of the Tennessee under Sherman. And on 24-25 November Grant fought the Battles of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, routing Bragg's army at the cost of 5,800 casualties, while inflicting 6,600. But here Grant erred for he failed to pursue. So Bragg was allowed to fall back into Georgia.

The focus of operations in the West now moved into Northern Georgia. But the onset of winter halted serious operations. Through the winter and early spring the armies were reorganized, reinforced, and resupplied. Meanwhile, Grant was called East and Sherman assumed command. And on 6 May 1864 Sherman began operations against Atlanta.

ATLANTA

The Confederacy could spare but 50,000 men to face Sherman's 100,000. But the Confederate leadership was superb. Joe Johnston decided to wage a delaying campaign, and in this he was ably assisted by Bedford Forrest, the finest amateur soldier of the war and one of the best under any circumstances. Johnston and Forrest were able to avoid a major clash while at the same time keeping Sherman's gains to a minimum. It took over two months for Sherman to cover the less than 100 miles from Chattanooga to Atlanta. However, this brilliant delaying operation gained little admiration from Jefferson Davis, who disliked Johnston anyway. On 17 July 1864 Davis replaced Johnston with John B. Hood, a Texan, whom he said was "a man who will fight." And Hood did fight. But Sherman won all the battles. Between 20 July and 31 August 1864, Hood and Sherman

fought four major battles. Each time, Sherman came away the victor. Finally, fearing that his army would become bottled up in Atlanta, Hood abandoned the city, burning it on 1 September 1864, and retreated into Western Georgia. Sherman entered the burning city on the next day. A few days later he ordered the population evacuated and finished the job of destruction. Then he went off in pursuit of Hood.

But on 5 October 1864, Hood decided that if he couldn't fight Sherman he might yet be able to distract him, and launched an invasion of Tennessee with some 40,000 men. Sherman was unimpressed, sending Thomas and about 30,000 men to cover his rear and defend Tennessee with whatever additional troops that could be found. Sherman began his famous "March to the Sea."

THE MARCH TO THE SEA

This was one of the most important strategic operations of the war. In effect, Sherman was doing what Grant had done at Vicksburg, abandoning his line of communication and operating completely independent of any supply lines. It was absolutely necessary in order to bring the war to a swift conclusion, for by marching to the sea Sherman would split the Confederacy yet again. Nor was the operation without danger, although the Confederate armies were greatly outnumbered by this time. Hood's troops, on a wild goose chase, might come back yet to hinder his progress. And there were still tens of thousands of unscripted men in the

south, time expired veterans, and state troops and militia not yet committed to battle. But Sherman was determined. He set out on 12 November with 62,000 men and 20 days rations and reached Savannah on 10 December, having cut a swath of destruction some 50 miles wide across the heart of Georgia. But the destruction was neither wanton nor brutal. Sherman concentrated on industrial installations, railroads, and bridges. Indiscriminate plunder and brutality were severely handled. Much of the wanton destruction was committed by Confederate deserters, both Union and Confederate (by this time there were over 100,000 Confederate deserters). Sherman's conduct was such that many Georgians made public thanks for his efforts to control the wilder elements which the war had let loose. But nevertheless, his operations were probably the last blow. The Confederacy, cut in two along the Mississippi, cut through again in Georgia, and with its capital under close investment, had not long to live.

THE END

The end of the war came slowly, a brief reprieve for the

Confederacy arriving with the onset of winter. But it was a brutally cold winter and casualties in Lee's army before Petersburg were appalling. Meanwhile, the Union Navy tightened up the blockade, as it had been doing for four years now. The ports and coastal regions had been gradually seized by the Union army and navy until, in February 1864, all were under Federal control. Nor did the relentless pressure cease.

Charleston fell to Sherman a short while after he reached Savannah. Pausing briefly to revictual his troops, Sherman set out again. Joe Johnston, recalled to service, made some attempts to halt the relentless advance, but had little means at hand, and met defeat in several short actions. Federal cavalry raided through Alabama. Hood's army in Tennessee dissolved. Grant began preparations for a final assault on Richmond. At the end of March Grant was ready and began to shift his troops further around the Southern flank of Petersburg. Meanwhile, Sherman was marching into the heart of North Carolina and the two Union armies were within 125 miles of each other. On 3 April 1865 Lee began the evacuation of the Richmond defenses. But on 9 April, after a short fight at Appomattox, he surrendered. Joe Johnston, receiving the news four days later, surrendered his command to Sherman on 14 April. The war was over, except for the surrender of some minor Confederate forces scattered across the face of Secessia, or what was left of it.

THE OUTCOME

On 14 April 1865, the same day that Joe Johnston surrendered his exhausted army to Sherman, John Wilkes Booth shot President Lincoln. By this action, undertaken in a misguided retribution for the defeat of the Confederacy, any chance for a "just peace" for the South was virtually destroyed. With Lincoln gone, the "radical" anti-South and abolitionist factions of his party were able to ram through Congress a Reconstruction program which was, in its way, as unconstitution-

al as secession itself. The program was nothing less than organized vengeance against the South to punish it for the act of secession, even going so far as to assert that the Southern states had seceded in law as well as in fact. This led to long years of military administration in the South, and to the activities of the "Carpetbaggers and Scalawags." Reconstruction was by no means as rigorous as it came to be portrayed. It was unquestionably unjust, often administered by anti-Southern fanatics. But it generally did not reach the bulk of the people, and some of its actions were absolutely necessary, such as the Freedman's Bureau, which attempted to get former slaves on their feet. But the South was a land of myth, such as the prewar myth of the happy slaves and the master who loved every one of them.

And so, in the decades after the last Federal troops left the South, as the old order reasserted itself, the myths of the "Lost Cause" and of "Reconstruction" were evolved. These distorted the facts so fiercely that, by the mid-1930's, virtually the entire nation was more or less sympathetic to the "gallant" South, preferring to ignore thousands of lynchings, the continued *de facto* servitude of millions of Americans, and the vicious brutalization of Southern life. It was a situation which would have appeared abominable to many of the South's most notable leaders during the war itself. Men who, however misguided, had fought bravely and well for what they believed. But dying for a cause does not sanctify it. And the Southern "cause" still plagues the nation.



General Lee surrenders the Army of Northern Virginia to General Grant at Appomattox Courthouse, 9 April 1865

MANPOWER AND LOSSES

MANPOWER AVAILABLE

Date	U.S.A.	C.S.A.	C.S.A./U.S.A.
1 Jan'61	16.4(90%)		
1 July'61	186.8(98%)	112.0(98%)	60%
1 Jan'62	575.9(83%)	351.4(72%)	61%
1 Apr'62	637.1(84%)	401.4(69%)	62%
1 Jan'63	918.2(77%)	446.6(65%)	48%
1 Jul'63	880.0(75%)	473.1(65%)	53%
1 Jan'64	860.7(72%)	481.1(60%)	55%
1 Jan'65	959.5(65%)	445.2(55%)	46%
1 Mar'65	980.1(68%)	358.7(56%)	36%

This table sets forth the numbers of men in thousands carried on the rolls of the Union and Confederate armies at various times during the war. The percent figure in parentheses following the manpower figure represents the "present and accounted for." In the Confederate army this usually was very close to the effective strength, while in the Union army this would about 20% higher than the true effective strength due to varying bases of calculating "present and accounted for" in the two armies. The column C.S.A./U.S.A. gives the Confederate strength as a percentage of Union strength at the same time. Peak of Confederate strength was 498,169 men on 1 May 1863, shortly before Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, and Vicksburg. Of these some 73% were "present and accounted for." Union strength at this time was about 900,000 on paper. Peak Union strength came right at the end of the war. On 1 May 1865 there were 1,000,516 men on the rolls, of whom 80% were "present and accounted for."

