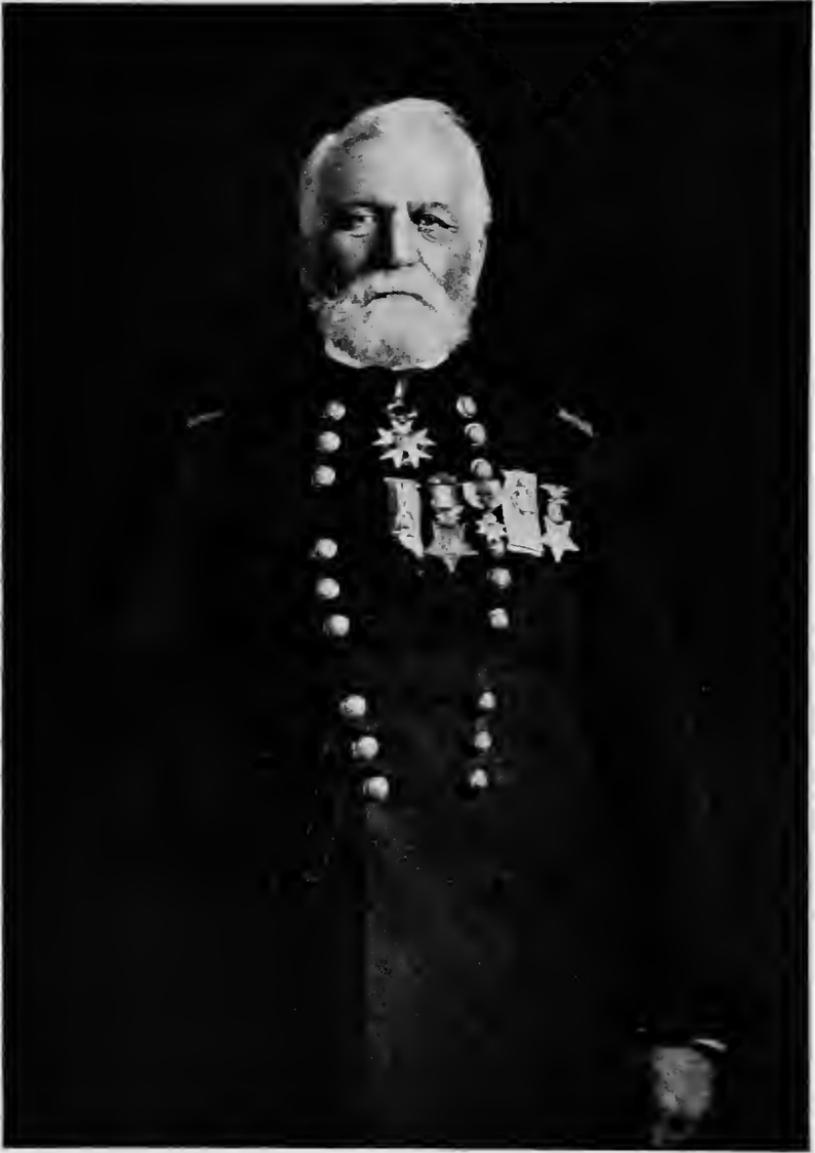




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GENERAL HOWARD.

(From a photograph taken in 1904.)

Autobiography
of
OLIVER OTIS HOWARD
MAJOR GENERAL UNITED STATES ARMY

VOLUME TWO

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME TWO

PART II

THE CIVIL WAR—*Continued*

*Lieutenant to Major General, and in Command of an
Independent Army*

	PAGE
CHAPTER XXXV. BATTLE OF ATLANTA	3
CHAPTER XXXVI. BATTLE OF EZRA CHURCH	16
CHAPTER XXXVII. BATTLE OF JONESBORO	27
CHAPTER XXXVIII. BATTLE OF LOVEJOY'S STATION AND CAPTURE OF ATLANTA	41
CHAPTER XXXIX. GENERAL HOOD'S NORTHWARD MARCH—SHERMAN IN PURSUIT—BATTLE OF ALLA- TOONA	52
CHAPTER XL. RETURN TO ATLANTA—THE MARCH TO THE SEA—BATTLE OF GRISWOLDVILLE, GA.	68
CHAPTER XLI. THE MARCH TO THE SEA—CAPTURE OF FORT McALLISTER AND SAVANNAH	86
CHAPTER XLII. MARCH THROUGH THE CAROLINAS— SAVANNAH, GA., TO COLUMBIA, S. C.	101
CHAPTER XLIII. MARCH THROUGH THE CAROLINAS— THE TAKING OF COLUMBIA	117

Table of Contents

	PAGE
CHAPTER XLIV. SKIRMISHING AT CHERAW AND FAYETTEVILLE AND THE BATTLE OF AVERYSBORO .	134
CHAPTER XLV. MARCH THROUGH THE CAROLINAS—THE BATTLE OF BENTONVILLE—JOHNSTON'S SURRENDER .	143

PART III

RECONSTRUCTION

*Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau—Founding
Howard University*

CHAPTER XLVI. NEGRO CONDITIONS DURING THE CIVIL WAR .	163
CHAPTER XLVII. FREEDMEN'S AID SOCIETIES AND AN ACT OF CONGRESS CREATING A BUREAU OF REFUGEES, FREEDMEN AND ABANDONED LANDS .	194
CHAPTER XLVIII. ORGANIZATION OF THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU AND MY PRINCIPLES OF ACTION .	206
CHAPTER XLIX. THE ABANDONED LANDS . . .	229
CHAPTER L. COURTS FOR FREEDMEN—MEDICAL CARE AND PROVISION FOR ORPHANS . . .	245
CHAPTER LI. THE EARLY FINANCES—SCHOOLS STARTED	263
CHAPTER LII. PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S RECONSTRUCTION AND FURTHER BUREAU LEGISLATION FOR 1866 .	277
CHAPTER LIII. THE BUREAU WORK IN 1866—PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S FIRST OPPOSITION . . .	293
CHAPTER LIV. PUBLIC ADDRESSES CONCERNING THE FREEDMEN IN 1866, ADVOCATING EDUCATION . . .	309
CHAPTER LV. FIRST APPROPRIATION BY CONGRESS FOR THE BUREAU—THE RECONSTRUCTION ACT, MARCH 2, 1867—INCREASE OF EDUCATIONAL WORK . . .	331

Table of Contents

	PAGE
CHAPTER LVI. FAMINE RELIEFS—PAYING SOLDIERS' BOUNTIES, AND SUMMARY OF WORK ACCOMPLISHED,	350
CHAPTER LVII. THE KU-KLUX KLAN	374
CHAPTER LVIII. BEGINNING OF HOWARD UNIVERSITY	390
CHAPTER LIX. INSTITUTIONS OF THE HIGHER GRADE—THE BARRY FARM	402
CHAPTER LX. OPPOSITION TO BUREAU AND RECONSTRUCTION WORK BECAME PERSONAL—THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH OF WASHINGTON	423
CHAPTER LXI. COURT OF INQUIRY—PRESIDENT OF HOWARD UNIVERSITY	445

PART IV

COMMANDING DEPARTMENTS, ETC.

*Military Departments—Indian Campaigns—Literary Work
—Founding Lincoln Memorial University*

CHAPTER LXII. LIFE IN WASHINGTON, D. C., 1866 TO 1874—ASSIGNED TO DUTY IN REGULAR ARMY AS COMMANDER, DEPARTMENT OF THE COLUMBIA	459
CHAPTER LXIII. IN THE NORTHWEST, AMONG THE INDIANS—TRIP TO ALASKA—LIFE IN PORTLAND, ORE.—1874 TO 1881	468
CHAPTER LXIV. SUPERINTENDENT OF THE UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY—COMMANDING DEPARTMENT OF THE PLATTE, OMAHA, NEB.	485
CHAPTER LXV. IN EUROPE, EGYPT, AND CONSTANTINOPLE	494
CHAPTER LXVI. ITALY AND SWITZERLAND	513

Table of Contents

	PAGE
CHAPTER LXVII. FRANCE AND GERMANY—CONVENTION OF YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, BERLIN, 1884	525
CHAPTER LXVIII. FRENCH ARMY MANEUVERS, 1884— PROMOTION TO MAJOR GENERAL, UNITED STATES ARMY, SAN FRANCISCO, 1886-88	539
CHAPTER LXIX. TRANSFERRED TO NEW YORK CITY .	547
CHAPTER LXX. D. L. MOODY ON BOARD THE <i>SPREE</i> —SPANISH WAR, 1898—LINCOLN MEMORIAL UNIVER- SITY—CONCLUSION	558
APPENDIX	580
INDEX	589

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

VOLUME TWO

	FACING PAGE
GENERAL HOWARD	<i>Frontispiece</i>
From a photograph taken in 1905.	
MRS. ELIZA OTIS GILMORE, MOTHER OF GENERAL HOWARD, AND GRANDDAUGHTER	176
MRS. O. O. HOWARD	206
GEORGE W. BALLOCH, BREVET BRIGADIER GENERAL AND CHIEF DISBURSING OFFICER FREEDMAN'S BUREAU	216
GENERAL HOWARD AS COMMISSIONER OF THE FREEDMAN'S BUREAU, 1866-73	216
GENERAL ELIPHALET WHITTLESEY, BREVET BRIGADIER GENERAL AND ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER FREEDMAN'S BUREAU	216
GENERAL HOWARD, SUPERINTENDENT UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY, AND AIDS-DE-CAMP AT WEST POINT, N. Y., 1881	486
MAJOR GENERAL HOWARD, COMMANDING DEPARTMENT OF THE EAST, 1888	550
GENERAL HOWARD'S HOME, BURLINGTON, VT.	566
MAJOR GENERAL HOWARD, 1906	574
From a portrait by Mrs. K. Rogers Nowell.	

PART II—THE CIVIL WAR—*Continued*

**LIEUTENANT TO MAJOR GENERAL, AND IN
COMMAND OF AN INDEPENDENT ARMY**

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF OLIVER OTIS HOWARD

MAJOR GENERAL UNITED STATES ARMY

CHAPTER XXXV

BATTLE OF ATLANTA

IT was observed at the dawn of July 21, 1864, that the strong Confederate outworks in my front had been abandoned; and by pushing forward in the usual way we at last came upon the principal defenses of the city of Atlanta. They were made up of small forts or redoubts, fitted for pieces of artillery, which crowned the hilly prominences that faced in all directions.

Atlanta then looked to us like a hill city defended by encircling well-fortified hills. Curtains, more or less regular, ran along connecting hill fort to hill fort. All the redoubts, or forts, and the curtains were well made under the direction of an excellent engineer. The slashings, abatis, *chevaux de frise*, fascines, gabions, and sand bags were all there and in use. How could we run over those things when they had plenty of cannon, mortars, and rifles behind them?

Sherman brought the troops forward, advancing our lines to these obstructions, overlapping all intrenchments on our left. McPherson's army had two

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

corps in line, Logan's—facing Atlanta, and Blair's—carrying on his line bending back to its termination. Dodge's (Sixteenth Corps) was pretty well scattered; at first Sweeny's division, the Second (of Dodge), was near Logan's right. Fuller, commanding the Fourth division, only one brigade being present with General Dodge's headquarters, was encamped well back in rear of the center of the Army of the Tennessee—Sprague's brigade was guarding trains ten miles to the rear at Decatur, while the remaining brigade of the fourth division, H. J. McDowell commanding, was held as a reserve close in rear of Blair's corps. From Dodge's headquarters to Blair's left flank in a straight line was just about one mile.

Schofield's army bending westward was next to McPherson's, and Thomas's, beyond Schofield in a semicircular formation, embraced the Atlanta forts clear on to Sherman's extreme right.

As on his arrival Fuller was directed to support Blair, his force was depleted still more by having to send away, at Blair's request, pioneers and other detachments, but up to 12 m. Fuller was in that central rear position with one brigade, his trains, and Laird's Fourteenth Ohio Battery.

About eight o'clock the morning of July 22d McPherson told Dodge to send off his second division, Sweeny's, from the right of Logan to the left of the general line. The engineers were locating the left of the Seventeenth Corps, and, not being quite ready, Sweeny's division was halted *en route* along a road that ran nearly at right angles to Blair's position. Sweeny's head of column came near to Fuller's position. Dodge himself had been reconnoitering to find where Blair's left flank would finally rest.

Battle of Atlanta

Blair had two divisions—Leggett commanding one and Giles A. Smith the other. The occupation of Leggett's Hill brought one division so near to Logan's corps on its right, that Blair sent Giles A. Smith with his division to guard Leggett's left and rear, stationing his men along the line of the McDonough road, with the left flank refused toward the east.

Blair knew that there was an interval of a mile, nearly all woods, between him and Dodge, except that McPherson at the last moment had sent Wangelin's small brigade to watch that space. Sweeny had only halted till just the points he was to occupy should be determined. That halt and detention were indeed providential.

Just before noon McPherson and his staff were with Sherman at the "Howard House." This house on some maps is called "Hart House." It was a large, square, white structure near the junction of Logan and Schofield.

Sherman has recorded even the subjects of conversation at this interview. As they talked they heard some skirmish firing near them toward Atlanta; suddenly there was the duller sound of distant cannon off toward Decatur; what could that mean? Sherman took out his pocket compass to test the direction. The increasing sound was too far to the left rear to be accounted for by any known facts.

So McPherson, staff, and orderlies mounted and rode off to join Dodge where he and Fuller were together.

At 12 m. Dodge was lunching with Fuller. There were a few open farms in view, but the principal environment covering that uneven region was woodland. This these officers saw as they sat down to their fru-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

gal meal, not a little anxious notwithstanding the unusual calm. Surely, this isolated position behind the brave Army of the Tennessee, with the able McPherson in command, was a safer one than any Dodge had held for weeks past—when they suddenly heard this same firing.

General Blair had been with McPherson that morning, just before McPherson started to see Sherman. Blair had then gone directly to his own headquarters not far away, when about 12 m. he heard that there had been an attack upon his hospitals, and that Colonel Alexander of his staff had taken a small company of mounted infantry and had gone there to defend them.

Sweeny sent men at once to reconnoiter between him and the Seventeenth Corps. The men sent ran across some Confederates advancing in the woods.

Dodge, on Sweeny's report, immediately comprehended the situation, and ordered Sweeny to face his lines east and south; he ordered Fuller to send a regiment to cover Sweeny's right flank. Sweeny was just ready when he was surprised to see Confederates emerge from the timber. The two batteries were part of Sweeny's fighting line, and every soldier's rifle was loaded.

Fuller, without waiting for orders, had, instead of a regiment, developed his whole force to the left of Sweeny as he faced rearward. Thus Dodge with two divisions became hotly engaged.

The Confederates were terribly shaken at the first fire; but they persevered. Their very momentum carried them beyond Dodge's command, and exposed their lines to a raking fire of artillery, to which two or three regiments of riflemen sent by Dodge, getting

Battle of Atlanta

a cross fire, added the effect of their rifles. The reason for this unexpected Confederate approach is as follows:

As soon as it was dark enough to get away from Thomas's front without endangering his columns from our artillery, Hood had caused his forces to march back through the city and pass on southward on the west side of Intrenchment Creek, and cross it far below the McDonough road near Cobb's Mill. Hardee then set out with three divisions, but Cleburne, who had been all day withstanding Leggett and Giles A. Smith, fell into his column; they moved on all night. Hardee's head of column, continuing the circuit far enough from Blair to escape attention, made northing and easting enough to be within five miles of Decatur by sunrise.

Fifteen miles by country roads or paths, or no roads at all, in a dark night, necessarily straggled out the columns of fours. It took considerable time to close up and get in order. The pickets toward Decatur found Sprague's brigade on the alert near that little town. Hardee did not know that our Garrard was gone, and before advancing, his right and rear must be properly cleared by cavalry, so he waited a while for Wheeler. A night march doubly fatigues all troops. Hardee very properly rested and refreshed his men. His deployed front, with its left tangent to the McDonough road, faced westerly. It covered the flank and rear of McPherson's entire force.

Hardee now deliberately began his march while Hood in front of Atlanta was holding the forts and curtains opposite Thomas and Schofield, freeing Cheatham's corps that it might help Hardee when the proper moment should arrive. The blades of the

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

shears would close and crush poor McPherson's entire command. The rivet of the blades would be at Leggett's Hill.

Hardee faced a forest; he entered it where generally no one could see twenty paces before him on account of the thickets and uneven ground. On he came for over two miles. Hardee's advance encountered some of McPherson's outmost pickets—came in sight of our Colonel Alexander's brave mounted escort near Blair's hospital and met a regiment protecting the hospital. This caused the first firing heard.

After the briefest interview with Dodge, sending his officers off with orders, McPherson, with a single orderly, just then thinking that the main attack would be upon Blair's left, hurried away down the road that led that way. He was passing through the yet unoccupied interval when the Confederate advance of Cleburne's division came upon him. He lifted his hand as if to salute, and then turned to ride away, when, under a hostile volley, he was shot and fell from his horse. His orderly was wounded, and became a prisoner. McPherson had with him an important order from Sherman, which first came into the hands of a Confederate soldier; but before long, as Fuller and Wangelin cleared that ground, the soldier was captured, with all the party that had taken to themselves McPherson's immediate belongings; and the remains of the much-beloved commander were very soon secured and brought in to Sherman by Colonel Strong, his inspector general.

General Blair himself was not far from McPherson. He said: "I saw him enter the woods and heard the volley which probably killed him." At once Blair notified Logan that McPherson was either slain

Battle of Atlanta

or a prisoner, and that Logan was the senior to command. The instant that Sherman heard of McPherson's fall he sent an order to Logan to assume command, and gave him stimulating and strengthening words.

But a little later Maney's Confederate division came against Giles A. Smith's flank and rear. Our pickets were displaced, our skirmishers driven in. The Confederates were following them in quick time, and their artillery so posted on a neighboring and very convenient ridge and so served as to add death and terror to the terrific assaults.

As his left was enveloped, Smith brought Hall's brigade, helped by Potts's, to better shelter, but lost 250 men and two field guns captured at the extreme point. It was hard maneuvering in such a storm!

Now over the south and east of these trenches, made to face the other way, the soldiers were arranged. They thus got some protection. They fired low, and as fast as they could; the enemy's ranks melted away, till scores were made to rush back to the woods. This went on till their fire was partially silenced.

General Smith sent out at once after the Confederates a strong skirmish line. It could now hold them back for a while. But there was hardly time to turn around. The attack swept in from the opposite quarter. Behind the main line of trenches, and also across the refused part, Hall's brigade was formed to face the foe, partly covered. Potts's brave men made a second line behind Hall's, without cover, and were ready to protect his left flank or to support him directly. I have never known better conduct in battle.

Again the Confederates were repulsed with heavy

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

loss or flew to the trees for shelter against the unceasing rifle shots. Again, within five minutes, the Confederates from the rear, the first repelled, animated by their officers, came bounding on. Over the works again every unwounded Union soldier leaped, and, turning, fought that way.

The enemy having the cover of the woods could in many places approach within fifteen or twenty yards of our works without discovery. Regimental commanders, with their colors, and such men as could follow them, would not infrequently occupy one side of the works and our men the other. Many individual acts of heroism here occurred. The flags of two opposing regiments met us on the opposite side of the same works, and were flaunted by their respective bearers in each other's faces. Men were bayoneted across the works, and officers with their swords fought hand to hand with men with bayonets. Colonel Belknap of the Fifteenth Ohio took prisoner Colonel Lampley of the Forty-fifth Alabama by pulling him over the works by his coat collar, being several times fired at by men at his side. The colors of his regiment were taken at the same time. The enemy's loss in this attack was very severe.

By dark the enemy here had retired, except along the line of the works, which position some of them held until nearly daylight the next morning, thus being able to get off their wounded, but leaving the ground literally strewn with their slain.

There went on a small body of Confederates, who found little to oppose them as they advanced between Scylla and Charybdis westward—not being detained by Giles A. Smith's brigade on their left, or by Wangelin or Martin more to their right—not enough, how-

Battle of Atlanta

ever, to make a half mile of unbroken frontage, all well screened by the dense woods through which they were passing, till they came to the foot of Leggett's Hill, where Gresham had been wounded, and up which the gallant Force had successfully led his brigade against great odds the day before.

Hood, seeing Hardee's soldiers emerge from the timber and ascend the hill, triumphantly said: "Cheatham, push out your divisions and Sherman is beaten!" But, no, our men on the hill sprang over to the reverse side of the parapet, and quickly by artillery and infantry firing, coolly directed, checked that hopeful advance of Hardee.

A flanking fire from the Fifteenth Corps position, with plenty of cannon and rifle volleys, helped Leggett break this bold effort and send the venturesome Confederates immediately and rapidly back, to find the way of retreat more and more difficult.

In this *emeute* General Force, while trying to aid a wounded officer of his staff, received a bullet wound through his face and head that was terribly severe, but providentially his life was spared and he recovered.

Cheatham's fine corps of veterans, all in order and well rested, had already broken forward from the Atlanta front. Leggett's soldiers had had hardly time to breathe after their rapid and successful firing against that rear attack, when new enemies were scaling their Bald Hill from the Atlanta side.

It scarcely required orders to bring every soldier behind his lines of intrenchment. Early in the action many of Leggett's regiments had hastened to Giles A. Smith's aid when he was in sore need, and now Blair was able to get for Leggett all the prompt reënforce-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

ment he required, so that by an obstinate resistance, somewhat prolonged, Cheatham's attacks on that "rivet" point had to fail.

Meanwhile the two left divisions of Cheatham breasted the whole front of the Fifteenth Corps, now commanded by Morgan L. Smith, and reached Hascall's division, of the Twenty-third. An outwork near the railroad on our front, held by two regiments and a section of an Illinois battery, as soon as outflanked, was given up. This demibrigade regained the main line near a cut in the railroad in good time, but the Confederates took the advantage afforded by the cut and by a building that masked their design. These obstacles wondrously helped their sharpshooters to hold their ground in that vicinage after Lightburn's division had bravely withstood the first assault.

The Confederate brigade of Manigault behind that troublesome building was compactly formed for attack; Colonel W. S. Jones was commanding the Union brigade in his front. Jones's men were occupied by the shooters from that building and elsewhere and blinded by the thick smoke of the artillery.

Like the sudden break of a dam, when the rushing water carries all before it, so that close-formed and waiting Confederate brigade left its cover and rushed down the railway cut and not only displaced Jones's front, but carried away the supporting lines and seized two of our batteries. It was the first *bona fide* break in Logan's front, and it afforded Cheatham a temporary triumph. During that exciting, noisy, tumultuous and eventful afternoon my own part was easy. I was constantly reminded to keep the Confederate Stewart or G. W. Smith from leaving my front. We did that. I was also to be carefully prepared to re-

Battle of Atlanta

enforce Logan should he require any assistance. My Fourth Corps men were ready for that also.

As the battle came nearer, being naturally anxious, and desirous to be very prompt when Sherman should say the word, I took a few officers with me, and went over some hundred yards to Schofield's front. He had before this sent out one brigade to Decatur to help Sprague defend the trains, and Cox with two others over to be near to Dodge. Schofield and Sherman, with a few officers and orderlies, were mounted when I arrived, and standing near the Howard House then on the prolongation of Logan's line of battle. The fearful break of Logan's right front had been made.

Our troops seemed to have swung around so as to be at right angles with their proper line of battle. Captain DeGress, who had just lost his Parrott guns, was on the ground, near Sherman's stirrup. He was apparently much chagrined at his loss and eager to have them recovered before his enterprising foes could carry them off to Atlanta. This was the group. I had never till then seen Sherman with such a look on his face. His eyes flashed. He did not speak. He only watched the front. There appeared not only in his face, but in his whole pose, a concentrated fierceness. Schofield had located several batteries in an excellent position to pour spherical case and canister shot into the broken interval. All this was being carefully and rapidly done.

At the same time the grand Charles R. Woods, whose division was next to Schofield, was quietly forming his brigades at right angles to and in rear of our line. Logan was also bringing some of Harrow's division to bear from beyond them, and mov-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

ing up August Mersy's brigade from Dodge to replace Martin's, whose early call and march to help the leftmost battle had weakened Lightburn's front.

The cannon were making much disturbance. The smoke was often blinding and the roar deafening; such firing kept back the remainder of Cheatham's lines. Woods's men advanced steadily down the line; there was no break, no hesitation, no halt; on, on they go till the opening is reached and the continuity of Logan's line was soon restored. Every Confederate who was not made a prisoner fled toward Atlanta, and Captain DeGress, though his horses were killed during the cannonade, had the joy of recovering his big guns.

Schofield now urged Sherman to put a column on Cheatham's flank from himself and Thomas to roll up that Confederate line and so interpose between the outside Confederates and those defending the works of Atlanta. Sherman, whose face now relaxed into a pleasant mood, said: "Let the Army of the Tennessee fight it out!"

In the afternoon Sprague, near Decatur with his own regiments, aided by Kuhn's battalion of mounted infantry, handsomely repulsed Wheeler's vigorous cavalry and artillery attacks and saved all the trains under his care from capture or damage.

Hood, at last weary, drew Hardee and Cheatham back to the shelter of the Atlanta forts, leaving havoc behind, but sweeping in some prisoners of war, some flags, and many cannon. He reported bravely to Richmond and issued orders of congratulation to his troops. He doubtless at first esteemed this bloody battle a Confederate victory. But we never so regarded this; it was indeed the main battle of Atlanta.

Battle of Atlanta

Among the prominent officers slain was one well known to all our old army comrades, the Confederate division commander, William H. T. Walker, who fell near Dodge's line. The mourning for our favorite young commander, McPherson, was heartfelt and widespread. No patriot soldier to-day is more tenderly remembered in our land.

CHAPTER XXXVI

BATTLE OF EZRA CHURCH

THE next five days after the battle of Atlanta were busy ones for every part of the army. The lofty bridge over the Chattahoochee, that connected us again with Marietta and the north, had been speedily rebuilt, so that now there was a shorter haul for all our supplies. It was necessary to bring forward what was needed of food and rations; to get the comforts for the use of the sick and wounded who remained in the field; to readjust lines and batteries and make all the trenches secure against Hood's known impulsiveness; to bring to the front absentees and recruits, and to rest and refresh our weary men.

Sherman and Thomas consulted together as to the officer who should succeed McPherson and the choice fell upon me. The orders from President Lincoln appointing me to the command of the Army and the Department of the Tennessee reached me the evening of the 26th. General Logan and his friends desired that he should be assigned to this command and were, of course, disappointed, but he at once resumed the command of his Fifteenth Corps. Hooker ostensibly was offended that he, who was my senior in rank, had not received the appointment, and asked to be relieved. Slocum was brought from Vicksburg to replace him at the head of the Twentieth Corps. Stanley succeeded me in the Fourth Corps.

Battle of Ezra Church

Sherman in his "Memoirs" has put forth his reasons for the changes of organization so simply and so plainly that they should relieve me from any suspicion of self-seeking in obtaining a promotion that, as every soldier knows, I would highly value; he says: "All these promotions happened to fall upon West Pointers, and doubtless Logan and Blair had some reason to believe that we intended to monopolize the higher honors of the war for the regular officers. I remember well my thoughts and feelings at the time, and feel sure that I was not intentionally partial to any class." Of course, Slocum and I had both resigned from the regular army.

By the end of five days Sherman had matured his plan to gain ground by extending his right till he had severed Hood's southern railroad connections, as he had just cut the eastern, or Augusta, line.

In connection with the instructions already given me for the Army of the Tennessee to move from Sherman's left to his right, Schofield had made, near the Howard House, by the help of picks and shovels, a strong left flank, for he was now to temporarily hold tenaciously Sherman's left.

Logan, at a very early hour of July 27, 1864, had set in motion the three corps, Dodge's, Blair's, and Logan's, marching in the order named. In person I joined Dodge, at the head of the column, as he was already in Thomas's rear crossing the Buck Head road. Here I assumed command of the army. Sherman with a small staff came from his meager headquarters near the line of march, and rode along with me all the way behind Thomas's lines to his extreme right, where Palmer's intrenchments ended.

Sherman told me that Morgan's division had that

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

morning gone on by the Turner's Ferry road, which runs westerly. We, having just crossed it, turned southward just outside the forts which led a mile and a half to the Lick Skillet road. When he took me to a high point and showed me a wooded ridge between us and Atlanta, along which he desired me to form my troops, substantially connecting with Thomas, but following the curve of the Atlanta works. This ridge ran nearly north and south. He believed that my lines would be long enough to enable me to get hold of Hood's railroad there before Hood could extend his trenches.

Sherman, not expecting an attack, said that there would be little risk in my moving straight along by the flank down the road before us, which we afterwards found led to Ezra Church. The land was covered for the most part thickly with trees to the left or east of my road. Seeing the nature of the country, and already having had experience of Hood's enterprise, I thought that we should be attacked certainly before we could possibly close up and get into position. I intimated this to Sherman, and said that if he did not object, instead of pushing out my right into the air, I would carefully unfold by having the divisions take their places on Thomas's right, moving up in succession, so that each successive division would protect the flank of the preceding. In reply to my suggestion, Sherman said he did not think that Hood would trouble me, but was willing I should deploy my army in my own way. Then Sherman left me.

Corse commanded Dodge's leading division. He turned to the left and occupied the leftmost section of the new line, pressing well forward until he came as near the enemy's parapet as possible. Fuller's divi-

Battle of Ezra Church

sion, partially deployed, next wheeled and ascended the slope, continuing the line. Other divisions went on in succession to do the same until dark.

The day had been a wearisome one for the troops; for, besides the long march, they had been obliged to wait here and there for reconnoissance, the putting out of infantry flankers, no cavalry being with me, so that only Dodge's corps was entirely in place at sundown.

Blair's outposts already held a junction of roads and his corps was deployed facing southeasterly toward the hamlet Lick Skillet. A road ran from the city west to Ezra Church, then southwest for a quarter of a mile, thence westerly again.

Logan's Fifteenth Corps was halted for part of the night in reserve. We were at work at the first glimmer of light the 28th. During the morning Blair's division slowly turned to the left and moved forward by divisions in echelon, and when in place his right was about a quarter of a mile above Ezra Church. Logan, deploying everything except a reasonable reserve, pushed slowly southward. One of his divisions, that of Charles R. Woods, occupied the space from Blair to and including the church.

The other two, Harrow's and Morgan L. Smith's, pretty well developed, followed their skirmish lines, keeping them in sight as well as they could through rough hollows and wooded ravines. Just as the right division had seized with its advance a ridge of land that made almost a right angle with the north and south road, General Sherman had returned and joined me, and we were moving along in rear with our deployed lines full in sight.

There had been an ever-increasing skirmish all the

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

morning. Now the rifle firing on our front increased. Suddenly there was sound of cannon. We heard the rattle of grapeshot in the trees near by and above us. Limbs were severed and fell to the ground. I turned to Sherman and said there would be a battle soon; he replied he did not think so. Then I called his attention to the shot which were clipping off the branches of the trees. The indications were so strong that we would be attacked that Logan called a halt of his main lines and I ordered that our front be covered as speedily as possible with logs and rails. An old field partially cleared and fenced, fortunately for us, lay between my position and the lines, which in general extended along the high ridge before us. Here our men found some rails and plenty of stumps and logs. These men by details were soon running with logs and rails in their arms and on their shoulders. Owing to the conformation of the ground, Logan's two divisions, Harrow's and Morgan L. Smith's, which were formed on the right of Woods's division, made nearly a right angle with the rest of the line. We had no time to locate our batteries in front without too much exposure in case of an enemy's charge; so that I had only a few of them brought forward and kept within call should an emergency require them.

Sherman remained with me until we were in position. He remarked again that he hardly thought I should have a general battle; but that in case of an attack in force Morgan's division, which was reconnoitering to Turner's Ferry, would come back by a road so as to give complete protection to my right flank; indeed, he would send and order it. Then he left me, saying he would return to the center, telling me to call

Battle of Ezra Church

on him if I needed any assistance. Thus he permitted me to conduct my first battle alone.

One of Logan's batteries I then sent to the front and located not far from the road, with a view to replying to the enemy's troublesome, though fitful, cannonading. The woods there were too thick for anything except blind action in the use of artillery on either side.

Blair and Dodge, and Charles R. Woods, from their first approaches, had strong skirmishing; then encountered brisk firing, particularly from artillery with most annoying shrapnel shells from the Atlanta works. Logan's men worked diligently and soon had sufficient cover to give them partial protection against musketry when kneeling or lying down. The ridge itself gave fair protection to the reserves and field hospitals. At this time, about 11.30 A.M., the fearful yells, fierce and numerous, which we had heard so many times before, came to the ears of our waiting men.

Lieutenant General Stephen D. Lee, my classmate at West Point and a comrade in the spring of 1857 in Florida, was assigned by the Richmond government to command the army corps which had been led by Hood before his promotion. S. D. Lee's assumption of his command was of the same date as mine. Hood, as soon as he divined Sherman's design of threatening his line of supply on his left instead of his right as heretofore, meditated a plan of resistance similar to that in his last battle, July 22d. Instructing Hardee with his corps and the Georgia militia to hold the Atlanta works, he ordered Lee to move out his three divisions to the Lick Skillet road, where, near Ezra Church, he would find Jackson's cavalry.

Hood also instructed Stewart to proceed with two

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

divisions of his corps to follow Lee and mass his troops near the place in the works where the Lick Skillet road left the city. Stewart, with a clear road, was to be there the morning of the 29th, to pass beyond Lee, gain ground, and attack, as far as possible, beyond my right flank. The roads were favorable to this flank movement.

When the fearful Confederate shouts, so strong and confident, reached our ears, every man along the exposed front line carefully knelt behind their slight defenses, or lay prone upon the ground with rifle in hand, gazing steadily through the forest toward the ominous sound.

Field and company officers gave a warning note: "Take steady aim and fire low at the word!" After a few minutes of waiting the men on the ridge caught glimpses of the approaching Confederates tramping steadily and rapidly through the underbrush.

Next, without any record of orders given, the fire-at-will began. At first, only two or three heavy guns took any part, so that the roar came increasing and diminishing from rapid rifle firing. The Confederates used some cannon; limbs of trees were broken and fell; a few frightened men, as always, sprang away and ran toward the rear, some giving way on our extreme right.

Logan became greatly animated and rushed for all stragglers with drawn saber, and, assisted by his officers, drove them back to their commands.

On the skirmish line opposite our extreme right Major Charles Hipp, with the Thirty-seventh Ohio, aided by another regiment, had prepared a log house for defense, and thrown out his skirmishers right and left. To the left of him, on the lower ground, Colonel

Battle of Ezra Church

W. S. Jones had two other regiments, with a section of artillery, in support of skirmishers and as an advance guard.

The first warning to Major Hipp was heavy firing to his left. He was evidently beyond the reach of the Confederates, though not of their skirmish line. Next, a shot penetrated his breast; still he remained at his post. When they came near enough, Hipp's regiment opened fire. Again he was shot, which caused him to fall from his horse.

Sergeant Ernst Torgler, who brought him off the field, received for it a medal of honor. The adjutant, Lambert, acting for the major, brought the regiment, fighting its way, without loss of order, all the way back to our main line. Colonel Jones also succeeded in retiring his command to its proper front. It was doubtless such temporary covers as these outside regiments had had which caused Confederate officers to think that they had driven back our men from a main line of works.

In my first report concerning troops called by me from Dodge and Blair, I used these words:

Four regiments were sent at once, but before their arrival the first shock had passed, the enemy having been driven back at every point except on the extreme right where there was scarcely more than a skirmish line to resist them. As soon as possible my aid, Captain Gilbreth, led up two regiments to prolong the right. Two others, led by my inspector general, Strong, followed to the same point.

Early in the action, remembering some remarkable experiences on other fields, I thought I would make assurance doubly sure. So I caused twenty-six pieces of artillery to be so arranged that they swept all the

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

ground beyond Logan's right flank, though but a few pieces of artillery were fired along his front, and the repulses, one after another, from the beginning of the Confederate attack to the close, were made mainly by riflemen.

The two regiments brought by Colonel Strong were armed with breech-loading rifles, the first used in the war. The Confederates at that point had kept bravely on. Some were tramping the rail piles; a few had passed them when those repeating arms began their work. The Confederate soldiers fell there; but few escaped death, wounds, or capture.

Knowing Sherman's desire for Morgan's division to come in on my right, something as Blucher did on Wellington's left at Waterloo, in the middle of the afternoon I sent word to Sherman about the situation.

Furthermore, as the contest was prolonged, and I had Dodge and Blair tied up against the Atlanta works which occupied them, I feared that Logan's men might weary. So, before night, I sent my brother, Lieutenant Colonel C. H. Howard, to Sherman for a brigade, which he sent at once, but it did not arrive until the action was over.

This was my first battle after taking command of the Army of the Tennessee, and I was delighted with the conduct of the officers and men. Major General Logan was spirited and energetic, going at once to the point where he apprehended the slightest danger of the enemy's success. His decision and resolution everywhere animated and encouraged his officers and men. The division commanders, Generals Woods, M. L. Smith, and Harrow showed gallant conduct and well-timed skill; they repelled many terrible and persistent attacks of the enemy.

Battle of Ezra Church

The number of the Confederate slain left in our front exceeded our entire loss—642. We captured five battle flags, 1,500 muskets, and many prisoners. After the battle of Ezra Church, Hood confined himself to the defensive as long as we were in the neighborhood of Atlanta.

That evening my ambition stimulated me to put in fresh troops in order to sweep the field and make a bold and strong effort to capture Atlanta; but Logan's men were much fatigued. Blair's and Dodge's had been on the *qui vive* all day within reach of the enemy's cannonade, constantly kept up, and Morgan's division had not succeeded in joining us; the Atlanta works were complete and strong, therefore my cooler judgment said, Let well enough alone.

After I had gone along the front lines and said what I could in appreciation of the wonderful defense made by our gallant soldiers, I simply ordered Logan to double his skirmish lines and press them beyond us as far out as practicable, and then give to the commands rest and quiet for the night. I soon learned positively that this terrible assault was made by my old friend and classmate, Lieutenant General Stephen D. Lee,¹ commanding three divisions, while General Stewart's two divisions supported him.

Under cover of the darkness General Lee withdrew from my front, after giving us a slight show of life through the firing of his artillery and infantry rear guard. Then he hastened within the protection of the strong forts of Atlanta.

¹ General Stephen D. Lee at this writing, 1907, is the Commander of the Society of Confederate Veterans, with his home at Jackson, Miss. He is much esteemed by all who know him. General Lee and I are the last surviving commanders of independent armies in the field during the Civil War.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

The letter which I wrote that day from the field of battle was as follows:

Major General W. T. Sherman, Commanding Military Division of the Mississippi.

GENERAL: The corps of Hood attacked us to-day at 11.30 A.M. on the right of my line, mainly opposite the Fifteenth Corps, with lines extending beyond my right flank. The assaults were pertinaciously kept up for four hours, with scarcely any intermission, and were invariably repulsed. The enemy's dead lay thickly on our front. We took several stands of colors and quite a number of prisoners. General Logan bore the brunt of the battle, and his command acquitted itself nobly. Generals Blair and Dodge weakened their lines to the lowest limits in order to extend his flank and reënforce him at any point. Our casualties were small, owing to the fact that we had just covered ourselves with rough barricades. Some of Polk's (Stewart's) command was engaged in the last assaults. I will make a more specific report as soon as I can get the requisite returns from the different commands.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
O. O. HOWARD, *Major General.*

There is one letter that I find in the public records which I have never seen till now. I shall prize it as I do the "thanks of Congress." It is from Sherman, addressed to Schofield the evening of that memorable day. It reads:

"General Howard's conduct to-day had an excellent effect on his command. After the firing had ceased, he walked the line, and the men gathered about him in the most affectionate manner, and he at once gained their hearts and their confidence. I deem this a perfect restoration to confidence in themselves and the leader of that army."

CHAPTER XXXVII

BATTLE OF JONESBORO

SHERMAN had three cavalry divisions of considerable strength—Ed. McCook's, 3,500 effectives, at Turner's Ferry, where the Chattahoochee was bridged; Stoneman's, 2,500, and Garrard's, 4,000, at or near Decatur, Ga., on his left.

The cavalry, except Garrard's, received its raiding orders and set forth to go south and carry them out. Sherman now for three or four days strengthened his right flank by putting two infantry divisions of Thomas in rear of my right for a reserve. Sherman was mainly waiting for the effect of this cavalry movement against the railroad about Jonesboro.

The first report that came to him, August 1st, to the effect that Ed. McCook's division had been defeated and captured, he stoutly discredited and disbelieved; yet he took prompt action in view of the possibility of such a disaster. He put all the garrisons guarding our depots and communications on the alert, brought Schofield's troops around to and beyond my right, and had Thomas send there also the whole of Palmer's corps.

Ed. McCook had done well at the first onset. He struck the railroad and did much damage, and finding no coöperation from Stoneman, drifted back with over 400 prisoners to Newnan. Here McCook was defeated

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

by General Alexander P. Stewart's infantry and lost his captured Confederates, and reported from Turner's Ferry his own loss as 600.

Stoneman, for some unaccountable reason, did not carry out Sherman's instructions at all. Coming from Decatur, he did not join McCook near Jonesboro. Instead of that, he passed off behind the Ocmulgee and went down on the eastern bank. A Confederate dispatch from Macon gave the result of his raid:

"Stoneman, after having his force routed yesterday, surrendered with 500 men; the rest of his men are scattered and flying toward Eatonton. Many have been already killed or captured."

Sherman, after this sad experiment, declared that our cavalry "could not or would not make a sufficient lodgment on the railroad below Atlanta, and that nothing would suffice but for us to reach it with the main body."

After the discomfiture and return of Ed. McCook and the other commanders, Sherman, with marvelous quickness, had our cavalry reorganized and resupplied. He now formed it into three divisions, under Garrard, McCook, and Kilpatrick. The latter, with his optimistic nature and fearless enterprise, had come back to us after the healing of his Resaca wound.

Hood then tried Sherman's cavalry plan on a larger scale. Forrest and Wheeler, with abundant horses, were sent against our long line of supply between Atlanta and Nashville; Forrest above and Wheeler below Chattanooga with hope of drawing Sherman away from Atlanta, so that Hood could fall on his rear with his main army. But these efforts of the Confederate cavalry were as effectually thwarted by Sherman as Sherman's cavalry had been by Hood.

Battle of Jonesboro

Hood at last acknowledged that he could not anywhere in our rear bring together sufficient force at important points on the line to compel our retreat.

Sherman tried one more raid, using the energy of our sanguine Kilpatrick. That general made his march with promptness, but soon came back. His report claimed three miles of railway track destroyed near Jonesboro, the capture of four cannon, spiking three and bringing in one; three battle flags and seventy prisoners of war. His visit, however, he owned, was shortened by encountering a brigade of Confederate cavalry and a Confederate infantry division.

Two days after Kilpatrick's return one would hardly believe that he had been defeated at all. His memory and his imagination were often in conflict, but we all liked his bright face and happy stories.

Meanwhile, the work of extending our line near Atlanta had gone on. Hood's intrenchments had followed suit, ever protecting his railroad, a vital line of supply. When Schofield and Palmer went to my right, Bate and Cleburne went to Hood's left.

