

Cambridge University Press

0521599415 - The Hard Hand of War: Union Military Policy toward Southern Civilians, 1861-1865

Mark Grimsley

Index

[More information](#)

Index

- Abercrombie, John J., 44
abolition of slavery. *See* emancipation of slaves
abolitionists, 52, 63, 73, 85, 94, 120-124, 128, 130, 136, 137
Adams, John Quincy, 136
Amerindians, 4, 26; and colonial wars, 17-18, 19; and treatment during Civil War, 18
"Anaconda plan," 28-30, 32
Anderson, Robert, 62-63
Andrew, John, 52
Antietam, battle of, 92, 106, 133
Arnold, Henry H. "Hap," 218
arrests, military, 35, 38, 52, 53, 62, 64, 65, 75, 80, 88, 114-115
Ashley, James M., 9
Athens (Ala.): sacking by Union troops, 81-84
Atlanta: campaign for, 215; evacuation of, 186-190; burning of, 191
Averell, William, 166
- Banks, Nathaniel P., 46, 57, 139-140, 166
Bates, Edward, 10
Beauregard, Pierre Gustave T., 7
Belmont, August, 92, 181
Bentonville (N.C.), battlefield, 1
Beringer, Richard E., 209
Bigelow, John, 216-217
Blair, Francis P., Jr., 36-37, 125
Blair, Montgomery, 29-30
Blenker, Louis, 45
Bragg, Braxton, 106
Brown, Joseph, 189
Browning, Orville, 13, 69, 124
Brownlow, William G. ("Parson"), 211
Buchanan, James, 26
Buell, Don Carlos, 78, 83-85, 94, 101, 106, 113, 129; and conciliatory policy, 63-66; criticizes hard war policy, 182
Bull Run, 1st battle of, 31, 32, 62, 130
Bull Run, 2nd battle of, 92
- Burnside, Ambrose E., 66; and conciliatory policy, 58-61; and pragmatic policy, 106-111
Butler, Benjamin F., 31, 66, 80, 166; "contraband" order of, 52, 123-124; and policy toward slavery in Louisiana, 128-129, 139; and pragmatic policy, 52-54
- Calhoun, James M., 187-188
Cameron, Simon, 130
Carlile, John S., 69
Carolinas Campaign, 111, 172; overview, 169-170; Union conduct during, 200-204
Catton, Bruce, 221
Chambersburg (Pa.), 184, 185, 201-202; burning of, 167; spurs discussion of hard war measures, 180-183; as moral justification for destruction of Southern property, 183, 201-202
Chase, Salmon P., 56, 64-65, 79, 87, 122, 127
chevauchées, 214; defined, 190-191
civilians, Northern, attitudes of: toward conciliatory policy, 28, 30-31, 83-84, 89-91, 95, 211; toward emancipation, 121-122, 124, 130, 133, 136, 138; toward hard war policy, 180-182
civilians, Southern (white): categorization of, in Union policy, 98, 100, 102, 113, 144-145, 150-151, 172-174, 185, 212, 225; forced evacuation of, 118, 186-190
Collamer, Jacob, 70
Columbia (S.C.), burning of, 202
conciliatory policy, 23, 67-68, 75, 78-80, 90, 96-98, 100-101, 106, 110, 133, 149, 161; assessed, 92-95, 208-211; criticized, 36, 64-65, 83-85; defined, 2-3, 50-51; during War of Independence, 18-19; during War with Mexico, 21; formulated, 27-35; in operation, 47-48, 54-66, 71-73
Confiscation Acts, 139, 110, 210; of 1861, 10, 52, 123; of 1862, 68-71, 75, 78, 90, 132. *See also* Congress (U.S.); emancipation of slaves

Cambridge University Press

0521599415 - The Hard Hand of War: Union Military Policy toward Southern Civilians, 1861-1865