Based on very accurate Union records, and very sparse Confederate ones, losses in thousands break out thusly:

LOSSES (in thousands)

	U.S.A.	C.S.A.
Battle Deaths	93.4	94.0
Disease	210.9	164.0
TOTAL	304.4	258.0

During the course of the war roughly 600,000 people perished. But most of the deaths were not in battle or as a result of battle. Most were the result of disease.

The figures for "Battle Deaths" are for men actually killed in battle or who died of mortal wounds. The second line is for military deaths resulting from disease. The figure for Confederate losses through disease is based on a statistical calculation derived from Union experience. Considering the serious lack of medical personnel, facilities, and supplies in the Confederacy there were probably far more than 164,000 deaths from disease in the ranks. Adding in deaths among civilians a figure of about 600,000 results. For the curious, or the morbid the Union army deaths in thousands break down thusly:

UNION CASUALTY CAUSATION (in thousands)

Killed in Battle	47.5
Mortal Gunshot Wounds	36.6
Mortal "Other" Wounds	0.8
Chronic Diarrhea	30.5
Typhoid Fever	27.1
Tuberculosis & Pneumonia	20.0
"Miasmatic" Fevers	8.1
Dysentery	7.3
Measles	4.2
Small-pox & Varioloid	4.7
Miscellaneous	89.1
Unknown	24.2

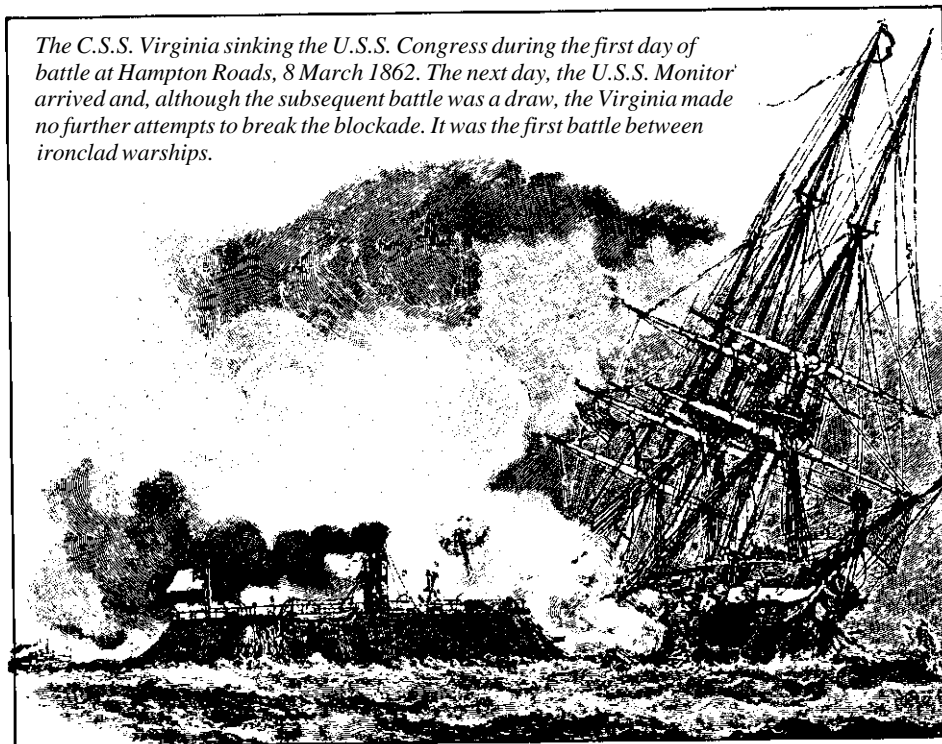
THE WAR ON THE OCEANS AND RIVERS

The Civil war is not normally thought of in terms of seapower. Nevertheless, it is quite likely that the Union would have lost the war were it not for the enormous Federal efforts to build a navy on the ocean and the rivers. As remarkable as that effort was, it was surpassed in ingenuity and inventiveness by the Confederate efforts to build a navy.

When the Lincoln Administration took office in March of 1861 the United States Navy owned a total of about 90 ships. But of these 90 vessels, only 42 were in commission, the balance being laid up "in ordinary," which theoretically

It should be noted that the actual listing of diseases was rather inaccurate during the Civil War period as many so-called diseases were not what we would clinically call diseases today. Deaths from measles, for example, are usually attributable to pneumonia, which in those days was called "inflammation of the lungs." Miscellaneous indicates all sorts of causes, including murder, execution, drowning, and a host of minor diseases, and also deaths in Confederate prison camps, which totalled over 26,000. "Unknown" means just that; cause of death was completely unknown. Incidentally, the "Mortal 'Other' Wounds" were all bayonet, knife, and saber wounds.

The C.S.S. Virginia sinking the U.S.S. Congress during the first day of battle at Hampton Roads, 8 March 1862. The next day, the U.S.S. Monitor arrived and, although the subsequent battle was a draw, the Virginia made no further attempts to break the blockade. It was the first battle between ironclad warships.



meant that they were ready for sea duty almost as soon as a crew could be put on them. In reality, of course, most of the ships "in ordinary" were old sailing vessels ranging in type from sloops to brigs to frigates to huge ships-of-the-line. In fact, many of the ships in commission were also sailing vessels. Out of 90 ships, only 23 were steam powered vessels of some military value. These were crewed and administered by a total of 9,057 officers and men, of whom 237 officers (16% of the officer corps) "went South" when the war began. From this base grew a navy with close to 700 vessels and 35,000 men scattered all around the coasts of the nation and all along its numerous internal waterways. This remarkable effort was primarily the work of Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles and his assistant Gustavus Fox.

Almost as soon as they occupied their offices, Welles and Fox began to acquire ships. Ships of any type and sort, for Mr. Lincoln intended to blockade the Confederacy and the blockade, to be legal, had to be effective. Their efforts were incredible. By the time of Bull Run the navy already had about 170 ships on the ocean and was beginning to establish a small squadron of river gunboats at Cairo in Southern Illinois. Now most of these vessels were totally unsuited for military use. Indeed it was not until early 1862 that properly designed gunboats and sloops and cruisers began to become available. But, whether tugs or ferryboats or old fishing schooners, Welles' scratch force held the blockade together from the beginning of July 1861 through to

the end of the war.

Meanwhile, on the rivers, it was the army which first broached the subject of gunboats. But the navy cooperated. Using gunboats, the power of the Union could be projected far into the interior of the Confederacy. Indeed, many of the great victories in the Western Theater were directly attributable to the effective use of riverine forces and to the use of rivers as highways over which troops could move with a speed and efficiency likely to stun any defender. From a small and very modest beginning of some three gunboats, none of which were properly designed as such, the navy would eventually have over 90 on the western rivers. And some of these would be armor plated.

Armored warships were not new in 1861. They had been discussed for years and, with advent of steam, had become a practical possibility as early as the 1840's. But the first experiments were only conducted in the Crimean War (1854-1856) when the French and British built some armor plated floating batteries. These were so successful that it was inevitable that armored sea-going warships would follow. Thus, in 1859 the French launched their first armored frigate, *Glorie*, to which the British responded with a superior vessel in 1860, HMS *Warrior*. The usefulness of armor was so widely accepted that, almost from the beginning of the war the Union undertook to examine the possibilities of building ironclad warships. Indeed, ironclad gunboats were completed as early as November of 1861. Shortly after definitive word was received that the South had decided to go ahead on this

same type of project, contracts were made for one of the most successful of the early types of ironclads, the monitors, named after the first of their type, U.S.S. *Monitor*. Monitors were originally conceived as an additional weapon with which to impose the blockade. As such, stores were built, along with other types of ironclads. But they soon found another role, as floating batteries which could resist the fire of fortresses and other ironclads in support of joint army-navy amphibious operations. For, in addition to merely transporting the army from one place to another, the navy began to join with the army in seizing vital areas on the coast of the Confederacy almost from the very onset of the fighting.