Without too much detour, Sherman put upon Schofield the special work of striking a heavier blow than those we had been able to deliver since "Ezra Chapel" and directed Palmer to report to Schofield. As Palmer asserted himself as senior in rank and would not help, Schofield was unable to carry out Sherman's wishes.

When Sherman criticised Palmer's course, he resigned, and Brigadier General Jeff C. Davis was promoted to a major general and sent to the command of the Fourteenth Corps. Schofield, though Palmer's junior, had been assigned to an army and department by the President.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

This friction occurred at a most unfortunate time in the face of the enemy and it caused delay and loss to us. I had always regarded General Palmer as a strong man, brave and resolute and of good judgment. Under similar circumstances to his, perhaps a little more aggravating, I served under a junior, biding my time. Of course, one must be guided by his sense of what is right; yet, in case of doubt, he ought to give the benefit of his doubt to his country's service.

At one period Sherman had heavy guns brought up and bombarded Atlanta, carrying into it terror and destruction. This was not sufficient, however, to induce Hood to surrender.

On August 16th, Sherman, being resolved to attack Hood's railway lines, issued his orders for the following movements: First: the Twentieth Corps was sent back to fortify and hold the Chattahoochee bridge. Second: Schofield's forces and mine to move on the station at Fairburn; then directly against the West Point railroad between Red Oak and Fairburn; Thomas was to follow up in support.

Forrest's and Wheeler's raids on Sherman's rear somewhat modified these orders, but Thomas began the execution of the first move on the night of August 25th.

The movement of the Twentieth Corps toward the rear, followed by the remainder of Thomas's command, which was going on toward our right flank, had the effect, as was natural, of deceiving the Confederate commander. The night of the 26th my move began. My army (of the Tennessee) was at the time 25,000 strong. We wakened the men quietly and turned our faces southward in two well-organized columns.

Battle of Jonesboro

A guide was at the head of each; he had previously gone over the route of march and made himself acquainted with the maps. It was a solemn procession, every regiment coming without noise into its place; one brigade followed another until my late position was denuded of everything but a few skirmishers. The noise of the wagons and batteries in motion had been carefully provided against. As my staff officer, left behind to see the ground cleared and to report to me the final closing up of the rear guard, was congratulating himself that the whole work had been so noiselessly performed that the enemy had no suspicion of its operation, he was startled by a sudden artillery fire from the Confederate side; probably the very stillness of the night exaggerated the sound of the cannon. Round shot broke small trees and dropped branches to the ground, altogether too near the dim roadway which the men were pursuing.

I heard the firing, and for a few minutes feared that there might be a panic among some of our men; but my fears were rather born of previous experiences with other commands than from the knowledge of those Western veterans. At this time the men, without exception, resolutely continued their march.

The cannon shot and shell passed over us and beyond without great damage. A single soldier, however, was killed, and another wounded, having his leg broken. In the retrospect even this comparatively small loss excites our sympathy, for human life is precious.

When day dawned we were beyond the reach of danger from the rear. This march was the first that I had made in conjunction with Kilpatrick. He cleared

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

my way as rapidly as he could of the enemy's cavalry and artillery with it.

Whoever commanded that Confederate cavalry did it well. He made bridgeheads at the crossing of creeks; destroyed every bridge that would facilitate our march; he would make barricades of logs or rails in the edge of a wood, where it ran at right angles to our pathway.

When the enemy seemed too strong for Kilpatrick I sent forward a battery at a trot and infantry enough to protect it. As a rule, an effort of this kind was sufficient to clear the way, but now and then the Confederate cavalry would get so good a position, either at a creek crossing or in the forest, that it became necessary to halt all hands and send a regiment or a brigade around his flank, and so root him out.

I shall never forget that march. The country was mostly covered with trees, more or less dense, and it was rough, so that it was exceedingly hard to maneuver any considerable body of horsemen. Having now to do with cavalry, I was apprehensive of a surprise, particularly when the horses were crowded together in narrow roads; so I became quite happy and satisfied to see how Kilpatrick managed. He kept his guard so far out that all the irregularities of a cavalry bivouac did not much disturb him.

Logan, as wide awake by night as by day, passed across the Utoy and on to Camp Creek, near Fairburn. Blair, who led the other column, was followed by the Sixteenth Corps. Dodge had been wounded after Ezra Chapel and was obliged to retire for a time. General Ransom, a young officer of great promise, was commanding his corps. With Kilpatrick on our right, we went into position according to our instructions.

Battle of Jonesboro

Very early on the 27th Kilpatrick drew out first and pressed on rapidly in order, if possible, to drive the enemy's outposts, scouts, and cavalry beyond the West Point Railroad. Feeling himself so well backed up, Kilpatrick was this time successful in holding on to the railroad.

Getting upon the railroad by twelve o'clock noon, I deployed in the usual manner, intrenched enough for protection in case of surprise, with the hamlet of Fairburn in plain sight. I put Kilpatrick out on our approaches so as to give us plenty of warning; Ransom was placed in reserve. Very soon the lively work of railroad breaking was undertaken. We could see different parties of the road destroyers; one party, now standing in a line, seized the rails and lifted all together, causing a long span to come up and be broken apart; another party, catching the ties, threw them upon a log fire to ruin them. Upon the top of a heap others piled the rails, each to be heated in the middle. Another group would run with a rail and push its hot part against a telegraph pole or tree, and run around the trunk in opposite directions.

The most effective disabling of a rail was done by using two short hand bars with a contrivance at one end of each to seize and hold the rail fast; two men at each hand bar turning the rail in opposite directions would make a twist. Two such twists prevented the use of a rail till it had gone again to a rolling mill.

Schofield had moved a little, enough to free his command for speedy work, and watched toward the east and north to cover all trains. Thomas had chasséed to the left, and he came up abreast of me at Red Oak Station; and we all, in the manner we have indicated, spent a day and a half crippling the West

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

Point Railroad. At this time, by the close of August 28th, one road for miles and miles was beyond military repair.

The fourth move for Jonesboro, not given in the preliminary orders, began at the dawn of August 30th. Logan moved along due east, taking the more northern road, guarding the left; while Ransom and Blair marched on a road to the right. The two roads came together near Shoal Creek. Kilpatrick cleared the way as before, and nothing of moment delayed our march till our junction.

At this creek the obstinacy of our foes increased, and we were obliged to halt and reconnoiter. Ransom used two regiments, and Logan at least a brigade, in support of the cavalry. Very soon the confronted barricades were abandoned and we marched on. Every half mile this operation was repeated till everybody became weary and impatient.

Just about sundown I was glad enough to reach Renfro Place, my destination. Everybody there, Union and Confederate, made a halt and began preparations for the night bivouac.

In the sand dunes I found no water for the command, and the Flint River was but six miles ahead. I had heard railroad trains and steam engines on the Macon road all day, and knew well enough that Hood was sending troops. The principal object of my move was plain enough: to seize Jonesboro and the railway as soon as possible. After a few moments' reflection I summoned Kilpatrick and asked him:

“Have you an officer, general, who with a small body of cavalry can keep the enemy in motion, and not allow them to create delay between this Renfro Place and the river?”

Battle of Jonesboro

“Just the man, sir,” he replied.

Then he turned to Captain L. G. Estes, assistant adjutant general on his staff. In a few moments Captain Estes brought up a squadron of cavalry, two excellent troops. He moved off toward the Flint, first at a quick walk; then, as he neared the enemy's outposts, at a trot; and the Confederate commander, hearing the firing and seeing his outposts driven in, had no time to make barricades. He saddled up and retired as rapidly as he could. I put my infantry quickly upon the road, and with my staff took the lead, following the skirmishers ahead of me. I desired to get a view of the ground before darkness set in.

There was a swift race for the river. Our infantry was so excited that they almost kept up with the cavalry. The Confederates made a brief halt at the bridge on the opposite side, firing upon us from the right and left, while some two or three men set the bridge on fire. Captain Estes's command was armed with Spencer repeating rifles. His troops deployed along the river bank and began their increasing fire, while other troopers dismounted and rushed for the burning bridge. These succeeded in extinguishing the flames, drove back the defenders, and speedily crossed over to the other side. It did not take long for our infantry, under the new excitement, to reach the river and deploy their own skirmishers in support of the cavalry.

Among the first I reached the bridge, delayed a few minutes to reconnoiter, and then crossed over, following up the troops. A few staff officers were with me, including Lieutenant Colonel Stinson, who had been so severely wounded at Pickett's Mill, and who had just returned from Cleveland, Tenn., convalescent, but not

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

entirely well. He was near me when the Confederates suddenly fired from the woods which fringed the opposite slope. A volley passed over our heads.

At that instant I saw Colonel Stinson spring forward in his saddle as if hit. I called to him:

“Harry, are you hurt?”

“No, sir,” he answered; “the suddenness made me jump.”

That surprise was like a blow to him, for during the night his old wound opened, and he had a severe hemorrhage of the lungs. The next morning he left me for a time, but afterwards came and went as his strength permitted, though he never saw a well day again till the time of his death soon after the close of the war.

As soon as the skirmishers were over the bridge, they ran up the slope from the river. Logan led forward his entire corps and arranged it as well as he could in the darkness upon the crest of the ridge—Hazen’s division to the left; Harrow on the right; Osterhaus in reserve—all facing Jonesboro.

That night we had nothing but skirmishing to worry us. The men were indeed strong and hearty, though very weary after their long and hard march; they worked the entire night intrenching by reliefs, to be ready in the morning against the attack which we were quite sure Hardee would bring against us. We ascertained that Hardee already had a part of S. D. Lee’s troops in our front.

Kilpatrick, calling his men back, had moved off to my right and struck the enemy’s advance in a cornfield. It became necessary for me to strengthen his hands, so I ordered Ransom to cover our right on the west side of the Flint with infantry and artillery, and

Battle of Jonesboro

also to give Logan support on the east side upon Logan's immediate right.

Blair, who came up during the night, did the same thing for our left flank, sending one division across the river, which came into position early in the morning, considerably extending Logan's left. As soon as these dispositions were made the cavalry was ordered out farther to our right as far as Anthony's bridge.

By these prompt movements, I succeeded in taking a strong position very near to Jonesboro, and was enabled to save life by putting my command where its artillery could reach and sweep the Macon Railroad, which necessitated the enemy and not myself to take the initiative in the coming battle.

Schofield had been turned northward toward East Point, in order to protect the trains, and was for a time quite isolated from the rest of the whole force. Thomas had fulfilled his instructions, reaching the evening of the 30th a crossroad near Morrow's Mill.

Kilpatrick lost one battery near the river, in the swampy ground—for a time. The enemy was thus decoyed by him and his supports beyond the river, for a Confederate division crossed over and pursued him for a short distance. Nothing, even if I had planned it, could have been better done to keep an entire Confederate division away from the main battlefield.

Our line followed substantially the crest of the ridge, mostly covered with woods, though there were some open places.

Kilpatrick had some lively tilts with Jackson's cavalry after crossing Anthony's bridge, and both sides kept up a skirmishing and some cannonading beyond our front. We had expected Hardee's attack at dawn.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

I had been misinformed with reference to the force already at Jonesboro. Hardee waited for his men to close up.

It occurred to me that I might open the battle as Grant did at Missionary Ridge, by a strong reconnoissance in force. I so ordered it. Probably fifteen minutes before the time set, the charging cries of our advancing foes met our ears. Our veterans understood very well what was coming, and with confidence awaited the charge. The most determined part of the assault was sustained by Logan's front, the enemy approaching to within an average distance of fifty to one hundred paces.

They were repulsed.

Between 2 and 3 P.M. again the enemy emerged from the woods, coming obliquely toward Corse's front. One of his brigades with Blodgett's battery fiercely met the Confederates and "sent them back." Another battery opened, but did not seem even to delay the enemy in its front. Corse restrained Colonel Rice's command from firing till the Confederates had cleared the cornfield near by, so as to be in plain sight. Then they were met by a terrible sheet of fire from Corse's ranks.

A portion of the enemy's line broke and ran to the woods, while the rest in front of Rice's men sought shelter in a gully or washout deep enough to conceal a man, and were thus temporarily safe. Corse thereupon sent the Sixty-sixth Indiana Regiment rushing down the declivity into the gully, which drove them out and brought sixty Confederates back as prisoners. A part of Corse's men at first were without any cover, as was also the battery.

Hazen (of Logan) had sixteen regiments in line

Battle of Jonesboro

and one in reserve. Against his front between 2 and 3 P.M. the Confederates made a vigorous cannonade.

In the open spaces two full lines could be observed. The first charge was tremendous, some of the enemy getting within Hazen's precincts, and the attack was persistently carried on for three-quarters of an hour.

But during this time Hazen's parapet kept up a fire against which no men could stand. Here Hazen's battle was decisive.

On Harrow's front the attack came a little later than on Hazen's. The artillery fire from the Confederate batteries reached his command from different directions; then after loud cheering the assault came. Harrow threw them into confusion with his artillery and then repulsed their two charges. So the first day of the Jonesboro battle ended.

It may be wondered why I did not immediately push in my reserves, as more than half my command had not been used in the conflict. Ambition would have spurred me instantly to take the offensive, but prudence and, I believe, good judgment led me to hold on till Sherman and the Army of the Cumberland came.

On the morning of September 1st, General Jeff. C. Davis, of Thomas's army, being at Renfro Place, moved up to my left flank. He instantly pushed on to Moulker's Creek, where he came upon my pickets. He then deployed to my left, engaged the enemy vigorously, and gallantly charged their works, breaking through in many places, capturing hundreds of prisoners and some batteries and also some trophies, making our victory complete.

Thomas and Sherman were together, not far from Davis's right flank. As soon as Davis's attack was

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

finished, Sherman directed me to send Blair's corps below Jonesboro and I expected him to cross the Flint as Kilpatrick had done the day before, but being delayed by the long march he arrived at so late an hour that the enemy was able to resist him at the bridge.

Sherman desired Thomas to get beyond Hardee's right flank and so cut off his retreat; but night came on and Hardee escaped.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

BATTLE OF LOVEJOY'S STATION AND CAPTURE OF ATLANTA

HOOD now, doubtless with intense reluctance, evacuated Atlanta, and swinging around to the east by the way of McDonough, succeeded by the help of S. D. Lee's corps in forming junction with Hardee at Lovejoy, the point to which Hardee had retired during the night of September 1st. Slocum, commanding the Twentieth Corps at the Chattahoochee bridge, hearing the explosions occasioned by Hood's attempted destruction of his depots and loaded trains, suspected what was going on; and so marched out to take possession of the city. During the night Sherman had heard the series of explosions in the far distance. He questioned an inhabitant about them, who declared that they were the same as in the previous battles to which he had listened.

Sherman, at first, feared that Slocum had approached the city, and perhaps was having an engagement with Hood's rear guard.

The morning of September 2d our combined forces followed Hardee's movement as far as Lovejoy's Station. We had just reached that place when Sherman received a note from Slocum, headed "Atlanta." Hood had gone, having destroyed his depots, trains, and such supplies as he could not carry off. The quantities of ammunition stored there, of course,

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

occasioned the heaviest explosions. He had hardly evacuated the city before Slocum marched in.

The first dispatch to Washington was from Slocum, September 2d, as follows:

General Sherman has taken Atlanta. The Twentieth Corps occupies the city. The main army is on the Macon road, near East Point. A battle was fought near that point, in which General Sherman was successful. Particulars not known.

This was followed by a dispatch the next day from Sherman to Halleck. Here is an extract:

Hood, at Atlanta, finding me on his road, the only one that could supply him, and between him and a considerable part of his army, blew up his magazines in Atlanta and left in the night-time, when the Twentieth Corps, General Slocum, took possession of the place. So Atlanta is ours and fairly won.

To which President Lincoln replied:

The National thanks are rendered by the President to Major General W. T. Sherman and the gallant officers and soldiers of his command before Atlanta, for the distinguished ability and perseverance displayed in the campaign in Georgia, which, under Divine power, has resulted in the capture of Atlanta.

We came upon Hardee's skirmishers, where he was waiting for us, near Lovejoy's; the approaches to his position were exceedingly difficult; yet, as rapidly as possible, my command was extended into line, the Fifteenth Corps on the left, the Seventeenth on the right, while the Sixteenth was held in reserve.

By strengthening our skirmish line and pressing it along from right to left Hardee's gave back, until by our sudden dash a favorable height of great importance to us was seized and firmly held. And then by

Battle of Lovejoy's Station

the usual processes our main lines were moved nearer and nearer to the Confederate works, which, strange to say, were as well constructed and as strong as if the Confederates had had a week to prepare them.

It was between three and four in the afternoon when I was ready to move forward to the assault. At that hour I received orders from Sherman *not* to take the offensive, but wait where I was for the present.

General Thomas had also moved one corps forward from Jonesboro (Stanley's). He marched along the east side of the railroad. He had left Davis's corps at Jonesboro to gather up the captured property, and to care for the wounded and bury the dead. Stanley struck the enemy's lines about midday, and he had the same difficulty in developing the lines, in making his approaches to the enemy's works, that I had had; so that it was near dark when he was ready to make an attack. Thomas, probably not aware of my orders, pushed his troops well forward and had a lively combat.

About half an hour later one of Stanley's divisions made an endeavor to carry the enemy's works but did not succeed.

After this partial attack, a little later in the day, Schofield's army came up to support the left of Thomas. The effort resulted in about 100 prisoners, several of whom were commissioned officers.

Now we notice that from this time on, the two armies were facing each other, and each commander had full purpose to do nothing which would bring on a general action, though, as we were very near together, we had each day upon the skirmish line many men wounded and some killed. We thus watched each other and skirmished for four days.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

This is all there was of the affair at Lovejoy's Station, and indeed the time had come for a rest and recruitment of the troops. Our armies remained there until the morning of September 7th. Sherman says: "After due reflection I resolved not to attempt at this time a further pursuit of Hood's army, but slowly and deliberately to move back and occupy Atlanta, enjoy a short period of rest, and think awhile over the next step required in the progress of events." The Army of the Cumberland led the return. It was, after the march, grouped in and about Atlanta. With the Army of the Tennessee I followed, and took up a defensive camp at East Point, between six and seven miles south of Atlanta; while the Army of the Ohio covered our eastern approaches by camping near Decatur.

The campaign had already been a long and costly one since its beginning, May 6th, at Tunnel Hill, near Dalton. According to the reports which Sherman gathered, the aggregate loss up to that time to the Confederates was nearly 35,000 men, but he remembered that his own aggregate was not much less, being in the neighborhood of 35,000. His command had been for the most part under fire for 113 days, including three days' rest at the Etowah.

In my letters home I wrote: "Atlanta is a handsome place, with wide streets, and houses much scattered. I have my army to refit and reorganize.

"General Sherman asked me lately if I wanted a brigadiership in the regular army; he said I must try for one. I told him no, but if it were offered me for my services, if they were deemed of sufficient importance to warrant it, I should consider it a high compliment, but I should not ask for it."

Battle of Lovejoy's Station

In order to present an evidence of the feeling after Sherman's taking Atlanta in New England, I will introduce a few impressions from a letter of my uncle Ensign Otis, Esq., of Leeds, Maine, as follows:

MY DEAR NEPHEW: We have much solicitude for you, General Sherman, and that part of his army with him. Great interest is manifested by the whole community. . . .

The result of the election, the tone of the public press, and the satisfied demeanor of almost the entire people have inspired me with a confidence in our Government and institutions which I never before had. Surely our chastening has not been in vain. Is not the time of our deliverance at hand? Gratitude and humility, in view of our Nation, seem to be manifested.

We are sending our vegetables to the Second Maine Cavalry. Some of the boys are at home on a furlough. Warren (Colonel E. W. Woodman) is commander of the regiment. Our boy who went in the Thirtieth Maine (the writer, being an old veteran of 1812, sent a substitute) writes often. He has been uniformly well, and keeps us posted in all that concerns that regiment in Sheridan's army. Our prayers, our love, and affection are for you and Charles (then Lieutenant Colonel C. H. Howard).

Then from mine:

Just before this I had received news of the death of my step-father, Colonel Gilmore, at Leeds, Maine, whom I greatly esteemed and loved. Thinking of him at this time, I put down a thought concerning George H. Thomas.

General Thomas's characteristics are much like those of my father. While I was under his command he placed confidence in me, and never changed it. Quiet, manly, almost stern in his deportment, an honest man, I trusted him. . . . I am all the while hoping that peace is not far distant. There is a great Union sentiment in Georgia, but every mouth has been

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

shut for a long time by a fearful tyranny. I believe Grant will accomplish his part of the operation of the campaign before winter. If he succeeds, matters will put on a different complexion. At present it is hard for me to anticipate where I shall be or what I shall do. . . .

If Sherman makes a fall and winter campaign, I shall doubtless command one of the columns under him.

I also wrote of my neighborhood: "I have now three little visitors—Flora Niles, a pretty little lady, one year smaller than our Grace; Spurgeon Sylvey and Jerome Sylvey, two boys, twins, six years old. They are children of people who were born in the North. Flora talks very freely and prettily, and is a nice little lady. We encamped on one of her father's farms near Jonesboro, and brought him, the mother, and Flora to this place in an ambulance. We gave them empty wagons in which to bring their goods and chattels. He and his wife were from New Hampshire originally. General Sherman is banishing all the people from Atlanta, north or south, as they may elect."

In this private correspondence, which freshens one's recollection, I find that my corps commanders, Blair and Logan, during this rest, had been granted a leave. In fact, Logan did not return to us till we reached Savannah, but Blair was able to join me. One of my divisions, General Corse's, was sent back to Rome upon the reports of the work of the Confederate cavalry in Tennessee under Forrest.

Another division, General John E. Smith's, of Logan's corps, had its headquarters back at Cartersville, Smith commanding. About this time (September 29th), also, Thomas went to Chattanooga and as far as Nashville, while (October 3d) Schofield found his

Battle of Lovejoy's Station

way, first to Knoxville, to attend to some official matters there, and thence to Chattanooga.

All these personal movements naturally affected me, as I was inclined to be homesick during every lengthy period of rest. I went to Atlanta toward the latter part of the month of September and had a good talk with Sherman. He would not listen to my going either on inspection duty to other parts of my department, nor to my making a brief visit to any point away from Atlanta. "No, Howard," he said, "we don't know what the enemy now any day may undertake." In fact, he had already had information that Hood was changing the position of his army from the vicinity of Lovejoy's Station westward to a position somewhere near Blue Mountain, Hood's headquarters to be at Palmetto Station, on the West Point Railroad.

Arriving at that road, the Confederate army took position with the left touching the Chattahoochee River, and covering the West Point road, where it remained several days to allow the accumulation of supplies at "Blue Mountain," and secure a sufficiency with which to continue this movement. The precise situation of this "Blue Mountain" is not clear, but probably it was a railway station in Alabama on Hood's flank after he had reached his new position.

The cavalry raider, General Wheeler, had been sent early in September to go north of the Tennessee to do what he could to cut off Sherman's supplies and destroy his communications; so General Hood recalled him.

That *chassez* of the Confederate army to the left to touch the Chattahoochee was unique. A Confederate cavalry division beyond that river seems to have given some uneasiness in both commands on account

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

of a truce entered into between Hood and Sherman; but the truce was interpreted by Hood to be local, and to apply only to the roads leading in the vicinity of the Rough and Ready Station.

The truce was established between the two armies with a view to exchange prisoners and to render it easier for the people of Atlanta to go southward through the double lines without interruption. Sherman called it a neutral camp at Rough and Ready Station, where he sent Colonel Willard Warner, of his staff, with a guard of 100 men, and Hood sent there also Major Wm. Clare, inspector general, from his staff with 100 Confederates. It was remarkable how friendly the two detachments came to be to each other, and doubtless they were sorry when the time came for them to return to posts of active hostility.

President Davis's visit to Hood's army was an interesting event. General Sherman detected his presence in Georgia, and telegraphed the news to Washington as early as September 25th. The Confederate record at Hood's headquarters reads:

President Davis, accompanied by two of his aids-de-camp, arrived at these headquarters at about 3 p.m., September 26th. The President and General Hood, with their respective staffs, rode out to the front to-day, and were enthusiastically received by the troops. At 8 p.m. the President was surrounded by the Twentieth Louisiana, and being called upon he delivered a short and spirited speech.

The assemblage manifested by their loud and continued cheers that they would support him. General Hood was called upon and delivered a short address to the point. Speeches were made by General Howell Cobb and Governor Harris. September 27th the President and suite left at 6 p.m. for Montgomery. September 28th, by the order of President Davis, Lieutenant

Battle of Lovejoy's Station

General Hardee was relieved of duty in this army and department and assigned to the Department of South Carolina and Florida.

Perhaps the interval of hard campaigning and continuous fighting was never more acceptable and enjoyable than during our sojourn about Atlanta. Supplies came in to refresh our men. We enjoyed most having the immense mail bags come forward. We could now have time to read our letters and reply to them. There was joy, great joy, throughout the land, and, of course, its influence found its way through the mail to every tent.

But we must remember that in war the mourning is close to the rejoicing. So many had been killed, many more disabled for life, and others patiently enduring their suffering till time and good nursing should bring them to health again. Those in the hospitals were not forgotten by the Christian and Sanitary Commissions. At this time those who had already recovered from their wounds, or who had been prisoners and exchanged, or who came to the field for the first time as recruits, joined my army at East Point.

Sherman personally had the hardest time. He was determined to turn Atlanta into "a purely military garrison or depot, with no civil population to influence military measures." This determination met with strenuous opposition. Sherman's single expression, which he telegraphed to Halleck, gives a good idea of the state of things in the captured city just then:

If the people raise a howl against my barbarity and cruelty, I will answer that war is war, and not popularity seeking. If they want peace, they and their relatives must stop the war.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

It was at this time that the remarkable, pungent, incisive correspondence was carried on between Sherman and Hood. That correspondence showed Sherman master of the rules of war and of the laws of nations. His course undoubtedly caused great hardship, but probably in the end was the best for all concerned. I refer to his action in sending away from Atlanta the bulk of the residents, giving them the option to go north or south, according as "their interests or feelings dictated."

Sherman also had trouble to keep army traders within bounds; such vast numbers desired to come to the front with their wares. The single line of railroad, now 140 miles longer than at the beginning of the campaign, had to be defended against too many superfluities. We said: "Necessities first, then comforts!" but nothing simply to gratify the eager desire of trading men to make money was allowed to come over the lines.

One day a courteous gentleman gave Sherman a superb box of cigars, and to each army commander he presented something, my share being some table furniture.

Sherman was greatly pleased and expressed his gratitude in unusual terms. "You could not have pleased me more," he said. Two days afterwards the same gentleman visited Sherman again at his Atlanta home and asked for a permit to bring sutler's stores from Nashville to the front. Several officers were present. Sherman then displayed the terrible anger that was in him. "Leave, sir! leave at once, you scoundrel! Would you bribe me?" he said. The trader did not wait for a blow but rushed out in hot haste. Thus Sherman deliv-

Battle of Lovejoy's Station

ered himself and the other commanders from temptation.

But what, of course, taxed his mind most was the next step to be taken. He corresponded voluminously with Grant and Halleck; he consulted freely with his corps and army commanders; he reorganized his forces with a view to efficiency. But his main plan for subsequent operations was early formed in his own mind; yet it took him some time to work out the details. This plan covered all that may be now condensed into one expression—"the march from Atlanta to the sea."

When his plan was finally settled, Thomas was to go back to Nashville; Schofield and Stanley with the Fourth and Twenty-third Corps to follow him. Besides these Thomas was to have control of all forces which he might need in my department (of the Tennessee), the Department of the Cumberland and the Ohio—all not immediately with Sherman.

I consolidated the troops then with me into two corps—Blair's of three divisions and Logan's of four divisions—for Sherman's right wing, still called the Army of the Tennessee. All the rest of my men on the Mississippi constituted the new Sixteenth Corps—to remain subject to Thomas's call. Slocum took two corps, Davis's (the Fourteenth) and Williams's (the Twentieth), and Sherman designated this force "the Army of Georgia." This was Sherman's left wing. Kilpatrick drew out from all our cavalry a body of 5,000 horse for the march. I had 33,000 men, Slocum 30,000, and Kilpatrick 5,000—total, 68,000. This was substantially Sherman's field force for the great march.

CHAPTER XXXIX

GENERAL HOOD'S NORTHWARD MARCH; SHERMAN IN PURSUIT; BATTLE OF ALLATOONA

DURING our stay at Atlanta one very important work was accomplished besides the reviewing of the two armies for what General Sherman called "the next move." It was the exchange of prisoners. That good work went bravely on, owing to the friendly relations between the detachments that both armies sent to the neutral ground. Between 2,000 and 3,000 poor fellows were saved from spending months in either Northern or Southern prisons. The prison life during our war, particularly at Libby and at Andersonville, was the most afflicting and the hardest for men who suffered it and lived to forget or forgive. It always gratified us beyond measure when we could make early exchanges of our men before they were weakened or disabled by the sufferings to which they were almost uniformly subjected.

It was always a very sore and perplexing thing to all army commanders in the field to deal with the subject of exchanges. If we should accept all the apologies of Mr. Davis, and the other Confederate officials as literally true, viz., that the neighborhood of the worst prisons were greatly impoverished by the operations of the war; that prisoners came in floods, so that it was difficult to provide for them

General Hood's Northward March

abundantly or safely; and that the United States Government was very dilatory and, in fact, very reluctant to make exchanges; that it was a long struggle before the Confederates had belligerent rights at all, and till then neither one side nor the other conformed to the recognized rights and humanities of war between nations; still, admitting all this to be a reasonable statement of the case, the result of it reduced our soldiers confined in prisons and pens like that at Andersonville to great extremes of illness and weakness, often to mere skeletons, and caused the untimely death of thousands.

The fact which troubled me more than any other one thing—over and beyond my feeling of indignation and sorrow over the loss and the suffering—was that on the eve of the battle, after the exchange began to operate, sometimes 10,000 well men, strong and hardy, could be put in front of us, while our own proportional return of strong men would be less than 1,000.

In behalf of our men we could not help claiming that it was the plain duty of Confederate commanders to parole the prisoners which they took, unless they were able to afford them proper, ample, and convenient shelter, and good, wholesome food equivalent to a soldier's rations. Indeed, whether the United States ever did maltreat its prisoners or not, it had long been contrary to the laws of nations to cripple an enemy by the disabling, starving, or killing of prisoners of war. War is bad enough, but cruelty to prisoners belongs to the dark ages and to egregious barbarism.

Those who belonged to Sherman's army did not have much difficulty with those opposed to us concerning exchanges, yet we had but few opportunities

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

to make them. The general cartel on which we acted was established in 1862.

The first item was: All prisoners captured by either party should be paroled and delivered at certain points specified within ten days after their capture, or as soon thereafter as practicable. Second: Commanding general after a battle, on the battlefield might parole their prisoners by agreement. Third: No other paroles were valid; for example, if a partisan command or a guerrilla band captured a foraging party, and attempted to parole those who constituted the party, such paroles would not hold. In such cases the cartel would not be violated by ordering those composing the party immediately back to service.

Several individual cases arose which gave us much annoyance: for example, a Confederate major, Armesy, from West Virginia, went back to his State, now within our lines, and began quietly to recruit soldiers for the Confederate army. While engaged in this secret business he was caught and tried by court-martial. The court, treating him as a spy, condemned him to be hanged.

A little later Major Goff, from West Virginia, was captured by the Confederates as a prisoner of war and taken to Libby Prison. When Armesy's case became known at Richmond, Goff was sent from Libby to Salisbury, N. C., and closely confined for many months. Goff belonged to a strong Union family, and was held as a hostage for the life of Armesy.

Another difficulty arose which affected us more directly. It was that the officers in command of negro troops received special contumely and ill treatment. It took strong measures of retaliation to protect such

General Hood's Northward March

officers from indignities perpetrated upon them by Confederate authorities high in position. It is inconceivable why the exchange of General Milroy's officers was refused by the Confederates, for Milroy was one of the most honorable and law-abiding gentlemen. The attempt to prevent the exchange of the gallant Colonel A. D. Streight and his officers was extraordinary; and more marvelous still, the effort to give them up to the Governor of Alabama for trial on the charge of "negro stealing."

Another unjustifiable act I have never seen defended was the returning of the Vicksburg prisoners to duty, declaring them exchanged without a proper *quid pro quo*.

All these violations of the cartel on the Confederate side worked badly for our poor Union soldiers, who in large numbers were enduring hardships equal to those inflicted upon many of our prisoners of war in the famous British prison ships during our Revolution.

The published accounts of what each army was doing while encamped, the one about Atlanta, and the other at first in the vicinity of Lovejoy's Station, and later near Palmetto and the Chattahoochee, are somewhat fragmentary, but they indicate something of the trying situation.

General Sherman was constantly meditating something for the future. That something was generally revolving upon a universal pivot, or hinging upon what Hood might do.

September 29, 1864, Hood left his position near Palmetto, Ga., putting Brigadier General Iverson with his command to watch and harass whatever Sherman might keep in the neighborhood of Atlanta.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

Hood crossed the Chattahoochee, with Jackson's cavalry in advance. He had a pontoon bridge at Phillips' Ferry, near that village which bears the name of Pumpkintown. There was a trestle bridge farther down the Chattahoochee, at Moore's Ferry, recently constructed. Over it he drew the supplies of his army. He reached Lost Mountain and was established there October 3d.

Hood heard that we had an extensive subdepot at Allatoona Pass, so he directed Lieutenant General Stewart to cross a bridge over the Etowah River not far north of Allatoona and have it broken up; also to send one of his divisions to disable the railroad about Allatoona, and, if possible, seize and destroy the depot; he sent French's division for this work. The morning of October 5th French moved up in sight of the garrison, deployed his command, and very soon ran over the outer lines of its advance forces. One thing only was left which French very much coveted: that was the field works, pretty well constructed, with auxiliary outworks, which the Union soldiers still held and were defending with extraordinary obstinacy. If this redoubt could be taken, what a clean sweep there would be of Sherman's line of communications between the Chattahoochee Bridge and the crossing of the Etowah.

Sherman's force in and about Atlanta now numbered little over 60,000.

General Elliott then commanded the cavalry—two small divisions under Kilpatrick and Garrard. I have a copy of a letter General Sherman wrote, which I have not seen in print—a sort of offhand communication, such as flew from his pen or pencil in times of emergency:

General Hood's Northward March

HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION
OF THE MISSISSIPPI, October 2, 1864.

GENERAL DAVIS: Communicate with Howard, and be prepared to send into Atlanta all your traps and to move with ten days' rations toward Marietta or to Fairburn, as the case may call for; and if Hood has crossed the Chattahoochee with two corps to take our road, and has left one corps on this side near Campbellton, we should interpose.

W. T. SHERMAN,

Major General Commanding.

Official: A. C. McCLURG, A. A. G.

As soon as Sherman found out what Hood was undertaking, he set his whole force in motion northward, except Slocum, with his Twentieth Corps, who was left back to keep Atlanta for our return. Sherman's first surmise of only two Confederate corps was incorrect, for Stewart's, Cheatham's, and Stephen D. Lee's corps were all included in the big northward raid.

After Stewart had captured some garrisons he drew back to Hood, near Lost Mountain. Now we commenced the pursuit in earnest from Atlanta the morning of October 3d. By the 5th we had reached the vicinity of the battlefield, Kenesaw Mountain.

As soon as Sherman heard that a division of the enemy had been seen marching northward not far from the railroad line he divined that the subdepot at Allatoona Pass was the coveted prize. This occurred to him before he had passed Vining's Station. On account of the breakup of the railroad and telegraph lines by Hood's men, we were obliged to depend upon day and night signaling.

Sherman sent one dispatch from Vining's to the top of Kenesaw, which was repeated from Kenesaw

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

to Allatoona Pass. This dispatch was then telegraphed to General J. M. Corse, at Rome, Ga. It was repeated by Vandever, commanding near Kenesaw. But, in fact, there were two dispatches, the first, to wit:

COMMANDING OFFICERS, ALLATOONA, KINGSTON, AND ROME:
The enemy moving on Allatoona, thence to Rome.

SHERMAN.

Second dispatch:

GENERAL CORSE, ROME: Sherman directs you to march forward and join Smith's division with your entire command, using cars, if to be had, and burn provisions rather than lose them.

[Signed]

VANDEVER,

General.

Corse's answering dispatch to Smith, at Cartersville, of the same date, October 4th, says:

GENERAL: My last information is that a large force is moving on Allatoona. In accordance with General Sherman's instructions, I will move my entire command to Cartersville and unite with General Raum in attacking the enemy at Allatoona direct.

J. M. CORSE,

Brigadier General.

Corse was quick of apprehension and always ready for action. Taking all the troops he could make immediately available, and having a broken railroad quickly repaired, he hurried on in the night of the 4th to reach Allatoona by 1 A.M. October 5th.

As soon as he arrived he unloaded his men and supplies and sent his train back to Rome for more men. Corse brought with him about 1,000.

Colonel Tourtelotte at Allatoona and his brave men had held on against all preliminary skirmishing,

General Hood's Northward March

but the rumors by signal and otherwise were disheartening. Imagine the courage and inspiration which such a man as Corse with his reënforcement gave to them.

The Confederate commander very deliberately went about the investment of the garrison, and had with him, according to the latest returns, 2,962 effectives and a total of 4,412 men.

About eight o'clock, while the firing on both sides was still going on, Corse detected a flag of truce coming toward the redoubt from the north Confederate brigade. It brought in a dispatch which proved to be a communication from the Confederate general, French.

AROUND ALLATOONA, October 5, 1864.

COMMANDING OFFICER UNITED STATES FORCES, ALLATOONA.

Sir: I have placed the forces under my command in such positions that you are surrounded, and to avoid a needless effusion of blood, I call on you to surrender your forces at once and unconditionally. Five minutes will allow you to decide. Should you accede to this, you will be treated in the most honorable manner as prisoners of war.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully yours,

S. G. FRENCH,

Major General Commanding Forces Confederate States.

All of us who knew Corse can see with what promptness and energy he instantly penned his brief response:

HEADQUARTERS FOURTH DIVISION, FIFTEENTH CORPS,
ALLATOONA, GA., 8.30 a.m., October 5, 1864.

MAJOR GENERAL S. G. FRENCH, *Confederate States Army, etc.:*
Your communication demanding surrender of my command I acknowledge receipt of, and respectfully reply that we are pre-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

pared for "the needless effusion of blood" whenever it is agreeable to you.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN M. CORSE,

Brigadier General Commanding Forces United States.

As soon as the return dispatch was off, Corse visited the different fronts of his redoubt and told the officers and men of the demand for surrender and what his answer had been. He encouraged them by his words and manner so that they were prepared to do their utmost.

His necessary arrangements were scarcely completed before the battle began in earnest, and raged with great severity.

The resistance, in connection with the rough approaches, caused the Confederates considerable delay in approaching the regular advance points of the redoubt.

But the Confederate commanders did not yet give up. They covered themselves by other obstacles, such as trees, ravines, logs, and stumps, in such a way as to shoot down any Yankee soldiers who showed themselves above the irregular parapet. The men stood steadily to their duty in spite of their danger.

French's Confederates worked themselves entirely around the trenches, and, though not rapidly, yet constantly, were picking off our men. About one o'clock Corse himself received a wound from a rifle ball which "crossed the left side of his face and cut off the tip of his ear." He was upon his horse at the time.

For half an hour the gallant commander seemed unconscious. Now, thinking he heard somebody cry, "Cease firing!" he revived and came fully to himself;

General Hood's Northward March

instantly he encouraged the officers around him to keep up their resistance. He told them that our army was rapidly approaching, and would be there before long.

Corse's words had the desired effect. The efforts of our men to fire above the parapet were renewed. Corse's artillery being out of ammunition, some fearless soldier, whose name, unfortunately, is not remembered, ran across under fire to the east hill, and brought them as much case shot and canister as he could fetch. About two o'clock in the afternoon some one reported a force gathering behind one of the houses, from which a rush was to be made upon the redoubt. Very quickly a piece of artillery was moved across the redoubt to an embrasure opening in that direction. From that point by two or three discharges the new column was broken up, and all the groups of Confederates were repelled by the quick fire from the waiting rifles of our men.

This event seems to have turned the tables in favor of this little garrison, and by four o'clock every front had been thoroughly cleared of living and able Confederates.

In this battle Corse commends Colonel Tourtelotte. Hé recommended him for promotion, and said of him: "Though wounded in the early part of the action, he remained with his men to the close."

Of Colonel Rowett he remarked: "Twice wounded, he clung tenaciously to his post, and fully earned the promotion I so cheerfully recommend may be awarded him."

The severity of the struggle may be noticed by the losses on Corse's side of 6 officers, 136 men killed; 22 officers, 330 men wounded; 6 officers, 206 men miss-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

ing; total, 706. They buried 231 Confederates, captured 411 prisoners, 4 stands of colors, and 800 rifles. Among the Confederate prisoners was a brigade commander, General Young.

There were several dispatches which passed between Sherman and Corse during this engagement, among them the famous signal which came over the Confederate heads from the top of Kenesaw sixteen miles away at 6.30 A.M.: "Hold fort; we are coming." From this incident the famous hymn "Hold the Fort, for I Am Coming," was written by Major D. W. Whittle, my provost marshal and personal friend. Later he became a well-known Evangelist. Also the following:

COMMANDING OFFICER, ALLATOONA: Sherman says hold fast; we are coming.

And Corse's reply:

ALLATOONA, GA., October 5, 1864.

. . . Where is Sherman?

KENESAW MOUNTAIN, October 5th.

Near you. Tell Allatoona hold on. Sherman says he is working hard for you.

Again:

KENESAW MOUNTAIN, October 6th, 2 P.M.

How is Corse? What news?

DAYTON, *Aid-de-Camp*.

Answer:

ALLATOONA, October 6th, 2 P.M.

CAPTAIN L. M. DAYTON, *Aid-de-Camp*: I am short of a cheekbone and one ear,¹ but am able to whip all hell yet.

JOHN M. CORSE,
Brigadier General.

¹ For his acts of special gallantry in heroically defending Allatoona, Brigadier General John M. Corse was awarded the commission of Brevet Major General of Volunteers, October 5, 1864.

General Hood's Northward March

It was quite a feat to communicate backward and forward sixteen miles by signal over the enemy's heads.

Even General Hood said: "General Corse won my admiration by his gallant resistance."

General Corse's command belonging to my army, I issued the following order:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT AND ARMY OF
THE TENNESSEE, NEAR KENESAW MOUNTAIN, October 9, 1864.
General Field Orders No. 18.

While uniting in high commendation awarded by the General in Chief, the Army of the Tennessee would tender through me its hearty appreciation and thanks to Brigadier General John M. Corse for his promptitude, energy, and eminent success in the defense of Allatoona Pass against a force so largely superior to his own, and our warmest congratulations are extended to him, to Colonel Tourtelotte, and the rest of our comrades in arms who fought at Allatoona, for the glorious manner in which they vetoed "the useless effusion of blood."

O. O. HOWARD,

Major-General.