Mark Grimsley

Index

[More information](#)*Index*

- confiscation, military, 13, 43, 51, 55–56, 65, 99, 104, 106–107, 111, 151, 155, 193; War Department order concerning, 67, 87, 96, 149, 211. *See also* laws of war
- Congress (U.S.): debates legal status of rebellion, 12–13; debates Second Confiscation Act, 68–71, 75, 182
- Constitution (U.S.), 8, 11–13
- “contraband” policy, 210; origins of, 52, 123–124. *See also* slaves and slavery
- contributions, 15, 16, 21, 38–39, 50–51, 53, 86, 100–101, 113
- Conway, Moncure D., 122
- Corinth (Miss.): capture of, 73, 99
- Couch, Darius N., 109
- Cowan, Edgar, 69
- Cox, Jacob D., 90
- Crittenden compromise, 27
- Crittenden, John, 10
- Crook, George, 166
- Curtis, Samuel R., 51, 98–99
- Davis, Jefferson, 52, 209; condemns Emancipation Proclamation, 133; condemns Union military policy, 211–212, 219
- Davis, Jefferson C. (Union general), 175, 199
- De Laubenfels, David J., 198–199
- Democratic party and Democrats, 10, 89–90, 94, 106, 149; and debates on confiscation, 69–70; position on hard war policy, 171, 180–183, 189fn.
- Denver, James W., 96–97
- depredations. *See* pillaging
- destruction, authorized: and laws of war, 13, 15–17, 150–151; of crops and livestock, 97, 151–152, 155–159, 168, 183–184, 203–204; of factories, mills, and public buildings, 110–111, 142–143, 156, 164, 166, 169–170, 178, 181, 191, 196, 198–200, 203–204; of private homes, villages, and towns, 60–61, 80, 114–117, 142–143, 166–167, 178–179; of railroads, 105, 111, 142–143, 154–157, 159, 163–164, 166, 169–170, 178, 185, 190, 193, 197–198, 200, 203, 215, 219. *See also* foraging; pillaging; guerrillas and guerrilla warfare
- Devastation of the Palatinate (1688–1689), 185–186, 214, 222
- Devin, Thomas C., 184
- Dix, John A., 54–55, 110–111, 124, 129, 139
- “double effect,” principle of, 6
- Early, Jubal A., 167–168, 180
- emancipation of slaves, 10, 12, 48, 56, 213, 216; economic impact of, 138, 219–220; evolution of policy, 130–136; implementation of, 138–141; relationship to hard war policy, 140–141, 210–211; as special case of Union attack on Southern property, 120; Union commanders’ attitudes toward, 123–129; Union soldiers’ attitudes toward, 120–121
- Emancipation Proclamation: preliminary (Sept. 1862) 2, 94, 121, 132–133, 136–137; final (Jan. 1863) 134, 138–139; relationship to Union military policy, 144, 149, 210
- Escott, Paul, 209
- evacuations. *See* exile and expulsion
- Ewing, Hugh B., 120–121
- Ewing, Thomas C., 118
- exile and expulsion: of Atlanta civilians, 186–190; of western Tennessee civilians, 113–114, 117; in northern Missouri, 118; official policy on, 145
- Farragut, David G., 53
- Fessenden, William P., 128
- Foote, Andrew, 69
- foraging, 41, 79, 86, 162, 197, 204, 205, 212; and laws of war, 15, 16–17, 150, 214–215; during War of Independence, 20; during Napoleonic Wars, 21; in early modern European warfare, 213–214; role in spawning hard war policy, 214; as logistical expedient, 97–102, 154–155, 158–159, 163, 174–175, 178; difficulty in controlling, 102–105, 191, 193–195; why adopted more extensively by western than eastern armies, 105–110; unauthorized, 45, 91, 96–97, 106–107. *See also* Carolinas Campaign, Savannah Campaign, Shenandoah Valley, Vicksburg Campaign
- Forrest, Nathan Bedford, 101
- Fort Donelson (Tenn.), 51, 93, 99, 215
- Fort Henry (Tenn.), 51, 93
- Fort Monroe (Va.), 31, 32, 71, 123
- Fort Pickering (Tenn.), 115
- Fort Sumter (S.C.), 7, 11, 27, 62, 123, 126
- Foster, John G., 201
- Franco-Prussian War, 215
- Fredericksburg: battle of, 106; looting of, 108–109
- freedmen. *See* slaves and slavery
- Frémont, John C., 48–49, 129; and Missouri emancipation order, 123–124
- fugitive slaves. *See* slaves and slavery
- Fugitive Slave Act, 132, 210
- Garfield, James, 78, 83
- General Order No. 100. *See* Lieber’s Code
- Gettysburg Campaign, 143
- Giddings, Joshua, 123
- Glatthaar, Joseph T., 195
- Grant, Ulysses S., 3, 5, 51, 93–94, 115, 118, 168–170 *passim*, 172, 175, 190, 193, 200, 208, 215, 221, 225; and hard war policy, 158–160, 166, 167; and plans for 1864 campaign,