In August of 1861 the navy seized Hatteras Inlet from the Confederacy, thus beginning a series of operations which would eventually see every major and most minor Confederate ports and coastal inlets under Federal occupation. This was not done without setbacks. But it was generally successful. And, as the ports and inlets fell into Union hands the blockade grew tighter, for no matter how successful a blockade runner was in avoiding Union vessels, his efforts were useless if there was no port for him to put into. The process, once begun, was inexorable and furthered the slow strangulation of Southern commerce and industry.

Of course, the Union Navy did not operate in a vacuum. The Confederacy made incredible efforts to raise a navy of its own. And, as with Confederate efforts to build an industrial base, the wonder is not that they failed, but how well they succeeded. Starting with virtually noth-

ing but some feeble industrial installations and the burned-out hull of an old cruiser (found at Norfolk, Virginia in April of 1861, when the navy yard fell to the Virginia militia), the Confederacy soon became one of the most creative naval powers in the Nineteenth Century. But it was precisely their lack of an adequate industrial base which frustrated Confederate efforts to build a fleet. For, unlike the Union, the confederacy needed ironclads to break the blockades. To maintain it, the Union merely needed anything that could float and carry a few cannon.

Right from the start the Confederate navy concentrated on ironclads. Their first essay, the C.S.S. *Virginia*, converted from the hulk of the frigate U.S.A. *Merrimack*, was wildly successful. Or at least, it seemed wildly successful. In its first encounter with Union blockaders, at Hampton Roads in March of 1862, the *Virginia* destroyed two sailing vessels and nearly destroyed a steam frigate. All these vessels together probably had the firepower to destroy the *Virginia*, were they but provided with steam power. And the next day, a Federal novelty, the *Monitor*, arrived on the scene. The resulting battle was a draw. Both vessels had serious flaws. And the Union was in a better position to explore improved designs than was the Confederacy.

But if the Union was better equipped to improve its navy, the South intended to keep up. Some 50 ironclads were laid down or converted from other vessels. Of these, most never saw action. Indeed, most were very poor ships in terms of sea keeping. But by the end of 1863 the Confederate navy had recognized that it

would not be able to break the blockade from within and had begun to concentrate on smaller coast defense type vessels rather than larger sea-going ships. Given their lack of sufficient industry to permit them to make proper sea boats, this was a reasonable decision. In addition, it helped promote the defense of many of the more important coastal ports. With a squadron of small ironclads to assist it, the Confederate army was far more able to defend places like Charleston and Savannah and Wilmington. Mostly, the two dozen vessels which were completed saw little or no combat, although they provided a major threat, a sort of "fleet in being" which seriously worried Union naval officers throughout the war. In the end, most of the Confederate ironclads were scuttled to prevent capture as Union armies threatened to overrun their bases. Only a handful were destroyed in combat or taken by the Union after furious battles.

On the rivers the situation was very much the same. Although by the spring of 1862 the Confederacy had a dozen or so gunboats on the Mississippi, these were split up between New Orleans and Memphis. Neither force had sufficient strength to oppose the more aggressively led Union forces sent against them. Thus in April of 1862 the Union flag Officer David G. Farragut, led a fleet of wooden, vessels up the Mississippi and, in a furious night action with an outnumbered and outgunned Confederate squadron, managed to sink almost every one of them. But the backbone of the Confederate defense, two ironclads, had not yet been completed. If they had, the situation might have been different. The

story at Memphis was much the same. A Federal gunboat squadron came downriver, engaged the small Confederate squadron and annihilated it. That ended the Confederate navy on the river except for some strenuous efforts to complete the Ironclad *Arkansas*, which briefly threatened Union control; then her engines gave out from exhaustion.

Of course, merely because the Confederacy lacked a fleet on the Mississippi did not automatically give the river over to the Union's control. But it certainly did not prevent the Union from making more or less free use of the river from April of 1862. And when Vicksburg and Port Hudson fell, in July of 1863, the Union navy had a completely free hand on the "Father of the Waters."

The last fleet action of the war, in Mobile bay in August of 1864, likewise ended in a Federal victory. It could have had no other outcome. With that, the Confederate navy virtually ceased to have a history, except on the high seas and in Europe.

In Europe, Confederate agents were busily employed in procuring warships. These were of two types: Ocean-going cruisers designed to raid Federal commerce, and large ironclad warships designed to break the Federal blockade. The problem was that technically the Confederacy did not exist, never having been recognized by anyone. This meant that it could not buy warships. In addition, even had it obtained recognition, international law prevents the sale of warships to a belligerent in time of war. So various subterfuges were used, most of which were tissue thin. The Union **was**

well served by its diplomats, who made vigorous efforts to block Confederate purchases of warships. At one point Lincoln even threatened war should Britain permit certain vessels (ostensibly building for a French consortium of speculators) to sail. Although technically without legal power to do so, the British government requisitioned the vessels for us own use. But it was unable, and sometimes unwilling, to cooperate in all instances, and this led to the famous

Confederate commerce raiders *Alabama*, *Florida*, and *Shenandoah*.

These cruisers were built in Britain as fast merchantmen. Taken to sea, they were transferred to Confederate control. While at sea they were armed, crewed, and commissioned as warships with the object of wrecking Federal commerce. Commerce raiding was a practice dear to the hearts of inferior naval powers. It assumes that they can impose a sort of blockade in reverse on their enemies by wiping out this trade. But, unless one is willing to violate neutral flags, and thus risk the ire of their owners, he is not likely to succeed. Thus, although the Confederate raiders wrought terrible havoc among Federal merchantmen and whalers, they were not going to destroy Federal commerce. Indeed, measured against the total volume of Federal commerce, the raiders had very little success. Their prime victory, and one which in some ways still influences the American merchant marine, was in driving up insurance rates. This led many wiley shipowners to transfer their vessels to foreign flags, thereby to benefit from the protection offered by those colors. And so, even in commerce raiding,

Confederate efforts, although strenuous, came to nought. But in their failure, they attained a remarkable degree of success.