As soon as the news of the failure of the Confederates to take Allatoona, and also the prevention of Armstrong's cavalry from destroying the bridge across the Etowah, was brought to Hood, then near Lost Mountain, he continued his march daily northward. He crossed the Coosa River near the hamlet of Coosaville, and then marched up the western bank of the Oostenaula. He went above Resaca, and quite completely destroyed the railroad all the way along above Resaca toward Chattanooga as far as our first battleground, "Tunnel Hill." He captured our posts at Dalton and Buzzard Roost, securing at least 1,000 prisoners.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

By this time the Confederate cavalry under Wheeler had rejoined his army. As a last effort General Stephen D. Lee, with his corps, undertook the capture of the garrison at Resaca. Hood himself made the demand, October 12, 1864, to the commanding officer in these terms:

SIR: I demand the immediate and unconditional surrender of the post and garrison under your command, and should this be acceded to, all white soldiers and officers will be paroled in a few days. If the place is carried by assault, no prisoners will be taken.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,
J. B. HOOD,
General.

Colonel Wever's reply is worthy of record, addressed the same date to General Hood:

Your communication of this date just received. In reply I have to state that I am somewhat surprised at the concluding paragraph, to the effect that if the place is carried by assault no prisoners will be taken. In my opinion I can hold this post. If you want it, come and take it.

I am, general, very respectfully, your most obedient servant,
CLARK R. WEVER,
Commanding Officer.

Wever had but a small brigade, yet Lee's investment was not complete, so that Wever was soon re-enforced by our cavalry from the direction of Kingston.

Hood decided, doubtless, after Wever's rejoinder, not to assault the works, and commenced at once the destruction of the railroad.

My army was near Kenesaw, pulling on as rapidly as possible northward October 5th. During the night

General Hood's Northward March

of the 12th we all reached the vicinity of Resaca, having, in fact, recovered all of our stations up to that point, and commenced the speedy repair of the culvert and railroad tracks.

On the morning of the 13th we found that every detachment of the enemy had disappeared. His Third Corps had passed over beyond the high ranges westward, a part of them going through Snake Creek Gap and obstructing the way for four or five miles by felled trees. They were of every size, crossed and crisscrossed in our path. Sherman desired me, trees or no trees, to push rapidly after Hood, and I was eager enough myself to get through the obstructed gap.

I remember that General Belknap, one of my division commanders, afterwards Secretary of War under President Grant, was reluctant about leading the way, desiring the obstructions to be first cleared away by pioneers. I saw him delaying and walking toward Sherman, who was then standing near a house, so I sent Belknap word, through an aid-de-camp, to go on at once through the gap or I would send some one in his place. He showed considerable feeling, but went on to move his men. Small trees were thrown out of the way by the soldiers, while officers and men went steadily on under and over the larger ones; meanwhile, our engineers and pioneers who had good axes cut these off.

That very night before dark we succeeded in getting my two corps, Osterhaus's and Ransom's commands, in close proximity to Hood's army, and we thought then that Hood would delay with hope of engaging our forces piecemeal as they came through the mountains. Hood's headquarters were that

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

night near Villanow, but a few miles from us. The next morning at dawn there were no signs of the Confederate army in our neighborhood, except those of vacant camps. We proceeded as rapidly as we could as far as the town of Gaylesville, Ala. There we halted October 21st. Hood's whole army had by this time passed on. His own headquarters were then at Gadsden. The only skirmish in consequence of our pursuit that any part of my force had was on the morning of October 16th, when my leftmost division, under General Charles R. Woods, ran upon Hood's rear guard at Ship's Gap.

We there captured a part of the Twenty-fourth South Carolina. From that time on the Confederates were moving rapidly away from us. From the 21st to the 28th of October we remained at Gaylesville or in that vicinity, while Sherman was communicating with his commanders at Chattanooga and Nashville, and with his commander in chief at Washington concerning the future.

One of my corps officers, General Ransom, who was admirably commanding the Seventeenth Corps, was taken ill with what I supposed at the time was a temporary attack. It began about the time we drew out from East Point.

After Corse's victory at Allatoona, Ransom had written him as follows: "We all feel grateful to God for your brilliant victory, and are proud of our old comrade and his noble division. You have the congratulation and sympathy of the Seventeenth Corps."

Ransom was a young officer who had graduated from Norwich University, Vermont, the son of the distinguished Colonel Ransom who lost his life in Mexico.

General Hood's Northward March

He was a large, strong, finely formed, handsome young man of acknowledged ability, exalted character, and great promise.

He was so desirous to go on this campaign that, though ill, nothing could prevent his undertaking it. At first he rode his horse and did his full duty night and day. When he grew weaker he had himself drawn at the head of his command in an ambulance, and at last he caused his men to carry him along on an army stretcher, resolute to the end.

He died, October 29th, in a house near our road, carried thither by his men, while his command was *en route* between Gaylesville and Rome, Ga.

Return to Atlanta

day were gaining flesh and their strength, and, indeed, my army was surprisingly well supplied with provisions from the country during our return march, which was made by short stages for the very purpose of rest and refreshment after the 300 miles of severe additional campaigning.

November 3d I encamped near Dallas.

The 4th we were grouped near Lost Mountain, where it was easier to lose your way from the thick woods and crooked roads than to lose sight of the mountain. In fact, the mountain, unaccountably named "Lost," enabled a wanderer to refind his path-way.

The 5th brought the Army of the Tennessee back to Smyrna Camp Ground. There we remained until November 13th.

General Sherman himself, as early as November 2d, had changed his headquarter belongings again to the little hamlet of Kingstown, Ga. From this point that same day was the significant dispatch to Grant: "If I turn back, the whole effect of my campaign will be lost. . . . I am clearly of the opinion that the best results will follow my contemplated movement through Georgia."

Grant's reply is: "Your dispatch of 9 A.M. yesterday just received. . . . I do not see that you can withdraw from where you are to follow Hood without giving up all we have gained in the territory; I say, then, go on as you propose."

Our sick in increasing numbers before the campaign, but proportionately diminishing during Hood's raid, were brought together at Rome and Atlanta. While we rested, they were carefully removed to Chattanooga and Nashville; also surplus stores of every

CHAPTER XL

RETURN TO ATLANTA; THE MARCH TO THE SEA; BATTLE OF
GRISWOLDVILLE, GA.

THE Army of the Tennessee changed its camp from Gaylesville, Ala., to Cave Spring and Cedartown, Ga., making short marches. Every hostile soldier was so far away that our occupation of the country was peaceful. The inhabitants soon became acquainted with us, and our camps afforded good centers for trade.

On account of insufficiency of time to graze we lost many of the poorer mules and some artillery horses; and, in fact, those losses distressed us till after passing Ship's Gap, north of the Etowah, when the forage wagons became empty and grass neither abundant nor nutritious.

The weaker mules were detached and sent away in herds to Chattanooga. The best being retained were held in service. During our rest at Gaylesville, Ala., pursuant to new directions from General Sherman, a redistribution of artillery was made, leaving but one battery to a division; then, by judicious exchanges, the good horses were attached to the retained batteries, and the remainder were hurried off toward our depot at Rome and Chattanooga. Cedartown, Ga., and all its bright neighborhood, rejoiced in a plentiful supply of grain. So our animals day by

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

kind that had accumulated at Atlanta were sent back as fast as possible.

General Corse acted in Rome in this respect as did our Chief Quartermaster at Atlanta. Then, on November 10th, after he had demolished the storehouses, he evacuated Rome and commenced his march toward Atlanta. During November 12th the troops with me destroyed all the railroad from Big Shanty forward to the Chattahoochee River, burning the ties in heaps and twisting the rails. The stretch of railroad completely disabled was about twenty-two miles in extent.

November 13, 1864, my army broke camp and proceeded from Smyrna Camp Ground to Atlanta. We chose a place for concentration at a railroad station south of the city, then called White Hall, situated about halfway to East Point.

Corse arrived the evening of the 14th. John E. Smith's division, that had been guarding the railroad during the greater part of our Atlanta campaign, portions of which had been stationed at Resaca and Allatoona, concentrated at Cartersville, then marching on southward, also joined us the morning of the 14th. Thus again my own field command was gathered together. Of course, by breaking up our lines of communication the effective force was increased. Besides these additions, an encouraging number of sick recovered, and recruits brought from the North joined the different regiments, so that my effective troops were in the neighborhood of 33,000. My army did not witness the destruction of Atlanta.

While Sherman, accompanied by Slocum, commanding the Army of Georgia, were taking their last glimpse of this great railroad center, now mostly in ashes, and pushing off toward Augusta, my command

Return to Atlanta

was moving southward. We left White Hall November 15, 1864, and I made a feint toward Macon to deceive the enemy gathering in my front.

Kilpatrick's cavalry, about 5,000 horsemen, had already reported to me, and were sent during the first of "The March to the Sea" to clear my front and watch my right flank as we wandered southward.

Till November 19th to all appearances we were sweeping on toward Macon; then first our infantry by a sudden turn to the left crossed to the east of Ocmulgee on pontoon bridges. The steep and muddy banks were bothersome. The cavalry followed close, and, as soon as over the river, again quickly turned down the first roads toward East Macon. The army, clambering up with difficulty the east bank of the river, made straight for a station on the Macon & Savannah Railroad called Gordon. Our trains, including Kilpatrick's, stretched out, would have been thirty-seven miles long. To get those wagons "parked" at Gordon without accident was our problem.

Osterhaus, commanding our Fifteenth Corps (Logan being absent), was on the right. I was with him when he struck the Macon & Savannah Railroad early November 22d. Then, turning back a little from East Macon, I had him send General Charles R. Woods to watch out that way with his division and help Kilpatrick, for much Confederate force of infantry, cavalry, and artillery was reported as over the Ocmulgee in East Macon, which evidently proposed to attack something. They might, at least, catch our long, snaky trains and cut them asunder. General Woods faced back, and took up a strong position near a church; then he sent forward one brigade under Brigadier General C. C. Walcutt, with total present for duty

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

1,513 men, partly armed with Spencer repeating rifles. Walcutt also had two cannon. Just then, at the start, the Confederates were noisily driving before them a part of Kilpatrick's cavalry. Woods thereupon sent Walcutt that way past the station of Griswoldville.

Our cavalry and infantry kept skirmishing in a lively manner, till Osterhaus naturally thought that Walcutt had gone far enough. He instructed Woods to draw him back to Duncan's farm, nearer to his supporting division. Here they found abundant trees and some convenient swamps, impassable except at a few points. Walcutt noisily chose the edge of a wood with open ground in front of him, throwing up the usual cover of rails and logs, while some of Kilpatrick's men guarded the more distant swamps. One thousand five hundred and thirteen Yankee men behind that barrier with two cannon to cover the approaches by using iron hail were more than equal to 10,000 opponents, however determined they might be.

General Gustavus W. Smith was an assistant professor in engineering at West Point the last year of my cadet term (1853-4), and taught our class, instructing me how to recognize and take "a military position." He, though at the time quite a young officer, had been twice brevetted for gallantry and merit in the Mexican War. He was a self-respecting, dignified man of marked ability. He had left the army, and was trying his skill in civil pursuits, holding just before the war the office of Street Commissioner in New York City, when the secession outburst took him south. Now he was said to be commanding the Confederates in my front in the neighborhood of Macon, November 15, 1864.

The size of his command was:

Return to Atlanta

Effective muskets (sent from Jonesboro).....	1,900
Reserves of all kinds	1,200
Two batteries (a battalion, probably 200).....	200
State-line troops	400

Actual fighting men with rifles and muskets... 3,700

The battle began at 2.30 p.m. and lasted until sunset. During the engagement the enemy made three separate charges and were as often repulsed with heavy loss.

General Woods foots his losses: 13 killed, 79 wounded, and 2 missing; total, 93.

The enemy's loss was a little over 600. General Smith had been delayed in Macon while his command was hastening on toward Augusta; they found that we had two corps of our army across all their roads of egress toward Atlanta, Milledgeville, Augusta, or Savannah; hence came about the battle of Griswoldville of which I reported November 27, 1864:

“That this engagement was of a more severe character and our loss a little greater than I had at first supposed; but fortunately the enemy attacked us at the very point where we were prepared; though with a force one-third less than that of the enemy. The Confederates were so completely defeated that they troubled us no more in that quarter. During the battle I took post with my staff where I could reënforce if necessary. I was glad to be able to demonstrate General Smith's instructions in regard to taking a new military position.”¹

¹ Later, during the stormy reconstruction period, General G. W. Smith defended me in the face of criticism of my efforts to alleviate the suffering of the negro when passing from slavery to freedom. I have always remembered the kindness with gratitude and appreciation.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

After the battle I wrote the following to Major General Osterhaus, commanding the Fifteenth Corps.

GENERAL: I take pleasure in congratulating the brigade of General Walcutt of General Woods's division of the fifteenth Corps on its complete success in the action of yesterday. Officers from other commands who were looking on say that there was never a better brigade of soldiers. I am exceedingly sorry that any of our brave men should fall, and for the sufferings of those who are wounded. The thanks of the army are doubly due them. I tender my sympathy through you to the brave and excellent commander of the brigade, Brigadier General Walcutt.

It is hoped that his wound may not disable him.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

O. O. HOWARD,

Major General.

We marched over rough places and jolted along corduroy roads, yet all our wounded from this battle were transported from Griswold Station to the sea without loss of life.

The object I had in sending, through Osterhaus, Woods's division off to my right was to help Kilpatrick keep back any forces of the Confederate cavalry or infantry from getting at our long trains. These trains were struggling over muddy and difficult roads, so that it was hard to keep them reasonably closed up. We drew them out of the wagon road at Gordon, and had the teamsters, urged by their wagon masters, drive as rapidly as possible into park. Fortunately, we got all the wagons well massed near that small railroad station without loss of any.

An incident took place before reaching Gordon, near the town of Clinton, which indicates how the troops came into collision. Wheeler found Oster-

Return to Atlanta

haus's men moving through Clinton. He did not observe them, owing to a dense fog, until in close proximity. Six Confederates rushed into town, and succeeded in capturing an orderly who was in personal service at the time at Osterhaus's headquarters. This man was seized within twenty feet of the corps commander himself, yet the captors escaped in safety.

Slocum, with the left wing, had meanwhile reached Milledgeville, where his men had instituted a mock legislature, completed the issue of a newspaper, and celebrated the occasion by rich festivals of their own contrivance. General Slocum communicated with me and with Kilpatrick by scouting parties moving across from Slocum's column to mine, the distance being in the neighborhood of ten or twelve miles. Thus far "The March to the Sea," more serious on my route by the loss of about a hundred men and the exciting event of a battle, was working greatly to Sherman's satisfaction.

I sent a dispatch from my halting place at Gordon by Kilpatrick, who was now ordered to pass from my column over toward the left to work forward in conjunction with Slocum. This dispatch was addressed to Sherman. I told him that the Oconee was before me, and that I was examining the crossings. Fuller accounts of what we had done had already been forwarded by the hands of Captain William Duncan, who had the immediate command of his company, acting as scouts for me.

Curiously enough, this Captain Duncan, who, from some reports sent me about that time by General Blair concerning him and his scouts, appeared to me to be rather reckless, at this time performed a feat quite in keeping with his subsequent remarkable career.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

It was before Sherman and Slocum had reached Milledgeville. In a letter I remarked: "To-morrow I will have everything substantially at Gordon. Our marches at first (from Atlanta), until we reached Ocmulgee, were very pleasant, having good roads and good weather. Since then our roads have been very heavy, and the rain continuous. We have found the country full of provisions, and thus far have drawn very little upon our rations. We have destroyed (as instructed) a large amount of cotton, the Planters' Factory, a pistol factory, and a mill at Griswold; the latter three by Kilpatrick."

Now, referring to Captain Duncan's enterprise ten miles ahead of us and toward our left front, I said: "The Mayor of Milledgeville surrendered the town, the capital of Georgia, formally to Captain Duncan and a few scouts." Then, speaking of some cavalry that went from Blair's headquarters or mine to support the scouts, I wrote: "After Duncan's capture a company of the First Alabama Cavalry entered the town with Captain Duncan and destroyed the depot and some seventy-five or one hundred boxes of ammunition and the telegraph office. Duncan had returned to me, meeting me at Gordon; and so I sent him back again November 22d with a fuller report of our late battle to be delivered to General Sherman."

After receiving full news and causing Kilpatrick with his cavalry to cross over to the left, Sherman from Milledgeville issued instructions for further movements November 23d. It was in this communication that he ordered Kilpatrick to use all possible effort to rescue our prisoners of war confined near Millen. In the accomplishment of this the cavalry failed.

Return to Atlanta

Referring to the railroad I was substantially following, Sherman suggested that great attention should be paid to the destruction of this road. Besides burning bridges and trestles, the iron should be carefully twisted and warped, so that it would not be possible ever to use it again. To this end, our rate of travel should be reduced to ten miles a day.

One or two harsh measures may be inserted to modify somewhat the feeling that has existed, that our foraging soldiers too often exceeded their instructions. They were directed by Sherman "to capture wagons; to bring their plunder to camp, after which the wagons should be burned." Also: "Wherever such obstruction occurs (referring to citizens destroying bridges, culverts, etc.), the commanding officer of the troops present on the spot will deal harshly with the inhabitants near by, to show them that it is for their interest not to impede our movements."

Again, we noticed how the burning of cotton, already imperatively directed, was again emphasized by our general: "Should the enemy burn forage and corn on our route, houses, barns, and cotton gins must also be burned to keep them company."

These implicit instructions, together with the well-known expression of our general, "to forage liberally on the country," caused irregularities almost beyond the power of control, so that very soon, so far as my wing was concerned, I was obliged to stop the burning of mills, except by my own direct orders. And I issued these restrictive words:

The attention of the corps commanders and the commanders of unattached regiments and detachments is called to the irregularities existing in foraging, and the manner in which this privilege is often

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

abused. It is noticed that many men not belonging to proper foraging parties are allowed to straggle from the ranks and forage for themselves without any authority whatsoever. It is by such men that the greater part of the pillaging is done, and depredations committed, of which there is so much complaint. Officers in charge of foraging parties must be continually instructed to keep their men well in hand, never allowing them to precede the advance guard of the column, and to use more discretion in taking from the poor, being careful to leave them sufficient for their immediate subsistence. It is also noticed that the number of mounted men is very largely increasing, and that the ranks are correspondingly diminished. Means will be at once taken to check this growing evil. The number of mounted foragers to each brigade should be limited and regulated in orders, which, if not done, mounted foragers will be no longer allowed. We are now nearing the enemy, and foraging parties should be cautioned against preceding the advance of the column.

In order to keep ourselves in more complete communication where the country was penetrated in every direction by Wheeler's scouts, and where General Wayne had a force of at least 1,000 men, I took advantage of Kilpatrick's leftward march to send my aid-de-camp, Lieutenant Colonel C. H. Howard, to Sherman the morning of November 24th, just as I was moving forward. He was to remain with the general until we came together.

The message that he bore to Sherman showed that Blair's corps was on the direct road to the railroad bridge; that his advance had dislodged Wayne's men from a stockade close to the Oconee River where they

Return to Atlanta

had had two or more pieces of artillery. I wrote to Sherman that I might have to ask him to threaten the enemy from the north of my troops, because the swamps bordering the Oconee were so difficult that an inferior force might be hindered. I had searched for a place to cross the Oconee near the railroad bridge, called Jackson's Ferry, but no such ferry then existed. There was a series of lagoon bridges running across the main stream and its branches in the neighborhood of Ball's Ferry, which was six miles south of the railroad bridge. Osterhaus with his Fifteenth Corps was making for that crossing. To that point I went myself.

The point of meeting to which Colonel Howard was to accompany the general in chief was called Sandersville, beyond and east of the Oconee and north of our railroad, where the two wings of Sherman's army would naturally touch each other. Finding all attempts at crossing in front of Blair impracticable, I was obliged to bring his corps to the vicinity of Ball's Ferry, following Osterhaus.

My escort, the Alabama (Union) cavalry, had succeeded in getting a small detachment beyond the Oconee before the bridges were destroyed; but Wayne, coming upon them with infantry and artillery, drove them back across the river to our side. Then Wayne planted himself strongly upon a prominent bluff east of the river which commanded every approach and swept the causeways and bridges so thoroughly that no man could appear for an instant upon them. The swamp on our side was a mile or more broad, with water waist deep, and studded with trees, many of which were cypress.

Moving on from Gordon, November 25th, I came to the vicinity of the Oconee, and dismounted to rest and

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

send dispatches near a house on the right side of the road, when Osterhaus, coming back, told me before he dismounted that he could get no farther, as the enemy was too strong on the other side. I told him that that was no way to talk, but to keep deploying his skirmishers up and down the river until he got no return fire, and report.

He soon returned and assured me that he found no enemy a few hundred yards up the river. I then instructed him to send in a brigade with the canvas boats, already put together, and push over the men rapidly into the clearings beyond, then come down the river and take the enemy in the flank. Of this movement Wayne reported: "The enemy have driven us back from the cross bridge, three heavy columns are across the river, and they have possession of Ball's Ferry, below here. . . . To save the men I will retire."

This Oconee crossing was the most difficult that we had to encounter, though the forces in our front continued to enlarge as we proceeded from place to place. The Confederate garrisons fell back, and reënforcements kept coming forward from Savannah. The Confederate general then in charge of a geographical division, Braxton Bragg, peremptorily ordered Wheeler with his cavalry and some artillery to stick close to us; to harass us in front and flank, and, above all, to destroy subsistence and forage in the route over which we advanced.

Some 5,000 Confederates fell back from Sandersville before Sherman arrived. At that point, the 25th, Sherman himself accompanied my left corps on the eastern bank of the Ogeechee, while I followed the one or the other of my two columns on the right bank,

Return to Atlanta

usually keeping them from six to ten miles apart. Corse's division was as far to the right as Wrightsville, but I had it brought gradually back into a closer connection with the rest of the Fifteenth Corps.

In fact, this division, though having the longest journey, came up to the vicinity of Station No. 2, some thirteen miles ahead of Blair's Seventeenth Corps, the leading regiment reaching that part of the Ogeechee, where there were two bridges, Wright's and Jenks's. The Confederates had destroyed them both by fire. Wright's brigade was across the Ogeechee, three miles above Jenks's. Colonel Williamson, commanding a brigade, managed to get a regiment over this broad river, and on the east side made a bridgehead and manned it; then he sent fifty men of the Ninth Iowa on to the Gulf Railroad to break it. Captain McSweeney, in charge of this detachment, accomplished the purpose in plain sight of a train loaded with Confederate troops; after which he brought his men safely to the bridgehead.

Oliver's brigade of Hazen's division, which had been below watching Jenks's bridge, with many Confederates opposite to him, was sent away up a tributary westward, with instructions to secure a crossing at a bridge near Bryan Court House. He left one regiment, the Ninetieth Illinois, with a battery of artillery, at Jenks's bridge, and went on his expedition. He held Jenks's bridge.

At Bryan Court House the river was obstructed by a strong Confederate force on the other side, but Osterhaus, supporting Oliver, had a search made for another crossing. They found an old ferry below the bridge which was practicable. An expedition was sent across in the night. The Confederates were sur-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

prised. Finding their flank turned like Wayne's at the Oconee, they fled at the first alarm.

Having secured the crossing near Bryan's Court House, Osterhaus promptly sent a sufficient force to break up a portion of the Gulf Railroad south of the Ogeechee.

Osterhaus now concentrated the most of his force near Jenks's bridge. General Corse was on the lead. On his arrival he found Colonel Owen Stuart behind a line of rifle pits exchanging shot with considerable force on the other bank. Corse sent up a battery and located it so as to clear away all riflemen that would bother his boats. Then he sent Stuart's regiment across the river. As soon as the first troops got firm foothold east of the Ogeechee, the Confederates fell back to a prepared work, which formed a regular defensive connection from the river to the high ground.

Osterhaus, using some of Corse's division (Rice's and Williamson's brigades), working up against swampy places, double lines, and intrenchments, carried everything before him. His men took the works, killed and wounded some, captured thirty prisoners, and put the remainder of the Confederates to flight. In these operations Corse and Williamson had the help of that famous twenty-four-pounder-Parrott battery which, under DeGress, had been such a bone of contention at the battle of Atlanta. The First Missouri Battery also bore a part in this small battle.

There are other small affairs in which single brigades and small regiments bore a part, but now speedily all the right wing was brought up against the defenses of Hardee, which he had so carefully prepared to envelop the city from Savannah River around north

Return to Atlanta

to the bay below. As the left wing had marched abreast of mine, Sherman, establishing his own headquarters on the Louisville road, soon invested Savannah, covering every approach, in conjunction with our naval fleet, except the communications with Charleston across the Savannah River.

Just before this operation of investment began—December 9, 1864, after our last combat, and near the Savannah Canal—I drew up a dispatch to the commander of the naval forces to this effect:

We have met with perfect success thus far. Troops in fine spirits and near by.

Respectfully,

O. O. HOWARD,

Major General Commanding.

I believe that I inserted the word "Sherman" before "near by" but the above is the form in which the dispatch has always appeared.

I selected Captain William Duncan, who had escaped from capture and had returned to my escort, and told him to take with him Sergeant Myron J. Amick and Private George W. Quimby and proceed down the Ogeechee, passing Confederate stations, the King's Bridge, Fort McAllister, and all obstructions, and go out to sea and communicate with the fleet. It seemed next to impossible that the feat could be accomplished, but Captain Duncan's already distinguished career as a scout and his confidence that he could accomplish the enterprise led me to try him. He secured a long dugout, rather narrow and somewhat weather-beaten; then, putting in rations, he took my dispatch and another from my signal officer and set out. He went along very well by night, having passed the bridge

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

and carefully worked through the torpedo obstructions.

When the day dawned the morning of the 10th, he found some negroes, who befriended him and his men. The party kept pretty well under cover until evening. During the night they appear to have made considerable progress, but did not succeed in getting past Fort McAllister. They went ashore to get a negro guide and some provisions; they tied up their boats and then made their way through some bushes and thin groves till they came near a roadway. Here they heard the voices of some Confederates passing along the road. By lying down and keeping very quiet, they were not discovered.

Soon after this they came to quite a sizable negro house, went in, and were well treated and refreshed with provisions. While they were eating they were startled by hearing a party of Confederate cavalry riding toward the house. Of course they expected to be instantly captured, but the negroes coming quickly to their rescue concealed them under the floor. The coolness and smartness of the negroes surprised even Captain Duncan, though he had believed in and trusted them. The cavalry stopped but remained only a short time, and the negroes guided our men back to their boats.

In such operations as these, with hairbreadth escapes, they hid through the 11th in the daytime. When night came, to avoid one danger, they crossed the wide river; but hearing some voices, they feared a recapture from the bank, so they quietly pushed away, avoided a boat filled with oarsmen who were passing over the Ogeechee from a Confederate gunboat at anchor below Fort McAllister. They ran so

Return to Atlanta

near this gunboat that they were in terror for fear some noise that they had to make in paddling, or some flashlight from the vessel, would discover them; but, surprising to say, they passed all obstacles, and soon after daylight on the morning of the 12th they drifted out into the broad bay.

There the *Dandelion*, a dispatch boat of our navy, discovered the dugout with its three weary scouts. They were taken on board and carried to Port Royal Harbor to the flagship *Philadelphia*, arriving about eight o'clock the same morning, and saw my brief dispatch put into the hands of Rear Admiral Dahlgren, to whom it was addressed.

Admiral Dahlgren reported on this expedition: "It may be perhaps exceeding my province, but I cannot refrain from expressing the hope that the department will commend Captain Duncan and his companions to the Honorable Secretary of War for some mark of approbation for the success of establishing communication between General Sherman and the fleet. It was an enterprise that required both skill and courage."

CHAPTER XLI

THE MARCH TO THE SEA; CAPTURE OF FORT McALLISTER AND SAVANNAH

GENERAL SHERMAN charged me to open further communications with the fleet, and directed Kilpatrick with his cavalry to assist me. As soon as the two wings struck the main works at Savannah, Kilpatrick set out to accomplish his part of the operation. He crossed the Big Ogeechee at Jenks's Bridge, and then went on and followed Colonel Oliver's trail over the Cannouchee, near Bryan Court House. Sherman directed Kilpatrick to try to take Fort McAllister right away, as the garrison probably did not exceed 200 men with 13 guns. Haste was necessary, as in many things our supply was running short, and McAllister was the only remaining obstacle to our communicating with the fleet and establishing a new line of supply. Kilpatrick had visited me and represented the necessity of having infantry support.

This plainly appears in a letter of his to Sherman, dated December 11, 1864, in which he says: "I have proposed to General Howard to cross the Ogeechee with my command and a force of infantry and take the fort. General Howard has accepted my proposition, and will give me the infantry asked for, and I will only await your permission. I promise to take the fort—if it is as it was represented to me—and

The March to the Sea

let in our fleet; at all events I will reach the Sound and communicate with the fleet.”

It was after this visit of Kilpatrick, made to me on his way over the Ogeechee to carry out his instructions, that I went in person to General Sherman and represented to him the necessity of sending infantry to take the fort. I asked him, contrary to his instructions to me, which were to destroy King's Bridge utterly, to allow me to rebuild what was already demolished, and send a division of infantry to take Fort McAllister.

The general asked me which division I would choose, agreeing with me that it would be next to impossible for the cavalry alone to storm the fort. I answered him, “Hazen's.” To this proposition the general agreed. Then I returned to my headquarters the same day and directed Captain Reese to repair King's Bridge and then issued the following order:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT AND ARMY
OF THE TENNESSEE, LITTLE OGEECHEE,
NEAR SAVANNAH, December 12, 1864.

Special Field Orders No. 193.

As soon as King's Bridge is completed, Major General Osterhaus, commanding Fifteenth Corps, will direct his second division, Brigadier General Hazen commanding, to proceed against Fort McAllister and take it.

By order of MAJOR GENERAL O. O. HOWARD.

SAM'L L. TAGGART,
Assistant Adjutant General.

The reason I am thus particular in reciting the preliminaries is because in General Sherman's memoirs he conveys the impression that he himself did what I as wing commander began, continued, and ac-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

complished—of course in complete agreement with Sherman and in keeping with his instructions. I stood in the same relationship to capturing Fort McAllister as General Terry did to the taking of Fort Fisher; it was my division, selected by myself, which crossed King's Bridge, repaired the bridge under my instructions, and then proceeded to the fort. And it was my order of December 12th which directed Hazen's division "to proceed against Fort McAllister and take it." This does not in any way derogate from the honor of the general in chief, under whose instructions to open communication with the fleet I was acting.

On the 13th everybody was ready; Hazen's division crossed over to the west bank of the Ogeechee, starting at daylight, and reached the vicinity of McAllister about eleven o'clock. Hazen captured a considerable picket of Confederates within a mile of the fort, and he judiciously caused them to reveal the whereabouts of the torpedoes which were buried beneath the roads.

It took some time to dig them out; for of course the men, after locating them, were obliged to work with extreme caution. Hazen then left eight of his regiments as a reserve at that point; then slowly worked his way with the remainder to within 600 yards of the work, and there extended his main body into line and pushed out his skirmishers in advance with instructions to creep up toward the fort under cover till they could approach near enough to watch the gunners through the embrasures and, if possible, to prevent them from firing their heavy pieces.

All the bottom lands to the right of the fort were very marshy, intersected with streams which con-

The March to the Sea

nected with the wide Ogeechee. His deployment was necessarily slow and difficult, and, strange to say, it took him till after half-past four in the afternoon to get every man in position as he desired. The whole command, officers and men, understood exactly what they were to do. At last the bugle was sounded for the impulse, "and at precisely five o'clock the fort was carried."

Hazen acted very wisely when he gave instructions to do what all infantry commanders are now obliged to do: use thin lines. He made his as thin as he could, the result of which was that none of his soldiers were hit by the garrison until they were very near. Of course, at close quarters the fighting between men of equal determination was fierce and bloody.

Not far outside the works other torpedoes were encountered, many of which were exploded as the feet of the men struck them, in many instances blowing and scattering the men in fragments.

Hazen's last clause in his story is graphic indeed. "The line moved on without checking, over, under, and through abatis, ditches, palisading, and parapets, fighting the garrison through the fort to their bomb-proofs, from which they still fought, and only succumbed as each man was individually overpowered." Twenty-four of Hazen's officers and men were killed and 110 officers and men wounded in this assault. They captured, including the killed, 250 men and officers, 24 pieces of ordnance, 10 tons of ammunition, quantities of food, small arms, and the animals and equipments of a light battery, horses and officers, and private stores in abundance which had been placed within Fort McAllister for safety.

The morning in which Hazen left King's Bridge,

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

December 13th, I joined Sherman, and taking with me a few members of my staff we went down the left bank of the Ogeechee as far as Dr. Cheve's rice mill. On the roof, which was but little inclined, our signal officers had secured a good position, and were in communication with Hazen's signal officers near McAllister at the time of our arrival. The battery of DeGress had preceded us to the rice mill and taken a position where the commander thought he could reach the fort with his projectiles.

His guns were of large size—the twenty-pounder-Parrott. The distance appeared to be three miles. DeGress's firing could not do much damage, but was a diversion, and had for its main object to draw the attention of the fleet. For hours we watched all the operations as well as we could. The signal telescope helped us to an occasional revelation, which kept down Sherman's impatience. About noon the cannon of McAllister commenced slowly firing toward the land, and shortly we could see puffs of smoke, which indicated what Hazen's skirmishers were doing. A little later we caught sight of a steamer in the offing below the fort. It was near the bay or broad mouth of the Ogeechee.

Still later in the afternoon our signal communication was perfected and connected with Hazen himself. He said he had invested the fort already. He had also caught sight of the steamer below. Sherman's answering signal emphasized the importance of carrying the fort by assault that very day. When the steamer was near enough it drew the fire of the fort upon itself. Shortly after this, Captain McClintock and Lieutenant Sampson, our signal officers, descried the moving flag. They talked with the vessel, which

The March to the Sea

they reported to be a tug sent out by Admiral Dahlgren and General Foster for the purpose of opening communication with us. It was at this time, while we were communicating with the tug, that we all noticed an increased fire toward the fort, and our flags in men's hands, passing the obstructions. They crossed the ditch, then over the parapet; when we next saw them, the men were firing upward into the air from right to left, and the sound of their cheering came to us across the water. That, indeed, was a gallant assault! Imagine the satisfaction of our watching party at the rice mill. The instant that we received the sure word that the fort was ours we ran for a small rowboat that was close at hand and proceeded as fast as the oarsman could speed us down the Ogeechee to the vicinity of Fort McAllister.

Shortly after landing we saw an ambulance, with the mules hauling it, run upon a hidden torpedo. Mules, ambulance, and men were blown into the air. This sight indicated to us some of the dangers which our brave men had had to encounter. We found Hazen very happy over his victory. His prisoner, Major Anderson, and the other Confederates who, we saw, were not so happy, yet surely they had made a gallant defense.

Hazen very hospitably entertained us after our arrival, and then accompanied us to the fort. We soon took leave of him; after a little delay we secured what Sherman called a yawl, and were rowed down the river some three miles, when we reached the tug. It proved to be the dispatch boat *Dandelion*, commanded by Captain Williamson, of the navy. Our welcome was hearty and the exchange of good tidings rapid.

I learned for the first time that Captain William

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

Duncan and his companions whom I had sent down the Ogeechee from the Savannah Canal had succeeded in avoiding all dangers and hindrances, and had reached the fleet the morning of the 12th inst. Admiral Dahlgren had received their communications and had forwarded them to Washington. Sherman, as he was wont to do, immediately called for writing materials and wrote hastily several dispatches.

As soon as they were completed we commenced our return journey, the *Dandelion* pushing us up as near McAllister as was safe from torpedoes. On landing from our boat we found our way back to Hazen's quarters and encamped in a rough way after the soldier's fashion for the night. Yet Sherman was hardly asleep when he was awakened by a messenger from the fleet. General Foster had come within safe distance and begged Sherman to join him. Foster was too lame from an old wound to come ashore.

The general, with his usual cheeriness and kindness of heart, sprang up, and walked a mile or more to the boat landing and was taken to General Foster's vessel. I remained with Hazen, and went back the next morning, December 14th, to my headquarters, then on Anderson's plantation, near the little Ogeechee, to make further efforts for the capture of Savannah.

In conjunction with Admiral Dahlgren I reconnoitered all the southern approaches by water as well as by land to Savannah. Sherman in his letter of December 17th, addressed to Hardee, commanding in Savannah, indicates the opening of complete supplies for his own army and the bringing together of heavy siege guns; he claimed to have control already of every avenue.

Sherman further declared that he was justified in

The March to the Sea

demanding the surrender; he would wait a reasonable time for Hardee's answer before opening with heavy ordnance. He offered liberal terms, but if these were rejected he might resort to the harshest measures. He said that he would make little effort to restrain his army, burning to avenge a great National wrong, which they attributed to Savannah and other large cities so prominent in dragging our country into civil war. He finished by inclosing a copy of Hood's demand for the surrender of Resaca, where Hood promised no quarter.

Hardee's reply, of the same date, is dignified. He showed Sherman's idea of complete investment to be incorrect, for there was one channel beyond the Savannah, leading to Charleston, not yet closed. "Your demand for the surrender of Savannah and its dependent forts is refused." He closed with these words: "I have hitherto conducted the military operations intrusted to my direction in direct accordance with the rules of civilized warfare, and I should deeply regret the adoption of any course by you that may force me to deviate from them in the future."

As soon as Hardee's reply reached Sherman he let us go on with our preparations for assaulting the works. Slocum pushed a command across to an island in the Savannah River which more closely threatened the last of Hardee's communications. Then next, on the 19th, he landed a brigade on the South Carolina shore.

Hardee's dispatch from Hardeeville, December 21st, to His Excellency, Jefferson Davis, explains the result. He says: "On the 19th the enemy forced a landing on the South Carolina side, so near my communications that to save the garrison it became neces-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

sary to give up the city. Its evacuation was successfully accomplished last night. . . ." Speaking of his force Hardee adds: "Summed up, it was over 9,089." Truly it was a small force to have given us so much trouble; but Savannah almost defended itself by its bays, bogs, and swamps all around, leaving only causeways to be defended. I think we would have carried the works, for the assault would have been simultaneous from every quarter like that of Hazen. We had prepared light fascines of twigs and of straw in plenty to fill the ditches before our assaulting columns, and were ready with every modern device to accomplish our purpose; but I am glad indeed that the Confederate authorities agreed with Hardee to save their garrison and withdraw it in season.

A long detention would have been unfavorable to us in the opening of our next campaign.

There was a little contention, a sort of friendly rivalry, as to what troops had gone first into Savannah. Gerry's division of Slocum's army at last carried off the palm.

General Sherman took up his headquarters with an English gentleman, Mr. Charles Green, who had very generously tendered his home for this purpose. Sherman had hardly reached the city and become settled in his temporary home before he sent to Mr. Lincoln the dispatch which was so widely published, viz.:

SAVANNAH, GA., December 22, 1864.

To His Excellency, President Lincoln, Washington, D. C.

I beg to present to you as a Christmas gift the city of Savannah, with 150 guns and plenty of ammunition; also about 25,000 bales of cotton.

W. T. SHERMAN,
Major General.

The March to the Sea

I took up my headquarters and then wrote home: "I want to see the loving faces, yours and the children's, so much that I am really homesick. I went to General Sherman and told him: 'Now let me off. I don't ask but two days at home.' He answered: 'General, I would give a million of dollars, if I had it, to be with my children. Would you do more than that?' I told him I should say nothing more; and I have given up for the present."

It was only four days after the writing of that letter before a new and more difficult campaign of the Carolinas opened before us.

We remained in comparative quiet at Savannah till January 1, 1865.

On New Year's Day Sherman took me aside and said that we were to move on through the Carolinas as soon as possible. He had a map of the coast in his hand. Opening it he showed me Robertsville in South Carolina, and also Pocotaligo Junction, on the Savannah & Charleston Railroad.

It was not far from Pocotaligo that the Confederates, including G. W. Smith's Macon contingent, had met Foster's and Saxton's Union men and defeated them while we were on the march from Atlanta to the sea.

Sherman said that he wanted me to move my wing of the army by water over to the Island of Beaufort, S. C., and go thence northward, cross an arm of the sea, secure a landing, and then proceed to Pocotaligo. I must time myself so as to get there by January 15th (inst.). "Can you do it?" There were too many elements in the problem presented to be solved offhand.

After, Yankeelike, asking some questions, I said that the time was rather short, "but we would do the

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

best we could." He assured me that General Foster's quartermaster would give me all the water transports which he could command, and that Admiral Dahlgren would carry over all the men and material which he could handily take on and off his naval vessels.

That same day I went to call on General Blair, and happened on a New Year's festival. It was a jolly table that I found with Blair that day, he doing the honors of the occasion. My coming seemed to surprise the party; suddenly all arose before me in a stiff and dignified style, as cadets at command in a mess hall after a meal.

I apologized for the interruption, called Blair aside, explained the coming orders and the contemplated movements, and bowed myself out. It was in this informal way that Sherman often set on foot the most important projects.

I find in my record that very day, January 1, 1865, a letter from myself to General Easton, Sherman's chief quartermaster. Easton was an old officer, and inclined to be formal and dignified with my chief quartermaster. At least it was so reported to me with complaint, hence the letter:

GENERAL: I regret exceedingly to trouble you, but I wish you to know the exact state of things. It is reported to me by Major General Osterhaus that his artillery horses are dying at the picket rope of actual starvation, and other officers report that public and private horses of the command are without forage. Must this be allowed when forage is within six miles of us? Is there no expedient we can resort to in order to get a supply? Are there no inlets where we can land forage? Are there no flats or small boats in which we can bring grain ashore? Be assured, general, that my officers and men and

The March to the Sea

myself are at your service, and willing to work night and day. I am held responsible by my command for these things. My only alternative is to apply to you. I do not wish to oppose you, but to assist you in every way in my power.

Easton acted quickly and well. I felt in the outset in view of the Carolina campaign that it was to be the most trying of any which we had hitherto undertaken. Our enemies would increase as we advanced northward. Food and forage would be destroyed before us, the swamps would be worse than in Georgia, and other troubles would multiply. And, surely, it was hard to commence a sea voyage with only vessels enough at best to take over to Beaufort a tenth of my army at a trip.

About this time I received the following letter from my friend, the distinguished Rev. E. B. Webb, D.D., of Boston, written the day before Christmas:

How glad we were when your scout (Captain Duncan) arrived down the river and communicated with the fleet! We followed you daily with our prayers, and yet we can hardly say "followed," for we did not know for a long time where you were going. Our generals and our Government seemed to have found out the secret of keeping their own secrets.

You just moved off beyond the circle of our horizon into the unknown, and left us to wonder, to doubt, to believe, to guess, but—God be praised—you are out of the woods, in the sense that we . . . hear from you almost every day.

Officers and men were fearless and resolute. They had come to be robust in health—had well developed muscular force in themselves. What Sherman ordered they were ready to undertake, not only without opposition, but with hearty good will. The vessels furnished us were too few and the water delays

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

as bothersome as usual; but my Seventeenth Corps was carried over to Beaufort in reasonably quick time.

Blair began the actual movement of it January 3, 1865, and by the 11th his entire corps (the Seventeenth) and one division of Logan's (the Fifteenth) had arrived and were disembarked at Beaufort, S. C.