Cambridge University Press

0521599415 - The Hard Hand of War: Union Military Policy toward Southern Civilians, 1861-1865

Mark Grimsley

Index

[More information](#)*Index*

- Grant, Ulysses S. (*cont.*)
 164–166; and policy of calculated magnanimity, 161–162, 212; and pragmatic policy, 48, 99–101, 113–114, 117; views on slavery, 126; bars fugitive slaves from his lines, 140; on South as military camp, 216; and strategy of raids, 162, 164, 213; and Vicksburg Campaign, 101, 142, 151, 154–158
 guerrillas and guerrilla warfare, 17, 18–19, 31, 37, 42, 48, 50, 51–52, 53, 94, 109, 143, 162, 168, 204, 210, 212; legal status of, 15, 16, 148, 150; overview of, 111–112; and pragmatic policy, 111–119; and reprisals, 21–22, 38–39, 79–81, 86–88, 112–119, 123, 142–143, 151, 167, 175–176, 179, 184–185, 224
- Halleck, Henry W., 22, 53, 69, 73, 80, 99, 111, 115, 117, 126, 162–165 *passim*, 172, 187, 189, 199, 214; and hard war policy, 140–141, 144–145; hopes Charleston, S.C., will be destroyed, 201; and Hunter's raid, 180; and Lieber's Code, 148–150; on laws of war, 15–17; and Pope's orders, 88–89; and pragmatic policy, 49–52, 113–114; views on emancipation, 140–141; views on slavery, 125
 "hard war": defined, 4–5; legacy of, 215–219; mythology of, 1, 219–222; pre-Civil War examples of, 17–22, 214
 hard war policy: defined, 3–4; in operation, 142–144, 151–203; origins of, 142–144, 151–162; public debate concerning, 171, 180–183; rationale for, 172–174, 188–189; assessed, 203–204, 213–214, 222–225. *See also* Carolinas Campaign, Meridian Expedition, Savannah Campaign, Shenandoah Valley, Vicksburg Campaign
 Harney, William S., 36–37
 Harsh, Joseph, 33
 Hatch, John P., 94
 Hattaway, Herman, 162, 209
 Hatteras Inlet (N.C.): capture of, 54, 58
 Hawkins, Rush C., 54, 60–61
 Hazen, William B., 215
 Henderson, John B., 69
 Hitchcock, Erhan Allen, 124
 Hood, John Bell, 168–169, 189*fn.*
 Hooker, Joseph, 75*fn.*, 110
 Howard, Oliver O., 199
 Hundred Years War, 4; parallels with Union military policy, 214
 Hunter, David, 50, 129, 172, 224; and military emancipation order, 127–128; and Shenandoah Valley raid of June 1864, 166–167, 178–181; suggests general arming of slaves, 212
 Hurlbut, Stephen, 157–158, 161
 Indians. *See* Amerindians
 Ingalls, Rufus, 109
 insurrectionary principle, 173, 223. *See also* laws of war
 Irish Wars, 173, 223
 Island No. 10, 66, 86
 Jackson, Claiborne, 36–37
 Jackson, Thomas J. ("Stonewall"), 43, 86, 91
 Jackson (Miss.), Union capture in Vicksburg Campaign (May 1863), 142–143, 154–156; Sherman's raid on (July 1863), 158–161
 Johnson, Andrew, 112, 211
 Johnson, Reverdy, 49, 182
 Johnston, Joseph E., 68, 155, 158, 166
 Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, 82, 86, 127
 Jones, Archer, 162, 209
 Keyes, Erasmus D., 111
 Lane, James H., 49, 124
 laws of war: belligerent rights, 13; insurrectionary principle, 11; and legal status of rebellion, 11–17; and noncombatants, 14–15. *See also* Lieber's Code; military necessity
 Lee, Robert E., 7, 67, 74, 91–92, 109, 111, 164, 165, 167, 170, 203–204
 Letcher, John, 167, 179
 Lewis, C.S., 97
 Lewis, Lloyd, 221
 Liddell Hart, B.H., 217
 Lieber, Francis, 148–151
 Lieber's Code, 149–151, 178–179, 214
 Lincoln, Abraham, 7, 19, 26–35 *passim*, 37, 49, 52, 69, 71, 74–75, 85, 89–90, 94, 105–106, 121, 126, 129, 172, 181, 189, 210–211, 224; election of (1860), 208; on nature of rebellion, 9; on legal status of rebellion, 11–12; on border states, 62; expresses impatience with conciliatory policy, 87, 92; decides on emancipation, 121, 132–133; views on slavery, 122, 130; approves "contraband order," 123; rejects military necessity as basis for emancipation, 124; reverses military emancipation orders, 124, 128; and evolution of emancipation policy, 130–133; issues preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, 92, 133; issues final Emancipation Proclamation, 134, 138; rationale for emancipation decision, 135–136; confers with Grant, 165–166; criticized for not enforcing prohibition on wanton destruction, 180, 182
 Lockwood, Henry H., 54–55
 Logan, John A., 99
 Lovejoy, Owen, 130
 Lyon, Nathaniel, 36–38, 48