THE U.S. NAVY, 1861-1865

DATE	SHIPS		SEALIFT
	TOTAL	RIVERS	
1 Jul'61	168	3	2.0
1 Jan'62	264	10	15.0
1 Jan'63	427	44	120.0
1 Jan'64	588	60	150.0
1 Jan'65	671	90	200.0

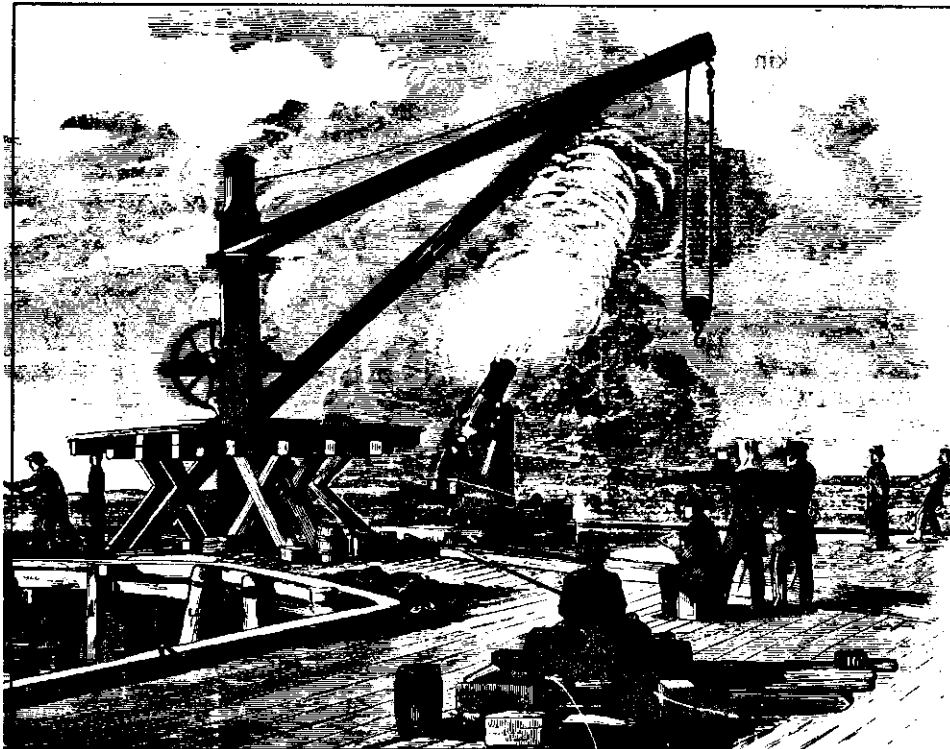
This table sets forth the strength of the Union navy at periodic intervals during the war. The column **TOTAL** indicates the grand total of vessels owned by the Federal navy, including those on the western rivers. Numbers under **RIVERS** indicate those vessels, primarily gunboats, serving on the western rivers. The column "Sealift" indicates the number of troops the navy was capable of supporting by sea, in thousands, at any given time. This last *excludes* riverine transport and supply capacity. It should be kept in mind that roughly 25% of the vessels noted would not be in service at any one time, due to repair, damage, overhaul, service on foreign stations, and so forth. Losses: to 1 Jan 1863 totalled 11 vessels (2 1/2%); to 1 Jan 1864 totalled 43 vessels (7%); to 1 Jan 1865 totalled 69 vessels (9%).

Confederate strength at any given time is largely a question of conjecture. They completed 28 ironclads and about an equal number of gunboats and a half-dozen cruisers. Of the ironclads, 18 **were** scuttled to avoid capture, five surrendered, three sank accidentally and two were destroyed in combat. Foreign built vessels were either destroyed or sold out of service at the end of the war.

SOUTHERN WAR PRODUCTION

One of the most remarkable aspects of the Civil war was the way in which the Confederacy attempted to cope with its lack of an industrial base. In 1860 over 90% of the nation's industrial production was outside of the South. Because the South had overspecialized in cotton, and to a lesser extent, tobacco, rice and sugar cane, it never developed even as a passably efficient industrial base. Virtually all necessary manufactured goods were imported in spite of the existence of extensive coal and iron ore deposits. And Southern manufacturing, such as it was,

was incredibly inefficient. In 1860, with 13.6% of the pig iron plants in the United States and with 10.5% of the pig iron workers, the South was producing only 3.7% of the nation's pig iron! The price per ton was something like \$91.52. It was actually cheaper to buy a ton of British iron on the dock in Baltimore or Charleston, which came to \$65.00. Needless to say, Pennsylvania iron was even cheaper than that, running about \$57.70 per ton. So long as the nation pattered along intact there was no serious difficulty. But once the South opted out of the Union it was faced with an enormous task, amounting to nothing



Confederate gunners fire a Sawyer long range gun from a dockside emplacement.

less than the creation of an efficient industrial base during wartime. It is remarkable how successful they were, even though they ultimately failed.

The principal need, of course, was weapons. In all of the South there was not a single cannon foundry in 1860. But there were a couple of small iron foundries, notably the Tredegar Iron works of Richmond Virginia. This plant expanded its facilities enormously. By the end of the war it was producing ship's machinery, armor plate, and cannon. Many more could have been produced but for the peculiarity of the Southern transportation system. Southern railroads did not connect major cities with each other except incidentally. Their primary purpose was to connect the cotton producing areas with seaports from which the cotton would be shipped. As a result, the rail net was woefully inadequate. There was but one through rail connection between the Atlantic and Mississippi regions of the Confederacy. And that connection was severed with the fall of Tennessee to the Union in 1862. (Incidentally, the loss of Tennessee also meant the loss of about 50% of the South's lead production," about 50% of its iron ore, about 60% of its pig iron, some 90% of its copper and 100% of its locomotive production.) As a result of the peculiar nature of the Southern rail "net," a peculiarity which was complicated by a shortage of rolling stock and the total lack of new rails (Tennessee again), the South's ability to move raw materials was severely limited. This meant that even the limited industrial capacity available was not able to

operate at full capacity. The Tredegar works are an excellent case in point.

The Tredegar Iron Works had a theoretical capacity to absorb about 22,000 tons of pig iron a year. Due to the inadequacies of the transportation system, however, the highest annual supply of pig iron was 7,800 tons in 1863 and the average for the period 1861-1864 was only about 6,900 tons per year. Moreover, if it were not for the strenuous efforts of Tredegar's management in developing pig iron production all over Virginia and North Carolina, the supply would actually have been less. This average annual supply was only about 71% of the supply in 1860, the last normal year of operation. Consider how many more cannon and how much more armor plate Tredegar could have manufactured with an adequate supply of materials. But of course, there still would have been the problem of transportation.

Another very good example of the South's efforts to industrialize is the Augusta Powder Works in Georgia. The plant was established by the Confederate government in 1862. By 1863 it was accounting for some 40% of the South's powder production. But its output, roughly 10,000-12,000 pounds every 24 hours, could easily had been doubled except for a shortage of saltpeter (potassium nitrate). But saltpeter deposits were scarce in the South and those that were available were insufficient to keep adequate shipments en route to Augusta.

In an attempt to cope with its shortages in virtually every important industrial product, the Confederate government entered manufacturing in a big

way. By the end of the war it was producing muskets, cannon, armor plate, steam engines, ironclad and ordinary warships, gunpowder, medicines, whiskey, and even salt and lead. But in the long run, home production was inadequate to the need. Between a shortage of equipment, a lack of trained personnel, and an inadequate rail net, the Confederacy was just unable to produce sufficient materials to meet its needs. Consider cannon.

During the war the Tredegar works produced about 1,100 cannon. The Naval Cannon Factory in Seima, Alabama produced a further 250. Minor establishments throughout the South probably brought this total up to about 2,500 at most. This figure was actually less than the total number of cannon with which the South began the war! Over 2,000 cannon were seized when the Virginia militia overran the United States Navy Yard at Norfolk. An indeterminate, but considerable number more, were obtained from Federal arsenals and forts seized throughout the South during the "secession winter," and a further increment came from the armories of the various state militias. Thus, the South began the war with more than 2,500 guns. And that number was inadequate. At four guns per thousand men (the more or less "normal" ratio maintained by armies at that time, plus a reserve to cover attrition), the Confederacy needed about 3,600 cannon for its army. Then there were guns needed for the navy for the coast defense installations, training purposes and militia use. Domestic production helped sup-

ply some of these needs. And great numbers of guns were captured during the great Confederate victories of 1861-1863, notably in the East (some idea of the importance of this source may be gained from the fact that the Confederacy captured over 100,000 muskets in 1862 alone). But ultimately the Confederacy still needed more guns than it could manufacture or capture. It was the same with other items. That meant it had to import them. This immediately brought up the problem of the Union blockade.