While the sea voyages were progressing I was able to spend most of my time at Beaufort. General Rufus Saxton had his headquarters there. He was quite domesticated amid a new Northern community and multitudes of negroes that were peopling that part of the seacoast which had come into our possession. General and Mrs. Saxton gave me a sweet home and cordial welcome with them for a few days. I visited at Beaufort, St. Helena, and other neighboring inlands the first colored schools that I had seen. Some of them were excellent. Of these schools at that time I wrote:

Yesterday (January 19, 1865) I visited five colored schools, where I found the children sparkling with intelligence, the teachers noble women who had devoted their strength to this work. One school bears the look of our best New England schools; the order, the reading, the arithmetic, and the singing strike you with wonder. The "America" and "Rally Round the Flag, Boys," ring out with such heart and harmony as to imbue you with enthusiasm. You can't help saying, That is not the stuff of which to make slaves.

On St. Helena's Island Miss Towne and the three Misses Murry, who were wealthy ladies, devoted themselves and their income to this work. After describing the completeness and convenience of the structure for the school, I added:

They sing on the right, then on the left, and then together; and such singing! Little ones about three feet high sing away in perfect time and with great zest and joy.

The March to the Sea

Mrs. General and Mrs. Captain Saxton took me to ride yesterday afternoon, and they said it was done to take me away from official duties. We went to visit two negro schools on Beaufort Island in full operation. We found the children quite as far advanced as white children of the same age. There are two white teachers, one for each school; a Miss Botume, of Boston, and a Miss Danby, also from Massachusetts . . . The weather is cool, but not cold; really delightful. These old trees are green (in January) and luxuriant. Mrs. Saxton is a lovely lady, and wants to see Mrs. Howard. General Saxton has taken me personally right to his house, given me a room, and allowed me to enjoy the luxuries of his table.

One Sunday I addressed a little negro Sunday school. As I was about to close, I asked if any little boy or girl could tell me who was the Saviour of the world. One bright lad held up his hand, and said: "Yes, sah! I ken tell; I ken tell!" "Well, who is He?" "Abum Linkum, sah; Abum Linkum."

Our soldiers were so many, needed so many supplies, and felt themselves at last on South Carolina soil, that a lawless spirit came over them and many complaints came to me of their doings. They were just then inclined to make "forced loans" and to live on the country. The Northern civilian immigrants to the Sea Islands seemed to be most hurt, but the negroes for the most part would give them anything they asked for.

With Blair's corps, at about twelve o'clock midnight (January 13, 1865), we set out for what we called "Whale Branch." One brigade of Logan's command followed Blair's. It was an all-night march. Blair, now habitually using canvas boats, sent his pontoon bridge and a guard ahead, and so, when we arrived, we found that some of his men had rowed across the branch, captured the Confederate pickets, and built a

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

bridgehead to protect the men while they were laying the bridge. I wrote to Sherman:

Our bridge was so poor, on account of the rotten canvas, that many delays occurred in the crossing and closing up. It had to be pieced out on the enemy's side, and frequently broke near that shore.

When I came near the ferry, about dawn, I heard some singing and shouting coming from a number of negro huts not far off. I went thither to see what the negroes who filled the cabins were doing. They were much excited; both joy and fear appeared to possess them; they would pray and sing and dance and shout indiscriminately. They had kept up that delicious exercise the whole night. Indeed, to them, more ignorant than any I had hitherto met, the day of jubilee had come.

CHAPTER XLII

MARCH THROUGH THE CAROLINAS; SAVANNAH, GA., TO
COLUMBIA, S. C.

OUR first check was at Garden's Corner, where Leggett's division, being on the lead, saw a well-constructed outwork having a long parapet beyond an intervening swampy plateau. Here I saw a stretch of land without grass, apparently soft clay. Little by little I ventured out, trying the ground before charging my men over it. My aid, Captain Beebe, followed me. That morning I had accidentally thrown a civilian coat over my shoulders, so that the enemy behind the parapet permitted me to advance some distance without firing. Finding the ground firm enough, I turned back. One sharpshooter then fired. His three or four bullets stirred up the dust rather too close to me and I took off my hat and made him as polite a bow as I could for his charming salute; then, with Beebe, I disappeared behind our brave skirmishers, who were watching and cheering in the front edge of a neighboring wood.

General Leggett had meanwhile succeeded in turning the entire fort. As soon as this was done the Confederates evacuated the work and ran rapidly to the rear toward Pocotaligo. The Confederate force here encountered was but a rear guard, probably not exceeding two regiments of infantry with two pieces of artillery. We were for a short time in rapid pur-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

suit at Stony Creek, but relieved the hindrance and made a rush for the railroad. We did not quite secure it till the next morning, encountering Fort Pocotaligo, which, like most prepared intrenchments in that neighborhood, had a troublesome swamp directly in front, and was a well-constructed inclosed work with a parapet.

Our men, rapidly approaching from three sides, skirmished up very close and caused a fire from the fort from many pieces of artillery, and from musketry supports. The garrison appeared to be panicky and fired rapidly enough, but spasmodically, without aim. Our men cried out to them, "You'd better get out; we are the Fifteenth Corps!"

We had several wounded and some killed, including two commissioned officers. The artillery fire from the fort and some batteries of ours replying, caused a noise like that of thunder, very startling in that dark, woody country; it continued far into the night.

At dawn in the morning, January 15, 1865, we found that the Confederates had abandoned the fort. I felt grateful to them, because the artillery position was a strong one. There were emplacements for twenty-four cannon, and the marsh, excepting by a few paths, was impassable. It would have cost many lives to have taken the fort by storm.

The 15th was Sunday, and I was glad the enemy had left, for I was always reluctant, unless necessity compelled it, to open an engagement on that day. Our foes had swept off across the Salkehatchie River, destroying the bridges after them. The 15th, we remember, was the day that Sherman had desired me to take possession of Pocotaligo; so one can imagine

March Through the Carolinas

my gratification to have cleared the field and put my feet safely upon the iron at the railroad crossing on that very day.

Slocum was to have been at Robertsville at the same time, but the rapid rise in the Savannah River prevented him from crossing at Sister's Ferry till after a long delay in laying bridges. I had not heard from him and I tried in vain by my scouts and cavalry to open communication. It will be remembered that in my army there were seven grand divisions; five of them came around by the sea and across Beaufort Island, closing up upon us at Pocotaligo. In order to hasten our concentration I caused one of the two remaining divisions, John E. Smith's, to leave Savannah by the way of the Union causeway. Smith escorted by this route many of our horses, mules, and cattle, which could not be taken over by sea for want of vessels.

Corse, with the other division, followed Slocum up the Savannah, and came to us after Slocum had cleared the way.

In a diary that fell into my hands the small loss that we suffered was contrasted with the losses of the previous commanders and I was highly complimented.

Slocum's delay to get to Robertsville was very favorable to my wing, for it enabled us to bring up our clothing and other supplies, and be better prepared for a forward movement. I issued the following order (a sample for our campaign) for the next move:

NEAR POCOTALIGO, S. C., January 28, 1865.

Special Field Orders No. 25.

1. The following preliminary movements will take place tomorrow. The division of General Giles A. Smith will move toward the road which runs along the west bank of the Salke-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

hatchie, and encamp preparatory to a forward movement on that road Monday morning.

All wagons of the Seventeenth Corps will be moved and parked so as to leave the road from Pocotaligo to McPhersonville clear for the Fifteenth Corps at 9 A.M. Monday. The bridge train will move to-morrow, following General Giles A. Smith, and encamp in rear of him.

2. Movement for Monday: The Seventeenth Corps, Major General Blair, will commence the forward movement by 9 A.M., ascending the Salkehatchie on the west bank, making, if possible, fifteen miles from Pocotaligo. The Fifteenth Corps, Major General Logan, will move forward to Haywardsville, moving General John E. Smith's division by the bridge road between Pocotaligo and the creek if practicable. Department headquarters (General Howard's) will follow the leading division of the Seventeenth Corps. . . .

Particular pains will be taken to organize foraging parties for each brigade, battery, headquarters, and detachment not to exceed in number an actual necessity. . . .

The engineer regiment after reaching Garden's Corner will take the right-hand roads, and will follow the Seventeenth Corps. The bridge train will be kept with the Seventeenth Corps for the present. . . .

This order was complied with in all its details.

It was a winter campaign. In spite of the swamps, that were numerous, we found the roads often sandy and fairly good, at least in appearance. The timber was abundant, pine almost without exception prevailing.

The nights were cold, the thermometer not descending very low; but the dampness and chill affected us unfavorably, and so demanded warm clothing and abundant night cover.

While Slocum with his wing was struggling on over similar roads beyond my left, I was sweeping up

March Through the Carolinas

the left bank of the Salkehatchie. On February 1st the part of my command near me came upon a tributary of the main river. This creek and the broad, watery approach were called the "Whippy Swamp."

There were pine woods everywhere—outside and in the swamps; and bordering the creeks we found the cypress trees, often very close together. Occasionally, wide stretches would appear like good ground, but prove on trial to be merely troublesome quicksands with a deceitful surface. Even along the roads, as our men said, "the bottom falls out" before many wagons have passed over, so that we quickly corduroyed by covering the surface with small pines. Thousands of men worked at this.

Passing through this sort of country, Confederate cavalry, now quite numerous, obstructed every causeway, held us in check as long as they could, and then destroyed the lagoon bridges before every column. Sometimes these bridges would be sixty or seventy feet long, and when burned caused much delay for replacement. Now and then the roads were filled with fallen timbers for miles, entangling as the tree tops came together from each side of the road. I followed my skirmishers near Whippy Swamp to get as quick a view as I could of the situation, for the Confederates were in force on the other side of the swamp creek.

As we halted at a point a little higher than the road, an artillery officer of my staff standing near me was struck with a bullet just under his chin. The bullet cut his windpipe and one of the arteries. Fortunately for him, I caught the wound with my hand and stopped the flow of the blood. The officer, Lieutenant Taylor, at first stunned by the blow, quickly came to himself, and, aided by his comrades, succeeded

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

in getting to the surgeon and securing prompt relief. A companion said of Taylor: "We hope he will recover. He is a brave and good boy and a pet with all here. All feel his misfortune very deeply." He did recover after some months.

In this section our supplies were not very abundant from the plantations, for there were but few of such, and from many farms the produce had been hastily removed to the east bank of the Salkehatchie, and the houses were for the most part without occupants.

The Confederates were very particular to drive off all horses and cattle. Notwithstanding the impoverishment, natural and artificial, our diligent foragers managed to discover and bring in a considerable supply.

The crossing of the Salkehatchie was at last made at several points; but in my immediate front I made a demonstration toward Broxton's Bridge, not intending to cross there, because the enemy was at that point better prepared to receive us, but hoped somehow to make the main crossing at Rivers Bridge.

We had a mounted infantry company, the Ninth Illinois Regiment, led at that time by Lieutenant Colonel Kirby. I have a note of Kirby's action on February 2d:

When Kirby came within long range of the Confederate muskets he deployed his command as skirmishers, and had some infantry supports behind him. He charged the Confederate barricade, his men firing their seven-shooters on the charge. The Confederates stood still until Kirby was upon them.

In this charge Kirby had a magnificent horse shot

March Through the Carolinas

under him and was himself quite severely wounded. He gained the works, however, and skirmished on, driving the Confederate cavalry before him across the Salkehatchie. General Mower, with his division, was leading the command on this day on the Rivers Bridge road. In this section there was hardly any resistance; the division struck what may be called the last section of the road. Then there was a straight causeway, several small bridges, and a longer one behind which quite a bluff commanded the situation. On it the Confederates had placed some heavy guns which swept the whole section, and particularly the bridge road. As soon as the firing began our men sprang off the road into the swamps. Ten or a dozen were hit, but it was at this time that the colonel of the Forty-third Ohio, Wager Swayne, was struck just below the knee with the fragment of a shell. His leg was badly broken, and when the stretcher bearers bore him past me I saw that he was in pain, and so in sympathy for him I caught a large pine cone from the ground, and fixing his leg in a straighter position, I supported it with the cone. I remember that he looked up into my face with a pleasant, grateful smile, and used a Christian expression that I recall to this day: "The Lord sustains me!" General Swayne's record as a soldier, as a lawyer, as a citizen is too well known to our countrymen to need anything but a reference. He was a grand, manly man.

Under my personal supervision our men as skirmishers worked out on the right and left till they found a safe crossing. Mower then opened two parallel roads, laying foot bridges a mile and a half in extent, for the water was deep on the shores of the Salkehatchie. He bridged sixteen swift streams, and then

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

finally rushed over two brigades in boats across the main river, and came upon the enemy's right flank. The place was abandoned as soon as Mower appeared.

Another division (Giles A. Smith's), unexpectedly to me, managed to work over two miles below me and so cleared Broxton's Bridge. I wrote of this strong work at Rivers Bridge on the evening of February 3d to Sherman:

It was the strongest position I ever saw in my life, and I think was defended by 2,000 men; some regimental flags accompanying troops in motion below Giles Smith, moving down the river, were seen by our men just before dark.

It was wonderful that we secured the eastern bank of the Salkehatchie so quickly and with so little loss; yet everybody felt very deep sympathy for those who were wounded, especially for Colonel Wager Swayne, and, also, sorrow so often repeated for the few who had fallen to rise no more. General Mower's loss was about twelve killed and seventy wounded.

In reading the life of Stonewall Jackson, so ably and truly written by his widow, I notice that while he was always extremely anxious to keep the Sabbath, he seldom allowed his devotion to interfere with military movements. However distasteful this might be, our Christian men also regarded the Sunday march, and often the Sunday attack, as a necessity.

On Sunday, February 5th, my columns completed their crossings of this most difficult Salkehatchie, and the next day, the 6th, pushed on to the Little Salkehatchie.

Logan, with the Fifteenth Corps, had the usual resistance, and a Confederate bridge was burning at his crossing; he secured a place, a mere hamlet, called Duncanville. He dislodged his foes in quick time

March Through the Carolinas

and made another rough bridge a hundred feet long and crossed over.

Blair, with the Seventeenth Corps, had a like trial at Cowpen Ford, the famous Revolutionary historical point, and with 260 feet of bridging came up abreast. The two corps struggled on, bothered more by the swamps than by the brave detachments of clustering Confederates that were always in their advancing way.

On February 7th we were out of the woods on the Augusta & Charleston Railroad, near the village of Midway, and destroying the road four miles up and down. The double-forked Edisto River was still ahead. We searched out the crossing as soon as we could drive the Confederates back enough to do so. Holman's, Cannon's, Binnaker's, Walker's, Skillings's, and the railway bridges were examined. Sherman, then with Logan at Lowry's Station (Atlanta & Charleston Railroad), gave us a special field order, directing the taking of Orangeburg.

The swampy approaches to the south fork of the Edisto, the cypress, and other trees thickly studding a wide stretch, and the high water extending back hundreds of yards on our side of the river, might have disheartened any men not made up like our experienced and resolute veterans. How we skirmished up Blair's men under Mower and Force at Binnaker's Bridge, and Logan's under Hazen, and John E. Smith at Holman's and Skillings's crossings; how they put in boats, cut paths, and worked incessantly, often with cartridge boxes and haversacks suspended to their necks, only those who were there could tell!

Mower effected a crossing of the (South) Edisto the evening of the 9th, at about six o'clock. He laid

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

the pontoon to an island, and as soon as he had got one brigade over he pushed on across the island and waded the swamp, making a lodgment on what appeared to be the mainland. He met, however, a hostile skirmish line about 8 P.M.; and, as it was night, concluded to intrench and wait for daylight. The ground was marshy and the water in the main swamp between two and three feet deep. The men here also swung their cartridge boxes around their necks. I am inclined to think the crossing (above) at Holmes's (or Holman's) bridge was no worse than this. Hazen sent some men over a mile and a half above the bridge and cut his way nearly through the swamp. A little later: Mower drove the enemy off from the Orangeburg front, sent back a regiment along the main road, and took a strong position a mile and a half from the river. The bridge on the main road was then laid.

Next came the north fork of the Edisto. General Force was ahead. The principal Orangeburg bridge having been burned, Major Osborn (my chief of artillery) and myself worked our way across Force's footbridge, and went into Orangeburg on foot the morning of February 12, 1865. The village was at least half a mile from the North Edisto River. The troops were posted across all the roads over which the Confederates had retired, and then set to work to destroy the railroad. Another line, the Columbia & Charleston Railroad, ran through the town. There were perhaps 800 population at that time. Cotton brokers had made it a center of some importance. Our skirmishers alleged that they found the town on fire when they came in sight, and before we could arrest the flames a third of the houses were consumed.

From testimony that came to us the fire at Orange-

March Through the Carolinas

burg originated at home. The Confederate commander ordered that a large collection of cotton bales which belonged to a Jewish merchant be burned. It was done just as Stevenson, commanding a Confederate division, was leaving the village. The merchant then, in his anger, fired his own store within, locked the doors, and accompanied the Confederate troops. The cotton and that store were on fire, burning briskly, producing wonderfully picturesque effects when we came in. Our men, under orders, also burned the cotton that remained—200 bales.

Major Osborn's notes say: "Our soldiers assisted the inhabitants to save their property." He added another pleasant remark: "All the people say that our officers and men have treated them with real kindness and consideration." We captured here not less than 100 prisoners, and we lost less than 10 men.

The troops went to work as if they enjoyed the exercise, burning ties and twisting iron rails in different directions from Orangeburg. Blair had a few mounted men who penetrated eastward as far as the State road, and either destroyed or caused their Confederate coadjutors to destroy trestlework in abundance, and regular bridges, railroad included, as far as the Santee River.

On my arrival in Orangeburg, while others were in some confusion, as our troops were being put out to follow up the retreating Confederates, and some men being sent to stop the fires, a lady, much excited and somewhat oversolicitous, came to me and demanded a guard. I tried to tell her to wait a while till we were in shape to furnish guards; but she could not delay. I could not make her see matters as I did in the line of relative importance. My firm rejection of her suit

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

for that time she regarded as an insult, and left me deeply vexed.

While I was still there during February 12th toward night General Sherman joined me.

The general and I with several officers were consulting together in one of the houses of Orangeburg, when that lady was ushered in. She had met Sherman before at Fort Moultrie in better days. She recalled mutual acquaintances and friends. The general was seemingly greatly pleased that she came, and was very kind. She then, to his amusement, entered a formal complaint against one of his officers, who, she said, had treated her with marked discourtesy and roughness. General Sherman was very sorry. He said he would try to make amends and would have the officer punished. "Who could it be?" he asked. "It was General Howard," she said, with emphasis and some severity. The lady did not dream that I was present. "How is this, Howard?" Sherman asked turning to me. The lady was startled to again meet me in that way. I explained as well as I could. Doubtless I had been impatient. When skirmishing is going on and fires are burning, the responsible head may have, on some occasions, too many irons in the fire. Sherman assured her that Howard was usually a kind man and that she would find that he would protect her. In the meantime I had already sent her the desired guard.

The left wing under Slocum had its own operations. I never received, as Sherman did daily, any but the most meager news concerning his movements; yet often his doings and happenings were the most entertaining. So I am made to believe by the subsequent stories and reports of participators.

March Through the Carolinas

General George W. Balloch, who had for a long time previous to this campaign been my chief commissary, was now occupying the same official position in the Twentieth Corps. He accompanied the corps at the time it was crossing the Savannah over into the swampy country of South Carolina. Lately he has sent me some of his recollections.

The Twentieth Corps (Balloch's own) had a rough time just before starting from Savannah until it struck dry ground at Robertsville. "Had we been web-footed," he said, "it would have added to our comfort."

Balloch adds: "A correspondent of the New York *Herald* published a letter in his paper and described the situation, which worried my wife not a little, for she knew that I had been quite ill before I left Savannah; in fact, the surgeon had ordered me to go home, but, stubborn as usual, I would not. The letter was in substance to this effect, that one night when hunting for the Headquarters of the Twentieth Corps, the correspondent had heard voices from the regions above calling out:

" 'Hello, old fellow, is that you? You had better come up and secure a roosting place.'"

"In looking up he discovered General A. S. Williams, the corps commander, and staff safely ensconced in the forks of the trees. They were enveloped in sheets and blankets that had been foraged from the country while marching through Georgia.

"General Williams was smoking and looking as quiet and serene as if he had been in his tent on dry ground. This correspondent's picture gives one who was there a clear reminder of what we did go through.

"At Zion's Church, near Columbia, we had to

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

cross a small stream, and I was directed not to use the bridge for my foot trains until Kilpatrick's cavalry had passed. But I took my instructions with some latitude. As soon as our infantry was over, finding a space, I began sending over my trains, and so keeping the road full. In the course of an hour Kilpatrick and his cavalry came up, and he was exceedingly wrathful when he found me using the bridge.

"Remembering that a soft word turneth away wrath, I told him very pleasantly that I knew he had the right of way, and that I would speedily give it up to him; that I only used the bridge in order not to have it stand vacant. Then, doubtless with some show of humor, I said:

" 'By the way, general, I heard a good joke about you yesterday.'

" 'What was it?' Kilpatrick asked.

" 'General Sherman said that you were changing the names of places about here, so that soon a new geography would have to be made. He said that he sent you up to Barnwell the other day, and that you had changed the name of the place to Burnwell.'

" Kilpatrick's anger vanished in an instant. Bursting into laughter, he said:

" 'Go on with your train. We might as well take our noon rest here as anywhere.'

" My idea was a slight variation from what I understood Sherman to say to Kilpatrick a few days before. Just as he was starting on his trip he asked him:

" 'General Sherman, how shall I let you know where I am?'

" 'Oh, just burn a bridge or something and make a smoke, as the Indians do on the plains.'

March Through the Carolinas

“ You know that our old friend Slocum at times could be very much out of sorts. Then he was very likely to make everybody else uncomfortable, all at the same time. One cold, dreary, drizzling morning, for example, up in the interior of South Carolina, he had one of these fits on him. As we were riding along we struck my herd of cattle, which were just outside the column. It was a motley herd, I can assure you, and had everything in it that could walk. It had been gathered while on the march, and was made up from a patriarchal bull, with a head as shaggy as a buffalo's, to a sucking calf. At the head of the line was an enormous ox, one of our own stock, and he was led by a soldier who had strapped all his belongings on the ox's back. The soldier was patiently trudging along, singing every few minutes:

“ ‘Yo-ho-ee! Yo-ho-ee!’

“ The soldier himself was a picture not soon to be forgotten. A leg of his pants was gone, and part of his hat rim, and he was as grimy as a coal heaver, caused by traveling through the burnt woods. When not calling to his cattle with his ‘Yo-ho-ee’ he was singing in a stentorian voice: ‘I'll be gay and happy still.’

“ The sight of that soldier, when Slocum's attention was called to him and his surroundings, was too much for the general. As soon as he looked at him he exclaimed:

“ ‘Look at that fellow! Hear him! I think if he can be happy and gay, surely I ought to be.’ Then Slocum's good humor returned.”

From Robertsville, S. C., Slocum's march aimed a little to the north of Columbia, and for the time Kilpatrick's cavalry was beyond his wing northward.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

Generally Slocum, who sooner struck the upland, had easier marching than my wing, and I had more miles to march, as I moved upon the two sides of the triangle while he was following the diagonal.

As my wing pushed northward after crossing the north fork of the Edisto, ever widening the railroad spaces and spoiling the railway lines, the first considerable obstacles were a deep stream and a swamp; the stream, called the Congaree Creek, being a western tributary to the Congaree River, upon whose left bank the beautiful capital of South Carolina is situated.

CHAPTER XLIII

MARCH THROUGH THE CAROLINAS; THE TAKING OF COLUMBIA

MOST of the swamp and the Congaree Creek were lying perpendicular to our pathway. The swamp for the most part had been cleared, drained, and placed under cultivation, but the rain had softened the surface so that on all our new roads our men sank into the mud at every step. It was worse for the horses than for the men, so that our cavalry was soon stalled. There was much of the swamp growth of small trees. The old existing roadway was a causeway 10 or 12 feet above the bottom land, having deep ditches on each side. An unaccountable accident must have overtaken some quartermaster of ours, for a long stretch of the side ditching was filled with overturned vehicles, such as army wagons and ambulances.

This overturning unfortunately occurred within direct range of the enemy's musketry fire. The fog at the time was so thick that it was difficult to get the teams involved out of the predicament. Fortunately for us, probably on account of the fog, as soon as we deployed our lines on both sides of the road and commenced firing, the enemy replied to us, without being particular as to direction. Owing to this bad aiming, coupled with the fog, we managed to save our trains.

Our men in their strong skirmish line became enthusiastic. They pressed the Confederates back,

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

mostly cavalry and artillery, from point to point, and worked away till they found their left flank. Just before that point the old game was repeated. A company of skirmishers 50 or 60 strong waded the approaches and the creek, the water being up to their waists. They gained sure footing on the other bank before the enemy discovered them, and fired a volley into the flank and rear of the Confederate line. This move created a panic there and a stampede. We succeeded beyond our expectations. The men, pressing down the causeway, quickly drove away the Confederate defenders who lingered after the departure of their comrades, and so we saved the bridge entire. At least two of our divisions hurried over and marched rapidly a mile and a half when they came upon another intrenched, well-defended line of battle. We had seen but little infantry during this rapid advance, but there was a fine display in one open space of Hampton's cavalry.

This cavalry made one desperate charge against our infantry line, but was quickly repulsed. It is said that for his handsome and persistent charge Wade Hampton was immediately made lieutenant general. Such was the story of a telegraph operator whom we met.

It was really time to encamp, for one of our brigades, which was already squarely up with the fighting troops, had marched 27 miles that day, the 15th of February. That night I encamped opposite Columbia; before retiring I issued orders that we continue the same onward movement the next day.

We had an uncomfortable night, for the Confederates fired into our camp from the other side of the Great Congaree. They succeeded in killing one officer

The Taking of Columbia

and several men, and wounded many more. It was our camp fires which exposed us. It was not long, however, before our energetic workers covered our exposed bivouac with traverses, i. e., high banks of earth well located. In the night the Confederate intrenched line straight before us was abandoned.

We were not long in crossing the open space between us and the Congaree Bridge for the Confederate batteries and sharpshooters on the Columbia side made it pretty hot for more than a mile of exposure along our bank of the river.

DeGress's battery was brought into position near the burning bridge and soon cleared the streets of Columbia, opposite from the enemy's cavalry. But as their sharpshooters continued their annoying business, Logan caused further shelling of that part of the city which was immediately exposed to his batteries' fire.

Just above Columbia there are two rivers, the Saluda and the Broad, which conjoin to form the Congaree. I proceeded at once to what was called the Saluda factory. Of course, the fine bridge there, having been previously covered with kindling and pitch wood, was quickly consumed. It did not take long for us to lay a new bridge. A cavalry regiment led the crossing, and our infantry was soon in place between the two rivers. We made a run for the next bridge over the Broad, following the Confederates in their rapid retreat; but we could not save the structure, for barrels of resin and turpentine had been emptied upon it, and the enemy's artillery from the other bank checked our advance. It did not take over half an hour for their furious flames to consume it.

We now had Slocum near by. I exchanged greetings with him through a staff officer. As a matter of

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

fact, Slocum had not been far back from Columbia for three or four days, and had delayed his approach for our coming. Of course, the next thing we did was to work across the Broad. We sent over one brigade—Colonel Stone's—in boats during the night, drove away the Confederate defenders from the other bank, made a good bridgehead, and commenced laying the bridge itself very early in the morning of February 17, 1865. We appeared to have infantry against us, said to be S. D. Lee's corps and Hampton's legion.

As soon as all the enemies in the usual way had been rooted out, captured or driven back, Stone's brigade began to march southward toward Columbia. The mayor of the city came out with several attendants to meet Stone, and he, at least nominally, turned over the keys of Columbia to him. At about eleven o'clock in the morning, Sherman and I, with our respective staff officers and a small escort, succeeded in crossing the new bridge over the Broad and proceeded to the capital of South Carolina.

Side by side Sherman and I entered the city and traversed the main streets. There was not much demonstration from the white people, but the negroes gave their usual exhibitions of delight, sometimes dancing upon the sidewalks, sometimes shouting and singing. I noticed that our own troops were unusually demonstrative in cheering for Sherman, and learned that traders and negroes had carried out buckets of whisky to them wishing to please and pacify the men. The soldiers had worked all night and marched to Columbia without a breakfast. Numbers of Stone's brigade were thus excited and soon intoxicated.

Somebody had caused to be taken nearly all the

The Taking of Columbia

cotton which was stored in the city and arranged it in long rows in the main streets, and then set it on fire. Certainly this was done before any of our men reached the city. The Confederate officers were themselves under orders to destroy the cotton to keep it from falling into our hands. They destroyed also provisions and other supplies, and it is undoubtedly the case that the Confederates set fire to the cotton and a few of the buildings, one of which was a railway depot. The wind was blowing a hurricane all the morning so that the fire quickly spread; as soon as one or two houses had caught and began to burn, the flames extended to the others.

I had gone on through the city and taken up my quarters at the College; but, noticing the extraordinary conduct of Stone's brigade, I quickly sent for another brigade to replace this, and then a little later for another. Finally, I had the whole of one division and a part of another guarding the city, and endeavoring to protect the inhabitants and save all that was possible from the flames. There were many imprisoned people—negroes, Union prisoners of war, and State convicts—who were let loose by our men. There were also criminal classes and drunken soldiers. All these elements, doubtless, were soon engaged in making bad matters worse, against my wishes and the orders of the other commanders. The ensuing great damage was originally owing to the fires set by the Confederate authorities.

I spoke of the depot being consumed. Near that was a magazine. The day before we entered some Confederates were said to be plundering there. They dropped a spark, perhaps from a cigar, where there was some powder upon the floor. The explosion was

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

fearful, and killed outright at least twenty Confederates and many more women and children. This explosion, which was an accident, may have also been the cause of the burning of the railroad station.

It would be impossible to exaggerate the horrors of that long night between the 17th and 18th of February, 1865. Sherman, Logan, and myself, with all the officers under our command, worked faithfully to care for the people who were exposed, and we did save many houses in different parts of the city. The flames would lick up a house seemingly in an instant and shoot from house to house with incredible rapidity.

The very heavens at times appeared on fire. A wide street was no barrier. Clusters of inhabitants would carry out all their valuables and sit upon them, and they were often guarded by faithful men. A large number of our men, who perhaps drank whisky for the first time when it was brought to them that day in buckets, became blindly drunk, and hundreds perished in the flames in spite of all the efforts of their comrades to save them.

It was about three o'clock the morning of the 18th when the wind changed to the opposite quarter, and after that, with little effort, we were able to arrest the progress of the fire, so that more than one third of the beautiful city of Columbia was suffered to remain untouched.

During the night I met Logan and Woods and other general officers, and they were taking every possible measure to stop the fire and prevent disorder. Nevertheless, some escaped prisoners, convicts from the penitentiary just broken open, army followers, and drunken soldiers ran through house after house and were doubtless guilty of all manner of villainies, and

The Taking of Columbia

it was these men that, I presume, set new fires farther to the windward in the northern part of the city. Old men, women, and children, with everything that they could get out, were huddled together in the streets. At some places we found officers and kind-hearted soldiers protecting families from the insults and roughness of the careless.

One instance in particular which I recall was the protection given to the house and family of the Rev. Dr. A. Toomer Porter, who had been a Confederate chaplain. Lieutenant McQueen, of Captain William Duncan's company, belonging to my escort, remained with this family or near it throughout the conflagration. He had the fires quenched as they came near, or protected wood that was heated against the flames by one contrivance or another. He was so kind and considerate that he won the affection of Dr. Porter and all belonging to his household.

Not long after we left Columbia, Captain Duncan, with his company, was on a scout toward the lower portion of South Carolina. He ran into some troops of Confederate cavalry in the darkness of the night. He fought them bravely and succeeded in saving his command, but left the generous and brave lieutenant so desperately wounded on the field that he could not be removed without endangering his life. He was finally placed in a Carolina household, where he was cared for, but where, owing to the excitement then existing in the country, his life was believed to be in peril. Dr. Porter chanced to hear of the wounded officer, and also of his weak condition and danger. The doctor immediately made his way to the house where he was confined by his wounds, stayed with him, and nursed him until he was able to move. Then he pro-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

cured as easy a carriage as he could get and brought him through the intervening Confederate and Union lines, a distance of several hundred miles, to me at Raleigh, N. C. This was just about the time of Johnston's surrender, and after we had heard of the surrender of Robert E. Lee's forces in Virginia. This act of Dr. Porter won my heart.

After many years of suffering from his wound and a shortened leg, better medical attendance and extraordinary skill on the part of a surgeon succeeded in restoring McQueen to complete health and robust condition. I have since visited Dr. Porter in Charleston, S. C., and can testify to the noble work of his life in educating young men, especially the sons of those who have been unable otherwise to provide the means for such educational advantages. He has also helped me in many ways in my efforts to extend the influence of educational institutions to all our people.

Just before we left Columbia to resume our onward march, the mayor of the city came to Sherman with much show of distress and asked him what he was to do to feed the large population that had been left homeless and destitute by this great fire. Sherman had a crisp manner at times when matters bothered him. He said to the mayor:

"Go to Howard." And I was told that he also remarked in pleasantry, "Howard runs the religion of this army." And then he said again: "Go to him; he commands the troops that hold the city. He will treat you better than one of your own generals."

I did not hear these remarks, but soon after his interview with Sherman the mayor came to me and put before me the same supply problem for solution. I caused a herd of cattle, which my commissary had

The Taking of Columbia

gathered, to be divided and gave one half of the cattle to the mayor, and also sent half of our rations to the new State House, to be stored there for the use of the impoverished people. The mayor was afraid that there would be no adequate provision for the future after the ration supply had been exhausted. He said again:

“What can I do?” I told him that if I were he I would organize foraging parties from the inhabitants of the city, and send them out into portions of the country which our foragers had not reached and have them make forced loans. He must give careful certificates, promising their redemption after the advent of peace and prosperity. Years afterwards I met the same gentleman who had been mayor at the time of our visit in 1865. He told me that he had followed the advice which I had given him in detail, and that the plan had worked so well that there was no want.

We actually commenced and completed the evacuation of the city the morning of the 20th.

The destruction of certain Confederate public property—that is, property made use of for furthering the interests of the war—was committed to me in Sherman’s specific instructions.

The undertaking was accomplished by my inspector general, Lieutenant Colonel William E. Strong, whose name, a synonym for loyalty and devotion not only to the cause for which we fought, but to his commander, is held in special love and veneration by me. To aid him in his work he had Logan’s inspector general, Lieutenant Colonel L. E. Yorke.

The following are the estimates of what were so destroyed: 1,000 bales of cotton, 19 locomotives, 20

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

box cars; many more had been previously destroyed by the great fire. Also, the buildings belonging to the railroad station—two large freight sheds, including 60 sets of six-mule-team harnesses, 1,000 pounds of trace chains, quantities of nails and spikes; about five tons of railroad machinery, with a large amount of articles of a military character; 650 car wheels; two buildings filled with Confederate stationery; 25 powder mills, the mills being destroyed by being blown up; an armory near the Congaree River, comprising warehouse, machine shops, foundries, and offices; besides the foregoing, an immense amount of ordnance of every description. The smokestacks of six factories were ruined; a shed near the Common, containing ten tons of machinery belonging to the Confederate army, all packed in boxes, was consumed and the machinery broken up.

In addition to the above our Ordnance Department used all small arms and ammunition practicable, but destroyed the remainder—perhaps 10,000 small arms and 43 cannon. Of the 10,000 rounds of artillery ammunition and 500,000 rounds for small arms, part was taken and part destroyed; also rendered useless infantry and cavalry equipments beyond estimate. Here at Columbia the magazines were ample and well filled. We undertook to get rid of the ammunition, loaded shells and such like, by throwing the same into the river. During this operation a fearful accident occurred, in which we lost in killed and severely wounded not less than 20 men. The magazines themselves, after being depleted sufficiently for safety, were blown to pieces by igniting the powder that remained. A witness, then in Columbia, says: "The explosions of the magazines this evening caused the

The Taking of Columbia

ground to tremble." This trembling was felt in a circuit of several miles.

The very statement of the destruction of property indicates the terrible wastes of war. Both armies were burning the cotton. The Confederates seemed to think that we, being Yankees, wanted it for gain, and we believed that the Confederate government depended upon this staple as the foundation of their revenue, so we burned it. One or the other of the parties was evidently making a mistake.

My last glimpse of Columbia after I had done what I could for the immediate necessities of the destitute inhabitants, and had parted with the mayor of the city, was a sad retrospect to me, for I had never expected to leave such a wild desert as the regions burned over, covered with blackened débris, smoldering embers, and numerous lone chimneys, presented.

My rear guard for February 20, 1865, the day of departure, consisted of two brigades, one from each corps. They were the two that were then guarding the town. Just in advance of these, who had brought out all the stragglers, was a new and remarkable accession to my columns, called a "refugee train." It consisted of thousands of people who wished to leave Columbia, mostly negroes besides at least 800 whites. The refugees carried their luggage on pack horses, on their backs, or in vehicles of every conceivable description. A variety of reasons caused this extraordinary exodus; for example, escaping prisoners feared reincarceration; those who had betrayed their loyalty to the old flag, hitherto concealed, feared revenges; those who had been especially kind to the Yankees had signs of coming retribution, and many who had lost everything by the fire desired to escape extreme want;

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

besides these, a number of traders, bent upon money-making, joined the procession with wagon loads of trunks and boxes. I may say that I was obliged to deal severely with the latter class, at least with the freightage, in order to reduce my refugee train within such limits that it could be protected and brought along without detriment or hindrance to the fighting force of the army.

In a letter written a little later, which I sent down the Cape Fear River for home consumption, I remarked that we brought from Columbia quite a number of men, women, and children who had trudged along in wagons, ambulances, on horses, or on foot. We had two families at our headquarters who had completely mastered all the discomforts of military life and enjoyed the novelty.

A gentleman artist, by the name of Halpin, with his wife and daughter, and a Mr. Soulé, a telegraph operator, with his bride, were our guests.

About the time of leaving Columbia many robberies were committed; watches, jewelry, and sometimes sums of money were taken by violence from the inhabitants, after the highwayman's style.

So many instances came to my knowledge that my indignation against the perpetrators became excessive, and my compassion for the sufferers strong. From Rice Creek Springs, February 20th, I wrote a letter to Logan, describing this apparently growing evil:

“ I am inclined to think that there is a regularly organized banditti, who commit these outrages and share the spoils. I call upon you and all the officers and soldiers under you, who have one spark of honor or respect for the profession which they follow, to

The Taking of Columbia

help me put down these nefarious proceedings, and to arrest perpetrators.

“ Please furnish to every inspector, provost marshal, and officer in charge of a foraging party, a copy of this letter, and enjoin them to be on the watch to stop these infamous transactions, and to bring to justice the individuals who commit them.”

A physician, Dr. Greene, came to me and said: “ General, would you allow your men to take a man’s watch? ” “ No,” I answered, “ you know that I would not.” “ But,” he replied, “ a man took mine.” “ Please describe him, doctor,” I said. “ Oh, I can’t do that, they’re all alike,” was the reply. The doctor’s daughter, however (a girl of twelve or thirteen), said, “ I can, father.” She then described the man and I called my provost marshal, who soon found the thief and brought him to me. The watch was given back to the owner and I ordered the man drummed out of the army.

A little later at Cheraw, I had three or four others of these unscrupulous villains apprehended, and publicly and summarily punished. One had taken a costly ring from a lady’s finger by force; and the others had been caught, in *flagrante delicto*, pilfering from women’s bureaus and closets. Soldiers in general were obliged to forage on the country but they did not enjoy the reputation or wish for the company of thieves and robbers.

The first day we had a comparatively short march along the railroad running northward. Sherman’s camp was at Winsboro at the end of the second day, while mine was at Harrison’s Crossroads. From that point I turned to the right to cross the upper waters of the Catawba. Sherman wrote from Winsboro:

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

After crossing, Slocum and the cavalry will have the road from Lancaster to Chesterfield, and you (Howard) from your ferry go straight for Cheraw, dipping a little south to get on the Camden road. I will keep with the Twentieth Corps.

From this it will be seen what a wide swath we were making, and the general direction taken by the whole command. At Perry's Ferry, across the Wateree River, I spent the night of February 22d. The country had begun to be fertile and rolling, with better farms than those near Columbia. There was some show of hostile cavalry in our front, which we pushed back as we marched. The Wateree was between 300 and 400 feet wide, and had quite a strong flow. Sherman's retaliatory work has often been mentioned. I think it began from an occurrence of this day. Two of our men were found not only slain, but with their brains beaten out. We judged that they had been captured first and then murdered.

Several men in another column were killed in the same way and labels pinned upon them. On the labels were these words: "Death to all foragers." These are Sherman's words to me, which he wrote after finding repeated acts like the above:

I have ordered Kilpatrick to select of his prisoners, man for man, shoot them, and leave them by the roadside labeled, so that our enemy will see for every man he executes he takes the life of one of his own.

After defining proper and improper foraging, Sherman continues: "I lay down these rules, and wish you to be governed by them. If any of your foragers are murdered, take life for life, leaving a record of each case."

It is quite surprising how quickly the Confederates,

The Taking of Columbia

in the army and outside of it, found out this terrible rule of our leader. I do not remember an instance after that in my command of brutal slaying.

This same day, February 22d, Washington's birthday, brought us the first intimation that the Confederates had evacuated Charleston. Gillmore's troops had entered the city, and captured a large amount of artillery and other stores. This was good news, brought by the negroes, who always enjoyed telling us such things, but it indicated to me an increased opposition to our advance; for already we were hearing not only of Hardee drawing in his various garrisons, but of Bragg, Cheatham, and Stephen D. Lee. We then knew that the remnants which Thomas and Schofield had not destroyed of Hood's army at Nashville, Tenn., as well as the troops from Augusta, Ga., were hastening to strengthen Hardee's resistance to our advance.

We had about the same experience day after day with ever increasing obstacles, till we came near what is called Lynch's Creek, in ordinary times a stream not to exceed 200 feet; but when we approached, owing to the recent freshet, the creek overflowed its banks, and so, though not deep, it spread over a wide stretch of country, covering in extent at least a mile.

The Fifteenth Corps here had a hard time. After the Seventeenth Corps had passed with considerable difficulty, the corduroy, which had been laid under the water and pinned down, became loose, and naturally rose to the surface and became separated. Quicksands were discovered in many places where our engineers and pioneers sought to put in trestlework, so that there was much delay, much impatience, and some quarreling. Here a slight *contretemps* occurred between Logan and myself.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

He, as corps commander, had direct charge of the pioneers, and I, as army commander, of the engineers. The engineers and pioneers were not able to mend the ways, owing to the high water, or finish the bridges to their satisfaction. At last they, in their impatience, had hard words between them. Logan naturally sided with the pioneers, and so wrote me a note that he would make no further effort to cross that ugly stream unless I withdrew the engineers who were constantly making trouble. I received the letter at the hands of a messenger, read it carefully, slowly folded it, as we were taught to do with official communications, and then wrote on the outside a pleasant message in indirect fashion: "The commanding officer of the Fifteenth Corps will obey every lawful order." I signed this indorsement and sent it back to Logan. We met about twenty minutes after this exchange of compliment and neither of us said aught more concerning the matter; luckily we succeeded at last in crossing the troublesome barrier.