Cambridge University Press

0521599415 - The Hard Hand of War: Union Military Policy toward Southern Civilians, 1861-1865

Mark Grimsley

Index

[More information](#)*Index*

- Madison, James, 20
 Manassas, 1st and 2nd battles of. *See* Bull Run, 1st and 2nd battles of
 March through the Carolinas. *See* Carolinas Campaign
 March to the Sea. *See* Savannah Campaign
 martial law, 48, 123, 127-128
 McClellan, George B., 9, 23, 48, 49, 54-58 *passim*, 63-64, 66, 83, 85-86, 90, 92, 94, 107, 109, 133, 162, 181-183 *passim*, 209, 211, 212; formulates conciliatory policy, 31-35; and Peninsula Campaign, 67-68, 71-74; and Harrison's Landing letter, 74-75; objects to Pope's orders, 89; views on slavery, 125, 129; views on Emancipation Proclamation, 136-137; relieved as commander of Army of the Potomac, 105-106
 McCook, Robert L., 45
 McDowell, Irvin, 31; and conciliatory policy, 7-8
 McPherson, James B., 155
 Meade, George Gordon, 10, 165
 Meigs, Montgomery C., 29; urges greater reliance on foraging and area denial, 109-111, 144
 Meridian Expedition, 163-164
 military necessity, 12-13, 22, 145, 151, 157, 188, 214-215; defined, 150; and emancipation, 120, 123-125, 127, 131, 133, 135
 Militia Act of 1862, 134
 Mitchel, Ormsby M., 64-65, 79-84
 Morgan, John Hunt, 83, 112, 160
 Mosby, John S., 112

 Naglee, Henry M., 110-111
 Napoleon (Ark.), burning of, 152
 Napoleonic Wars, 20-21
 Nashville (Tenn.), occupation of, 47, 64-66
 Neely, Mark E., Jr., 222
 New Orleans (La.), captured, 47, 66; occupation of, 53-54
 Nelson, William, 65-66
 noncombatant immunity, 6. *See also* "double effect"; laws of war
 Nullification Crisis, 9, 26