Lincoln proclaimed the blockade of the South in April of 1861, fully realizing the importance of trade to the Southern war effort. Although the blockade took a few months to become effective, by July of 1861 the South was pretty much sealed tight. Then blockade running began. Blockade running was a high risk business, but profits were incredible. And, as ships especially designed for blockade-running were developed, the risks actually declined somewhat. Roughly 8,250 ships entered Southern ports during the war. This represented about 137% of the 1860 entries spread over a four year period. But most of the running took place during 1862-1864, before the Union had seized control of all the South's ports. Thus, in the first year of the blockade only about 800 ships entered Southern ports, or about 13% of the 1860 entries. And there were no Southern ports left to enter in 1865 so the entries that year were statistically insignificant. This means, however, that an *average* of roughly 230 ships entered the South each month during the period from May of 1862 through January of

1865, or about 45% of the pre-war entry rate. But the cargoes of most of these ships were small. Although it is true that large amounts of military equipment were brought in, including 600,000 small arms, most blockade runners preferred to carry such luxury goods as wines, liquors, lace and silk, carpets, toys, furniture and jewelry which fetched far greater profits than arms did. Not until 6 February 1864 was the Confederacy to prohibit the importations of such non-essentials.

The exact amount of goods brought into the South by blockade runners is almost impossible to determine. Much of it was consumed in part, due to an inability to distribute it properly. Successful blockade runners often made us much as \$30,000 on a single voyage. Indeed, the 1,022 blockade runners who were intercepted (roughly one in nine) brought the Union sailors who intercepted them some \$24,500,400 in prize money, which works out to \$23,972.99 per ship taken. Clearly, being a blockade runner was profitable. Being a blockading sailor could be even more profitable, since the above prize averages out to some \$1,600 for every man in the blockading squadrons. Of course it wasn't divided up democratically. Officers got the lion's share. But a lucky gob could still come away with a nice piece of change to compensate him for months of boring blockade duty. The high costs of blockade running were one of the principal reasons why luxury cargoes were preferred.

There was a severe shortage of foreign exchange in the south a result of the

blockade. Although the Union may not have kept the blockade runners out, it was certainly able to keep the cotton *in*. In four years of war, total cotton exports were little more than a tenth of those of the year ending August 1861 alone. And even if the cotton could have gotten through, it would not have brought in much credit since there was a glut on the market in Europe. Indeed, one of the Confederacy's greatest myths was that Britain and France would save them in order to keep the mills going. The mills kept going on stored cotton from the crops of 1860 and 1861 until well into 1863. And by the time shortages developed, there were alternate sources of supply available. The South was strictly on its own.

And so, in a way, we come full circle. The totally inadequate base which the South found itself with in 1861 was caused primarily by a dependence upon cotton. Efforts to move rapidly to develop the means to produce large amounts of manufactured goods were frustrated by a lack of trained manpower, a shortage of equipment and a totally inadequate transportation system, all the result of the dependence upon cotton. In the end, the South, agricultural region par *excellence*, even found its people and armies starving to death in the midst of agricultural surpluses, largely because of the old dependence upon cotton. That they failed to meet their needs is not surprising. That they succeeded as well as they did is remarkable.

THE DIPLOMATIC FRONT

The basic goal of Confederate diplomacy throughout the Civil War was simple: to bring Britain, and possibly France, into the war against the Union. This was, to a great extent, a fantastic concept. But it survived right through to the end of the war, as the Confederate leadership became increasingly fantasy-oriented.

The Confederate objective was predicated on the assumption that the British and French would suffer as much, or more, from the Union blockade as the South itself was suffering. They reasoned that, with cotton shipments stopped, the British and French mills would soon cease operation. The resultant depression would force British and French action to reopen the cotton trade. This would inevitably lead to war with the United States and to independence for the Confederacy. In reality, nothing could have been more fantastic.

The decade of 1850-1860 was one of unparalleled prosperity for the "slavocrats" of the South. Cotton production, although increasing annually, was barely sufficient to meet the demand. Thus, the price tended to rise. But in 1860 a record crop was produced. This caused a veritable glut on the market and the price of cotton began to decline in 1860 and went on declining almost up until Lincoln's proclamation of blockade in April of 1861. The British market was glutted to the extent that many mills closed down in 1861, not from a shortage of cotton but from overproduction. Indeed, even with mills closing down the price remained stable. Many mill owners,

it was noted, hoped that the blockade would become more effective than it was. A long, successful blockade would permit the mills to clear up the existing surpluses while the prices maintained their level. The example of the North may be taken as fairly typical of the situation of mill owners both in the United States and Britain and France.

The North had accumulated some reserve stocks of cotton in the 1860-1861 period of overproduction, much as had Britain and France. As a result, in 1861-1862 the mills ran at about two-thirds capacity, consuming cotton from reserve stocks. In 1862-1863 things began to get tight as the reserves were exhausted with the mills running at from one-quarter to one-half capacity. But the Union armies were beginning to overrun cotton producing areas by this time, so the mills never actually shut down completely. The situation was very much similar in Europe.

Britain and France had several millions of bales on hand when the blockade was imposed. This was more than enough to keep the mills going through 1862, although some were forced to close. By 1862-1863 the British mill owners were locating alternate sources of supply in India and Egypt, sources which had always been there but which had been of greater cost than the American cotton. So in the end, the blockade benefited many British mill owners. It permitted them to get rid of surplus stocks of cotton without a significant decrease in the price of finished goods. And it was these very same mill owners upon whom the Confederacy relied to pressure the British government into

going to war with the United States!

(Incidentally, although the mill owners did not help overmuch, the mill *hands* often did, particularly when mills were shut down, as much for reason of overproduction as for the shortage of cotton. But the British mill hands, most of them belonging to evangelical and anti-slavery Christian sects, were generally in support of their American cousins who belonged to the same evangelical Christian, and abolitionist, groups. So they tended to support the Union. To show its appreciation, the Lincoln administration helped civilian agencies organize relief supplies for unemployed mill hands and their families in Lancashire.)

But the cotton situation was not the only reason why Britain was unlikely to go to war with the United States. The British wheat crops of 1860-1862 were generally poor. This forced a reliance upon foreign sources. And most of the wheat was imported from the United States. In Parliament, whenever pro-Confederacy speakers attempted to get support of the South, pro-Union members very often used the issue of the "corn" supply to defeat them. Later, of course, with the Emancipation Proclamation, the pro-Union faction had an even more potent argument on their side.

Ultimately the Southern efforts to bring Britain and France into the war were based on the false assumption that cotton was king. In the South it was, but not necessarily in the rest of the world. Particularly since the stuff could be obtained from other sources with considerably less pain than a war. Moreover,

the idea that Britain or France would come to the South's aid in much the same way that France came to the American colonists' aid in 1777 was based on a false analogy. France did aid the Americans rebels in 1777, but only after the Americans had proven themselves capable of inflicting a truly crushing defeat on the British armies sent to overwhelm them. Saratoga had resulted in the capture or destruction of fully 20% of British forces in North America. No Confederate victory had even come close, and the Confederacy had never snuffed an army completely out of existence as the Americans had done at Saratoga. This odd bit of history did not affect the Confederate leadership. As the war went on, the fairy tale concept of British intervention was gradually to increase in importance. Yet, if British and French recognition had not come in 1861-1862; when the South was doing well, why should it have come in 1863-1865 when the South was crumbling and when the Emancipation Proclamation had made intervention morally unthinkable? Now none of this is by way of saying that Britain or France might not have gone to war with the United States for *other* reasons. But good fortune and good diplomacy helped avert the threat of war.