As we went on to Cheraw it was necessary to guard well our right flank. Having very little cavalry, I sent southward and eastward Captain Wm. Duncan with all his horsemen, about two troops of cavalry, first toward Camden. The evening of February 25th Duncan returned from the first expedition. He succeeded in burning an important bridge in Camden and in capturing, for the use of the army, considerable stock.

It was here that the famous white Arabian stallion was brought in, one that the people declared to be the property of the Confederate President. The horse, they said, had been, previous to our coming, sent into that part of Carolina for safe keeping. The second

The Taking of Columbia

expedition had a double purpose; first, to reconnoiter, and second, to serve as an escort to a delegation which I was sending through to Charleston. This time Duncan, in the night, ran into a Confederate brigade of cavalry, apparently commanded by Colonel Aiken. The darkness was so great that neither commander could tell the strength of his opponent.

Aiken gave the order to charge, but Duncan, who was ready, instantly ordered "Fire!" In the *mêlée* that ensued Aiken with many others was killed. Losing their leader the Confederates fell back. It was here that Lieutenant McQueen was wounded. Duncan drew off his men with small loss.

The mixing up was so complete during the night fight that one of our men borrowed a screw-driver of a comrade to fix his carbine, and discovered that that comrade was a Confederate. The loss of McQueen, for he was supposed at that time to be mortally wounded, genial gentleman as he was, caused great sorrow at our headquarters.

CHAPTER XLIV

SKIRMISHING AT CHERAW AND FAYETTEVILLE AND THE BATTLE OF AVERYSBORO

CHERAW was pretty thoroughly defended with intrenchments and outworks; on my coming up with Mower's command ahead, I found him leading his division in his own indomitable style. The Confederate cavalry met us at Thompson's Creek, but being cavalry only, they quickly gave way to Mower's coming, but set the bridge on fire. Our men quenched the fire at once and followed speedily nearer to the town. A firm stand was made here by our adversaries to enable them to cover the next bridge across the Pedee with turpentine. At last, as the Confederates rushed across, they succeeded in setting behind them a quick fire, and one that became immediately so furious that Mower's men could not save the bridge.

Here, as at Columbia, a depot and several storehouses were already in flames when our men entered the city of Cheraw. Quite a large amount of war material came into our hands by capture. By the newspapers which I found there the news of the taking of Charleston, and also of Wilmington, was confirmed.

Here we noticed the action of the Confederate Congress putting into service boys and old men. That body was also considering the expediency of organizing negro troops. In this we already had the start

Skirmishing at Cheraw and Fayetteville

of them. Terry was near us with negro brigades well in hand.

About this time old men and boys began to fall into our lines. Logan recommended on March 4th that all such prisoners belonging to the South Carolina militia be released upon their *parole* and *oath* not to serve again during the war. He remarked: "They now are but a burden to us, requiring an issue of subsistence when it is necessary to husband our supply, and they can scarcely be looked upon as fit subjects for imprisonment or exchange." This sensible disposition of them was made.

There were two sources of chagrin which annoyed me at Cheraw: one was that a detachment which I sent to Florence had not been sufficiently vigorous in its reconnoissance. The officers conducting it, however, discovered a force of Confederate cavalry, and trains of cars loaded with troops, and brought back 20 or 30 prisoners.

The second chagrin was from an accident like that at Columbia. Charles R. Woods's division of infantry was massed near the river waiting their turn to cross, when a terrific explosion occurred. It was occasioned by our working parties having thrown together on the river slope masses of artillery shells, with considerable powder. The object had been to drown the powder in the river, and also to sink the shells in the water to render them useless. By carelessness considerable powder had been strewn along the ground. The teams passing over the bridge road had in some way ignited it and its lightning flashes passed to the main pile of shells. The sudden thunderous explosion for the time appeared to paralyze men and animals. The mules and horses near by ran

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

off wildly in a stampede. One officer and three enlisted men were killed outright, and at least a dozen or more of the soldiers were disabled. Thus disaster followed acts of inexcusable carelessness!

On March 5th, finding that Hardee had withdrawn from my front across the Great Pedee, which was about 500 feet broad, and as my bridge was already laid, the crossing of my command at Cheraw was soon completed. We now hastened on toward Fayetteville. Sherman, having news of accessions to Hardee's force from above and below and from the east, and also that his old contestant, Joseph E. Johnston, was in command, wrote me that he believed that the Confederates would make a stand for battle near Fayetteville west of the Cape Fear River. I answered that I thought not, unless we pushed them so hard that they could not get out of the way. The position might have been good against my column alone, but at this time Slocum was so near me that Johnston would have had to encounter Sherman's united force.

The events proved that my judgment was correct, for this astute Confederate commander, realizing his relative weakness, waited a little till the two wings had separated one from the other. As we shall shortly see, he struck Slocum first, because he was handiest, after Slocum had deviated northward and was passing through Averysboro.

Going on, March 8th, I made my headquarters for the night at Laurel Hill, Richmond County, N. C. It was this day that we crossed the line between South and North Carolina. The Fifteenth Corps was near me, and the Seventeenth a little in advance. Slocum's command, the left wing, was not many miles to the

Skirmishing at Cheraw and Fayetteville

north, and well up abreast. That evening Sherman requested me if possible while pursuing the enemy to so slow up my march as to let the left wing seize Fayetteville. The reason given was that Slocum's division would have the advantage which arose from the primary occupation of a town. Increase of supplies as well as honor thus usually came to the first occupants.

I was not far from Dan's Bridge when Captain Duncan, having my consent, with his scouts and a small escort pushed on ahead to Fayetteville. He found some show of a picket line which he avoided, and came to what is called Little Rock Fish Creek Bridge, which was unaccountably spared by the enemy.

Of this Duncan immediately took possession. Very early the next morning (March 11th) I instructed Duncan to take all our mounted men (his own and Captain King's) and scout toward Fayetteville and keep us informed of what was going on. He again encountered the enemy's pickets just before reaching the city. He drove them so easily before him that he did not anticipate much force ahead, and so pressed on into the city itself. Duncan, while caring for his men, discovered a large force of cavalry on some high ground ready to pounce upon him. He succeeded, however, in saving his command, but he himself in the rear was captured; he, however, escaped and came into bivouac and was described by Sherman as having been stripped of everything valuable, and being clothed in an old unrepresentable dress. The account of Duncan's interviews with Butler, Hampton, and Hardee was very entertaining, and is still, as he vividly recalls it. Hardee, Duncan declares, treated him with kindness, but was very anxious to find how he had happened

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

to seize the bridge and pass the pickets with so small a force of horsemen.

Duncan's men reported to us that very day the circumstances, so that Giles A. Smith's column could not safely delay any longer. Smith sent forward at once a troop of mounted men. They joined the returning scouts, then followed up the Confederate cavalry as they ran back; when the Confederate rear guard was crossing the river our men soon had possession of the hill where the Fayetteville arsenal was situated.

Just as the last Confederate horseman was clearing the bridge over the Cape Fear, Potts's brigade, the leading one of Smith's division, arrived on the field. Potts first took position on Arsenal Hill, and then quickly deployed his skirmishers along the river bank under instructions to make every endeavor to save the bridge. But the preparation for its destruction was too complete.

The Confederates placed their cannon in a good position on the farther shore, and shelled out skirmishers, regardless of the houses of Fayetteville, while the long bridge was bursting into brilliant flame. As our columns came in from the south roads, Slocum's leading corps, the Fourteenth, entered the town from the northwest. The mayor, doubtless having been attracted by Captain Duncan's daring raid to the southern part of the town, hastened toward us, and so made a formal tender of the city to Lieutenant Colonel Strong of my staff.

Many of our men, mounted foragers and others, were found lying dead in the streets. Remembering Sherman's wishes, as soon as I met Slocum I retired outside the city limits, and there went into camp.

Logan halted his force at least five miles back.

Skirmishing at Cheraw and Fayetteville

We found the best practicable approaches for our pontoon bridge a mile below Fayetteville, opposite Mr. Cade's plantation. The banks, however, even here were steep and difficult. The water was subsiding, so that in a short time our bridge was depressed, and the wagons were lowered on one side of the river and, to use an old English word, "boosted" up by soldiers on the other side with much labor. When a bridgehead of sufficient extent had been made, I put my headquarters, March 13th, near Mr. Cade's house, and stayed there until the 16th of the same month.

Sherman very much wished to get communications to Wilmington, and, if possible, receive back word from the same, while Logan and I were anxious to re-establish mail communication. After consulting with Captain Duncan, I selected Sergeant Myron J. Amick, Fifteenth Illinois Cavalry, and Private Geo. W. Quimby, Thirty-second Wisconsin, the two enlisted men that had made with Duncan the perilous and successful expedition down the Ogeechee and communicated with the fleet; furnished with as much mail matter as well as dispatches as they could comfortably carry, I started them off to Wilmington.

Sherman had sent another messenger to float down the Cape Fear. My party crossed the river at Campbell's Bridge and succeeded in avoiding squads of the enemy's cavalry or other hostiles whom they met, and finished their journey successfully in 48 hours. Just after our arrival at Fayetteville, and after the first excitement of the skirmishing had subsided, we heard the whistle of a steam tug below us on the Cape Fear River. This vessel had set out at once for Fayetteville on receiving news through Sergeant Amick and his companion of our whereabouts. Shortly before this,

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

some of Blair's men, skirmishing down the river, had discovered a small Confederate steamer and captured it, with its freight of cotton and forage.

The 15th of the month one of our gunboats reached us and was followed by other steamers. They brought us mail, sugar, coffee, shoes, and forage which were most welcome.

It was here that Sherman took advantage of returning steamers to send our sick to better accommodations and to forward mail for the whole command. The remaining space on the vessels was occupied by the refugees, whom I have before described. Besides these, a column of whites and negroes, with all their indescribable belongings, were organized in a military way and sent down the river road. From the numerous men going out of the service, I furnished them abundant guards and wagons sufficient to carry the small children, the sick, and the extra food. It was a singular spectacle that drew out of camp on Wednesday, March 15, 1865, and set out for Wilmington via Clinton. There were 4,500, mostly negroes, from my wing alone.

Feeling pretty sure that Joe Johnston, our new adversary, who was somewhere in our path, would soon make a stand or an attack, the entire command, under Sherman's instructions, stripped for battle; that is to say, the wagon trains, except those absolutely essential, were thrown back, kept well together and placed under special escort, covered, of course, by the rear guard.

Slocum, deviating from our direct march toward Goldsboro, went by the way of Kyle's Landing, aiming for Bentonville, while his wagon train followed the Goldsboro route. Kilpatrick's cavalry was clearing the way on Slocum's left and front. Slocum found,

Skirmishing at Cheraw and Fayetteville

March 6th, a large Confederate force across the way near Averysboro. It proved to be Hardee, not Johnston, in immediate command. Kilpatrick came upon the enemy behind intrenchments and moved to the right, while Slocum deployed two divisions of the Twentieth Corps in front of the enemy's line.

Sherman joined Slocum and directed him to send a brigade to the left so as to get a ford in rear of the Confederate intrenchments. This was successfully accomplished. The enemy retreated and MacBeth's Charleston battery with 217 of Rhett's men were captured. The Confederates were found behind another line of works, a short distance in rear of the first. Both operations constituted the battle. Slocum skirmished up to the new position, and went into camp "in their immediate front." During the night Hardee retreated, leaving 108 dead for Slocum to bury and 68 wounded. We lost 12 officers and 65 men killed and 477 men wounded.

It is evident that my movement across the Black River and touching the Averysboro road on that same day, where I was waiting to turn back upon Hardee's left, was what caused him to retreat without further battle. Now, it is plain from all accounts that Johnston in good earnest was gathering in all the troops he could at or near Bentonville. A dispatch mentioned Stephen D. Lee, Stevenson, Stewart, Cheatham, Hampton, and Hardee as near at hand.

Johnston's instructions, which he received from Richmond, February 23d, at his residence in Lincolnton, N. C., were: "To concentrate all available forces and drive Sherman back." "This was done," Johnston alleges, "with a full consciousness on my part, however, that we could have no other object in con-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

tinuing the war than to obtain fair terms of peace; for the Southern cause must have appeared hopeless then to all intelligent and dispassionate Southern men."

With these instructions and this natural feeling, Johnston gathered from all quarters, as near as I can estimate, from 20,000 to 25,000 men.

March 18th Slocum's wing was continuing its advance toward Bentonville. My wing the same day upon the next road to the south was doing the same thing, but from the character of the country I was obliged to deviate so much that our wings were separated more and more from each other till Logan turned northward and encamped near Alexander Benton's, about 11 miles south of Bentonville, while Blair was back near Troublefield's store. I was then with Logan's head of column and General Sherman was with Blair's.

Slocum at the same time appeared to be abreast of Logan, perhaps six miles to his left northwest of him. We had but little resistance on our front, and that from Confederate cavalry. The roads, which appeared fair, became immediately bad by use and so straggled my columns.

CHAPTER XLV

MARCH THROUGH THE CAROLINAS; THE BATTLE OF BENTONVILLE; JOHNSTON'S SURRENDER

I WAS obliged to detail a brigade to repair the worst places near Falling Creek. As I was observing the rapid and handy work of this (General Clarke's) brigade, I heard heavy firing in the distance from the direction of Bentonville; and instantly I sent off our chief of artillery, Major Osborn, to pass to the rear of Logan's column and turn Hazen's division back upon Slocum's road as quickly as possible, in case the need was evident upon his reaching Hazen.

Report was brought to Sherman and to me that it was only Confederate cavalry that Slocum had thus far met, and that he was driving it before him. Hazen's movement was then delayed.

This news made me believe that Johnston might fall back by the road which crossed Cox's Bridge over the Neuse. That road was the only practicable one for him to pass over in an easterly direction. I immediately sent Colonel Strong of my staff to secure the bridge. He took with him the Tenth Iowa, moved rapidly, drove a few hundred Confederate cavalry before him across the bridge, secured the crossroads near it, and rapidly fortified the position. The heavy firing continued and seemed to increase, and we very

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

much feared from the sound, and from a report brought by Lieutenant Foraker (since so well known as the Hon. Joseph B. Foraker, Senator from Ohio) of Slocum's staff, that Slocum's column was having a very hard battle. On Foraker's arrival and report, the order to send Hazen's division was now given by Sherman himself.

Several messengers gave us to understand that during this day, March 19th, Slocum, though losing some ground, had repulsed several furious assaults of the Confederate infantry, and that he had secured a strong position, which he could hold until reënforced by our right wing.

Hazen kept up his reverse march and reported to Slocum by daylight of the 20th. Logan closed up his command at night, forced the enemy to destroy Cox's Bridge, and at once commenced his march by the river road toward Bentonville.

Meanwhile Blair also used the night to bring up his column near to Logan. In fact, our marching was continuous until the two wings were in touch with each other. My men were driving back the enemy's cavalry skirmishers and squadrons until between ten and eleven on the morning of March 20th.

If we connect Fayetteville with Averysboro by a right line, then Averysboro with Smithfield, and Smithfield with Goldsboro, and join also Goldsboro with Fayetteville, we have an oblong, four-sided figure. The distance from Fayetteville to Goldsboro is about 50 miles; the other separate distances, following the perimeter, are from 20 to 25 miles each. This oblong figure was the terrain which covered the maneuvers and the two battles of Averysboro and Bentonville. Bentonville is a point as near the middle of this terrain

The Battle of Bentonville

as you can place it. Sherman's army started one wing from Fayetteville, and the other wing from behind Averysboro. His mind, fully determined, was to pass from the Cape Fear River to the Neuse, making Goldsboro his objective point.

As Schofield and Terry had Wilmington, New Berne and Kinston, and were moving northward to form a junction with us, Sherman greatly desired to make this connection and secure Goldsboro before fighting a general battle. He believed that the enemy would fall back to Smithfield, and perhaps to Raleigh after the hard blows he had received at Averysboro; so that it is very plain that Bentonville was not Sherman's objective.

Johnston, on the other hand, had his eye upon Bentonville. He was at Smithfield when our parties departed from the Cape Fear River gathering up his forces. He proposed to throw them boltlike upon our upper column when isolated near Bentonville. Bentonville was then indeed a strategic and objective point for the Confederates.

Aiming for Goldsboro caused the separation of our columns and made us unready March 19th when the Confederates began their first attack. At that instant Blair was as far south as Troublefield's store, but he was on the direct road to Goldsboro. Logan, with the bulk of his corps, had really passed beyond Bentonville, and but for the detention of battle would have gone there.

Wade Hampton, commanding the entire Confederate cavalry before us, was falling back on Slocum's road toward Bentonville. Johnston, strengthened by news that Hampton kept sending to him, that our wings were so separated and marching as I have indi-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

cated, did as he had done before, particularly at the battle of Fair Oaks. He struck a portion of the Union army, temporarily isolated, and he hoped to crush it before our troops could be brought back.

It appeared to me that the ground chosen by Hampton, which Johnston occupied the morning of the 19th, substantially along the Clinton road, with high ground and a good artillery position west of it at right angles to Slocum's road of approach, could not have been better selected.

Hampton says: "The plan proposed was that the cavalry should move out at daylight and occupy the position held by them on the previous evening. The infantry could then be deployed, putting one corps across the main road and the other two obliquely in echelon to the right of the first."

Hampton's cavalry, after checking Slocum's advance as long as practicable, was to fall back through intervals in Bragg's line and pass off to the right of the troops and guard that flank.

Carlin's division (Fourteenth Corps), heading Slocum's column quite early on the morning of March 19th, was moving on toward Bentonville in column, having out in his front and on his flank the usual skirmish line.

The enemy's cavalry appeared at first to be more stubborn than usual; so much so that Carlin deployed his division to the left and Corps Commander Davis ordered Morgan to deploy his division so as to cover Carlin's right. This deployment was intended to force back the Confederate cavalry, or (if they were there) to develop infantry and artillery. It was this force which pressed Hampton's cavalry so hard that it hastened back to perform its allotted work; then, Hamp-

The Battle of Bentonville

ton being out of the way, the Confederate infantry opened its fire at short range against the Fourteenth Corps.

After the first encounter Carlin's men seem to have been considerably shaken. Perceiving some show of disorder, the Confederates took the offensive, advancing steadily against Carlin's left. There was doubtless some breaking here and there, but Slocum's men were veterans, and quickly rallied. The Twentieth Corps and the remainder of the Fourteenth not engaged were hastily forming a new line, half a mile to the rear. Johnston puts it this way:

"Some distance in the rear there was a thick wood of young pines, into which the Federal troops were pursued, and in which they rallied and renewed the fight." Slocum by his language implies an enforced retreat to the prepared position; but says that the retiring troops "were handled with skill, and fell back without panic or demoralization, taking places in the line established."

Here at the second position the engagement was renewed, but the opposition was too strong for Johnston's men to overcome. They charged again and again, but finally retired beyond range, hoping to renew the attack the next morning; but during the night Johnston was assured that I was pushing in my command toward him from the east along the road from Cox's Bridge, so that he immediately took a new position where he could face both myself and Slocum.

That position was an enlarged bridgehead, embracing Bentonville and covering the crossing of Mill Creek by the Smithfield road.

I believe the Confederate lines were rather irregu-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

lar and broken, but so established as to make a thorough defense of the village and of the Confederate line of retreat. I hardly think that Johnston could have done better, even if he had followed up more quickly Carlin's retiring men.

There was so much more woodland than open ground in the vicinity of Bentonville and so much marshy or spongy soil that quick maneuvering was impossible. Leading my force, I approached Bentonville, threw a brigade and battery toward Cox's bridge to save it, and kept back any enemy coming from that quarter. The bridge was burned upon our approach. We had similar experience to Slocum with detachments of the Confederate cavalry becoming more and more stubborn as we advanced.

A little nearer the village we struck a crossroad where there was a Confederate outpost held by infantry in the edge of a wood. This caused the deployment of a part of Woods's division, which was on the lead. The point was soon cleared, though a strong Confederate skirmish line well reënforced kept us and Slocum (or I should say Hazen) back; that was Hazen's position after Slocum had closed up upon Johnston's new works. The Confederate resistance was so great that it took me until three o'clock in the afternoon to make close connections. During the remainder of the day some artillery firing occurred and continuous skirmishing, but there was no real battle while I was bringing my troops into position.

Thus I had Logan occupy the portion of the front next to Slocum and Blair deploy his division on the right, farther along. In this way we embraced the works of the Confederates. One of the officers of my staff visited Slocum himself as soon as we were in

The Battle of Bentonville

position. He asked him how he thought the battle of the day before had ended. Slocum replied: "We whipped them."

The country in the vicinity of this battlefield was of such a nature that we could not draw artillery over it. It seemed to be dry on the surface, but very watery and miry just below; so that the battle was fought mostly by infantry.

That morning of March 21st, bright and early, I was up and had a place for a good view of my troops. Sherman's men were in position from right to left in the following order: Seventeenth Corps, Fifteenth, Fourteenth, and Twentieth, with proper reserves covering each flank. Kilpatrick's cavalry was placed at the extreme left. On our right our movements commenced by a reconnoissance made by the Seventeenth Corps—Mower having with two brigades to feel for the enemy's left flank. He had to work his way through a swampy area covered with thick underbrush and wood. In his eagerness Mower pushed a little too far to the north, and so with his two brigades became detached from his corps. He struck, evidently, beyond the enemy's left flank, possibly coming upon the rear guard, which he at first drove before him.

The Confederates, seeing what was upon them, immediately organized an attack, and struck Mower's front and flanks. He was forced to withdraw, and Hampton intimates that that withdrawal was in great haste, in fact, a complete repulse. Hampton was right; but as soon as I knew from his appeal that Mower was driven back, I ordered Blair to support him with his whole corps, if necessary, and Logan to advance and seize the skirmish rifle pits all along his front.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

This was done, but just as Mower under a hot fire was leading a connected column again to the same Confederate flank or rear, Sherman ordered him back. The general also called off Blair's entire command—an order that by some accident did not get to me at all till I met Blair and began calling him to account for the withdrawal of his men. Blair answered: "The withdrawal is by Sherman's order!"

Sherman did this deliberately, and gave his reasons for it. One was that he thought that Mower had been a little rash; another, that he thought Johnston had a larger command than he really did have; and another, which was probably the governing one at that time, that there had been enough bloodshed already, and that Johnston would surely retreat northward and leave us to go and complete our connection at Goldsboro and establish our new base of supplies.

None of these reasons satisfied me at the time, but events were already ripening which very soon made me glad that this last battle had not been pushed to an extremity.

The night of March 21st Johnston saw his line of retreat toward the north still open, and, having done his best, he could reap no further fruits from his enterprise, so he carefully withdrew.

Sherman's table of losses at Bentonville was:

	Officers.	Men.
Killed.....	11	180
Wounded.....	12	1,105
Missing.....	..	296
Total.....	23	1,581
Aggregate loss.....		1,604

The Battle of Bentonville

Johnston's corresponding statement was:

Date.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.
On the 19th.....	180	1,220	515
On the 20th.....	6	90	31
On the 21st.....	37	157	107
Total.....	223	1,467	653
Aggregate loss.....			2,343

Sherman gave this summary: "Wide discrepancies exist in these figures. For instance, Slocum accounts for 338 prisoners captured, and Howard for 1,287, making 1,625 in all to Johnston's 653, a difference of 872. I have always accorded to Johnston due credit for boldness in his attack on our exposed flank at Bentonville, but I think that he understated his strength, and doubt at the time whether he gave accurate returns from his miscellaneous army, collected from Hood, Bragg, Hardee, Lee, and Hampton. With this knowledge now possessed of his small force, of course I committed an error in not overwhelming Johnston's army on March 21, 1865."

Hardee is presented as particularly gallant in all of the later charges of the battle of Bentonville, at one time leading his men in person straight over one of Slocum's barricades. When Hardee was commandant of cadets at West Point, I was one of the officers associated with him and was very intimate with his family. He had but one son, and in my spare moments, at the request of his father, who was always my personal friend, I tutored him while at West Point. Willie was scarcely sixteen when he joined a regiment of Texas cavalry only a few hours before the battle of Bentonville commenced. He was among the foremost and during one of the charges was struck and

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

mortally wounded. General S. D. Lee, my classmate, first succeeded in getting the news to me.

A little later from Raleigh I wrote home: "General Hardee stayed here, just before we entered, with his wife and Miss Anna, his daughter. Miss Anna wrote me this morning from Hillsboro. She says that Willie was mortally wounded at the battle of Bentonville. He died at the house of a Mr. Kirkland in Raleigh, and she besought me for protection for her Kirkland friends, recalling old times."

It was always a pleasure to me to do anything to soften the asperities of war, so that I was glad to be asked for such a favor which I readily granted.

On our part, the evening of March 21st, we had repelled many fierce charges of the Confederates, striving to retake their skirmish rifle pits which we had seized. This work was not intermitted until dark. Our cannon, however, continued to fire its projectiles from time to time during the whole night, lodging them somewhere in Johnston's lines. At dawn, finding our front clear of adversaries, we took up the pursuit, ran upon their rear guard, and skirmished with it for more than a mile along the Smithfield road, but meanwhile every Union command was making preparation to continue our way to Goldsboro. We entered that city Friday, March 24th, having spanned the distance from Bentonville in two marches. Schofield was already there. The next day after our arrival our wagons that had been previously sent to Kinston came back with supplies of food. Sherman reviewed his troops. As my two corps marched past him our men were evidently in the best of health and full of vigor, but they were actually in rags and almost shoeless. It indicates the energy of our supply department to say that

The Battle of Bentonville

within ten days every man was properly refitted, so that my wing, at least, then bore the appearance of a new army.

The rest at Goldsboro was very acceptable to the army after its prolonged labors, perils, and privations. Our cavalry and pickets were thrown out in every direction. The railroad southward, owing to the energy of the railroad department, was quickly in shape, and brought up abundant supplies. We remained quiet for eleven days. On the twelfth day, April 4th, Sherman, who had gone to City Point and had his interview there with the President, the general in chief and others, and been made happy by abundant personal congratulations, had already returned to us in fine spirits. The next day, the 5th, he stirred up his army commanders and the chiefs of staff departments by a confidential order, which itself showed plainly that he and Grant had put their heads together for new work.

Monday, April 10th, was designated for the end of the preparation, and we were speedily stripping and preparing for a new base. We were to thrust ourselves, if possible, between Joe Johnston, now west of the Neuse, and General Lee. Our new base was to be along the Chowan River, with depots at such places as Winton and Murfreesboro, N. C. Our first objectives of any importance were Warrenton and Weldon, N. C., with a view to the prompt crossing of the Roanoke.

Sherman carefully laid out the routes for each army, the left wing, substantially, to go by the railway toward Raleigh to Smithfield, thence to the crossing of the Neuse, the northern branch, and thence on to Warrenton; the right wing for a time along the Weldon road as far as Nahunta, and thence leftward to

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

Pearce's Mill, and so northward to Warrenton. Schofield's army was to take a central route, passing by Whitley's Mill, and on to Rolesville, and thence to Warrenton; while Kilpatrick's cavalry, preceding my column, was to clear the way, watch the right flank, and get to Weldon as soon as practicable.

The instant we had passed the Roanoke arrangements were made with supply vessels and with Admiral Porter of the navy, to change our depots from New Berne and Kinston to Winton and Murfreesboro. Sherman promised to be habitually with the center column. He demanded a report each night from all of us as to "whether anything material had occurred during the day."

We were filled with animation, and hastily putting things to rights, when, sometime during the day of April 6th, news reached us which changed the whole programme. The news was: General Robert E. Lee's troops of North Virginia were rushing with no little disorder for Danville, and Grant's army was doing its best to head them off. It was evident that no effort of ours could now prevent a junction of Lee and Johnston, should Lee succeed in escaping from Grant; so Sherman at once changed his programme. He now ordered a general movement upon Raleigh.

April 12th from his headquarters at Smithfield which Johnston had evacuated before we came, Sherman sent us these cheering words: "The general commanding announces to the army that he has an official notice from General Grant that General Lee surrendered to him his entire army on the 9th inst., at Appomattox Court House, Va. Glory to God and our country, and all honor to our comrades in arms toward whom we are marching!"

The Battle of Bentonville

The next day, the 13th, gave us possession of Raleigh, and our general in chief on the 14th, having his troops well up, for they all marched briskly, issued a new set of orders.

Sherman, in these, located Johnston on the North Carolina Railroad at what was called "Company Shops," near the crossing of the Haw River. He ordered a movement straight to Ashboro which, being southward and beyond, would turn Johnston's position and force him to battle, should he remain where he was. Events were following each other rapidly. That day Johnston sent in a flag of truce, and addressed to Sherman a communication which spoke of Lee's action and invited a suspension of operations. Sherman instantly replied in a favorable communication, intimating that he had power to make such arrangements with Johnston as Grant had made with Lee.

It took till evening of the 16th to complete the preliminaries for the interview between Sherman and Johnston. Early April 17th, Sherman, with the officers who were to accompany him, was at the railroad station, and just about boarding a train for Durham Station, when the telegraph operator ran to him and asked him to delay starting, for he was receiving a most important message, one coming by the way of Morehead City. It was in cipher, and of course it took some little time to translate.

This contained the fearful news of the assassination of President Lincoln and of the attempts, so nearly successful, to kill Mr. Seward and other members of the Cabinet. Sherman was greatly startled. Finding that no one but the operator knew the purport of the message, he resolved to delay its announcement

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

to the army, for he greatly feared the immediate result of the publication; so, cautioning the operator not to give it out, he stepped aboard the train and went to fill his engagement.

Sherman and Johnston met between the lines at the farmhouse of Mr. Bennett. Separating from their staffs, the two generals passed into a side room, and as soon as they were there face to face, Sherman showed Johnston the telegraphic message from Washington. The effect upon Johnston was very marked. Sherman says: "The perspiration came out in great drops on his forehead, and he did not attempt to hide his distress."

The interview was only a preliminary one, but both officers much desired to enter into some more general arrangement than a simple capitulation. Sherman explained Grant's terms and what he believed to have been Mr. Lincoln's wishes, gathered from his late interview, with regard to a general settlement for a peace establishment. Johnston asked for time to communicate with those whom he represented. Here ended the first interview, and the parties returned to their respective commands. Sherman immediately came back to Raleigh where I had remained in command.

The sad news was first given by him, en route, to some of Kilpatrick's men at Durham Station, and next to the Fifteenth Corps near Morrisville and Jones's Station, then to me. Promptly after reaching his headquarters, Sherman published the news. There is one clause which I will repeat: "Your general does not wish you to infer that this (the disposition to use the assassin's tools) is universal, for he knows that the great mass of the Confederate army would scorn to sanction such acts, but he believes it to be the

The Battle of Bentonville

legitimate consequence of rebellion against rightful authority.”

The effect upon our soldiers was different from what had been anticipated, for their sorrow seemed to overwhelm them for a time, and there was little thought of revenge. The instinctive feeling was quite universal that the war was substantially over and that the work of assassination was but the act of a few madmen.

The next day, April 18th, Sherman took with him not only his personal staff, but Blair and myself. He left us all at Durham Station, except the officers whom he took the day before. It was at this interview that the first terms were drawn up. Speaking of the paper that contained them, Sherman says: “ I wrote it myself, and announced it as the best I could do, and they (Johnston and his advisers) readily assented.”

These were explicit and general terms which were signed by Sherman and Johnston and forwarded for the approval or disapproval of the Executive. The clause which recognized the State Governments, whose legitimacy was to be determined by the Supreme Court, together with the other paragraph, which defined political rights and franchises, was what caused such a *furor* of opposition from Washington.

The whole agreement was disapproved by President Johnson, and Grant was ordered “ to resume hostilities at the earliest moment ”; and, further, Grant was instructed to proceed to Sherman’s headquarters “ and direct opposition against the enemy.”

Grant came. His visit was a memorable one. His close friendship for Sherman prevented anything that might have been unfavorable to a speedy peace, and allayed all asperities; but he could not remove the

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

deep chagrin Sherman felt, not that his terms had been disapproved, for that was discretionary with the President, but because he had been so publicly and cruelly denounced by the War Department.

Grant sent Sherman again to meet Johnston. They met April 26th and agreed upon a new set of terms putting Johnston's army, officers and men upon their parole to fight no more, and permitting them to return to their homes. As soon as Sherman came back to Raleigh, Grant read the memorandum of agreement carefully, put his approval upon it, and leaving us the next day, took the same to Washington. On that day, April 26th, Halleck sent a dispatch to the Secretary of War, showing that troops had been sent from the Army of the Potomac into Sherman's vicinity. This singular clause occurs concerning a suspension of orders for the advancement of the Sixth Corps, made consequent upon Sherman's last agreement: "I have telegraphed back to obey no orders of Sherman, but to push forward as rapidly as possible."

Not only this, but Halleck asked the War Department for orders to General James H. Wilson, commanding cavalry, and then hurrying on southward, "to obey no orders from Sherman!" In the light of these dispatches, it is no wonder that Sherman, having three armies at his disposal, and not even relieved from duty, felt more deeply than can be described the insult so conveyed. Sherman's own words as to the state of his feelings are pertinent: "I was outraged beyond measure, and was resolved to resent the insult, cost what it might!"

On the morning of April 26th I wrote a letter to my home: "Sherman's terms were not approved at Washington. I go with him to meet Johnston to-day, and

The Battle of Bentonville

expect other terms will be arranged. Grant came back with Major Hitchcock (Sherman's messenger to Washington), was present at my review of the Seventeenth Corps day before yesterday, and yesterday he visited and rode among the camps of my Fifteenth Corps. The men received him with great enthusiasm. I cannot get over the effects of the death of Mr. Lincoln. Even the people here believe that they have passed into severer hands, and have a sort of appreciation of the fact that they have lost a friend and not an enemy."

April 29th I wrote again on the eve of our departure from Raleigh:

I am just starting with my army northward, and expect to reach Petersburg by the 12th of next month. Since I have been here in Raleigh, I have been entertained by Mr. and Mrs. R. S. Tucker, people young like you and me. I have been treated with marked cordiality, and have acquired a great friendship for them. There is no more war! I am deeply sorry for the abuse Sherman is getting at the hands of the press. He meant right, and the reasons for offering generous terms were not rightly set forth by the press. How easy it is to impute wrong motives.

We spanned the distance to Richmond in nine days, making an average by the route we followed through Petersburg from 20 to 25 miles a day. The soldiers generally were so eager to get to the places of muster-out in order to return to their homes that they did not complain now of long marches.

PART III—RECONSTRUCTION

**COMMISSIONER OF THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU ;
FOUNDING HOWARD UNIVERSITY**

CHAPTER XLVI

NEGRO CONDITIONS DURING THE CIVIL WAR

BEFORE the beginning of the summer of 1865 the Civil War had been brought to a close. The Union volunteers were soon thereafter mustered out of the military service; and, carrying with them as tokens of honor their certificates of discharge, proud of their achievements, and full of hope for a happy and prosperous future, they joyfully sought their widely scattered homes.

The Confederate soldiers who had confronted them for four long years, from Generals Lee and Johnston to the humblest privates in the ranks, were treated with delicacy and kindness by our officers. After their surrender, however disappointed they might be at the result of the conflict, they were, nevertheless, not without spirit and hope. So, enjoying an American's confidence in his ability to get on in the world and protected by Grant's generous parole, they returned to their Southern households. They found their farms stripped, their plantations overgrown with weeds, their cotton destroyed, and their laborers disbanded. Business in cities and villages was at a standstill, and their late Confederate currency absolutely without value. The prospect at the best was dark. Still, these men had Anglo-Saxon courage, and with few exceptions did not succumb to the appalling difficulties of their situation, but promptly went to work to gain

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

a living for themselves and for those who were dependent on them for support.

These ex-Confederate soldiers were, however, but a small part of the entire population of the Southern States. Four millions of negro slaves, who had been hitherto bound to labor in both the cotton and border States, had been set free: First, by the successive operations of the great war; second, by the proclamation of the President; and third, indirectly, from the effects of statute and constitutional law. Generally these millions had left their places of work and abode and had become indeed nomadic, wandering wherever want drove or untutored inclination enticed them. They had drifted into nooks and corners like *débris* into sloughs and eddies; and were very soon to be found in varied, ill-conditioned masses, all the way from Maryland to Mexico, and from the Gulf to the Ohio River. An awful calamitous breaking-up of a thoroughly organized society; dark desolation lay in its wake.

It was not the negroes alone who were so thoroughly shaken up and driven hither and thither by the storms of war. Those named in the South the "poor whites," especially of the mountain regions of Georgia, Tennessee, North and South Carolina, were included. These had all along been greatly divided in their allegiance—some for the Union, and some for the Confederacy. Family and neighborhood feuds, always indigenous and contagious there, naturally took on new fire during the war and its resulting conflicts, so that these people were sooner or later scattered to the four winds. To these two classes, negroes and whites, were usually given the names of freedmen and refugees.

Negro Conditions During the Civil War

To arrive at a clearer view of the actual condition of Southern neighborhoods, hamlets, villages, and cities during and at the close of our internecine strife, here follow a few brief sketches of these indigent classes as they came under my own observation during and after the war.

As early as 1861 there were several significant illustrations of the approaching problems. For example, after the first battle of Bull Run my headquarters and staff belongings as a brigade commander were at a farmhouse, three miles westward from Alexandria, Va. One day a woman, tall, straight, healthful, and active presented herself at the picket guard bearing on her arm a lad of some two years. The child had a darker hue than the mother, and his kinky hair, cut short, enveloped his round head with its woolly dress. This woman and child were brought to me by the officer of the outpost. Seeing that the woman was terrified, I endeavored to reassure her of her safety.

“What do you wish?” I asked.

“Sir, I’m a slave woman, and this here’s my child. Let me and my child go free!”

While I was listening to the woman’s plaint and entreaty, a sallow-complexioned, poorly clad white woman of middle age was ushered in. Addressing me in a shrill voice she said at once:

“That there woman is my slave. I have always treated her well, and here she is. She has run off. Now, sir, you must send her back to me, for she is mine. She and the boy, they’re my property.”

It will be remembered that at first the Government proposed to itself to overcome the armies in rebellion, and save the Union as it was, without touching slavery at all. This course appeared to be necessary, in view

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

of the fact that the border States were in their majority loyal to the Union. As many of the friends of the Union in those States had slaves, it was indeed difficult to deal with the question of servitude. Public opinion, it is true, was changing from day to day, but the friends of freedom were obliged to wait yet many days to realize much of what they had been so long hoping, praying, and striving for.

On this occasion, commanding an outpost, I found myself under most stringent orders not to harbor any slave property. In face of this actuality I was greatly puzzled with the case before me. The white woman, seeing my embarrassment, became more and more excited, and soon began to use abusive language, directed partially to me, but mainly to her slave.

The woman kept pressing her child to her breast and with her large eyes filled with tears continued to look toward me, repeating: "Oh! my child, my child!"

At last, of course, I was obliged to decide the case. So turning to the impatient white woman, I said:

"There's your property, take it!"

She promptly answered: "But I can't take it. She's stronger than I! You must give me a guard."

My heart rebelled against using military force for such a purpose, and so I answered:

"No, no, I will not give you a guard. I will never use bayonets to drive a poor girl and child into bondage."

I had reluctantly complied with the letter of the law and fancied that to be enough. Somehow that night, without my knowledge, the slave woman and her child found their way eastward to Alexandria and thence to Washington—thus she and her child became free. Two citizens from Maine, who were unqualified

Negro Conditions During the Civil War

abolitionists, were that same day with me for a short time. They condemned my apparent hesitancy in strong terms. "You should pay no attention whatever to such uncalled-for orders," they said.

After that I was hopeful that I should have no more slave cases to deal with. But soon after this, there was led in a large, dark fellow, with the thickest of lips and the broadest of noses, whose utterance was hard for one uninitiated to understand.

"How did you get past the picket?" I asked.

"I thorounded um, thir."

He, too, found the Potomac and freedom. A man who could surround a picket was smart enough to reach and pass Mason and Dixon's line.

There were other commanders on our front lines in the East and the West who more fully carried out their instructions; so that, for a time, hundreds of escaping slaves who had come in, full of the hope of freedom, were caught as in a net and given up to men and women who visited the camps and laid claim to them; such visitors were permitted to carry their servants back to bondage, and sometimes soldiers were sent to escort the fugitives on their return.

All the armies of the Union were then in a great ferment on this subject. General H. W. Halleck, in the West, prohibited the slaves from "entering the lines of any camp or any column on the march." General Thomas Williams in the far South at Baton Rouge gave equally decisive instructions; but on the other hand General John C. Fremont, in Missouri, August 31, 1861, attempted by public orders to confiscate the property of all citizens in rebellion and establish the freedom of their slaves.

As this action was in advance of President and

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

Congress on both subjects, that of confiscation and emancipation, Mr. Lincoln was obliged to modify Fremont's premature proclamation. This he did clearly and cautiously by an executive order prepared and issued by himself.

Again, General J. W. Phelps, at Ship Island, in the winter of 1861 and 1862 issued an emancipation pronunciamento, which brought upon him severe newspaper and other censure. General David Hunter, later, May 9, 1862, from Hilton Head, declared in orders for the States of Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina: "That persons heretofore held as slaves are therefore declared forever free."

The "therefore" was based on what appeared to him a self-evident proposition: "Slavery and martial law in a free country were altogether incompatible."

After Hunter's action, President Lincoln again, with evident sorrow, interfered, declaring, in substance, that whether or not it was proper for the Chief Executive to emancipate slaves, that action was at least reserved to himself, an action "which he could not feel justified in leaving to commanders in the field." Thus General Hunter was reprimanded. Still, by these antislavery officers and many others on our extended lines, the escaping slaves were never returned to bondage, and when within our lines were treated humanely.

General B. F. Butler's shrewd experiments at Fort Monroe and Hampton greatly helped the whole observing army. A Confederate officer, Colonel Charles Mallory, sent an agent from Norfolk to Butler for the purpose of recovering three escaped slaves. Butler refused to give them up. In the interview, May 23, 1861, he said to the agent:

Negro Conditions During the Civil War

“The question is simply whether they shall be used for or against the Government of the United States. I shall hold these negroes as *contraband* of war.”

After that action the slaves northward bound who crossed our lines, were denominated “contrabands.” They were in many places organized into camps and the able-bodied employed in army work. Our armies, made up mostly of volunteers, could not help at any time being participants, more or less pronounced, in the controversies that appeared in the press and the country. Some proslavery officers on various occasions denounced Mr. Lincoln, applying to him all sorts of epithets as, “mountebank,” “old ape,” and “a consummate tyrant.”

Extreme abolitionists also impugned his conduct with equal violence on account of his apparent hesitation and slowness. While General Geo. B. McClellan annoyed him by public promises “to suppress all servile insurrection by force,” and General Don Carlos Buel, in Kentucky, continued to allow slave holders to come within his lines and recover their property, and General Halleck, in Missouri, forbade slaves to enter the lines; other commanders, especially in the West, grew wiser, and before long maintained a sounder war doctrine, viz.; “God means us to free all the slaves. We will not succeed in putting down the rebellion till we set every slave free.” It was not a brazen attempt to interpret the divine will, but, somehow, a settled conviction of such men’s souls.

Touching slaves and slave property, before long the Eastern, the Middle and the Western armies with little reasoning or open discussion caught the fire of vigorous and unsparing war measures. True, under

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

such orders, some slaves for a while were refettered after they had come within the Union lines, but in time press and people, officers and soldiers, with meager exceptions were united and with one voice said: "The slaves of men in arms against the Government shall be forever free."