 Osterhaus, Joseph, 175

 Patrick, Marsena R., 88
 Pea Ridge, battle of, 47, 51
 Peninsula Campaign, 67-68, 71-74, 95
 Phelps, John W., 128-129
 pillaging, 1, 17, 19, 21, 31, 39-46 *passim*, 50, 52-57 *passim*, 61, 62-63, 72-73, 81-82, 90-91, 96-100 *passim*, 102-104, 106-109, 150, 152, 154, 156, 159-162 *passim*, 169-170, 178, 183, 185, 193, 196-204 *passim*, 223. *See also* destruction; foraging
 Polk, James K., 21

 Pope, John, 38-39, 106, 127; and orders regarding Virginia civilians, 85-92
 Porter, David Dixon, 154
 pragmatic policy, 143, 151, 159; defined, 3, 50-51; in operation, 48-54, 96-119
 Price, Sterling, 37, 48, 50

 Quantrill, William C., 118

 Randolph (Tenn.), burning of, 114-117, 143
 Rape and sexual assault, 81, 199, 220
 reprisals and retaliation: principles of, 116. *See also* Chambersburg (Pa.), guerrillas and guerrilla warfare
 Republican party and Republicans, 9, 10, 12-13, 14, 29, 34, 56, 75, 86, 89-90, 94, 110, 149; and debates on confiscation, 68-70; and emancipation, 121-128 *passim*, 130-131; position on hard war policy, 180-181
 Reynolds, J.J., 144
 Roanoke Island (N.C.): captured, 47, 58
 Rosecrans, William S., 114, 144-145, 148, 163, 165, 212; and pragmatic policy, 101-102, 113
 Rowan, S.C., 59
 Rousseau, Lovell H., 181
 Royster, Charles, 218

 Saint-Domingue: slave revolt in, 122, 133, 134
 Sand Creek Massacre (1864), 18
 Saulsbury, Willard, 69
 Savannah Campaign, 111, 172, 178, 190, 205, 216, 218; overview, 169; official Union guidelines for, 174-175; Union conduct during, 193-199; estimate of damage during, 200; rationale for, 190-191
 Schelling, Thomas C., 208, 210
 Schurz, Carl, 9, 90
 Scott, Winfield, 23, 34, 35, 48, 52, 209; and policy toward Mexican civilians, 21-22; views on secession crisis, 26-27; and conciliatory policy, 28-31
 Seven Days' battles, 67, 74
 Seward, William H., 27, 28, 29, 73, 132
 Shakespeare, William: quoted, 8, 223
 Sharpsburg, battle of. *See* Antietam, battle of
 Shenandoah Valley (Va.): Union conduct in, during 1862, 43-46, 57-58; Hunter's raid, 166-167, 178-180; Sheridan's destruction of property in, 1864, 167-168, 175, 178, 183-186, 205, 216, 222-223
 Sheridan, Philip H., 172, 193, 208, 215, 216, 222, 225; on hard war, 213; and Shenandoah Valley Campaign of 1864, 167-168, 175, 178, 183-186
 Sherman, John, 126
 Sherman, Thomas W., 55-57
 Sherman, William T., 1, 5-6, 96, 111, 120, 162, 166, 208, 215, 225; and conciliatory policy,

Cambridge University Press

0521599415 - The Hard Hand of War: Union Military Policy toward Southern Civilians, 1861-1865