The most dangerous situation was the so-called "Trent Affair." On 8 November 1861 Captain John Wilkes of the U.S. frigate *San Jacinto* fired a few shots across the bows of the royal Mail Ship Trent and then boarded her. RMS Trent was carrying two Confederate diplomats, en route to Britain and Europe a part of the

Confederate diplomatic effort. Wilkes removed these men and let the RMS *Trent* go on its way. Although hailed as a hero in the North, Wilkes' actions were highly irregular and in violation of international law. Britain protested vigorously. Fortunately, the original draft of the protest was passed on to Queen Victoria, who showed it to her husband, Prince Albert. The original draft was so forceful that Albert was appalled. If delivered it would most certainly have meant war. But Albert favored the Union and remembered the "corn" supply. So he redrafted it and the new version was sent. It demanded that the U.S. return the two diplomats to Britain and make a formal apology. Secretary of State Seward, meanwhile, had been trying to find a way out of the mess Wilkes had gotten him into. He knew that Britain's position was absolutely correct. Fortunately, Prince Albert's version of the note was delivered. This permitted Seward to return the diplomats and *offer* a formal apology. The British government, satisfied, let the matter go at that. It was the closest the two nations came to war and had been handled most carefully. (Indeed, a British regiment on its way to reinforce Canada in the event of the incident leading to war was given permission to put in at a pot in Maine when storms closed the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The regiment then marched across Maine, generally to American cheers, and entered Canada.) It was probably the most cordially handled crisis in Modern History.

The only other possible foreign assistance to the Confederacy was from France. But by 1862 France was becom-

ing involved in Mexico. And Britain was decidedly unhappy about that involvement and several other things. If Napoleon the Little had attempted to go to war with the Union, it is quite likely that Britain might have taken the opportunity to cut him down.

So in the end, the Confederacy's diplomacy was a decisive failure. No one was willing to come to their support. Indeed, only one tiny country had even recognized them. This was the German Duchy of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha. But then, the Duke had married a Southern *belle*.

THE POLITICS OF WAR

Perhaps no conflict in American History has engendered so much domestic political infighting nor been so influenced by domestic politics as was the Civil war. On both sides decisions were taken, assignments made, operations undertaken, attacks ordered with seemingly unimportant political reasons to justify them. Nevertheless, in many cases the political decisions were so crucial that, although they might lead to bloody defeat, they had to be taken. And in a sense the defeat of the Confederacy itself was very strongly influenced by the political scene in Secessia.

The basic problem on both sides was that neither had absolute control over its component states. Although we tend to think of the Union as a cohesive whole, it is important to realize that the individual states were far more influential and had far more power in 1861 than they do today. Needless to say, the situation in the South was even more fluid. After all, the whole question of secession at least

superficially, revolved around the issue of states' rights versus government power. It would be impossible to go deeply into the political machinations which influenced the war effort on both sides, but some idea may be gained of its importance by way of a few examples.

Both sides were forced to appoint generals for political considerations.

Thus, certain generals had to come from certain states, to insure their continued enthusiasm for the war. In addition, in the North, certain political factions had to be satisfied. Grant himself would probably never have risen to command anything larger than the 21st Illinois were it not for the political pull of John A.

McClernand. The favor came back to plague Grant, however, for McClernand wangled a brigadier's commission for himself and muddled several operations during Grant's initial drives in the West. Similarly, Nathaniel Banks had to have a commission as general in order to keep the Abolitionists happy, and McClellan had to be treated carefully because he had connections with the anti-abolitionists. Then too, there were a number of good officers, such as Thomas and Farragut and Sherman, who suffered some handicap from having very obvious Southern connections. In several cases

such officers were unable to hold very high commands until rather late in the war.

In the South things were not as severe, since the political problems were not influenced by factionalism so much as by particularism. Every state had to have a few generals. Jefferson Davis managed to handle this pretty well.

Except that he had an unpleasant, highly conceited know-it-all attitude which led him into personal disputes over trivial matters with several of his generals. The net result was that capable men like Pierre G.T.

Beauregard and Joe Johnston were often sitting out critical periods of the war in obscure,

unimportant posts. But if Davis' political problems were somewhat less serious than Lincoln's, his problems with state governments were far, far more serious.

The key to this, of course, was states' rights. Each Southern state considered itself sovereign, the Confederacy being merely a loose association of several such sovereignties. As such, the consensus was that the central government did not have the power to destroy the individual states. This ultimately meant that the Confederacy never evolved a uniform system of taxation, of draft deferments, or of the division of available supplies.



Major General George McClellan

Each state did what it felt was its share. A good example of this is that in the winter of 1864-1865, while Lee's army froze in the trenches of Richmond and Petersburg, the "sovereign state" of Alabama had over 60,000 new uniforms in its warehouses! Likewise, Davis was often unable to get the states to loosen up on their manpower; each exempted men from the draft according to its own policies. The net result was that large numbers of men were never available for military service. Now to a somewhat lesser extent, these were very much the same problems which Lincoln faced. But Lincoln never let it get to him. And in the end he was the more astute politician.

Lincoln recognized that as long as the armies were doing something, even if it led to a reverse, the people of the North would be heartened. Of course, too many reverses were as dangerous as inactivity. But, and this was something that McClellan never understood, the Nation had to know the war was going on and the army was doing something. Thus several operations were undertaken for purely political effect, much as President Roosevelt proposed the "Doolittle Raid" on Tokyo in 1942. The military effects were slight, but the political impact back home was terrific. Like McClellan, Davis never properly understood the interrelationship of war and politics. To him, war was winning victories. So he replaced Joe Johnston with Hood in northern Georgia. Yet Johnston's strategy was the soundest possible. Johnston intended to keep Sherman's gains to a minimum and await the outcome of the elections in the North. Instead, Hood went out hunting for bear and Sherman whipped him and

handed Atlanta to Lincoln barely two months before election day. The victory helped seal Lincoln's electoral triumph.

Perhaps the single most explosive political issue of the war, on both sides, was slavery. In the North Lincoln was under considerable pressure from the Abolitionists to do something about the institution. But he accurately gauged the feeling of the average Northerner, who was mightily uninterested in the question. Nevertheless, he kept it in mind as a potent political weapon. And in early 1862 he began to seriously consider doing something about the matter. But here he moved carefully. In order to make such a significant political move he had to wait for a Union victory. Although McClellan's victory at Antietam was marginal to say the least, it was enough. Shortly after Antietam, Lincoln issued the "Emancipation Proclamation." This was one of the cleverest political tools ever devised for it actually said and did nothing. In it Lincoln declared that as of 1 January 1863 slavery would be illegal in all areas still in rebellion against the United States. He freed not a single slave, for only in Secession was the measure to apply, but Secession was not effectively under Federal jurisdiction. Now the measure was designed with several points in mind. First, it satisfied the abolitionists to some extent. Second, it gave Britain a pause, since the issue of slavery was very potent in Britain and most Britains, even pro-South ones, were anti-slavery. And lastly, it was a peace gesture towards the South, for if the rebellious states returned to Federal control before the deadline, slavery might still be permitted

to survive. But of course, no one seriously believed that any of the seceded states would voluntarily return to the fold. So in the end the measure meant emancipation. And if some of the slaves were freed, it would inevitably follow that all of them would be freed.