General Butler in a letter to Simon Cameron, then Secretary of War, dated July 20, 1861, showed that he was in the advance. In this letter he afforded glimpses into camps and workshops where the implements of emancipation were being forged. These glimpses, next to those of the premature bivouac of John Brown, were the most fruitful sources yet put forth of agitation north and south, and later became the cause of remedial legislation.

It appears that several regiments, by a sudden call of service, were taken away from Butler's command. In consequence, the general's outlying troops had to be called in toward Fort Monroe, and the village of Hampton abandoned. With evident feeling he wrote that in that village there were large numbers of negroes, composed in a great measure of men, women, and children who had fled within his lines for protection; they had escaped from marauding parties of Confederates who had been gathering up able-bodied blacks to aid them in constructing their batteries. He had employed the men in Hampton in throwing up intrenchments, and they were working zealously and efficiently at that duty, saving his soldiers from that labor under the midday sun. The women were earning substantially their own subsistence in washing, marketing, and taking care of the clothes of the soldiers; and rations for the support of the children were being served out to the men who worked. But by the evacu-

Negro Conditions During the Civil War

ation of Hampton all these black people were obliged to break up their homes and flee across the creek within his new lines for safety and support. He described it as a most distressing sight to see these poor creatures who had trusted to the arms of the United States, and who had aided the troops, thus obliged to flee from their houses, and the homes of their masters who had early deserted them. They had become fugitives from fear of the return of the Confederate soldiery who had threatened to shoot the men who had wrought for us, and to carry off the women again into bondage.

General Butler further argues: "When I adopted the theory of treating the able-bodied negro, fit to work in the trenches, as property liable to be used in the aid of the rebellion and so contraband of war, that condition of things was so far met, as I then believed and still believe, on a legal and constitutional basis. But now, several new questions arise. Passing by women, the children certainly cannot be treated on that basis; if property they must be considered the incumbrance rather than the auxiliary of an army, and of course in no possible legal relation could be treated as contraband. Are they property? If they were so they have been left by their masters and owners, deserted, thrown away, abandoned like the wrecked vessel upon the ocean." He draws this conclusion: "I confess that my own mind is compelled by this reasoning to look upon them as men and women. My duty as a humane man is very plain. I should take the same care of these men, women, and children—houseless, homeless, and unprovided for—as I would for the same number of men, women, and children, who, for their attachment to the Union, have

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

been driven or allowed to flee from the Confederate States.”

Butler would have had no doubt on this question had he not seen an order issued by General Irvin McDowell substantially forbidding all fugitive slaves from coming within his lines or being harbored there. If left to his own discretion he would have taken a widely different course from that which McDowell's order indicated. In a loyal State he would put down a servile insurrection. In a State in rebellion he would confiscate that which was used to oppose our arms, and take all that property which constituted the wealth of that State, and furnished the means by which the war was prosecuted, besides being the cause of the war; and if, in so doing, it should be objected that human beings were brought to the free enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, such objection would not require much consideration.

Our President and Congress diligently studied all the phenomena, noticed the gradual clearing of the skies, and in some fitting manner, by proclamations and by timely acts of legislation, helped to drive away the remaining mists from men's minds and hearts.

An Act of Congress, approved March 13, 1862, created a new Article of War. It prohibited all persons in the military service from employing the forces under their command to return slaves to claiming owners and provided trial by court-martial and the penalty of dismissal for its violation. This was a legal step that the friends of freedom hailed with no little satisfaction.

Thus legislation after a germinating period had emphasized and enforced the better view, and all commanders had been gradually brought to treat as freed-

Negro Conditions During the Civil War

men the escaping slaves. But from the beginning there continued to exist a chaotic condition of society where the masters and their immediate families were escaping in one direction and the great bulk of their slaves in another.

As the war further progressed the number of fugitives continually increased till all the woes of destitution and confusion came on like a great freshet, the springs and rivulets were full and swift, the rivers high and angry with overflows, and the gulfs and bays into which they entered, though more quiet, were deeply moved, casting up mire and dirt from the very bottom. The surging masses of poverty-stricken people flowed into the larger cities, and idleness and viciousness infected them. All the border States were in great trouble because slave property was becoming of little value anywhere. Border loyalty became shaken when thousands of dollars' worth of human chattels disappeared in a night. For a time, as we have seen, a few commanders had returned their slaves to loyal owners. Early in 1862 an officer operating in Missouri, commanding an Iowa regiment, brought to his camp several fugitives through whom he had obtained valuable information. He asked for their freedom. But the owner came for them. The Iowa officer denied him and allowed the slaves to escape. In consequence the department commander, General Halleck, sent a detachment in pursuit of the negroes. They were overtaken; one of them was shot and the others returned to the owner; at the same time the Iowa officer was placed under arrest.

This sharp action caused the matter to be speedily brought to Congress. In the midst of the discussion which followed the introduction of a Bill of Relief into

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

Congress, in itself the excitant of advancing thought, many a representative made a record which to-day seems incredible. For example, one member said: "Must the Northern fanatics be sated with negroes, taxes, and blood, with division North, devastation South, and peril to constitutional liberty everywhere, before relief shall come? They will not halt until their darling schemes are consummated."

Another, more proslavery still, cried out in despair: "Sir, pass these acts, confiscate under these bills the property of these men, emancipate their negroes, place arms in the hands of these human gorillas to murder their masters and violate their wives and daughters, and you will have a war such as was never witnessed in the worst days of the French Revolution, and horrors never exceeded in San Domingo, for the balance of the century, at least."

These dreadful prophecies were never fulfilled. The famous Confiscation Act was approved July 17, 1862. Besides provision for the emancipation of slaves and confiscation of other property in any district in insurrection, the President, at his discretion, was authorized to use negroes in such manner as he should judge best for the public welfare in the suppression of the rebellion. Under this legislation numerous colonies were organized along the southern coast.

When the extreme destitution of the negroes at Hampton, Va., and vicinity became known in the North, Lewis Tappan, Esq., Treasurer of the American Missionary Association, wrote August 3, 1861, to General Butler suggesting the removal of the destitute negroes to the North. The general replied to him, August 10th, that it was better for them to remain

Negro Conditions During the Civil War

South, but that the help of his Association would be most welcome. Obeying his call, the Rev. L. C. Lockwood was sent. He reached Fort Monroe September 3d and immediately called on General John E. Wool, who had, August 7th, superseded General Butler as department commander. In the evening, while conversing on the piazza of the hotel, he heard music, and following the sound found a number of colored people assembled for prayer. They hailed his coming as an answer to their prayers and an assurance that the good Lord had opened His arms to bless them.

The first Association day school was opened by this agent September 17th. It was held in a small house near the female seminary building, which, after the war, became the Hampton Home for Volunteer Soldiers. The first teacher was Mrs. Mary S. Peak, a well-educated free woman of color.

With a view to bettering the condition of these people, after a careful investigation by a commission of which Colonel LeGrand B. Cannon was a member, and by whose personal efforts the approval of the Secretary of War was obtained, General Wool issued a general order, March 18, 1862, appointing Mr. Charles B. Wilder Superintendent of Negroes, and providing that all wages earned by persons of African blood be paid to the laborers themselves for their own use and support under such regulations as should be devised by the superintendent. This was an advance from the contraband, fed, clothed, and housed for his labor, to the free wage-earner.

February 8, 1862, in North Carolina the battle of Roanoke Island was fought; immediately after it crowds of fugitives, most of them poor and ignorant negroes, poured into camp. Very soon a prominent

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

member of the Christian Commission, Vincent Colyer, Esq., of New York was set at work to care for these fugitives. He was designated in orders as Superintendent of the Poor.

In the ensuing March after New Berne had been captured, Colyer exercised the same functions there. The following was his method: He took a house for himself and his helpers and made it the center and store of active benevolence for his beneficiaries. For the able-bodied he secured employment as carpenters, blacksmiths, longshoremen, and laborers on military works. Officers in command also received some negroes from him and used them as scouts, a few chosen fugitives being dispatched to go beyond the lines and return with information.

Evening schools were here opened for the freedmen. At New Berne alone nearly a thousand joyfully accepted the privilege of attending, while willing soldiers in most cases became their instructors. The eagerness of the negro men, women, and children for knowledge of books was a remarkable fact, here emphasized.

Later Chaplain Horace James of the Twenty-fifth Massachusetts Volunteers became Superintendent of Negro Affairs for North Carolina, and other officers were detailed to assist him. These covered the territory gradually opened by the advance of our armies in both Virginia and North Carolina. Becoming a quartermaster with the rank of captain in 1864, he, for upward of two years, superintended the poor, both white and black in that region. He grouped the fugitives in small villages, and diligently attended to their industries and to their schools. Enlisted men were his first teachers; then followed the best of lady



MRS. ELIZA OTIS GILMORE, MOTHER OF GENERAL HOWARD,
AND GRANDDAUGHTER.

Negro Conditions During the Civil War

teachers from the North and success crowned his efforts.

In February, 1864, while there were about two thousand freed people in the villages outside of the New Berne, North Carolina, intrenchments, an enterprising Confederate general, George E. Pickett, with a division of troops, attempted to retake that city. Concerning his approach an eyewitness wrote that every man, woman, and child from these negro camps came rushing wildly into town, and felt as keen a sense of danger as if they had been actually returned by force to their old masters. Negroes, to the number of nine hundred, were then put into the trenches with the white soldiers, and were highly complimented for their uniformly brave conduct during the assault. The attempt of General Pickett failed, and the negro defenders received a due proportion of credit for the repulse. After this the several negro settlements, for safety, had to be consolidated within the fortified lines. Lots were now assigned and about eight hundred houses erected, which at one time sheltered some three thousand escaped slaves.

Though such a village was not productive of the best fruits in all respects, yet even there under the thorough system of police instituted and the daily drill of the men, the schools taught by excellent teachers steadily increased in numbers and the freed people improved rapidly in intelligence, in cleanliness, and order. It was altogether a new life to the late slaves.

The capture by our navy of the forts at its mouth, November 7, 1861, had brought into our possession Port Royal Harbor, S. C. Such cotton as was found on the islands tributary to this region was at once taken possession of by treasury agents.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

June 28, 1862, Brigadier General Rufus Saxton, with headquarters at Beaufort, South Carolina, assumed the government and control of all places and persons in the Department of the South which were not embraced in the operations of General Quincy A. Gillmore, commanding the department. General Saxton, as military governor, appointed three division superintendents, each having charge of several of the Sea Islands. Market houses were established at Hilton Head and Beaufort for the sale of the produce from the plantations, and negroes put to work, the larger settlements being on Port Royal Island and near the town of Beaufort.

Colored men in that vicinity were soon enlisted as soldiers and an effort was made to cause the laborers left on each plantation, under plantation superintendents appointed for the purpose, to raise sufficient cotton and corn for their own support, rations being given from the Commissary Department only when necessary to prevent absolute starvation. These conditions with hardly an interruption continued until the spring of 1865.

Grant's army in the West occupied Grand Junction, Miss., by November, 1862. The usual irregular host of slaves then swarmed in from the surrounding country. They begged for protection against recapture, and they, of course, needed food, clothing, and shelter. They could not now be reënslaved through army aid, yet no provision had been made by anybody for their sustenance. A few were employed as teamsters, servants, cooks, and pioneers. Yet it seemed as if the vast majority must be left to freeze and starve; for when the storms came with the winter months the weather was of great severity.

Negro Conditions During the Civil War

General Grant, with his usual gentleness toward the needy and his fertility in expedients, introduced at once a plan of relief. He selected a fitting superintendent, John Eaton, Chaplain of the Twenty-seventh Ohio Volunteers, who soon was promoted to the colonelcy of a colored regiment, and later for many years was Commissioner of the U. S. Bureau of Education. He was then constituted Chief of Negro Affairs for the entire district under Grant's jurisdiction. The plan which Grant conceived the new superintendent ably carried out. There were all around Grand Junction, when our operations opened, large crops of cotton and corn ungathered. It was determined to harvest these, send them North for sale, and place the receipts to the credit of the Government. The army of fugitives, willingly going to work, produced a lively scene. The children lent a hand in gathering the corn and the cotton. The superintendent, conferring with the general himself, fixed upon fair wages for this industry. Under similar remuneration woodcutters were set at work to supply with fuel numerous Government steamers on the river. After inspection of accounts, the money was paid for the labor by the quartermaster, but never directly to the fugitives. The superintendent, controlling this money, saw to it first that the men, women, and children should have sufficient clothing and food; then Colonel Eaton built for them rough cabins and provided for their sick and aged, managing to extend to them many unexpected comforts. General Grant in his memoirs suggests this as the first idea of a "Freedmen's Bureau." It was, doubtless, a harbinger of that larger institution which Congress subsequently provided for the wants of the millions of the emancipated, but it was not the

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

first inception. There were other groups of fugitives quite as large and similarly cared for in the East and South; yet Grant's enterprise afforded an object lesson and had a sensible completeness from the start.

While in camp on the Rappahannock at Falmouth, Va., I well remember the unusual excitement in our army upon the receipt of the remarkable preliminary proclamation of Mr. Lincoln, promulgated September 22, 1862. It was like Elisha's call on Mt. Carmel: "Choose ye this day whom ye will serve!" Officers and men did choose. The pregnant phrases of that proclamation have a voice which still resounds pleasantly in loyal ears: "That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward and forever free." This proclamation republished the new law which forbade the return of slaves and also the Confiscation Act, intended to punish treason and rebellion by the seizure of property and the freeing of slaves.

We were also further apprised at the same time of an additional step that Mr. Lincoln would soon take—a step which made all men who were hostile to his administration very angry. It was the formal avowal of his purpose, in his next message, to suggest to Congress what he believed to be an equitable method of the gradual abolishment of slavery altogether, not only in the States in insurrection, but in the border States which the friends of secession had failed to carry out of the Union, and among many people who had thus far cordially maintained our cause. How

Negro Conditions During the Civil War

this action of the President affected the proslavery element in that portion of the army with which I was connected may be illustrated by one or two occurrences.

During a temporary absence of General Darius N. Couch, I was commanding the Second Corps near Falmouth, Va. More incautious than scores of others, a young officer of that corps was one day loudly talking to his comrades against General Ambrose E. Burnside, then commanding the Army of the Potomac, and also against the President. The officer declared that he would never fight in company with accursed abolitionists. He was surrounded by other commissioned officers, including the surgeon and chaplain of his regiment, and his soldiers were within hearing. Two or three prominent civilians on a visit to the army chanced to hear his pronounced offensive words, and noticed the growing excitement in that neighborhood. Coming straight to me, these gentlemen reported the case and deplored the condition of the army which they judged to be bad enough from this and other incidents which had come under their observation. The charge of uttering disloyal language was preferred and witnesses summoned. The offending officer was promptly tried and sentenced to dismissal. For years afterwards he sought in vain to procure a reversal of that sentence.

In another regiment of that same corps for tendering his resignation in face of the enemy for the alleged reason that this had become an abolition war, a lieutenant was similarly tried and cashiered. For this prompt enforcement of discipline I was commended by Mr. Stanton.

All outward demonstrations were thus nipped in

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

the bud, so that while other officers in the command ground their teeth in vexation they wisely refrained from insubordination and mutinous expressions.

Among our enlisted men there were not a few who at one time held views similar to the New York rioters of 1863. They hated a negro except as a slave, and they kept alive in their circle of influence an under-current of malice more or less active.

Close by my headquarters the First Minnesota Regiment of volunteers was stationed near a cluster of trees not far from the Rappahannock. Its field officers rejoiced in the possession of a number of good horses. Among the refugees were several negro lads who were employed to care for the horses, grooming them, and riding daily to water and back to camp. Among these was a mulatto of some eighteen years, of handsome figure, pleasant face and manners, and rather well dressed for the field. He appeared a little proud, especially when mounted on his employer's horse. One day, as he was riding as usual, a small group of soldiers were heard cursing him. One of them said distinctly that he should never ride and have the speaker walk as long as there was good stuff in his rifle. Little was thought of the man's threat at the time, but soon after, as the lad was passing the same point, sitting erect on his blanketed horse, a shot was fired, coming apparently from a group of soldiers to his left and not far from him. The lad was desperately wounded in the shoulder and would have fallen to the ground except for the help of a friendly neighbor. The Minnesota men carried him carefully to the hospital, where he was kindly treated. Several officers of the army visited him. No harsh word ever fell from his lips. He lingered a few days, and with ex-

Negro Conditions During the Civil War

pressions of forgiveness on his tongue and hope in his face the lad died. The murderer could not be found. His comrades covered him and his crime. The death of this colored youth made a deep impression in our camp. Evidently on account of his color he was slain. Friendly voices murmured against the crime, and with set teeth echoed the settled thought: "Slavery must go."

On January 1, 1863, Mr. Lincoln's promised proclamation was issued. It exceeded the preliminary one in intrinsic force and immediate positive effect.

On the coast of South Carolina our officers, under the Confiscation Act, had already enrolled large numbers of able-bodied fugitives as soldiers. Near one encampment were standing, scattered here and there, immense live oaks. Their lateral branches often covered a circuit of from seventy-five to a hundred feet, and innumerable birds lived and sang among the restless leaves. Not far from Beaufort under the shade of these magnificent trees the first tidings of the grand proclamation were read to a regiment of negroes. Their joy and enthusiasm were unbounded.

Even before the close of 1862 many thousands of blacks of all ages, clad in rags, with no possessions except the nondescript bundles of all sizes which the adults carried on their backs, had come together at Norfolk, Hampton, Alexandria, and Washington. Sickness, want of food and shelter, sometimes resulting in crime, appealed to the sympathies of every feeling heart. Landless, homeless, helpless families in multitudes, including a proportion of wretched white people, were flocking northward from Tennessee and Kentucky, Arkansas and Missouri. They were, it is true, for a time not only relieved by army rations,

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

spasmodically issued, but were met most kindly by various volunteer societies of the North — societies which gathered their means from churches and individuals at home and abroad.

During the spring of 1863, many different groups and crowds of freedmen and refugees, regular and irregular, were located near the long and broken line of division between the armies of the North and South, ranging from Maryland to the Kansas border and along the coast from Norfolk, Va., to New Orleans, La. They were similar in character and condition to those already described. Their virtues, their vices, their poverty, their sicknesses, their labors, their idleness, their excess of joy, and their extremes of suffering were told to our home people by every returning soldier or agent, or by the missionaries who were soliciting the means of relief. Soon in the North an extraordinary zeal for humanity, quite universal, sprang up, and a Christian spirit which was never before exceeded began to prevail. The result was the organizing of numerous new bodies of associated workers, whose influence kept our country free from the ills attending emancipation elsewhere; it saved us from negro insurrection, anarchy, and bloody massacre, with which the proslavery men and even the conservative readers of history had threatened the land.

The Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon P. Chase, always anxious for successful emancipation, had had brought to his attention early in 1862 the accumulations of the best cotton on abandoned sea-island plantations; there was the opportunity to raise more; and the many slaves in the vicinity practically set free and under governmental control, could be worked to advan-

Negro Conditions During the Civil War

tage. The cotton was to be collected by Treasury agents and the freedmen benefited.

During the summer of 1864, Wm. Pitt Fessenden, who had replaced Mr. Chase as Secretary of the Treasury, inaugurated a new plan for the freedmen and the abandoned lands. He appointed and located supervising special agents of his Department in different portions of the South which were now free from Confederate troops. These agents had charge of the freedmen. Each was to form here and there settlements on abandoned estates, each denominated a "Freedman's Home Colony," and situated in his own district, and he must appoint a supervisor for such colonies as he should establish. A number of such colonies were formed. The supervisor provided buildings, obtained work animals and implements of husbandry and other essential supplies; he kept a book of record, which mentioned the former owner of the land, the name, age, residence, and trade or occupation of each colonist; all births, deaths, and marriages; the coming and going of each employee, and other like data. These agents and supervisors were sometimes taken under military control by the local commander, and sometimes operated independently.

Under this plan the freed people were classified for fixed wages varying from \$10 to \$25 per month, according to the class, and whether male or female. There was a complete and detailed system of employment. Food and clothing were guaranteed at cost, and all parties concerned were put under written contracts. For a time in some places this system worked fairly well. It was a stepping-stone to independence. The working people usually had in the supervisors and treasury agents friendly counselors; and when

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

minor courts of any sort were established under them for hearing complaints of fraud or oppression, these officials reviewed the cases and their decisions were final. These were rather short steps in the path of progress! They were experiments.

From the time of the opening of New Orleans in 1862 till 1865, different systems of caring for the escaped slaves and their families were tried in the Southwest. Generals Butler and Banks, each in his turn sought to provide for the thousands of destitute freedmen in medicines, rations, and clothing. Colonies were soon formed and sent to abandoned plantations. A sort of general poor farm was established and called "the Home Colony." Mr. Thomas W. Conway, when first put in charge of the whole region as "Superintendent of the Bureau of Free Labor," tried to impress upon all freedmen who came under his charge in these home colonies that they must work as hard as if they were employed by contract on the plantation of a private citizen. His avowed object, and indeed that of every local superintendent, was to render the freedmen self-supporting. One bright freedman said: "I always kept master *and me*. Guess I can keep *me*."

Two methods at first not much in advance of slavery were used: one was to force the laborers to toil; and the second, when wages were paid, to fix exact rates for them by orders. Each colony from the first had a superintendent, a physician, a clerk, and an instructor in farming. The primary and Sunday schools were not wanting, and churches were encouraged.

Early in 1863, General Lorenzo Thomas, the adjutant general of the army, was organizing colored troops along the Mississippi River. After consulting

Negro Conditions During the Civil War

various Treasury agents and department commanders, including General Grant, and having also the approval of Mr. Lincoln, he issued from Milliken's Bend, La., April 15th, a lengthy series of instructions covering the territory bordering the Mississippi and including all the inhabitants.

He appointed three commissioners, Messrs. Field, Shickle and Livermore, to lease plantations and care for the employees. He adroitly encouraged private enterprise instead of Government colonies; but he fixed the wages of able-bodied men over fifteen years of age at \$7 per month, for able-bodied women \$5 per month, for children from twelve to fifteen years, half price. He laid a tax for revenue of \$2 per 400 lbs. on cotton, and five cents per bushel on corn and potatoes.

This plan naturally did not work well, for the lessees of plantations proved to be for the most part adventurers and speculators. Of course such men took advantage of the ignorant people. The commissioners themselves seem to have done more for the lessees than for the laborers; and in fact the wages were from the beginning so fixed as to benefit and enrich the employer. Two dollars per month was stopped against each of the employed, ostensibly for medical attendance, but to most plantations thus leased no physician or medicine ever came, and there were other attendant cruelties which avarice contrived.

On fifteen plantations leased by the negroes themselves in this region there was a notable success; and also in a few instances among the others where humanity and good sense reigned, the contracts were generally carried out. Here the negroes were contented and grateful and were able to lay by small gains. This

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

plantation arrangement along the Mississippi under the commissioners as well as the management of numerous infirmary camps passed, about the close of 1863, from the War to the Treasury Department. A new commission or agency, with Mr. W. P. Mellen of the Treasury at the head, established more careful and complete regulations than those of General L. Thomas; this time it was done decidedly in the interest of the laborers.

Then came another change of jurisdiction. On March 11, 1865, General Stephen A. Hurlbut at New Orleans assumed the charge of freedmen and labor for the state of Louisiana. He based his orders on the failure of the Secretary of the Treasury to recognize the regulations of that Secretary's own general agent, Mr. Mellen. Mr. Thomas W. Conway was announced as "Superintendent of Home Colonies," the word having a larger extension than before. A registry of plantations, hire and compensation of labor, with a fair schedule of wages, penalties for idleness and crime, time and perquisites of labor, the poll tax of \$2 per year, liens and security for work done, were carefully provided for by General Hurlbut's specific instructions.

General Edward R. S. Canby, a little later, from Mobile, Ala., issued similar orders, and Mr. Conway was also placed over the freedmen's interests in his vicinity. Thus the whole freedmen's management for Alabama, Southern Mississippi, and Louisiana was concentrated under Mr. Conway's control. He reported early in 1865 that there were about twenty colored regiments in Louisiana under pay and that they could purchase every inch of confiscated and abandoned land in the hands of the Government in that

Negro Conditions During the Civil War

State. All the soldiers desired to have the land on the expiration of enlistment. One regiment had in hand \$50,000 for the purpose of buying five of the largest plantations on the Mississippi. It was at the time thought by many persons interested in the future of the freedmen that the abandoned and confiscable lands if used for them would afford a wholesome solution to the negro problem.

On December 21, 1864, when the Confederate commander, General Wm. J. Hardee, withdrew his troops from Savannah, Ga., and our forces thus finishing Sherman's march to the sea, in joyous triumph came into the city, I saw plainly enough that the white people were overwhelmed with a sense of their defeat and helplessness. But it was the precise opposite with the slave inhabitants. It was a day of manifest joy, for wasn't it a visible answer to their long-continued and importunate prayers? It was a positive deliverance from bondage, the ushering in of the fruitage of brighter hopes. Certainly so it all appeared to these simple souls who met our columns of troops at every point in crowds, and with arms akimbo danced and sang their noisy welcome.

A few days after the triumphal entrance, Secretary of War Stanton came in person from Washington to convey his grateful acknowledgment to General Sherman and his army for their late achievements. While at Savannah he examined into the condition of the liberated negroes found in that city. He assembled twenty of those who were deemed their leaders. Among them were barbers, pilots, and sailors, some ministers, and others who had been overseers on cotton and rice plantations. Mr. Stanton and General Sherman gave them a hearing. It would have been

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

wise if our statesmen could have received, digested, and acted upon the answers these men gave to their questions. Garrison Frazier was the chosen spokesman. The first question referred to the interpretation of Mr. Lincoln's proclamation. Frazier answered that it provided that if the States concerned did not lay down their arms and submit to the laws of the United States before January 1, 1863, all the slaves would be free henceforth and forever.

When asked to define slavery and freedom, he said that "Slavery is receiving by irresistible power the work of another man, and not by his consent. Freedom is taking us from under the yoke of bondage and placing us where we can reap the fruit of our own labor, and take care of ourselves, and assist the Government in maintaining our freedom."

In answer to a question as to where they would rather live, whether scattered among the whites or in colonies by themselves, he answered: "*I would prefer to live by ourselves, for there is a prejudice against us in the South that it will take years to get over, but I do not know that I can answer for my brethren.*" All but one agreed with Frazier, and that one was a Northern negro missionary.

Mr. Stanton's final question was occasioned by recently published statements that Sherman was unfriendly to the negroes. Question: "State what is the feeling of the colored people toward General Sherman; and how far do they regard his sentiments and actions as friendly to their rights and interests?" The answer, though doubtless somewhat diplomatic, was an able one:

"We looked upon General Sherman prior to his arrival as a man in the providence of God specially set

Negro Conditions During the Civil War

apart to accomplish this work; and we unanimously felt inexpressible gratitude to him, looking upon him as a man who should be honored for the faithful performance of his duty. Some of us called upon him immediately upon his arrival, and it is probable that he did not meet the Secretary with more courtesy than he did us. His conduct and deportment toward us characterized him as a friend and a gentleman. We have confidence in General Sherman, and think what concerns us could not be in better hands. This is our opinion now, from the short acquaintance and interview we have had."

As a result of this investigation and after considerable meditation upon the perplexing problem as to what to do with the growing masses of unemployed negroes and their families, and after a full consultation with Mr. Stanton, General Sherman issued his Sea-Island Circular, January 16, 1865. In this paper the islands from Charleston south, the abandoned rice fields along the rivers for thirty miles back from the sea, and the country bordering the St. Johns River, Fla., were reserved for the settlement of the negroes made free by the acts of war, and the proclamation of the President.

General Rufus Saxton, already on the ground, was appointed Inspector of Settlements and Plantations; no other change was intended or desired in the settlements on Beaufort Island which had, for three years been established.

The inspector was required to make proper allotments and give possessory titles and defend them till Congress should confirm his actions. It was a bold move. Thousands of negro families were distributed under this circular, and the freed people regarded

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

themselves for more than six months as in permanent possession of these abandoned lands.

The immediate effect was good. Idle masses were sent from cities and villages and from the various army columns to find relief and to set out upon a course of thrifty industry which was hopeful and helpful to their future.

There were plenty of friendly hands to give aid where it was needed. Zealous, self-denying Christian teachers followed up the distribution to inaugurate primary schools. In one instance, on an island far from any white settlement, three maiden ladies of wealth who had come from New England started a school with all the appliances of object teaching and all the neatness of a Northern academy. Officers of the army of high rank and their friends, and immigrants with their wives and daughters from the Northern States took an active interest in this humane work. This part of the field came under my earliest personal observation. Here I found fairly good schools in January, 1865, and visited several of them.

At that time when with the advance of Sherman's army I came to Beaufort, South Carolina, moving that way to the North from Savannah, many plantations near at hand and on the different sea islands, deserted by their owners, had been sold by the United States tax commissioners and tax titles given to white immigrants from the North, to loyal white refugees, and to promising freedmen. Numbers of farms so obtained were occupied and under cultivation. One proprietor, Mr. C. F. P. Bancroft, had bought in at public auctions, held on the sea islands in March, 1863, thirteen plantations. He then employed 400 laborers, all being old men, women, and children. The average

Negro Conditions During the Civil War

earnings of each over and above his house rent, food raised by himself, and his own crop of cotton were \$16.50 per month. This landholder, with \$40,000 outlay, received a net profit on his sea island cotton of \$81,000 in one year. He had maintained five schools with an attendance of 300 scholars. He also had kept in operation five stores wherein \$20,000 worth of goods such as housekeeping articles and necessary clothing were disposed of at cost.

When our great army came more or less to disturb the peace and quiet of the settlements along the coast everything was in a thriving condition. The people were happy, the schools appreciated, and the future hopeful. The tax titles to the abandoned lands were better than those under the Confiscation Act, or General Sherman's possessory tenures. These tax titles, at a later day, afforded some restriction to the merciless decisions and orders which swept over all the estates and stripped the freedmen of what they possessed.

CHAPTER XLVII

FREEDMEN'S AID SOCIETIES AND AN ACT OF CONGRESS CREATING A BUREAU OF REFUGEES, FREEDMEN AND ABANDONED LANDS

DURING the progress of the war it was a noble characteristic of our home people that they followed the armies with such abundant evidence of their interest and affection. Through the Christian and Sanitary Commissions, they showed themselves in every hospital, on every field after battle, and in every camp. With faithful assiduity they pressed forward an abundance of supplies and agents to distribute them to the front, to such an extent that commanders like Sherman, in the light of what they deemed larger interests, at times were obliged to restrain their ardor; but such restraints were infrequent and caused by a temporary necessity.

Voluntary contributions ¹ of \$12,440,294.57 of cash expenditures and more than double this amount in clothing and comforts were thus generously given through these two leading commissions. The commissions sought to better the rations, to prevent sickness, to supply the hospitals with all possible home relief, to succor the wounded, and to smooth the pillows of those who could not live. And, really, not the least

¹ Aggregate cash expenditure Sanitary Com'n.....	\$6,962,014. 26
Aggregate cash expenditure Christian Com'n.....	5,478,280. 31
Total.....	<u>\$12,440,294. 57</u>

Freedmen's Aid Societies

of these happy provisions was centered in the selected agent himself, who brought with him a breath from home, who cheered the weary and suffering, and gave them visions of peace, love, and hope. He made it happier for the sick soldier to live, and easier for the extremely ill and the fatally wounded to die.

Still more remarkable was the almost universal interest, often amounting to enthusiasm, manifested among the people of our Northern, Central, and Western States for the relief of the white refugees and the freed people. The donors who rose up everywhere without stint sought channels to bestow their gifts. They took up, as we have already seen, existing organizations where they could find those willing to do their behests. For example, they used the Christian Commission for the East and Sanitary Commission for the West; also, East and West, the American Tract Society and the American Missionary Association, and many others connected with the Catholic and Protestant Churches. By the chosen agents of these, help was brought to those needy classes—clothing, food, medical attendance, and medical supplies—and always schools; for, as the benevolent actors thought, education was to be the permanent cure for all existing ills.

The prevailing thought was: The slaves are becoming free; give them knowledge—teach them to read—teach the child! This work thus undertaken was at first very irregular and spasmodic; only here and there was there any settled system of doing.

The generous enthusiasm for the freedmen pushed the eager home people further still. Unsatisfied with present facilities, they organized new commissions, societies, associations, leagues. The following names of a score of them bear their own interpretation:

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

- The Educational Commission of Boston.
- The Port Royal Relief of Philadelphia.
- The American Freedmen's Aid Commission.
- The Freedmen's Aid Commission of Western Pennsylvania and adjacent parts of West Virginia.
- The Western Freedmen's Aid Commission.
- The Northwestern Freedmen's Aid Commission.
- The National Freedmen's Aid Commission.
- The National Freedmen's Relief Association of New York.
- The Emancipation League of Massachusetts.
- The New England Freedmen's Aid Society.
- The Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association.
- The Baltimore Association of Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People.
- Delaware Freedmen's Association.
- The Ladies' Aid Society of Philadelphia.
- Friends' Relief Association.

Besides these our large church bodies formed, each within its own community, what they called a Freedmen's Department; so that there existed for many years Methodist, Baptist, Episcopal, Catholic, Presbyterian, and Unitarian Freedmen's Departments.

The Congregational churches, as well as many individuals from the outside, habitually used the American Missionary Association for their channel of freedmen's work.

In Great Britain there was in operation for some years the Freedmen's Society of Great Britain and Ireland. This society, being central, with its main office in London, was fed by numerous other freedmen's aid societies in the United Kingdom. Its contribution to us exceeded \$800,000.

It is not possible to sum up with any accuracy the generous gifts for the indigent classes found in the South and Middle West prior to the operation of

Freedmen's Aid Societies

the Freedmen's Bureau Law. It had reached about \$1,000,000.

A convention of freedmen's associations, with a view to secure concert of action, assembled during the war in Indianapolis, Indiana, July 19, 1864. Their proceedings give a slight indication of how the people felt the responsibility pressing them and how they proposed to meet it. The convention was made up of seven Western associations or branches. There had been overlapping and interfering in their previous operations, and their field agents had had troublesome rivalries and contentions. Again, in some places coöperation with the army officers in command and with Treasury agents sent from Washington under special instructions, had not been secured, so that there was between them hurtful friction. Other difficulties confronted them, such as the existing social conditions in the border States, and for that matter, the same in all the seceded States. Most people there were unfriendly to Northern teachers and vexed at Northern interference; and there were the unwelcome shiftings of population from place to place. Still, the enthusiastic delegates to the convention never dreamed of surrender, or of abatement of interest and effort. They publicly declared that they had at this time the grandest opportunities that ever presented themselves to Christian benevolence and activity; and so in their session of two days they formulated and forwarded a memorable petition to President Lincoln.

In this instrument, after summing up the pressing wants of freedmen and refugees, and presenting in strong light their own various agitations and obstacles, and something of their disappointment that Congress had thus far failed to establish any bureau of freed-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

men's affairs, they entreated the President to give them at least a "Supervising Agent" for the West. They desired that this agent should have military power and authority, meaning undoubtedly that the President should detail for that duty a military officer of sufficient rank to overcome all controversy in the execution of his trust. The memorial petition was sent to Congress, and had its weight with that body in securing the final enactment of the Freedmen's Bureau Law.

The Emancipation League of Massachusetts, as early as January, 1863, had likewise sent to the Senate an earnest petition, asking for the creation of a "Bureau of Emancipation"; and other societies had at different times, in one form or another, urged upon their representatives in Congress some governmental department to meet the new situation of affairs, which now concerned millions of slaves set free, and affected thousands of loyal whites who had been driven from their homes by the operations and consequences of the great war.

The Honorable Thomas D. Eliot, member of the House from Massachusetts, whom, after personal acquaintance, I learned to love and honor, was early made chairman of committees which had under consideration freedmen's matters. He was an able, eloquent, and persevering friend of the emancipated. The field societies looked to him for sympathy and help in the House, as they always did to Henry Wilson and Charles Sumner in the Senate. Eliot and Wilson were never extremists. They were wisely progressive; if they could not take two steps forward, they would take one, and bide their time for further advance.

Freedmen's Aid Societies

Mr. Eliot, the latter part of January, 1863, began his open work by a House bill to try to establish a "Bureau of Emancipation." As this was smothered in the committee room and produced no fruit, he introduced another bill in December, 1863, which was referred to a select committee of which he was chairman. It came back from the committee to the House with a majority and minority report. It was first debated on the floor February 10, 1864. The provisions of this interesting bill were substantially:

1. The creation of a Commissioner of Freedmen's Affairs. His powers were to be large. All matters pertaining to freedmen, all laws enacted or prospective concerning them, and all rules and regulations for general superintendence and management were committed to him.

2. All officers, military or civil, having to do with freedmen's affairs must report and be governed by him.

3. He was especially instructed to give protection to the freedmen in their rights, and to care for the interests of the United States touching them.

4. He was able to organize departments of freedmen to be placed under assistant commissioners who were to report to him.

5. These assistants were to allow freedmen to occupy, cultivate, and improve abandoned lands; assist them to labor properly compensated; aid them to obtain their wages duly earned, and arbitrate all troublesome controversies except in those localities where existing legal tribunals could receive the cases at issue.

6. The commissioner himself was to act under the supervision and direction of the Secretary of War,

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

though all assistants, both civil and military, were to be subordinated to the commissioner.

The lively debate upon this bill, even in a dry record, is full of interest. The opposition came not only from the Democratic party, but many of the Republicans thought the measure unwise, abnormal to our system of government, and that there might be some other expedient devised than either a Department or Bureau of Negro Affairs.

Democrats like Samuel S. Cox of New York and George H. Pendleton of Ohio, and James Brooks of New York, attacked the proposed measure with argument, with ridicule, and with abundant sarcasm. But Mr. Eliot was at his best. He pleasantly answered every objection and earnestly called on the friends of the Government and of humanity to rally around him upon the side of duty.

The bill at last passed the House, but only with a majority of two votes. May 25th, this bill, somewhat amended, was reported to the Senate by Mr. Sumner. It encountered for some days hot and strong opposition there, pleading against its constitutionality and expediency, but was finally passed by a majority of twelve votes.

While the friends of the original bill were urging the House to nonconcur in the Senate amendments, the whole subject by a new motion, disheartening to its friends, was postponed to the ensuing session of Congress.

During the next session, after many disagreements on the bill between the two Houses, the Conference Committee proposed a substitute. It came up in the House in February, 1865. The substitute established an independent Executive Department of Freedmen's

Freedmen's Aid Societies

Affairs. Every provision in the two previous bills remained substantially unchanged. The new draft went through the House by a vote of 64 against 62.

In the Senate this new bill met with an increasing opposition, and so February 28th still another bill had grown out of the hot debate of the Conference Committee. To prevent its passage unusual expedients were resorted to, and dilatory motions were made, sometimes for postponement and sometimes for adjournment, but finally this bill, so long squabbled over, with slight amendment passed the Senate; and being again carried to the House, after a short debate went through that body without a division.

The same day, March 3, 1865, President Lincoln signed it; and having his approval, the Act establishing the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands became a law.

Its provisions as far as they went were good, and were developed from the first draft which Mr. Eliot had introduced in the House more than two years before.

This Act of Congress, which in its plan and subsequent life seemed to grow like a tender shoot till it became a green tree with abundant branches, was destined by its fruitage to accomplish great things. The varied character of its fruitage will appear as we go on to develop the organization that grew out of this remarkable legislation. This statute law greatly affected my own work. In fact, upon it turned much of my subsequent career in life. As we may notice, it established a bureau in the War Department. The word "bureau" excited considerable amusement in the very beginning, even before there was any attempt to put the Act of Congress into execution. One poor

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

colored woman, who had been a slave, came to an official in the War Department and said she had been a long time in want of a bureau, and that she understood that there was one there waiting for her.

By a few well chosen lines the cartoonist Nast, before his audiences, frequently represented on a blackboard a sizable bureau with the drawers open and little curly-headed colored children jumping out from them. The serious people of the country, however, were rejoiced that the representations of their delegates in their Indiana Convention had at last resulted, through the President and Congress, in providing a benevolent system for those just freed from slavery, and for those, white and colored, who had been driven hither and thither by the operations of the Civil War. The first provision, however, was for only one year after peace. It committed all subjects relating to the classes named to the care of the new Bureau, and it put the responsibility for the operations of the Bureau upon the President himself. The use of abandoned lands, authorized by the Act, was intended to give some revenue to the Government, thus hoping, if possible, to avoid direct appropriations of money. The part that was to interest me most was the provision that the head or commissioner and his assistants might be detailed from the army and assigned to duty without increase of pay or allowances. In fact, the President could take any or all of the officials required from the military service.

There was another use besides the purpose of revenue for the abandoned lands, the commissioner being required to set apart for the use of loyal dependents such abandoned farms as he should find in the insurrectionary States, or farms of which the United

Freedmen's Aid Societies

States became the possessor by confiscation, by sale, or in any other way. Even the number of acres was designated for each person. The commissioner was instructed further to secure the use of these farms to the occupants for three years, and further to charge a rental of 6 per cent. on a proper valuation.

This benevolence was extended yet more—that the free inhabitants just emancipated might purchase the land at the expiration of their leases. This sort of legislation, in 1865, was quite new to our Government. It was the exercise of benevolent functions hitherto always contended against by our leading statesmen, even when providing for the Indian Bureau. The Nation, as something to love and cherish and to give forth sympathy and aid to the destitute, began then to be more pronounced than ever before. Our attitude toward the Indians in General Grant's peace policy and in giving them land in severalty; our intervention in Cuba and our subsequent neighborly action toward the people of that island; our national efforts to lift up the people of Porto Rico, and our sending instructors in large numbers to set in motion the work of education in the Philippine Islands: these and other benevolences suggested by this reference make the people of to-day feel that at last we have a Nation which cares for its children. A martinet system always suggests bones and sinews which make up the form of a man without a soul. It was always hard to love a Government which, theoretically, was a mere machine and which could extend no sympathy to people in disaster, nor kindness to the impoverished. I think we are growing to cherish more and more the idea of a single name for the Republic, and we are fast assuming that "America" should be that

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

name. Every day we hear from the North, South, East, and West, the expression: "I am proud that I am an American." It was in this spirit that my assistants, who in time became very numerous, and myself, in the Bureau work, began and kept on in the varied duties through clouds of calumny and misrepresentation. The reward, as we shall see, was in the vast work undertaken and accomplished in the interest of humanity. In the discussions on the floors of Congress we see why the Bureau proposed had so hard a struggle to justify its existence. The friends and opponents of the measure were about equally divided. It was the long, patient, and thorough examination of emancipations like ours in other countries by Mr. Eliot of Massachusetts, and his singular perseverance in bringing his bill, every time improved, again and again before the House, which at last resulted in the law and which brought a positive relief from the horrors which had obtained in other nations in their passage from slavery to freedom. He and his committee were never popular, but he accomplished a great work for his country.