Mark Grimsley

Index

[More information](#)*Index*

- 62–63; on fugitive slaves, 126; on African Americans as soldiers, 135; and pragmatic policy, 99–100, 105, 113–118; and antiguerrilla measures while commander in Memphis, 114–118; on rationale for hard war policy, 117–118, 171–174, 213; and Vicksburg Campaign, 142, 151–157; and raid on Jackson (Miss.), July 1863, 151–161; and Meridian Expedition, 163–164; and Atlanta Campaign, 168; and evacuation of Atlanta, 168–169, 186–190; and Savannah Campaign, 169, 174–175, 190–193, 199–200; and Carolinas Campaign, 169, 200–201; admires Confederate tenacity, 211; and “War is hell” epigram, 218; alleged cruelty of, 220, 221–222; credited with inventing total war, 114, 221
- Sherman’s March. *See* Carolinas Campaign, Savannah Campaign
- Shields, James M., 9–10
- Shiloh, battle of, 93, 99
- Shy, John, 17
- Sigel, Franz, 166
- Sioux revolt (1862), 18
- Slave Power Conspiracy, 37, 67, 129; defined, 9–11
- slave insurrection: fears of, 8, 10, 20, 33, 52, 92, 122, 133–134, 212. *See also* Saint-Domingue
- slaves and slavery, 210, 211, 224; fugitive slaves, “contrabands,” and freedmen, 56, 123, 127–129, 130, 131, 138–140; and importance to Confederate war effort, 122–123; Union military policy toward, 49, 123–129. *See also* emancipation of slaves
- Southern civilians. *See* civilians, southern
- Smith, Giles A., 175
- Smoke, Richard, 210
- Spaatz, Carl, 218
- Stahel, Julius, 178
- Stanton, Edwin M., 66, 81–82, 85, 87, 106, 127, 128–129, 130, 140, 212
- Steele, Frederick, 151–152
- Stephens, Alexander, 189
- Stevens, Thaddeus, 130
- Still, William N., 209
- Stoneman, George, 170
- strategic bombing, 221–222; compared with hard war policy, 217–218
- “strategy of raids,” 162–163
- Streight’s raid, 163
- Strong, George Templeton, 28
- Sumner, Charles, 73–74, 78, 123, 125
- Swinton, William, 185
- Taylor, Zachary, 21
- Tarleton, Banastre, 19
- Ten Eyck, John C., 69
- Thomas, George H., 169, 203
- Thomas, Lorenzo, 212
- Thucydides: quoted, 26
- Tolstoy, Leo: quoted, 5
- “total war,” 174; defined, 4; Civil War considered as, 205, 171, 221–222; Sherman credited with inventing, 221
- Treitschke, Heinrich von: quoted, 23
- Trumbull, Lyman, 12, 68–70, 78, 130
- Turchin, John B., 81–85
- Unionists, Southern, 27–33 *passim*, 49, 80, 87, 112, 121, 138, 156, 172, 182, 202, 209, 225; Lincoln’s impatience with, 87, 92, 135–136; Northern perceptions of, 8, 42, 51, 54, 58, 60, 64–66, 78–79, 80; persecuted by secessionists, 43, 50, 104, 144; sentiments regarding Union military policy, 104, 184, 211. *See also* civilians, Southern (white)
- Union military policy toward Southern civilians: overview, 2–4; assessed, 208–215. *See also* conciliatory policy, hard war policy, pragmatic policy
- Upton, Emory, 215
- Van Dorn, Earl, 101
- Vattel, Emmerich de, 14–16, 17, 22, 173, 214
- Vicksburg Campaign, 101, 140, 142, 151–157, 161, 169, 212, 215
- Virginia Military Institute (VMI): burning of, 166–167, 178–180
- Volck, Adalbert, 133
- Walters, John Bennett, 114, 160, 221–222
- Walzer, Michael, 6
- War Democrats. *See* Democrats
- War of Independence (American), 200–201; military policy toward civilians during, 18–20
- War with Mexico, 9; U.S. military policy toward civilians during, 21–22
- Watson, P.H., 80
- Welles, Gideon, 132–133, 135
- Whiskey Rebellion, 11
- Wildes, Thomas F., 184–185
- Williams, Alpheus S., 107, 200
- Williams, T. Harry, 33, 221
- Wilson, Henry, 69, 78
- Wilson, James Harrison, 170, 203
- Wilson, Woodrow, 220
- Winthrop, Robert C., 182
- Winton (N.C.), burning of, 60–61, 116, 142
- Wool, John E., 54
- Worth, John, 22
- World War One, 217
- World War Two, 4, 222; strategic bombing during, 218
- Wright, Joseph A., 69–70