One interesting aspect of the Emancipation Proclamation was that it cleared up the politically potent question of employing black troops. Several states had proposed raising black regiments, each time to be rebuffed by Federal authorities. If black men fought against the South they would have to be free. But with the Emancipation Proclamation they were *going to be free*. So the recruitment of black regiments began, some 290,000 black troops eventually serving, mostly recruited from the South. It was a welcome addition to the Union power.

The slavery issue affected the South in an entirely different way. It is quite likely that the South might have obtained British recognition as early as 1861 had it but freed the slaves. But this simple act was politically impossible. Ultimately, the South had gone to war to preserve slavery and could not interfere with the institution even on pain of losing the war. Thus, a vast reservoir of manpower remained untapped throughout the war, until total defeat loomed. Then, in the last days of the

Confederacy a measure was adopted which called for the recruitment of 500,000 slaves. A few companies were organized before the final collapse. But even that much of a concession was an admission of failure. In the end, the political issue which had caused the war helped the South to lose it.

RECOMMENDED READING

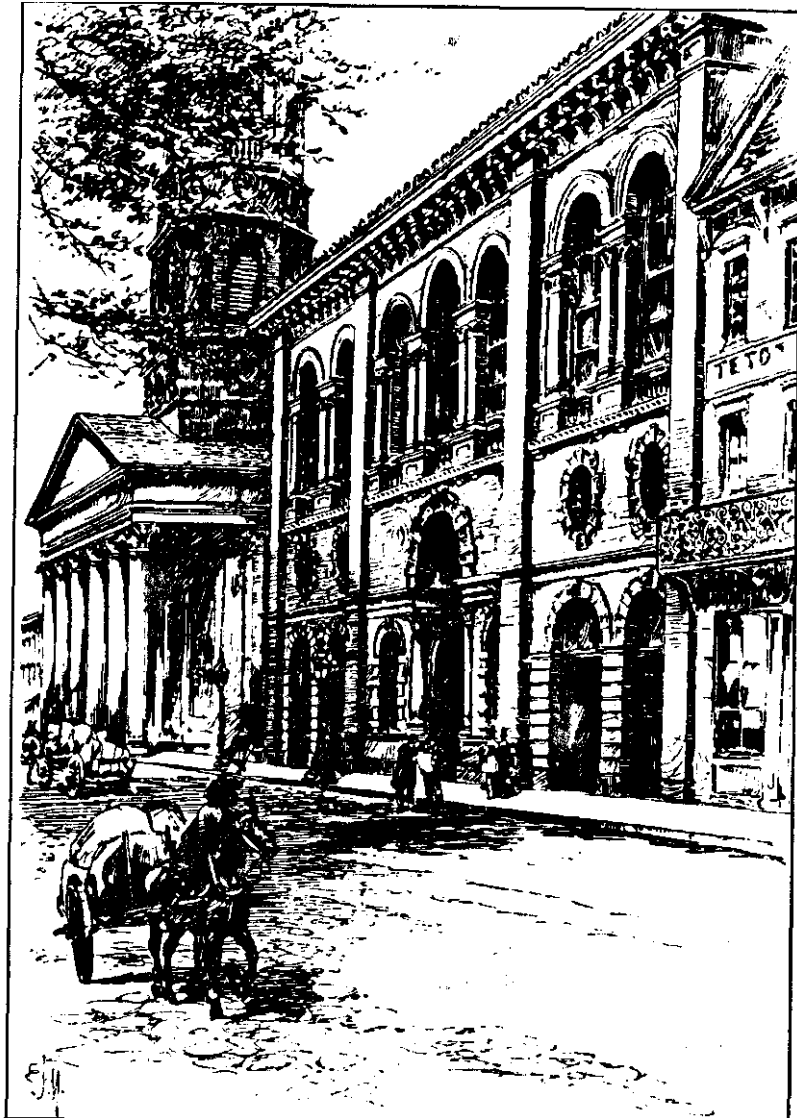
The period of the Civil War is probably the single most written about period in American History and the literature is voluminous. Rather than attempt to present an extensive listing of materials which are likely to be of interest, the following works are suggested as a basis for further reading.

BATTLES AND LEADERS OF THE CIVIL WAR is a four volume work originally published in the 1880's but reprinted about a decade ago. *B&L* contains articles, notes, letters and what not from prominent and not-so-prominent individuals from both sides of the conflict. It is an indispensable source of information. These articles, incidentally, were originally published by *The Century Magazine*, long since defunct. The files of this publication, available at various major libraries, contain still more materials on the conflict for the serious student of the subject.

Allan Nevins' *THE WAR FOR THE UNION* and Bruce Catton's *THE CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR* are both generally available in most libraries. Nevins is probably the more scholarly and Catton the more literary, but both are valuable discussions of the war. Both have extensive bibliographies for those interested in further reading.

For those looking for a discussion of the relative advantages and disadvantages of the two sides, Donald's *WHY THE NORTH WON THE CIVIL WAR* (Louisiana: 1960 and Collier: 1971) has a series of articles concerned with the economic, military, diplomatic, social and political problems of the South during the war. It, too, has an extensive bibliography.

On the "Lost Cause Myth" there is Osterweis' *THE MYTH OF THE LOST CAUSE* (Archon: 1973), also with an extensive bibliography.



Secession Hall, Charleston, Scene of the passage of the Ordinance of Secession.

THE NORTHERN ECONOMY

by Ed Bever

The North began the war with vastly superior resources, and its advantage grew ever larger as the war progressed. This superiority was clearly recognized at the time, and has become the most common explanation for the North's eventual victory. The North had the bigger battalions, so the North won the war.

Yet history is full of examples of apparently unstoppable juggernauts that faltered, from the Persian Wars to the War in Vietnam. In war, it is clearly not enough to have superior resources, they must be efficiently mobilized and competently led in order to translate their potential into power. To understand the economic roots of the North's victory, then, it is not enough to list its resources. It is also vital to enumerate its accomplishments as well. Only because the North mobilized effectively was it able to transform the potential of its superior resources into the power of its armed forces.

The North was, of course, far better endowed than the South in virtually every source of national strength except for a few specialized types of agriculture. Its population was more than double:

18.5 million people vs. 9 million people (which furthermore included 3.5 million slaves). The North's agriculture was bountiful and prosperous, and, with an emphasis on production of foodstuffs rather than raw materials for export, much better suited to support a total war.

Northern industry totally overshadowed that of the South. The North possessed five times as many factories (100,000 vs. 20,000), employed ten times as many people in industry (1.1 million vs. 111 thousand), and produced ten times as much value (\$1.5 billion vs. \$155 million). Northern railroads stretched twice as many miles as Southern railroads (20,000 against 9,000) and the North possessed the heavy industry to maintain and expand the amount of rails, locomotives, and rolling stock, which the South did not. Furthermore, Northern transportation was enhanced by over 3,000 miles of canals, almost all of the waterways that had been dug in the United States during the era just before the explosion of rails, and almost all of the nation's seagoing ships (and shipyards) belonged to the North.

People, products, and railroads are tangible resources whose potential value to the war effort are obvious. Less obvious, but no less vital, were certain financial assets and institutions. To begin with, the North had an existing Treasury Department, while the South had to create one, and the Northern treasury had an existing source of revenue, tariffs. Furthermore, most American banks were based in the North, and the bulk of the nation's capital was located there as well. The North possessed almost twice as much specie as the South (\$45 million vs. \$27 million), and bank deposits in the North exceeded those in the South by over four to one (\$189 million against \$47 million).