The chaotic condition of all the classes which were mentioned in the Act of Congress, running as they did for the most part to large centers of population, was not forgotten by Mr. Eliot's committee, so that one paragraph of the law demanded the issue of provisions, clothing, and food for the immediate and temporary shelter of the destitute and suffering refugees and freedmen, including their wives and children. It was believed that these wants would be but temporary. Indeed, the law itself was only a temporary provision; still, there were matters in it of great importance which looked forward to and virtually prom-

Freedmen's Aid Societies

ised an extension beyond the year of the benefits designated. It would have required more than human foresight to have wholly met the difficulties of this dark period of our Governmental history, but the friends of the measure hoped that the experiences of one year of active operation under the eye of our most energetic and able Secretary of War would demonstrate the value of the Bureau sufficiently to warrant at least another year's trial.

Though Mr. Lincoln promptly approved the Bureau Act, yet he delayed creating the organization authorized by it. Doubtless he had sympathetically followed the debate, and so, to avoid the rocks and quicksands predicted, was earnestly desiring to move with care and deliberation. His death, April 15, 1865, prevented him from directly carrying out his purpose; but he did have, not long before his death, a consultation with Mr. Edwin M. Stanton, the Secretary of War, concerning the new Bureau in his Department, and expressed to him his wishes concerning the law and the officials who should carry it out. These wishes were a legacy that Mr. Stanton religiously respected, and as soon as he could he saw to it that they were, as far as he could effect it, fulfilled.

NOTE.—For the Freedmen's Bureau Act (March 3, 1865), see Appendix.

CHAPTER XLVIII

ORGANIZATION OF THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU AND MY PRINCIPLES OF ACTION

BY following the army movements it will be noticed that my column reached the vicinity of Petersburg, Va., at evening May 6, 1865. Here it rested Saturday and Sunday and renewed its march the ensuing Monday; and as the divisions went through the town we passed in review before a multitude of interested spectators.

At ten o'clock the morning of May 9th, we arrived at Manchester, opposite Richmond, where were General Halleck's headquarters. I paid a brief visit to the late Confederate capital, and after my return to Manchester, issued orders of march pursuant to General Sherman's instructions for my two corps to proceed via Hanover Court House to Alexandria and Washington. Blair's corps was to set out the 12th, and Logan's to follow on the 13th. I then with my staff intended to go on with Blair's head of column. But while there at Manchester, the following dispatch, which greatly surprised me, was placed in my hands:

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 7, 1865, 9 P.M.

MAJOR GENERAL O. O. HOWARD,

Care of General Halleck, Richmond, Va.

Leave your army for corps commanders to bring overland and come on immediately yourself by water. Report on arrival to Secretary of War.

U. S. GRANT,
Lieutenant General.



Mrs. O. O. HOWARD.

Organization of the Freedmen's Bureau

This message, enigmatical enough for me, coming into my hands in the afternoon, at once received this answer:

RICHMOND, May 9, 1865, 3:15 P.M.

Lieutenant General U. S. Grant.

GENERAL: Your dispatch only just received. I will conform to it at once.

Respectfully,

O. O. HOWARD,

Major General.

The evening of May 10, 1865, found me in Washington. I went the next day to the Secretary's office in the War Department and reported to him as I had been instructed. This was not my first interview with Edwin M. Stanton. He had been at times very kind to me, and particularly friendly during his Savannah visit; he had there emphasized his commendations for the part I had borne in Sherman's operations. He now appeared hearty, in good humor, and glad to see me; but, after a few brief words of greeting, as was usual with him, went straight to the business in hand. We had hardly taken seats when he took from his desk and handed me a copy of the Freedmen's Bureau Act, and said substantially: "We have been delaying the execution of this law because it has been difficult to fix upon the commissioner. You notice that he can be detailed from the army. Mr. Lincoln before his death expressed a decided wish that you should have the office; but he was not willing to detail you till you could be spared from the army in the field. Now, as the war is ended, the way is clear. The place will be given you if you are willing to accept it."

After a few more words of conversation, and un-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

derstanding that I wished time for reflection and consultation with my friends, he said: "Take the document and look it over and let me know as soon as you can whether or not you are willing to undertake the business."

Naturally, as the great war drew to a close, I had been pondering the subject of my future work. Should I remain in the army or not? What as a young man of thirty-four had I better do? The opportunity afforded by this offer appeared to me at once to answer my anxious inquiries. Indeed it seemed providential; so in my consciousness my mind was virtually made up even before I left the War Office; my custom in war had never suffered me to hold decisions long in abeyance.

The morning of May 12th, I returned to Mr. Stanton and said: "I have concluded to accept the duty you offer me." He briefly expressed his satisfaction and sent for the papers, chiefly letters from correspondents, widely separated, and reports, official and unofficial, touching upon matters which pertained to refugees and freedmen. The clerk in charge brought in a large, oblong, bushel basket heaped with letters and documents. Mr. Stanton, with both hands holding the handles at each end, took the basket and extended it to me and with a smile said: "Here, general, *here's your Bureau!*" He told me that I could use the officers of my Tennessee army for bureau assistants as far as I wished, or submit recommendations for any helpers. He further said that the house of a prominent senator, who had joined the Confederacy, situated at the northeast corner of Nineteenth and I Streets in Washington, was ready for my immediate use as an office.

Organization of the Freedmen's Bureau

That day Mr. Stanton caused the following War Department order to be formally issued, entitled "Order organizing the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands:

"By direction of the President, Major General O. O. Howard is assigned to duty in the War Department as Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, under the Act of Congress entitled 'An Act to establish a Bureau for the relief of Freedmen and Refugees,' to perform the duties and exercise all the rights, authority, and jurisdiction vested by the Act of Congress in such Commissioner. General Howard will enter at once upon the duties of Commissioner specified in said Act."

By other instructions made public the same day the quartermaster general was directed to furnish suitable quarters and apartments, and the adjutant general of the army to assign the number of competent clerks authorized by the law.

As soon as I received the orders of assignment to this new duty I sent General Sherman a copy. It met him on his arrival at Dumfries, Va., in his march from Richmond to Washington; for he came on with the troops. He wrote me a friendly letter that very night in which he said: "I hardly know whether to congratulate you or not, but of one thing you may rest assured, that you possess my entire confidence, and I cannot imagine that matters that involve the future of 4,000,000 souls could be put in more charitable and more conscientious hands. So far as man can do, I believe you will; but I fear you have Hercules' task. God has limited the power of man, and though in the kindness of your heart you would alleviate all the ills of humanity, it is not in your power to fulfill one tenth part of the expectation of those who formed the Bu-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

reau for the Freedmen and Refugees and Abandoned Estates. It is simply impracticable. Yet you can and will do all the good one man may, and that is all you are called on as a man and a Christian to do, and to that extent count on me as a friend and fellow soldier for counsel and assistance."

Then the good general went on to discuss the subject of reconstruction with some asperity, but with his customary frankness. One sentence shows how kindly he felt toward the South: "I do believe the people of the South realize the fact that their former slaves are free, and if allowed reasonable time, and not harassed by confiscation and political complications, will very soon adapt their condition and interest to their new state of facts. Many of them will sell or lease their farms on easy terms to their former slaves and gradually the same political state of things will result as now exists in Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri. . . ."

"We will be at Alexandria on Friday, and I know you will call to see us." Delicately referring to his own treatment, he said: "Don't let the foul airs of Washington poison your thoughts toward your old comrades in arms."

At first, by what was said to me by the Secretary of War, telling me to use my officers as I liked in the control of the new Bureau, I supposed I was to continue in command of the Army and Department of the Tennessee, certainly till the final muster out.

A few days before the Grand Review at Washington General Sherman called me into the office of General Townsend, the adjutant general of the army. We were there by ourselves. General Sherman then said that he wanted me to surrender the command of the

Organization of the Freedmen's Bureau

army to Logan before the Review. This caused me much feeling, and under the pressure of it I replied that I had maneuvered and fought this army from Atlanta (July 27, 1864), all the way through. Sherman replied: "I know it, but it will be everything to Logan to have this opportunity." Then, speaking very gently, as Sherman could, to one near him whom he esteemed, he said: "Howard, you are a Christian, and won't mind such a sacrifice." I answered: "Surely, if you put it on that ground, I submit."

He then wrote me the following letter, which never reached me until forty years after in Hartford, Conn. It was handed to me by Mr. Horace B. Austin, in December, 1904. He had received it from his father, who in turn had it from a clerk in General Sherman's office. The letter had probably blown from the general's table, been picked up and preserved, for it is an autograph letter.

HEAD QRS. MIL. DP. OF THE MISS.

IN THE FIELD, May 20, 1865.

CAMP NEAR ALEXANDRIA, GA.

DEAR GEN'L.: I am this minute in receipt of your communication of this date and I thank you for your generous act. I do think it but just to Logan, and notwithstanding his modest reply to us last night, I know he will prize the act most highly. I will deem it a special favor and pleasure if you will ride with me at the Review of Wednesday next. I will be at the head of the column at 9 A.M. Wednesday, near the Capitol, and beg you will join me there. Your personal staff can ride with mine.

As ever your friend,

W. T. SHERMAN, *Major General.*

The second day of the closing Review, Wednesday, May 24, 1865, which so many others have made graphic, when the Western armies passed before the

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

President of the United States, Logan led the Army of the Tennessee. Just before the march began I asked Sherman to allow me to ride with his staff, but he answered at once: "No, Howard, you shall ride with me." As we were starting along the Avenue, feeling that Sherman ought to have the proper isolation and recognition of the people, I reined back my horse to move by the side of his chief of artillery, General Barry, when Sherman instantly insisted that I come back and ride by his side; thus, by a bit of self-denial on his part and thoughtful kindness, he sought to allay any irritation I might feel on account of what had taken place.

Our Western armies, competing in a friendly way with the Eastern, behaved magnificently at that Review. The vast multitude of people lining the streets, occupying every elevated stand, even covering the roofs of buildings from the Capitol to the War Department, showed their appreciation by shouts and cheerings so abundant and so strong that none of the soldiers who participated could ever forget that day or that magnificent recognition of their work, and with pride participated ardently in the joy of its completion thus manifested.

By Monday morning, May 15th, the new Bureau was sufficiently equipped for me to issue a circular letter. As this letter affords a glimpse of the situation thus early in my administration, I here insert the substance of it:

"In accordance with orders, I enter immediately upon the duties of Commissioner of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands.

"The Bureau contemplated in the order will be located at the corner of I and Nineteenth Streets. All

Organization of the Freedmen's Bureau

commissioners, however appointed, who have the charge of freedmen, are requested to make a report, as soon as possible, of the character and extent of their work. The officers and superintendents in Virginia, South Carolina, and Louisiana, are requested to report direct to me the amount of land they may have under supervision for the use of freedmen. The department commanders in insurrectionary States will do me a favor by transmitting a copy of the different orders issued by themselves, or by their district commanders, relating to the government and employment of freedmen.

“While it shall be my object to secure as much uniformity as possible in the matter of employment and instruction of freedmen, I earnestly solicit coöperation from all officers and agents whose position or duty renders it possible for them to aid me. The negro should understand that he is really free but on no account, if able to work, should he harbor the thought that the Government will support him in idleness.”

As yet I had no organization, properly so named, outside of the Washington office, and so by correspondence and officers sent out I began to collect the information already much needed. This first letter was published over the country extensively, and on account of the views in the last paragraph, brought upon me many attacks from radical newspapers which were friendly to the negro, indicating that they had sentimental views in regard to the relation of the United States to the freedmen; the logical result of those views was that under my circular letter the negro had merely changed masters from the Southern slave owners to the United States; they implied that the Government should support the emancipated even

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

if idle. But the enemies of free labor approved all my compulsory language.

The Bureau, standing between these two extremes as to the negro, entered upon its work naturally under the fire of hostile newspapers and some congressional criticism from both sides. Long before this period of experience I had learned that I could not suit everybody.

My own reason for introducing into the circular the paragraph relating to labor was that many thought the Bureau would "feed niggers in idleness," as they expressed it, and I wished to start right. There was found in Mr. Stanton's basket evidence that the military authorities were then feeding immense groups of refugees and freedmen in Washington and vicinity as well as in the different parts of the South and West. The daily issue then amounted to upward of 144,000 rations. For the ensuing June, July, and August, the indigent groups, though constantly shifting ground, were, in the aggregate, somewhat increased. The number of persons relieved by our Bureau commissariat daily during August was 148,120. Without doubt many freedmen and poor whites, from the seeming helplessness of their condition, like pensioners, were, through this source, expecting a permanent support.

By September, 1865, when the Bureau had been sufficiently organized and at work so as to take entire charge of all gratuitous relief, by a rigid examination of every applicant, by the rejection of all who could support themselves by labor, and by the process of finding work for the willing, the number assisted was reduced to 74,951; and from that time on, there was a constant reduction.

Organization of the Freedmen's Bureau

In the process of extending our organization through the South, by May 18th, I was able to recommend eight officers for assistant commissioners. Five I sent to the Southern fields; three were already at their posts. But as necessary changes were forced upon us by correspondence, I delayed until June 13th any formal announcement of these worthy assistants. Now I was able to publish the names of nine out of the ten allowed, most of whom had been for some time in the field and hard at work. The needs had been urgent. These assistants were men of high character, and most of them already of national repute. They were:

Colonel Orlando Brown, Virginia, Headquarters at Richmond.

Colonel Eliphalet Whittlesey, North Carolina, Headquarters at Raleigh.

General Rufus Saxton, South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, Headquarters, Beaufort, S. C.

Colonel T. W. Osborn, Alabama, Headquarters, Mobile.

Colonel Samuel Thomas, Mississippi, Headquarters, Vicksburg.

Chaplain T. W. Conway, Louisiana, Headquarters, New Orleans.

General Clinton B. Fisk, Kentucky and Tennessee, Headquarters, Nashville, Tenn.

General J. W. Sprague, Missouri and Arkansas, Headquarters, St. Louis, Mo.

Colonel John Eaton, District of Columbia.

In the above order, owing to General Saxton's long experience with the freedmen, he was given three States. Colonel Brown had also been long at work for the freedmen in Virginia, and for this reason, though I did not personally know him, I gave him the preference for that State. The same thing was true

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

of Chaplain Conway in Louisiana. I deemed Louisiana a hard field for freedmen's affairs and was glad to take advantage of the services of one who had been for months trying his hand with all classes of people under Generals Banks, Hurlbut, and Canby. Those officers commended him highly to Mr. Stanton and myself.

For the home office in Washington I had:

General W. E. Strong, Inspector General for the whole field.

Colonel J. S. Fullerton, Adjutant General.

Lieutenant Colonel Geo. W. Balloch, Chief Disbursing Officer and head of the Subsistence Distribution.

Captain Samuel L. Taggart, Assistant Adjutant General.

Major William Fowler, Assistant Adjutant General.

Captain J. M. Brown, Assistant Quartermaster.

Surgeon C. W. Horner, Chief Medical Officer.

The clerks added to the group made the working force. My personal staff from the army continued with me, viz., Major H. M. Stinson, Captain F. W. Gilbreth, aids-de-camp; Captain A. S. Cole and Lieutenant J. A. Sladen, acting aids-de-camp.

My inspector general and aids were what I called "foot-loose"; they were ready to go to any point within our official dominion at a moment's notice, to bear important instructions, to settle a difficulty, make an inspection for securing facts or seek essential co-operation.

A little later in the season, and upon further consideration of the law, I came to the conclusion that I was not limited as at first believed to ten assistant commissioners; I could increase the number provided they were army officers detailed for the work; in fact, thus far, every one had been assigned, by my asking, from the army.



GENERAL HOWARD.

AS COMMISSIONER OF THE FREEDMAN'S
BUREAU, 1866-73.



GEORGE W. BALLOCH.

BREVET BRIGADIER GENERAL AND
CHIEF DISBURSING OFFICER
FREEDMAN'S BUREAU.



GENERAL ELIPHALET WHITTLESEY.

BREVET BRIGADIER GENERAL AND
ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER
FREEDMAN'S BUREAU.

Organization of the Freedmen's Bureau

September 19th I announced three more assistant commissioners :

General Davis Tillson, Georgia, Headquarters, Augusta.

General Wager Swayne, Alabama, Headquarters, Montgomery.

General E. M. Gregory, Texas, Headquarters, Galveston.

Osborn was changed to Florida with headquarters at Jacksonville; Saxton was still the assistant commissioner for South Carolina and Georgia, General Tillson being regarded at first as an *acting* assistant commissioner, reporting to Saxton.

From these State centers were organized subdistricts, more or less in number according to the needs. There were a few civil employees, but generally the subagents (called by some officers assistant superintendents) for given districts, were put on duty directly by the Secretary of War, being taken and sent to the work from the nearest military organization, or from the Veteran Reserve Corps of the army. Soon the whole Bureau force operating amounted to upward of 2,000 officers, agents, and other employees. This force covered the States where the beneficiaries were to be found, very much as the Post Office Department now covers the country. I felt the pressure of responsibility rather heavy upon me, because most of my subassistants were necessarily unknown to me and beginning a new business. The head commissioner in each State, however, except Colonels Thomas and Brown, and Chaplain Conway, were personally known to me. They were men of tried courage, of high education, of well-known character, and pronounced friends of humanity. Whittlesey, a brave Christian gentleman for years on my staff in the field, had been before the war a college professor; Saxton

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

of the old army had long been distinguished as a friend of the negroes; Wager Swayne, son of Justice Swayne, was a promising young lawyer and a Christian. He had exhibited a remarkable decision of character in the army, was a colonel in the volunteers, and lost a leg while under my command. Osborn, my chief of artillery at Gettysburg, was a quiet, unobtrusive officer of quick decision and of pure life. Samuel Thomas, very properly commended by other officers, and of excellent character, had unusual executive ability. J. W. Sprague was distinguished in the Army of the Tennessee for decided ability as a general, and meritorious conduct which he showed at all times, and for his dignity of carriage and thought; and Gregory was well reputed for the stand he always took in the army in favor of clear-cut uprightness of conduct. He was so fearless of opposition or danger that I sent him to Texas, which seemed at the time of his appointment to be the post of greatest peril.

The supervision and management of *all subjects* relating to refugees and freedmen gave a broad scope for planning and multitudinous duties. When I stepped into my office and began to examine the almost endless communications heaped on my desk, I was at first appalled. At least thirty Northern benevolent societies had written letters, and now acknowledged me as their ally; their numerous willing workers at the front, they declared, regarded me as their friend and coadjutor. But accustomed from long military training to systematic thinking and acting, I quickly separated my central force into divisions, and gave to each a name, put an officer in charge, and set him to work. First came the Division of Records. This fell to the adjutant general of the Bureau. It had con-

Organization of the Freedmen's Bureau

signed to it all the general correspondence. It recorded and promulgated the official acts of the commissioner; everything was included touching labor, quartermaster's and commissary supplies, and schools. I do not believe people realize how much of a general's success is due to a good and faithful adjutant general.

The second was the Land Division. Under this head were all the abandoned lands, and those in the Government's possession under the Confiscation Act, and all those acquired by Treasury tax sales or otherwise. An officer of ability was here put in charge.

The third division covered financial affairs. It was not long before a bonded officer was obliged to give his main attention to this division, being designated the chief disbursing officer.

The fourth, just then very necessary, was the Medical Division, which embraced the medical attendance of camps and colonies all over the land, and had supervision of all hospitals and asylums where were collections of refugees and freedmen with hosts of orphan children. An army medical officer of rank was placed at the head of this important division.

As the work grew upon us more divisions were instituted, for example, a fifth division, that for commissary supplies. The financial officer, in addition to his work proper, always managed this division. A sixth division followed for quartermaster's supplies, with an able quartermaster to direct. This issue of transportation (sending refugees and freedmen to places where labor had been found for them) at one time became enormous.

On May 19th from my office was made the next substantial public announcement. By this, assistant commissioners were located. To them were entrusted the

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

supervision of abandoned lands and the control of subjects relating to refugees and freedmen within their districts. All agents, however appointed, i. e., by military officers, Treasury Department or voluntary societies, must report to these assistant commissioners the condition of their work. Refugees and freedmen not provided for should let them know of their wants. All applications for relief by district and post commanders should be referred to them or their agents. President Johnson had covered, with district and post commanders and troops, the same ground previously covered by my officials.

I added, "It is not the intention of the Government that the Bureau shall supersede the various benevolent organizations in the work of administering relief. This must still be afforded by the benevolence of the people through their voluntary societies, no government appropriations having been made for this purpose."

The assistant commissioners were then required to look to the benevolent associations laboring in their respective districts for much of the relief of these destitute people. A statement was solicited from the active societies, giving names of officers, workers, and, as far as was practicable, details of their undertakings. I stated that the demands for labor were sufficient to afford employment to most able-bodied refugees and freedmen; that assistant commissioners were to introduce a practical system of compensated labor. First, they must endeavor to remove prejudices from late masters who are unwilling to employ their former servants; second, work to correct false impressions sometimes entertained by the freedmen that they can live without labor; third, strive to overcome a singular

Organization of the Freedmen's Bureau

false pride which shows certain almost helpless refugees willing to be supported in idleness. While we provide for the aged, infirm, and sick, let us encourage, or if necessary compel, the able-bodied to labor for their own support. Wholesome compulsion eventuated in larger independence.

The educational and moral condition of these people was never forgotten. The officers of the Bureau should afford the utmost facility to benevolent and religious organizations, and to State authorities, where they exist, in the maintenance of good schools. Do everything possible, was my constant cry, to keep schools on foot till free schools shall be established by reorganized local governments.

"In all this work," I announced, "it is not my purpose to supersede the benevolent agencies already engaged, but to systematize and facilitate them."

By May 22d the freedmen were largely at work, cultivating plantations and abandoned lands; but owners who had been called "disloyal" to the Government were already seeking recovery of their farms and forcibly to displace the freedmen. So with Mr. Stanton's sanction I ordered that all such land under cultivation by the freedmen be retained in their possession until the growing crops should be secured for their benefit, unless full and just compensation were made for their labor and its products, and for expenditures.

May 30th I gave out another body of instructions. The newly appointed assistant commissioners not already at their posts were to hasten thither, acquaint themselves with their fields, and do all in their power to quicken and direct the industry of the refugees and freedmen, in order that their communities might do all that could be done for the season, already so far

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

advanced, to prevent starvation and suffering, and promote good order and prosperity.

I gave further rules for assistant commissioners: To reduce the distinctive relief establishments as fast as possible, many such having been set up in the temporary Confederate and Union barrack buildings and hospitals left from the war. To make strong and continuous efforts to make the people self-supporting; to issue Government supplies only temporarily to enable the destitute speedily to support themselves; to keep an exact account of issues with a community or an individual and hold the same as a lien upon the crops. Loyal refugees who had been driven from their homes on their return must be protected from abuse, and the calamities of their situation be relieved as far as possible. If destitute let them be aided with transportation and food while in transit to their homes.

Here were words for consideration: Simple good faith for which we hope on all hands from those concerned in the passing away of slavery will especially relieve all our assistants in the discharge of their duties toward the freedmen, as well as promote the general welfare. The assistant commissioners were required everywhere to declare and protect the freedom of the late slaves as set forth in the proclamations of the President and the laws of Congress.

The next paragraph of my public declaration was just then of first importance. It certainly caused the settlement of thousands of troublesome controversies.

“In all places where there is an interruption of civil law, or in which local courts, by reason of old codes, in violation of the freedom guaranteed by the proclamation of the President and the laws of Congress, disregard the negro’s right to justice before the laws in

Organization of the Freedmen's Bureau

not allowing him to give testimony, the control of all subjects relating to refugees and freedmen being committed to this Bureau, the assistant commissioners will adjudicate, either themselves or through officers of their appointment, all difficulties arising between negroes and whites, or Indians, except those in military service so far as recognizable by military authority, and not taken cognizance of by other tribunals, civil or military, of the United States. . . .”

My friends complained that the following was legislation. Yes, it was; but absolutely needed *then*:

“Negro must be free to choose their own employers, and be paid for their labor. Agreements should be free, *bona fide* acts approved by proper officers, and their inviolability enforced on both parties.” The old system of overseers, tending to compulsory unpaid labor and acts of cruelty and oppression, was prohibited. The unity of families, and all the rights of the family relation, were to be carefully guarded. In places where the local statutes make no provisions for the marriage of persons of color, the assistant commissioners were authorized to designate officers who should keep a record of marriages, which might be solemnized by any ordained minister of the gospel, who was to make a return of the same, with such items as were required for registration at places designated. Registrations already made by United States officers were carefully preserved.

No objection was made to some wholesome regulation, as this: “Assistant commissioners will instruct their receiving and disbursing officers to make requisitions upon all officers civil or military, in charge of funds and abandoned lands within their respective territories, to turn over the same in accordance with the

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

orders of the President. They will direct their medical officers to ascertain the facts and necessities connected with the medical treatment and sanitary condition of refugees and freedmen. They will instruct their teachers to collect the facts in reference to the progress of the work of education, and aid it with as few changes as possible to the close of the present season."

During the school vacation of the hot months, special attention was given to the provision for the next school year. Assistant commissioners were also to aid refugees and freedmen in securing titles to land according to law. This could be done for them as individuals or by encouraging joint companies.

In closing my announcements I simply notified all accounting officers that they were subject to the army regulations and that all agents were under military jurisdiction; the last clause called for frequent correspondence, and all the reports which were demanded by law to be addressed to the commissioner himself.

My proposed instructions were submitted to the President. He favored them. Beneath my signature is written: "Approved June 2, 1865. *Andrew Johnson*, President of the United States."

The foregoing statements show the principles and methods under which I began a systematic Government work.

While trying to familiarize myself with the whole field so suddenly spread before me, with no precedents to guide me, there had come to headquarters during the first week such an accumulation of subjects relating to the District of Columbia, to the freedmen's village near Arlington, and to the neighborhood of the District of Columbia in Maryland and Virginia, that

Organization of the Freedmen's Bureau

it became evident that a competent man of considerable experience was immediately needed to take this care and worry off my shoulders. Before acting I paid a visit to General Grant, then having his office in a building on the southwest corner of Seventeenth and F Streets opposite the old Navy Department, and carefully laid the subject before him. The general said at once: "Bring Colonel John Eaton from Mississippi here. He's your man." Gladly I did that. Accordingly, the District of Columbia, parts of Virginia and Maryland and West Virginia were made Colonel Eaton's subdivision. It was treated like a State with an assistant commissioner in charge. Colonel Eaton was its first assistant commissioner. By his coming I had the advantage of his long experience with the freedmen of the Mississippi Valley where he had so much aided General Grant during the active war.

For some months before the insurrectionary States were reorganized by Andrew Johnson, our Freedmen's Bureau officers in them afforded almost the only authorized government in civil affairs, and so, as one may imagine, the correspondence became more and more voluminous. My instructions were usually given in letters; they were upon all conceivable subjects, yet the most important and pressing were to rehabilitate labor, to establish the actual freedom of the late slave, to secure his testimony in the local courts where they were opened by the whites as they were here and there, to bring the freedmen justice in settling past contracts and in making new ones, and to give every facility to the Northern societies for their school work, also to raise from rents of abandoned property sufficient revenue to pay the running expenses. Happily, till appropriations came, the War Department, taking

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

compassion on our poverty, caused the quartermaster general, the commissary general, and the surgeon general to honor our requisitions for the needed supplies of every sort which each could furnish. This relief enabled benevolent societies to do more for the schools. The machinery was vast. The majority of the whites in the South were at first very unfriendly to the Freedmen's Bureau, and the freed people for the most part ignorant, and so not easy to comprehend their new relation. Nothing then became more essential than for the commissioner to clearly set forth and reiterate as I did the principles that would govern him and his subordinates. Orders and instructions were published so that all officials concerned did read, ponder, and, acting in unison, carry them into execution; and surely they were so expressed that all honest opponents did know the sincerity of my course.

From the start I felt sure that the relief offered by the Bureau to refugees and freedmen through the different channels, being abnormal to our system of government, would be but temporary. The first law, as we have seen, extended the Bureau only till one year after the war, and even if our law makers should, from pressing necessities during the period of reconstruction, lengthen its life, still it was in every way most desirable to do away with crutches as soon as the patient was able to walk alone. But one source of relief was imperative, and friends of freedmen believed that in some form or by some channel it would be made permanent. It was the school. While we were laboring hard to reduce the number of freedmen's courts, hospitals, asylums, and eleemosynary features generally, we extended the school operations; so that before long the schools, which were at first in my ad-

Organization of the Freedmen's Bureau

jutant general's hands, were given an independent place in the office. A general superintendent of education was appointed who had his representative, an assistant superintendent, stationed at every field headquarters on the staff of each State assistant commissioner.

The Bureau had hardly begun its work when it encountered unexpected opposition. At first President Johnson was apparently very friendly to me, yet, while Mr. Stanton favored our strong educational proclivities, the President declared that the true relief was only in work. One member of his Cabinet, Secretary William Dennison, said about the time I took charge:

“ General, it is feared that the Freedmen's Bureau will do more harm than good.” These gentlemen and their followers thought relief was in work alone. It was hard for them to realize that the training of the mind and hand, particularly with negroes, could go on together.

Before many days, when the rehabilitation of the old State governments and the appointment of governors was under consideration in the President's Cabinet, the military possession of all the late insurrectionary States was made complete by having a military department commander for each State, stationed either at the capital or in one of its largest cities. Each commander had under him a considerable force, so that he divided his State into districts and had an officer in charge of each. Fortunately for the Bureau work, Mr. Stanton and General Grant, in sympathy with each other in the main, managed this force, and both sustained me. This, however, did not prevent some friction in the field. In places the mili-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

tary commander of a district absorbed the functions of the Bureau agent and in others would not coöperate with him and give him needed military support in his work. Some officers, hostile to negroes, took the part of unfriendly employers and sought at times with success to bring the Bureau agent's work into contempt.

It was not many months before the President himself in his contest with Congress began to show a steady, though underhand, opposition to the execution of the Bureau law.

Open resistance to the law by the Chief Executive could be impeached, but indirect obstacles might be thrown in the way of its execution. To keep publishing charges against the commissioner, the assistant commissioners, and all other Bureau officers appeared to be at one time a settled policy.

CHAPTER XLIX

THE ABANDONED LANDS

PERHAPS nothing excited higher hopes in the minds of those who had for years suffered and labored for emancipation, than the provision of law that was to open up the abandoned estates and certain public lands for prompt settlement by the newly emancipated.

Much in vogue at the end of the war was that plan of allotting abandoned lands to freedmen. This course the Government during the latter part of the war, as we have seen, for those lands along the Atlantic coast and in the Mississippi Valley had constantly followed first in legislative and then in executive action. Only about one five-hundredth, however, of the entire amount of land in the States seceding was available; it was all that had ever been held by the United States as abandoned. Had this project been carried out and the negroes generally been so settled on farms, either more land must have been added or the Bureau would only have been able to furnish about an acre to a family.*

The law existing at the inauguration of the Bureau, though imperfect in many respects, could hardly have contemplated such extensive action for the drifting hordes of negroes. There was, however, some public

* Act of July 2, 1864, and Act of March 3, 1865.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

wild land in the South, which might have answered; but undoubtedly the land intended by the law makers was that of those Confederates who had been in arms against the National Government.

Such use, however, of even the small amount which was turned over to the Freedmen's Bureau, was nullified by the President's pardon, granted to those who had abandoned the lands in order to engage in the war; orders of restoration to all such immediately followed the presentation of the executive pardon; this was very soon after I had obtained the control of Bureau matters.

Major William Fowler, who had served most creditably in the One Hundred and Forty-sixth New York Volunteers and later as an assistant adjutant general in the army, was the first officer assigned to the charge of my Land Division. A lawyer by profession, he proved eminently qualified for all matters pertaining to Government lands, however acquired. Fowler's first official answer to my inquiries affords a brief statement of what real property was under control of the Bureau and how it came there. He said that the Act of Congress, approved March 3, 1865, which established the Bureau, intrusted it with the supervision and management of all abandoned lands, i. e., lands taken by the Government while their lawful owner was voluntarily absent from them, engaged in arms, or otherwise in aiding or encouraging the war waged against the United States. Again, that on June 2d the President had ordered all officers of the Government having property of the character specified to turn it over to the Bureau. In compliance with this order, the Secretary of the Treasury on June 27th had issued a circular letter directing his subordinates

The Abandoned Lands

who had in their possession or under their control any abandoned or confiscable lands, houses, or tenements, to transfer them to some duly authorized officer of the Freedmen's Bureau.

Further, that the President's order being obeyed, the greater portion of abandoned property in the insurrectionary districts held by Treasury agents, came into possession of the Bureau; not only abandoned lands, but all abandoned real property, except such as had been retained by military authority for strictly military purposes.

The accompanying table will give the amount in our hands till near the close of the first year:

STATES.	AMOUNT OF PROPERTY NOW IN POSSESSION OF BUREAU OF REFUGEES, FREEDMEN, AND ABANDONED LANDS.				AMOUNT OF PROPERTY RETURNED.		
	Number of acres of land.				Number of pieces of town property.	Number of acres of land.	Number of pieces of town property.
	Cultivated.	Uncultivated.	Unclassified.	Aggregate.			
Georgia and South Carolina.....	9,364	50,799	374,837	435,000	398	.....	384
Kentucky and Tennessee.....	10,177	29,072	25,880	65,129	414	.....	.....
Missouri and Arkansas.....	18,736	.....	.....	18,736	72	.....	.....
Alabama.....	.....	.....	2,116	2,116	13	.....	.....
Virginia.....	2,625	49,110	23,918	75,653	34	26,730	310
North Carolina.....	4,868	9,207	22,267	36,342	112	50,029	287
Mississippi and Louisiana (part)	50,751	4	8,525	59,280	52	11,411	60
Louisiana.....	62,528	.....	.....	62,528	501	.....	136
Maryland and Virginia (part).....	2,282	5,027	6,497	13,806	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	161,331	143,219	464,040	768,590	1,596	88,170	1,177

By the table we see that we had in December, 1865, already under cultivation 161,331 acres; and that for the use of refugees and freedmen there were 768,590

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

acres not yet surrendered by operation of the President's pardons; but even that early 88,170 acres and 1,177 pieces of town property had been restored to former owners, thus largely reducing the income of our Bureau from the rents, and making a continued possession of the remainder too uncertain to be of material value.

Under Colonel Eaton's superintendence and management were 13,806 acres. Of this he placed under cultivation as contemplated in the law 2,282 acres, of which 1,300 acres were in Maryland. Wheat, corn, and tobacco were the principal crops. The tenure had already become too doubtful to warrant much allotment to individuals or the giving of leases of any considerable length. Thus the provisions of the law were plainly thwarted by unexpected executive action.

Colonel Orlando Brown, assistant commissioner for Virginia, had separated his State into districts and sub-districts about the same in extent as those of the President's military department commander, General Schofield. Brown obtained officers by detail from Schofield for superintendents. He had for supervision thirty-four pieces of town property and 75,653 acres of land. Of this he had directly under cultivation by freedmen 2,625 acres. Under the President's orders he had already by November 30, 1865, returned to former owners 26,730 acres and 310 pieces of town property. In the counties of and near the peninsula of Virginia he had been able to try many experiments with a view to diminish the large accumulations of freedmen unfortunately massed near the harbor. He had secured almost an entire support of these as the result of their own labor during the summer.

The Abandoned Lands

A colony of 100 freedmen for Liberia through a colored agent was transferred from Lynchburg, Va., to Baltimore, Md., of which the old and revered Colonization Society took charge. On many of the old Virginia farms which their owners had deserted, Colonel Brown had the freedmen well organized and cheerfully working. They had during this year of trial abundant diversified crops.

Colonel Whittlesey, assistant commissioner for North Carolina, had remained in possession at the time of his first annual report of 112 pieces of town property, and 36,342 acres besides; under cultivation 4,868 acres. The President's pardon caused 50,029 acres and 287 pieces of town property to be restored to returning owners before Brown's report was made.

Concerning the cultivators of land, Colonel Whittlesey said that few contracts were possible for long periods from the want of confidence between employers and employees. The freedmen, as a rule, worked more faithfully for money than for a share of the crops, for which they must wait. Nearly all of the farms transferred by Treasury agents as "abandoned" had already been, under President Johnson's orders, restored to owners. The tenure of these had become too precarious to admit of setting them apart for refugees or freedmen. Many freedmen were renting lands of the owners and efforts were constantly made by Whittlesey to aid them in this praiseworthy course. Whenever he could he secured lots and land to them, where they built houses, that they might not lose what they had expended. The "Trent River Settlement," filled with freedmen, situated near New Berne, N. C., was at this time a well ordered, quiet, healthy town, rivaling New Berne in these respects.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

With reference to the land in General Saxton's States, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, I will endeavor to explain the effect of the President's pardons upon my own actions, and the special tasks he assigned to me in connection with the abandoned and other real property. In fact, my own special efforts covered the land question for the southern coast.

In order to establish a definite and uniform policy relative to confiscated and abandoned lands, as commissioner, I issued a circular (July 28th) quoting the law and limiting and regulating the return of the lands to former owners; I authorized assistant commissioners to restore any real property in their possession not *abandoned*; the cultivators were protected in the ownership of growing crops on land to be restored, and careful descriptions were required of such land, and monthly records of amounts which remained in the possession of the Government. I further directed the assistant commissioners to select and set apart in orders, with as little delay as possible, as some had been already doing, such confiscated and abandoned property as they deemed necessary for the immediate use for the life and comfort of refugees and freedmen; and we also provided for rental or sale when that was possible. Surely the pardon of the President would not be interpreted to extend to the surrender of abandoned or confiscated property which in strict accordance with the law had been "set apart for refugees and freedmen" or was then in use for the employment and general welfare of all such persons within the lines of national military occupation in insurrectionary States. Did not the law apply to all formerly held as slaves, who had become or would become free? This

The Abandoned Lands

was the legal status and the humane conclusion. Then naturally I took such action as would protect the *bona fide* occupants, and expected the United States to indemnify by money or otherwise those Confederates who were pardoned; assuredly we would not succor them by displacing the new settlers who lawfully were holding the land.

My circular of instructions did not please President Johnson. Therefore, in order to avoid misunderstandings now constantly arising among the people in regard to abandoned property, particularly after the President had set on foot a systematic method of granting to the former holders a formal pardon, he made me draw up another circular worded better to suit his policy and submit it to him before its issue. But he, still dissatisfied, and with a totally different object in view than mine, had the document redrawn at the White House and instructed me September 12, 1865, to send it out as approved by him, and so with reluctance I did. This document in great part rescinded former land circulars. Besides allowing assistant commissioners to return all land not abandoned, it instructed them to return all abandoned lands to owners who were pardoned by the President, and provided no indemnity whatever for the occupants, refugees, or freedmen, except a right to the growing crops.

In the definition of confiscated estates the words were: "Land will not be regarded as confiscated until it has been condemned and sold by decree of the United States court for the district in which the property may be found, and the title thereto thus vested in the United States."

On the face of it this approved circular appeared

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

fair and right enough; but with masterly adroitness the President's draft had effectually defeated the *intention* of all that legislation which used the abandoned estates and the so-called confiscated property; that intention was to give to loyal refugees and freedmen allotments of and titles to land. In Virginia, a considerable amount had been libeled and was about to be sold, when Mr. Stanton considerably suspended the sales, that these lands might be turned over more directly to the Bureau for the benefit of the freedmen. I insisted that these lands, condemned for sale, though not actually sold, were already the property of the Government; therefore, I made objection to the President against the insertion of the word "sold" into the definition of confiscated property; but after reference to the attorney general, the President decided adversely to me and so the word "sold" was inserted in the definition that was published in the order. This was what caused the return to former owners of *all property* where sales had been suspended and never consummated. It was further strongly recommended by me to the President that all men of property to whom he was offering pardon should be conditioned to provide a small homestead or something equivalent to each head of family of his former slaves; but President Johnson was amused and gave no heed to this recommendation. My heart ached for our beneficiaries, but I became comparatively helpless to offer them any permanent possession.

When the former owner had not as yet been pardoned the burden was after this time put upon my officers to prove that property had ever been voluntarily abandoned by a disloyal owner. I soon saw that very little, if any, had been confiscated by formal

The Abandoned Lands

court decision; so that wholesale pardons in a brief time completed the restoration of the remainder of our lands; all done for the advantage of the late Confederates and for the disadvantage and displacement of the freedmen. Very many had in good faith occupied and cultivated the farms guaranteed to them by the provision and promise of the United States.

My heart was sad enough when by constraint I sent out that circular letter; it was chagrined when not a month later I received the following orders issued by President Johnson:

“Whereas certain tracts of land, situated on the coast of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, at the time for the most part vacant, were set apart by Major General W. T. Sherman’s special field order No. 15 for the benefit of refugees and freedmen that had been congregated by the operations of the war, or had been left to take care of themselves by their former owners; and whereas an expectation was thereby created that they would be able to retain possession of said lands; and whereas a large number of the former owners are earnestly soliciting the restoration of the same, and promising to absorb the labor and care for the freedmen:

“It is ordered: That Major General Howard, Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, *proceed* to the several above-named States and endeavor to effect an agreement mutually satisfactory to the freedmen and the land owners, and make report. And in case a mutual satisfactory arrangement can be effected, he is duly empowered and directed to issue such orders as may become necessary, after a full and careful investigation of the interests of the parties concerned.” Why did I not resign?

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

Because I even yet strongly hoped in some way to befriend the freed people.

Obedying my instructions I reached Charleston, S. C., October 17, 1865. General Saxton's headquarters were then in that city. I had a conference with him and with many of the land owners concerned. The truth was soon evident to me that nothing effective could be done without consulting the freedmen themselves who were equally interested. Therefore, accompanied by several officers and by Mr. William Whaley, who represented the planters, I went to Edisto Island, and met the freedmen of that vicinity who came together in a large meeting house. The auditorium and the galleries were filled. The rumor preceding my coming had reached the people that I was obliged by the President's orders to restore the lands to the old planters, so that strong evidence of dissatisfaction and sorrow were manifested from every part of the assembly. In the noise and confusion no progress was had till a sweet-voiced negro woman began the hymn "Nobody knows the trouble I feel—Nobody knows but Jesus," which, joined in by all, had a quieting effect on the audience. Then I endeavored as clearly and gently as I could to explain to them the wishes of the President, as they were made known to me in an interview had with him just before leaving Washington. Those wishes were also substantially embodied in my instructions. My address, however kind in manner I rendered it, met with no apparent favor. They did not hiss, but their eyes flashed unpleasantly, and with one voice they cried, "No, no!" Speeches full of feeling and rough eloquence came back in response. One very black man, thick set and strong, cried out from the gallery: "Why, General

The Abandoned Lands

Howard, why do you take away our lands? You take them from us who are true, always true to the Government! You give them to our all-time enemies! That is not right!"

At my request, the assembly chose three of their number, and to them I submitted with explanations the propositions to which the land owners were willing to subscribe. Then I faithfully reiterated to the whole body the conditions of the existing tenure under our President's action, they having no absolute title but simply occupying the homesteads. I urged them to make the best terms they could with the holders of the titles. These simple souls with singular unanimity agreed to leave everything to my decision with reference to restorations to be made, and also the conditions attending them. But their committee after considering all the matters submitted to them said that on no condition would the freedmen work for their late owners as formerly they did under overseers; but if they could rent lands from them, they would consent to all the other arrangements proposed. Some without overseers would work for wages; but the general desire was to rent lands and work them.