The importance of these institutions and assets cannot be overstated, for they gave Northern capital far greater liquidity than Southern (mostly land and slaves). What this meant for the war effort was that the North found it far easier to translate its wealth into government revenues and then into military equipment and supplies than the South. The North's more developed financial assets and institutions thus acted as a multiplier on the available resources, increasing the North's superiority further still.

All these material strengths could not

guarantee the North victory, however. Wheat is not guns, canals are not cannons, factories are not armies. To win, the North had to transform these raw resources into the sinews of war. It is in this endeavor that the true measure of the North's success can be found, and it must be said that by this measure the Northern endeavor was a resounding success. The ultimate triumph of Northern arms rested securely on the earlier triumph of Northern mobilization.

To begin with, the North was able to effectively mobilize its population, not only by raising an army that, at its peak, numbered over a million men, but also by doing so without crippling agricultural and industrial production.

In fact, increased participation of women in the work force combined with mechanization in fields and factories led output in both sectors to increase dramatically despite the diversion of millions of men. The Union states alone grew more wheat in 1862 and 1863 than the whole country had in the previous record year, and during the war (and despite the need to feed the armies), they doubled their exports of wheat, corn, pork and beef to Europe. Coal and iron output in the Northern states sur-

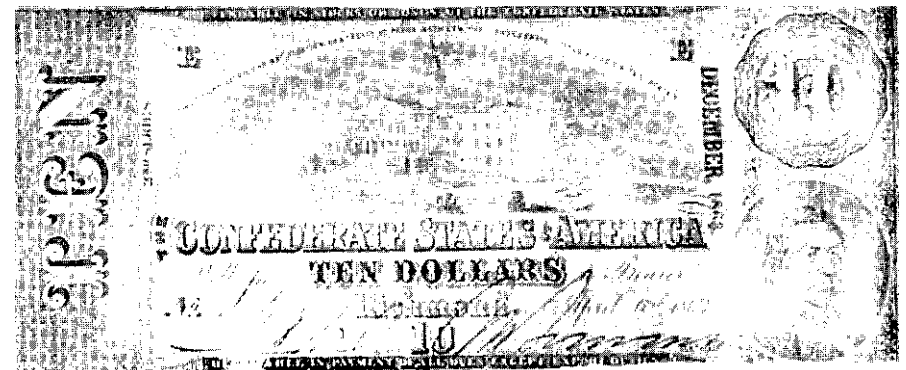
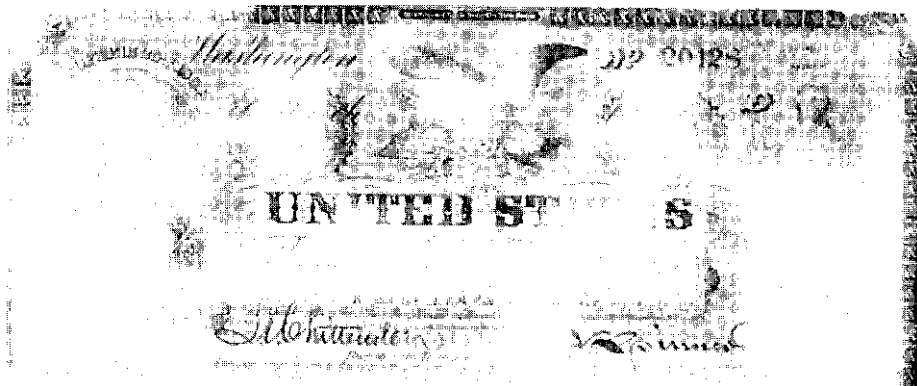
passed the pre-war levels of the entire country by 1864 — 29% higher in the case of iron; 21% in the case of coal. Northern shipyards turned out more merchant ships during the war than ever before, at the same time they were building the world's largest navy! Rail and canal usage increased by 50%, and overall, the Union's manufacturing index in 1864 exceeded that of the prewar country as a whole by 13%. Far from dragging the Northern economy down, the needs of war acted as a giant bellows, fanning the flames of Northern productivity and generating record levels of activity in almost every sector.

The key to this remarkable record was the Northern government's successful management of its finances. As the war began, the North's prospects did not look all that good: tariff revenues had fallen off since the panic of 1857, the government had run at a deficit for four consecutive years (scandalous at that time), and the secession crisis shattered confidence in the Federal government. However, the North weathered the crisis and soon put in place a solid financial package that made possible the successful prosecution of the war. Short-term bank loans at 7.3% interest were

replaced by longer term bonds at 6%. The government began the first successful war bond drive in history, selling them to ordinary people in denominations as low as \$50, payable in installments. In all, the government raised \$1.2 billion through bond issues, 66% of all revenues raised by the Union government (the Confederate government raised less than 40% through bonds).

Northern bonds sold well because investors saw the United States government as a secure investment. This security derived in part from the strength of Union arms, but equally from the strength of the Union treasury. In contrast to the Confederates, who derived a mere 5% of their revenue from taxes, the Union took in 21% from them. Already in the summer of 1861 Lincoln's administration got Congress to pass the first federal income tax in American history, and followed it up in 1862 with an act that taxed almost everything: sin taxes, luxury taxes, license taxes, stamp taxes, an inheritance tax, a value-added tax, and a tax on gross receipts of corporations, banks, and insurance companies.

The extensive taxes not only solidified investor confidence that the interest on their loans would be paid, but



also ensured the success of another radical innovation in the government's economic policies. Faced with a liquidity crisis brought on by the need to transact Federal business in specie, on February 24, 1862, Congress passed the Legal Tender Act creating a national paper currency. The South, too, printed paper money to finance its war effort, which led to a disastrous inflation, but the North managed to shift to paper without experiencing much inflation at all. One important difference was that Northern notes became legal tender, payable for all debts public and private (except for tariffs and the interest on bonds, with the former providing the government with the specie for the latter). More fundamental, though, were the differences in tax policy. While the South paid the vast majority of its bills with "fiat money," the North relied more on taxes, and even more on bonds, which were themselves secured by the taxes. Furthermore, taxes soaked up much of the surplus money, taking it out of circulation almost as soon as it appeared. The government was able to collect and pay out funds easily, creating the stream of wealth that was pumped through the economic bellows of mobilization, and the Northern economy was further stimulated by having a single, stable currency which acted as a dependable medium of exchange.

These financial expedients made possible the North's remarkable economic expansion, which in turn made possible the North's successful prosecution of the war. These accomplishments in themselves testify to the success of the North's mobilization for war, but perhaps the final measure of the North's success is the things that the North accomplished

besides successfully mobilizing for war. The 37th Congress (1861-62) not only laid the fiscal and administrative foundations for victory, but also passed a whole series of measures that laid the groundwork for the explosive expansion of the Republic in the years after the war. The Homestead Act of 1862 granted 160 acres of public land to settlers after five years of residence, setting the ground-rules for the flood of pioneer who moved across the continent in the years following the war. Similarly, the Morrill Act of the same year granted vast tracts of public land for the creation of public institutions of higher learning, the land grant colleges that blossomed into the state university systems. Finally, and most dramatically, Congress passed the Pacific Railroad Act granting thousands of acres of land and lending tens of thousands of dollars per mile to corporations organized to build the transcontinental railroad. The first rails were laid in California in 1863, and the final, golden spike linked together the Central Pacific and the Union Pacific in 1869. In the midst of an all out war, the Union government committed itself to support westward expansion as if the current crisis were but a minor distraction from its real business of building the nation's future. Shelby Foote has commented that in his estimation the Union fought with one hand tied behind its back; had the South done really well at any point, the North could just have taken it out and slapped the South back down. That the North could fight with only one hand was a measure of its resources; that it could win while using the other to build for the future was the full measure of its accomplishment.

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