At last, to be as fair to all parties as possible, I constituted a board of supervisors in which the Government, the planters, and the freedmen were equally represented. This board was to secure and adjust contracts and settle cases of dispute and controversy. The freedmen and the planter could form contracts for rental or for labor with wages as elsewhere; but before the latter could do so his land must be formally restored. To effect this restoration, there was drawn up for his signature an obligation in which he promised substantially: To leave to the freedmen the ex-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

isting crop; to let them stay at their present homes so long as the responsible freedmen among them would contract or lease; to take proper steps to make new contracts or leases, with the proviso that freedmen who refused would surrender any right to remain on the estate after two months; the owners also engaged to interpose no objections to the schools; all the obligations to hold for only one year unless renewed.

At the time, I placed in charge of the whole adjustment Captain A. P. Ketchum, One hundred and Twenty-eighth United States Colored Infantry, acting assistant adjutant general, an officer of acknowledged acumen and conscientiousness. He was in this business my representative with power to extend the arrangement above given to all estates embraced in General Sherman's original provision in South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida.

Upon our return to Charleston, I sent Mr. Stanton this dispatch:

I met several hundred of the colored people of Edisto Island to-day, and did my utmost to reconcile them to the surrender of their lands to the former owners. They will submit, but with evident sorrow, to the breaking of the promise of General Sherman's order. The greatest aversion is exhibited to making contracts, and they beg and plead for the privilege of renting or buying land on the island. My task is a hard one and I am convinced that something must be done to give these people and others the prospect of homesteads.

Six days later, on October 25th, Mr. Stanton replied, his message reaching me at Mobile, Ala. He telegraphed: "I do not understand that your orders require you to disturb the freedmen in possession at present, but only ascertain whether a just mutual agreement can be made between the pardoned owners and the freedmen; and if we can, then carry it into effect."

The Abandoned Lands

The very rumor of my coming disturbed them. I answered Mr. Stanton that I had set Captain Ketchum to restore lands to the pardoned, provided they signed the obligatory instrument which I have described; that this was as nearly satisfactory to all parties as anything that I could devise. I had given the freedmen a supervising board to guard their interests during the transition.

After the work under the President's instructions extending as far as Mobile had been finished, I returned to Washington November 18th, and submitted an account of the journey to Mr. Stanton. These were my closing words:

“ It is exceedingly difficult to reconcile the conflicting interests now arising with regard to lands that have been so long in possession of the Government as those along the coast of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. I would recommend that the attention of Congress be called to the subject of this report at as early a day as possible, and that these lands or a part of them be purchased by the United States with a view to the rental and subsequent sale to the freedmen.”

Congress soon had the situation clearly stated, but pursued its own plan of reconstruction, as did the President his own, regardless of such minor justice as making good to thousands of freedmen that promise of land which was at that time so essential to their maintenance and their independence.

The assistant commissioner for Louisiana was twice changed during the year 1865. General Absalom Baird was by some circumstance delayed from taking charge. I had my adjutant general, Fullerton, sent there to act temporarily as assistant commis-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

sioner till Baird's arrival. Louisiana showed for the year 62,528 acres of abandoned land under cultivation by freedmen and 501 pieces had been given back to owners; thus restoration went on. In New Orleans alone there was \$800,000 worth. The large number of estates abandoned and supposed to be confiscated in Louisiana, which were turned over to us by the Treasury Department, had happily afforded means of raising considerable revenue, indeed, more than any other State. This revenue was now greatly diminished and soon would be extinguished by our being so obliged to give up possession. There were now in Louisiana four large "home colonies," where were supported great numbers of the aged and infirm. But these were not fully self-supporting; still, there were good farms connected with each, faithfully worked by freedmen.

The Mississippi assistant commissioner, Colonel Thomas, for 1865, had worked enough farms to raise a sufficient revenue for Bureau purposes within that State. From every part of Mississippi he showed that freedmen desired to have homes of their own; that they were willing enough to work places which they held by rent, or which they felt were secured to them for their use. The freedmen working land assigned them at Davis Bend, De Soto Point, and at Washington near Natchez, had labored hard and did well. At least 10,000 bales of cotton were raised by these colonists. They had gardens and corn enough to furnish food for themselves and for their stock for the year. Thomas wrote: "A more industrious, energetic body of citizens does not exist than can be seen now at the colonies."

In other parts of Mississippi, Thomas found fine

The Abandoned Lands

crops of grain; the negroes were at home and working quietly. They had generally contracted with their old masters, and all seemed to have accepted the change from slavery to freedom without a shock. Thomas believed that all that was necessary for peace and prosperity was kind treatment, respect for the laborer's rights, and prompt payment as agreed upon in their contracts.

In Alabama, Texas, Kentucky, and Tennessee there were only small amounts of abandoned land in the possession of the Bureau, and its operations under the Land Division were less in amount than in other directions.

As the year 1865 was drawing to a close, I saw plainly that this work of restoring lands and providing reasonably for the occupants, arranging things properly with the land owners or otherwise, would demand time; so I set forth the facts concerning the lands in my communication to Congress. I wrote that it would require at least a year more from January 1, 1866, to bring to a close the Land Division, whatever disposition might be made of the lands. The faith of the Government having been pledged as to leases and contracts for the coming year, it would be unwise to commit them to any State agencies. Again, I urged that to render any portion of the freedmen able to take advantage of the homestead law in Florida, Louisiana, Arkansas, or in other States where there were public lands, aid must be furnished the settlers in the way of transportation, temporary food, and shelter and implements of husbandry. To render this relief offered effective, more time than our present law offered would be essential.

Prior to the President's fuller action in the interest

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

of the land owners, my instructions had been clearly defined, namely, to return estates to those only who could show constant loyalty, past as well as present—a loyalty which could be established by the production of an oath of allegiance, or amnesty, or other evidence. As the Bureau held property by authority of an Act of Congress for certain definite purposes, I had presumed and believed that this tenure would continue until those purposes were accomplished; that such property must be surrendered by us only when it was made evident that our possession and control of it was not proper. But the positive adverse action of President Johnson and the non-action of Congress caused a complete reversal of the Government's generous provision for the late slaves. Thus early officers and agents were constrained to undertake to make bricks without straw.

After years of thinking and observation I am inclined to believe that the restoration of their lands to the planters proved for all their future better for the negroes.

CHAPTER L

COURTS FOR FREEDMEN ; MEDICAL CARE AND PROVISION FOR ORPHANS

UPON their appointment the assistant commissioners of freedmen were enjoined to use every proper means to quicken the industries in the States under their charge. They held indeed a broad commission. Negroes were declared in my letters sent them to be free to choose employers and receive pay for their labor. The old system of overseers was abolished. Cruelty and oppression were to be suppressed. It was easy to write and publish, but hard to carry such orders into execution.

Owing to the almost universal disturbance of labor through eleven or twelve States by the war and consequent emancipation, well-meaning planters and farmers, and employers of negroes generally were much puzzled as to the best method to put industries in motion. Fortunately, as we have seen, there had already been before the Bureau began its trials, considerable practical experience with freedmen who did work under contract or with leases. Yet these experiments came to the knowledge in those days of but few Southern men. From all directions anxious employers poured in letters upon me urging me to fix prices and enable the employer to exercise power, in one way or another, over the laborer. The majority did not be-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

lieve the negro would work unless under compulsion. One prominent gentleman came all the way from Louisiana to Washington. He had been delegated by a score or more of planters to visit me and show a schedule of prices which they had drawn up as liberal as they could make them *and live*; he asked for a formal approval.

Much to the astonishment and chagrin of the suggestors and their agent, the statement made and reiterated by me that *wages* must be free was adhered to, and that they were to be regulated by the assent of both parties to a contract verbal or written, or adjusted from the common market value. I repeatedly cautioned my officers against any substitute whatever for slavery. The assistant commissioners ably seconded these efforts. They left wages to be regulated by demand and agreement. They found that minimum rates, when published, sometimes protected the freedmen; but it was difficult after public notice to ever advance above the minimum. If you fixed rates for able-bodied men, you did not properly discriminate with regard to differences of skill and ability in a given class.

In some communities, finding the plantation negroes inclined to leave their homes and go to the cities, villages, and military posts with no good prospect of work or support, the agents at hand were directed to adopt a system like that of the ordinary intelligence office; they first used every effort to find good places of employment where the idle could find support, and then sent them there. Industrial farms and industrial schools, established by the benevolent societies, helped absorb this class. Government farms, those that had been set apart or allotted, served the purpose in vari-

Courts for Freedmen

ous places from Maryland to Louisiana to distribute and absorb the surplus population.

Yet, after all such provision, we found many authentic complaints of idleness for which no remedy seemed to exist. At last I urged for such freedmen the use of the vagrant laws which applied to whites, leaving out the whipping post which had still been retained in their law books for minor offenses in some of the States. Naturally enough, where exaggerated stories were always rife, a rumor was circulated among the freedmen quite generally that they would finally get somehow all the lands of disloyal owners. The wording of the Bureau law unfortunately fostered the idea. Were not forty acres to be set apart to every male citizen, whether refugee or freedman? Soldiers, colored and white, magnified the report till the belief became prevalent that the Government intended, at the Christmas of 1865, to effect this division. Speculators who desired to cheapen the lands added to the tales their own exaggerations. The result was that toward the autumn great numbers of freedmen became averse to making any contracts whatever with property holders, verbal or written, for the coming year.

Our officers and agents at once set themselves to disabuse the minds of the working people of impressions so detrimental to their interests, entreating them to hasten and get places of support, and then aiding them to obtain fair wages. But even the correction of false reports did not always produce willingness to contract. And, indeed, I felt that the system we were obliged to adopt was checking individuality, or not sufficiently encouraging self-dependence; but a little wholesome constraint could not in many cases be avoided.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

In my first published instructions on the subject I said that no assistant commissioner or agent was authorized to tolerate compulsory, unpaid labor, except for the legal punishment of crime. Suffering may result from this course to some extent, but suffering is preferred to slavery, and is to some degree the necessary consequence of events.

I was confident that the education unhindered in books, and from experience, would, in time, work wonders, stimulating individual enterprise. The people, however, were never compelled to make contracts. When farmers, traders, or mechanics preferred, they could make their bargains without record, but the interest springing from the employer's necessity to have some security for the laborer to remain the year out, and the need of each freedman to have some guaranty for his wages rendered it easier for the Bureau agent to introduce written contracts. Certainly this was true wherever sufficient daylight had penetrated to make men see that slavery really had been abolished.

Vigilance and effort the first season gave good results in those communities in which the people most quickly recognized the negro as a *free man*. In Virginia and North Carolina the vast majority of freedmen were already well at work. Partnerships and joint stock companies with capital had come in and greatly helped us. They hired the men as they would have done elsewhere, treated the workmen well, and paid promptly.

In South Carolina and Georgia the first results of free labor efforts were not so encouraging. I wrote after a visit to Charleston that, as the department commander and assistant commissioner were both at Charleston trying to coöperate, more complete order

Courts for Freedmen

and confidence would come, and that the arrival in Georgia of General Davis Tillson, the new acting assistant commissioner, in the month of September had produced a favorable change in that State. He was at the State capital during the session of the State Reconstruction Convention, and explained to its members the purpose of the Bureau, and corrected false impressions, especially touching the settlement of land and labor. He and the department commander for Georgia began and continued to work heartily together, and, but for the extreme poverty in some sections, were introducing stability and continued industry.

Florida was quiet and orderly enough. There had been but few acts of violence; but the freedmen there hardly as yet realized that they were free. The assistant commissioner had not been long enough in the State, nor had he sufficient assistants to make his organization felt; but he had, nevertheless, in a few counties made a good beginning. Here by his action the old compulsory overseer system had been effectually stopped.

General Wager Swayne, assistant commissioner for Alabama, found there a failure of the crops; it was owing to a drought and to the excitement of some late military raids through the State; he feared great distress of both whites and blacks during the coming winter; but Swayne, always wise, carefully matured plans for effective relief. For example: In such counties as most needed assistance he had organized some colonies on good farms where shelter and employment were at once given to the most needy and which in time he expected to become self-supporting. But his best work was the excellent provision he was making for contracts and leases for the coming year. The

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

department commander and the new governor appointed by President Johnson were cordially coöperating with him. In the steadiness of labor, and in the kind relations of laborers and property holders, Alabama at that time was in advance of other States.

It appeared by all accounts from Louisiana that the system of free labor was also succeeding there, especially in every county or parish where the white men were disposed to give it a fair trial, and better where both parties would at all fulfill their contracts. The best outlook was on the plantations where employers paid cash at short intervals. Prior to a change of officers which I brought about in that State, from lack of mutual confidence the military commander, the new civil authorities, and the assistant commissioner were working all the while at cross purposes, but by September, 1865, there was harmony. Matters at once took better form for the interests of both employers and employed. Old contracts were happily fulfilled and new ones extensively made for the ensuing season.

General Fisk, the assistant commissioner for Tennessee and Kentucky, at first found his most pressing duty to disseminate the indigent masses of refugees and freedmen that the war had brought together. In both States he had, in his efforts among the planters, remarkable success. Tennessee had early found a renewal of public confidence, and the planters of that State had quickly absorbed the labor found in their midst.

General Sprague in Missouri and Arkansas, too, except in impoverished districts, had readily found employment for workingmen, white or black. By the close of 1865, he believed that the active demand for labor was in a great measure settling the condition

Courts for Freedmen

of society. The negroes were industriously cultivating the cotton fields, having employment and good wages. The contracts made were for the most part carried out. Sprague, of a manly and popular turn himself, had secured the coöperation of the military commanders and the provisional governor of Arkansas of recent appointment. Missouri was better off; she had become a free State with fairly good laws protecting the rights of the freedmen just enacted; so that the operations of the Bureau almost ceased there.

In the District of Columbia and vicinity, where masses of freedmen had gathered, Colonel Eaton had established five intelligence offices, and through them furnished thousands of the able-bodied of both sexes with situations far and near. He had been much worried during the year with the Maryland apprentice laws. After trial he could only relieve specific cases where there was uncalled-for restraint and cruelty; but his reports brought their ugly slavery features to the knowledge of the President and Congress. A remedy came in time.

The work of my officers in obtaining recognition of the negro as a man instead of a chattel before the civil and criminal courts took the lead; we took the initiative in influencing the South in its transition into the new order of things. In land and labor matters the Bureau found existing conditions the settlement of which would brook no delay if we were to prevent race wars or starvation; but under the title of justice was the first active endeavor to put the colored man or woman on a permanent basis on a higher plane.

Here is the way the process began: Quite early in my administration as commissioner I paid a visit to

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

Virginia, and not far from Charlottesville met a small assembly of planters. Some of them said they could not work negroes when free. Others asked what was to hinder men from running off and leaving a crop half gathered? The most of them appeared quite in despair how to make or execute contracts with ex-slaves.

After having drawn out quite generally an expression of opinion and feeling on their part, I addressed them: "Gentlemen, no one of us alone is responsible for emancipation. The negro *is free*. This is a fact. Now cannot we blue-eyed Anglo-Saxons devise some method by which we can live with him as a free man?" I then made a suggestion. "Suppose for all minor cases, say within one or two hundred dollars of value, we organize a court. My agent being one member may represent the Government; the planters of a district can elect another, and the freedmen a third. In nine cases out of ten the freedmen will choose an intelligent white man who has always seemed to be their friend. Thus in our court so constituted, every interest will be fairly represented." The hearers were pleased. They were astonished to find me a friend and not an enemy, and they said with feeling: "General, why didn't you come down here before?"

After this talk a court was started there, and similar courts extended in orders to all my jurisdiction. For the whole field for some months minor justice was administered by these Bureau courts constituted wholly or partially from officers or agents of the Bureau; but everywhere when practicable we associated civilians with our officials. By orders, the power as to punishment was limited to not exceed \$100 fine, or thirty days' imprisonment. All cases of capital crimes,

Courts for Freedmen

felonies, or questions relating to titles to real estate were referred to some State court, if such existed where the case occurred, or to a court of the United States, or to military commissions.

These lesser bureau courts were often necessary for the protection of negroes against small personal persecutions and the hostility of white juries.

The higher courts of a State, though not admitting the testimony of people of color, were usually fair.

As soon as the military occupation of the South had been completed, provost courts, a military substitute for civil courts in unoccupied territory, were established here and there in each State. We gladly took advantage of these for the settlement of all sorts of difficulties. The sentence could be readily and easily executed against black and white men because of the guardhouse and the ever ready military force. In the great majority of instances, the provost courts decided fairly; but there were some where the officers composing them had the infectious prejudice against the negro, and discriminated against his interest; they invariably meted out to those who abused him by extortion or violence, punishments too small and in no way commensurate with their offenses.

When the President's provisional governors had rehabilitated the States under their old laws modified somewhat to conform to the amendments of the United States Constitution, the civil local courts became available for Bureau purposes and were at once used, provided they would admit the testimony of the freedmen. This boon of negro evidence was at first quite generally refused.

General Swayne in Alabama, proving himself an able diplomat as well as a good lawyer, had the first

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

substantial success. He had primarily obtained the good will and coöperation of the provisional governor. He next agreed with him to transfer all causes for court action to the State tribunals, if they simply would admit in them the testimony of negroes. The judges, urged and advised by the governor, in nearly the whole of Alabama gave up their opposition and yielded recognition and decided to accept the jurisdiction. Very promptly I approved of Swayne's entire proposition, believing that we could thus test the disposition of the judicial functionaries as to their willingness to do justice to the freedmen; and so the experiment began with fair success in that State. All officers and agents of the Bureau available were instructed to act as advocates of the freedmen in these courts; and the right to withdraw Government recognition from the courts was kept in the hands of the assistant commissioner.

As soon as our action was known to the country, many of the negroes' pronounced friends, and among them Wendell Phillips, severely condemned my action. "Howard has put the freedmen into the jaws of the tiger," he cried. But the ready answer which I gave was: "Justice in time will work itself clear. It is a long step gained to secure the negro's testimony in the Southern courts." Excellent reports soon came from nearly every quarter of Alabama. There were, however, a few exceptions on the borders of Tennessee and Georgia.

A similar course was tried in Mississippi, but the results, owing to the strong indigenous prejudice against negroes as witnesses, were not very encouraging. In Louisiana suits and testimonies were quickly allowed under the State government, and the civil

Courts for Freedmen

courts were often used by Bureau officials with a reasonable measure of justice.

Following Alabama, General Tillson tried the civil magistrates of Georgia under similar directions and restriction as in Alabama. He was reassured by a prompt coöperation and pleased with the action everywhere taken. He felt that if we trusted the Southern white people more, they would be disposed to do right.

For South Carolina General Meade, the Military Division commander, forestalling action by the Bureau, had arranged with the provisional governor for that State that all freedmen's cases should be brought before his provost courts. This was well enough generally for immediate justice, but not so well for the ultimate, when the military would have to be withdrawn.

In all the other States the same course was pursued with desirable fruitage. In some counties after their withdrawal the Bureau courts had to be reestablished to prevent open revolt by negroes against evident legal persecution in State courts.

To avoid, as much as we could, too much new Bureau legislation, our officers secured by their influence the extension as far as possible of the State laws to the freedmen, i. e., laws made for the whites. It was always the practical method—the best way—to make use of time-honored rules established by wise legislation for other people. Those laws applicable to marriage and divorce, to apprenticeship of orphan minors, to paupers and to vagrancy were especially available. Marriages of the freedmen were carefully registered by the Bureau in every State; many orphans were apprenticed to people of good character, under humane and liberal regulations; and the district, parish, county, or town was for the most part gradu-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

ally induced to care for all except a few extreme cases of poverty which could not be shown to belong to any particular locality.

In view of the entire field, the outlook as touching justice to refugees and freedmen appeared to be brighter at the close of November, 1865, than for a long subsequent period.

It has not been possible to speak of land, labor, and justice connected with the destitute refugees and freedmen without mentioning, more or less, the indigent, helpless, and pauper classes. It will be recalled that, in the outset, we found that over 144,000 people were receiving daily rations, medical supplies, and other help.

Our first record of these facts was found at the War Department, May, 1865. By the end of the year, we had made a great reduction, but leaving still a destitute host of more than 70,000. This reduction, as before stated, was effected by finding places of work and giving transportation to them, and also by the voluntary efforts of refugees and freedmen, seeking and finding employment for themselves. Those obtaining daily rations included the sick and the orphan children, citizen employees of the Bureau, also officers on duty with us and citizens laboring voluntarily for the freedmen. All volunteer helpers received their rations by purchasing.

For a few days after the Bureau was organized we were at a loss how to feed this unorganized mass. June 20th, Colonel Balloch and I visited General A. B. Eaton, the commissary general of the army, and pleaded before him our case. We showed him our army of over 140,000 dependents; that there was no appropriation; that the law had a clause: "That the

Courts for Freedmen

Secretary of War may direct such issues of provisions, clothing, and fuel as he may deem needful for the immediate and temporary shelter and supply of destitute and suffering refugees and freedmen and their wives and children, under such rules and regulations as he may direct." I said: "The Secretary leaves this matter, General Eaton, to you and to me." We then submitted a proposed circular letter, which, after a close examination and a few alterations, General Eaton approved.

This important instrument defined the destitute ration in all its parts and fixed the half ration for children under fourteen years. The ration consisted mainly of pork, bacon, or fresh beef, flour, or bread, with occasional issues of corn meal, beans, peas, or hominy with coffee or tea for women. It named the ration returns (requisitions for rations) and required them to be approved and signed by the commanding officer of a post or station, and, when practicable, by an assistant commissioner or one of his agents for the State or district. A seven days' supply could be obtained at a time. In cases where the destitute could partially supply themselves, then only such parts of the ration as were actually needed were given. Thus, taking advantage of the army machinery, at a stroke the feeding process was provided for. The general authority for all supplies was put by the law in the hands of the Secretary of War, and so my order after approval by Mr. Stanton required quarterly estimates of all provisions and clothing, and allowed the purchase of rations by teachers and other persons working for refugees and freedmen. A limited transportation was given to teachers on Government transports and railways—of these there were many in those days—and

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

the instructions allowed public buildings, and especially those seized from disloyal owners, to be used for schools and for homes for teachers, soldiers' wives, and refugees.

A few months having elapsed, October 10, 1865, we received further positive relief. The quartermaster's department was directed by Mr. Stanton to turn over to my officers on their requisitions out of their abundance, such quartermaster's stores on hand, and clothing, camp and garrison equipage, unfit for issue to troops, as might be required to enable such officers to perform their public duties and provide for the immediate necessities of destitute refugees and freedmen that were temporarily dependent on the Government.

From May to November 30th, the total number of white refugees who had been transported at public charge from distant places to their own homes, or to new homes found for them, had reached 1,778. There had been from May to this date a steady diminution of this class to be moved, so that in the month of November there were but sixteen persons so sent. Correspondingly, for the freedmen for November only 1,946 received formal transportation. The employees, teachers, and agents of benevolent associations receiving this favor were 307. Besides this sending of persons, boxes and bales of stores were forwarded free of charge, such as had been collected from benevolent people for the benefit of our destitute wards.

The medical arrangement was most important,—that with the surgeon general. Our medical work had at first been done in an irregular way; but on August 3, 1865, Surgeon General Barnes kindly directed his medical purveyors to issue medical and hospital supplies to our medical officers. All the provi-

Courts for Freedmen

sions in the Bureau law were thus given effect for at least one year after the close of the war, and that date, hardly fixed by any single event, was given a liberal interpretation. June 16th, Surgeon Caleb W. Horner became my medical director. With alacrity he entered upon his multifarious duties, and little by little extended the Medical Division throughout the States where the Bureau was already operating, especially to all the colonies, camps, hospitals, and orphan asylums directly and indirectly under our charge.

From time to time as he needed them he called for medical assistants and they were promptly furnished. By the middle of August he had seventeen such assistants from the army, covering the whole territory from Maryland to Louisiana. The last of November he wrote: "Although the Bureau has not yet reached the remote sections of the South, already forty-two hospitals with accommodations for 4,500 patients are in operation and facilities are afforded for the treatment of 5,000 sick in twenty-four asylums and established colonies."

Besides the medical officers designated, eighty-three physicians and 180 male and 177 female attendants were employed by contract. With regard to the work of this great division it may be said that at the close of the year 2,531 white refugees had been under medical treatment and 45,898 freedmen had received medical aid, yet there remained in all the hospitals only 388 refugees and 6,645 freedmen. The percentage of deaths during the year, owing to the previous hardships to which the patients had been exposed, was unusually large; for refugees 9 per cent had died, and for freedmen 13 per cent. Before systematic medical aid was extended to these people they were found to be

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

dying at the rate of 30 per cent. But where the relief system of the Bureau had been made complete, as in the District of Columbia, the mortality was reduced to less than 4 per cent.

As concrete illustrations a few of the orphan asylums will serve. By the breaking up of the slave system former owners were of course freed from the care of negro children, and there having been in much of the South a want of any permanent family relation among the slaves, hosts of negro children without parents or friends were found in Southern cities. In the District of Columbia was one asylum established during the war under the auspices of a Ladies' Benevolent Society. The name under its charter was the National Association for the Relief of Destitute Colored Women and Children. When the war was over and our active Bureau agency came to play its part, all helpless adults were soon cared for in the Freedmen's Hospital of the district, so that this society thereafter confined its attention and resources mainly to orphan children. They cared for between one and two hundred during 1865. At first the association occupied the "abandoned property" of Mr. R. S. Cox, situated near Georgetown in the District, and they greatly hoped to retain that property, which was in a healthful location and in every way commodious. But, on August 17th, I informed the ladies of the association that President Johnson had requested the Bureau to provide some other place for the orphans because he had fully pardoned Mr. Cox, the Confederate owner, and he was thereby entitled to complete restoration of his estate. The ladies were much grieved at this action of the President, yet after some delay they purchased several lots on the Seventh Street road, just

Courts for Freedmen

beyond the limits of the city of Washington; and thereon, as quickly as possible, the Bureau erected a suitable building for the asylum. Here the orphans were properly provided for. It further aided the good ladies with rations and medical attendance. Mr. Cox, a citizen newly made by the removal of his political disabilities, sought a little retributive justice against that association of ladies by suing them for damages to his property during their occupancy to the amount of \$10,000, but he was not successful in his suit.

Three orphan asylums in New Orleans were maintained the same year. One of them was on Dryades Street, mainly in charge of the National Freedmen's Relief Association. The Bureau, as in Washington, aided the management with food, medicine, and medical care for the children, whose number was about one hundred. Madame Louise de Mortié, an educated and philanthropic lady, opened another asylum in the Soulé mansion, designed for orphan girls. This mansion, abandoned, was assigned to her by the Bureau. The lady provided for between sixty and seventy girls. This institution required but little help from the assistant commissioner. For a time, there were in Louisiana two other asylums, one that had been in existence before 1865 and was supported wholly by the Government; the other was opened by the colored people themselves. The assistant commissioner for Louisiana speedily united these two and put them under the management of the National Freedmen's Association, the Bureau furnishing, as generally, a building, medical aid, fuel, and rations. This union asylum, well located in New Orleans, had the care of a hundred and fifty orphan children at a time, and did excellent

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

service. The colored people themselves of this city very largely cared for the orphans of their friends and acquaintances in their own families, and thus, when orphanage was at its height, generously saved the Government much expense.

CHAPTER LI

THE EARLY FINANCES; SCHOOLS STARTED

COLONEL BALLOCH, before mentioned, was early placed at the head of financial affairs in the Freedmen's Bureau. He came to it by detail from the subsistence department of the volunteer army.

It was the original intention of Mr. Stanton and myself that Balloch, who had been an excellent commissary of brigade, of division and of corps, often under me during the progress of the war, should have charge of commissary matters. He was particularly fitted to supervise the procurement and issue of food to destitute refugees and freedmen; but as he was known to be a good financial officer, of large experience and probity, and already under bonds for the faithful disbursement of public funds, I decided to assign him to additional duty as chief accounting officer.

There was, the first year, no direct appropriation of money for the support of our Bureau, and in consequence, besides what came from abandoned property, aid had to be obtained, as we have seen, from the quartermaster, commissary and medical departments of the army. The law itself, it will be observed, sanctioned these sources of supply, and by implication required not only that all abandoned property, but all other matters, including funds, should be under the supervision of the commissioner, under such regula-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

tions as he might prescribe, provided he obtained the approval of the President.

The following table, which the reader may skip if he dislikes such literature, will indicate how the funds, gathered from various sources and transferred to the accounting officer, were recorded. The table further shows something of their original use:

RECEIPTS

Amounts received during the year 1865

From Freedmen's Fund.....	\$466,028.35
" Retained Bounties.....	115,236.49
For Clothing, Fuel, and Subsistence sold.....	7,704.21
From Farms.....	76,709.12
" Rents of Buildings.....	56,012.42
" " " Lands.....	125,521.00
" Quartermaster's Department.....	12,200.00
" Conscript Fund.....	13,498.11
" Schools (Tax and Tuition).....	34,486.58
	\$907,396.28

EXPENDITURES

Freedmen's Fund.....	\$8,009.14
Clothing, Fuel, and Subsistence.....	75,504.05
Farms.....	40,069.71
Household Furniture.....	2,904.90
Rents of Buildings.....	11,470.88
Labor (by freedmen and other employees).....	237,097.62
Repairs of Buildings.....	19,518.46
Contingent Expenses.....	46,328.07
Rents of Lands.....	300.00
Internal Revenue.....	1,379.86
Conscript Fund.....	6,515.37
Transportation.....	1,445.51
Schools.....	27,819.60
	\$478,363.17
Balance on hand, October 31, 1865.....	429,033.11
Deduct Retained Bounties.....	115,236.49
	\$313,796.62

The sums that came into the hands of the chief disbursing officer, originally arising from taxes on salaries of colored employees retained in some instances

The Early Finances

during the war to support the destitute, the sums from taxes on cotton, where freedmen were interested, from fines in the provost courts, and from donations or small amounts raised in any lawful manner for the benefit of the freedmen, were considered by us as a *single fund*, and we named it "*The Freedmen's Fund*."

The clothing, fuel, and subsistence of the table were what was collected after abandonment by Government officials at the close of the war, Union and Confederate articles, and taken up by our officers and sold for the benefit of refugees and freedmen. The item "Farms" signified the produce which was disposed of for cash. The rents of abandoned lands and buildings became quite an item, and materially aided in sustaining Bureau operations. The money which came from the quartermaster's department arose from the rentals of abandoned lots or lands that army quartermasters paid over to the Bureau. In some States, as in Louisiana, there existed for a short time a small tax laid upon all who directly or indirectly within a given district were concerned in the schools; and there was also a small tuition charged in those schools where pupils could afford it.

The disbursing officer in his first report had this brief account of the origin of the retained bounties: "The amount held as retained bounties cannot be considered as funds of the Bureau, as it is merely held in trust for colored soldiers, or their families, in accordance with (General Benjamin F. Butler's) General Orders No. 90, Department of Virginia and North Carolina, current series, 1864."

By General Butler's orders a portion of the bounties due to colored soldiers who were secured and enlisted to fill up the quota of troops from the different

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

States was segregated and put into a fund. This fund was to be used for the support or partial support of the wives and children of the colored soldiers thus enlisted. A part of it had been disbursed in accordance with the terms of the orders and the balance, under the President's instructions, was transferred to our Bureau. At first it was simply kept in trust, so uncertain did we feel concerning the proper disposal of it. After a time a part of the fund was used to purchase a building and land for a colored school. I had the opinion that that would be a good disposition to make of any remaining balance, provided there should be sufficient, of course, after we had paid back to all we could find of the soldiers concerned and to their families what plainly belonged to them. In fact, repayment had gone on continuously, though the late soldiers concerned, being widely scattered, were hard to find.

We knew that the school building, which was the freed people's best relief, could be disposed of at any time; and that very soon the interest of the fund, mostly in United States bonds, would cover the purchase.

One day in conversation with Senator Lot M. Morrill, I called his attention to this fund. He said that such an expenditure ought to be approved by action of Congress, otherwise that money might cause me trouble. After this interview, a bill was submitted to Congress which authorized such investments and disposition of the money as had been made. It passed one House, but was amended in the other, by striking out the real estate clause. In this form it became a law. It required the Bureau to pay the bounty money to the soldiers and their families as far as might be,

The Early Finances

and if there remained any balance at the close of the Bureau to cover that into the United States Treasury. The real estate used for the school was disposed of as soon as possible, and the money returned to the fund. Payments were made from time to time according to the terms of the Act, vouchers always being taken for General Balloch's accounts. His successor, Major J. M. Brown, and then myself following Brown, in closing up the Bureau made the disbursements, as did Balloch. At last I deposited the final balance in the Treasury as required, took my receipts and closed up the account.

At one time Balloch had presented an account with his vouchers for that fund to an auditor of the Treasury, who declined to receive it because of its nature, not being, as he said, properly United States funds. After that refusal neither of us again submitted accounts of that fund to the auditing office. Balloch left his vouchers when mustered out of service in a bundle in his desk. Some time after the Bureau had ceased its main work, and after a small remnant had been transferred to the Record Division of the War Department for completion, the Secretary of War, General W. W. Belknap, called upon me for an itemized statement of the entire "retained bounty fund." It was this fund, with the interest thereon, which the Court of Inquiry, of which General Sherman was president, thoroughly investigated during the spring of 1874. Either in the transfer of the papers by wagon from my office to the War Department building, or in the subsequent burning of papers, which were deemed of no value, by the War Department, the vouchers which Balloch had put into his desk had disappeared altogether; but fortunately by the use of

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

a book of record, which had been carefully kept, and also by finding duplicate vouchers retained by subordinate disbursing officers in the States where the bounties were paid, I was able to account for the entire fund to the satisfaction of the court. This result, however, did not satisfy General Belknap, who caused the United States to sue me for the entire fund. That suit was brought against me after I had gone to Oregon and taken command of the Department of the Columbia. The case was continued in the United States District Court of Oregon, by formal postponement on the motion of the United States district attorney, for two years. At last the case was transferred (as a convenience to the Government) to the Court of the District of Columbia and there tried. The jury found for me without leaving their seats on every count. So that after great trouble and expense the retained bounty case was finally settled.

As will appear in the description of the subsequent operations of the Bureau, the division of financial affairs, besides administering the funds already noted, as the money was collected and spent, was the disbursing office for all the Congressional appropriations for the Bureau.

After the first year all the original sources of revenue for the Bureau except the retained bounty fund and direct Congressional appropriations were united and called the "Refugees' and Freedmen's Fund," and expended for proper public purposes, mainly for labor and schools.

The many benevolent organizations of the country, which I have mentioned, after the commencement of Bureau work, gradually lessened their eleemosynary features and gave themselves vigorously to the teach-

The Early Finances

ing of children and youth and the planting of schools. May 18, 1865, the Rev. Lyman Abbott, then a vigorous young minister, paid a visit to the new Bureau. He came to Washington as a delegate from New York to speak in behalf of several volunteer freedmen's societies. There had already been some effort among them to consolidate. I at once favored a plan for a general union of forces, which would evidently make them both more effective and more economical in administration.

Mr. Abbott, agreeing with this view, promised to do all in his power to bring about such union. As he was greatly interested in the work of education among the freedmen, I consulted him with reference to the first important circular issued from headquarters May 19, 1865. It announced well-defined principles of action. Mr. Abbott's aid and advice have ever since been gratefully remembered. The following words met his special approval: "I invite, therefore, the continuance and coöperation of such societies. I trust they will be generously supported by the people, and I request them to send me their names, list of their principal officers, and a brief statement of their present work. . . . The educational and moral condition of these (the freed) people will not be forgotten. The utmost facility will be afforded to benevolent and religious organizations and State authorities in the maintenance of good schools for refugees and freedmen until a system of free schools can be supported by the recognized local governments. Meanwhile, whenever schools are broken up by any authorized agent of the Government, it is requested that the fact and attendant circumstances be reported to this Bureau.

"Let me repeat, that in all this work it is not my

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

purpose to supersede the benevolent agencies already engaged in it, but to systematize and facilitate them."

The next step after public announcement was to introduce in the field some practical systematic arrangement. So much overlapping and interference one with another were found among the workers that I hastened to appoint a school superintendent for each State. He was generally a commissioned officer detailed from the army and placed under the direct authority of the State assistant commissioner of the Bureau. The majority of the schools throughout the South were elementary. They were more flourishing in those localities which had been for six months or more within the lines of our armies. After peace many Government schools were added to those of the benevolent societies, being brought into existence by Bureau officials. These were self-supporting from the start. The educational work was in every way helped by the extraordinary ardor of the pupils and the enthusiasm of the teachers, fed by the societies behind them, who at this time voiced the generous devotion of benevolent people everywhere. Yet the ruling classes among the Southern whites were deeply offended. They said at first: "If the Yankees are allowed to educate the negroes as they are now doing, the next thing will be to let them vote." No one can describe the odium that awaited the excellent, self-denying teachers of freedmen in those days. Our first official summary of these schools declared that "doubtless the treatment to which they, the teachers, have been subjected is due in part to the feelings engendered by the war, but it is mostly attributable to prejudice against educating the blacks, and the belief that the teachers are fostering social equality." Even

The Early Finances

then, however, there were notable exceptions to this opinion and conduct in the South. Some prominent Southern men earnestly advocated the introduction of schools, and several Southern churches established them in connection with their own organizations. The entire number of pupils in the schools for freedmen at the close of 1865 in the States that had been in insurrection, adding Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and the District of Columbia, amounted to 90,589; teachers 1,314, and schools 740. Mr. J. W. Alvord was made the chief inspector of schools, October 2, 1865. The Bureau gave transportation to teachers from their homes to the field and back during the necessary vacations. It also carried all their books and furniture, and to a considerable extent while the abandoned property remained available, provided buildings for the dwelling places of teachers and for the schools themselves. I early came to the conclusion that our school work was best promoted by placing one dollar of public money by the side of one of voluntary contribution. The Bureau gave to any benevolent society in that proportion. The society which undertook the most in that manner received most.

President Johnson's restoration of estates, however, which we have already noticed, soon caused schoolhouses, churches, and many private residences to be severed from our use. One inspector wrote that our admirable system of education well inaugurated must fail unless permanent real estate for the freedmen and the schools could in some way be secured. The benevolent societies were ready to erect their own buildings if we could furnish them lots on which to build. This disposition helped us finally to great results.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

A partial consolidation of societies was at last effected. For a time the Bureau dealt in the main with only two, the American Union Commission and the American Missionary Association. The latter, besides its freedmen's schools, carried out the universal desire that the children of white refugees should also be well cared for. At Richmond, Va., the Association had such a school with 375 pupils and five teachers. It had another each evening for 50 adults. The same Association sustained still another at Athens, Tenn., for 95 white children, and partially, for a time near Chattanooga, a refugees' school located in old war buildings which the Confederates had erected near the crest of Lookout Mountain. Mr. Christopher R. Robert of New York City had bought the buildings at the Government's auction sale and devoted them to this use. Mr. Robert was the same who had established Robert College in Constantinople. A few hundred children were there cared for under the superintendence of Prof. C. F. P. Bancroft, who was later the efficient principal of Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. After a few years' trial this Lookout Mountain school was closed. Before a railway came the mountain was too inaccessible.

In the face of many difficulties there was hopeful activity the latter part of 1865. An old citizen wrote from Halifax, N. C.: "I constantly see in the streets and on the doorsteps opposite my dwelling groups of little negroes studying their lessons."

In Charleston, S. C., even in the slave times, free persons of color could be taught in books. In that city at this time the opposition to freedmen's schools was inconsiderable.

In Louisiana, where the schools had been supported

The Early Finances

by a State tax levied by military authority, they had become remarkable for completeness of organization and proficiency. Before the close of the year, however, the order levying the tax was countermanded. The consternation of the freedmen was intense. They begged to be assessed the whole amount of the tax, and at last formally petitioned the military commander to this effect. From one plantation alone, opposite New Orleans, came a petition thirty feet long, covered with signatures. Many a signer, of course, merely made a cross opposite his name. This earnestness of ignorant men in behalf of their children's education was indeed remarkable and full of promise.

The Society of Friends maintained an evening school in Baltimore for colored porters and draymen, having an average of forty in attendance; while young men of Quaker families constituted the corps of volunteer teachers.

The latter part of the year, when the President's attitude was known to be unfriendly to anything except work, there arose in several districts of Maryland sharp and organized opposition to all freedmen's schools. Both teachers and children were chased and stoned in one town, Easton, by rough white men. Resolutions to drive out the teacher were passed in a public meeting in Dorchester; while unknown parties burned the church and schoolhouse in Kent county. Other such church edifices, used for schools, were burned in Cecil, Queen Anne, and Somerset counties. This was done with a view to shut up existing schools and prevent new efforts. It was the burning of the buildings in this quarter, coupled with hostile feeling and action elsewhere, which more than any other one thing united the Republicans, radical and conserva-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

tive, in Congress, and induced them to advocate a universal suffrage. Hostile spirits declared that if the negroes were allowed to read they would soon be permitted to vote. By their violence these men hastened the very consequences which they most feared.

It was only here and there that any of our schools had at this time passed beyond the rudiments. An extraordinary thirst for knowledge caused numerous night schools to be undertaken, particularly in Washington, and there were a few of an industrial character set on foot. In one of these quantities of garments were made, and in another quite a variety of clothing. A Washington teacher voiced a common sentiment in saying: "I have found the children very much like white ones in the matter of learning. Some are stupid and others are bright." The negro children were then more eager for knowledge than ordinary white ones, being stimulated by their parents, to whom knowledge of books had hitherto been like forbidden fruit. Our inspectors, traveling constantly, found instances of what they called self-teaching, that is, persevering attempts on the part of adults to educate themselves. They entered some schools where colored men and women were trying to impart what little they knew to others, though they had hardly grasped the rudiments themselves. Their pupils were of all ages, and were separated into attentive groups. One group would have for a teacher a young man, another a woman or old preacher. These rude schoolrooms were discovered in cellars, sheds, or the corner of a negro meetinghouse. The improvised teacher would have the card alphabet in hand or a torn spelling book. All seemed full of enthusiasm with the knowledge which

The Early Finances

the card or the book was imparting. There was another fruitful institution, namely, the colored regiment. An instance will illustrate. A regiment was stationed at Fort Livingston, La. An officer selected ten of the brightest-appearing colored soldiers and spent two hours a day in teaching them to read. This he did under a promise that each of the ten would take a class of four and devote the same amount of time to them. Books and cards were obtained and the school undertaken. The soldiers faithfully kept their agreement; while being taught they instructed one another and in a few days many of the regiment had begun to read. The soldiers then hired a competent teacher to extend their knowledge. This good work had gone on about a year when the friendly officer declared that his A B C pupils were already taking, and in addition to enjoying the illustrations, were reading forty copies of Harper's and Frank Leslie's Weeklies besides other papers.

The first year of school work appeared to all of us who were interested only a nucleus, a preparation for the future. Hitherto, donations from the benevolent had been generously made, and there was hope of a steady continuance. Hindrances, however, as in all undertakings, made their appearance and made it difficult to keep the official and the benevolent in harmony. As means of transportation in the South on land and water naturally ceased to be under Government control with the withdrawal of troops, it became difficult to furnish transportation to teachers or society agents. Before the end of 1865, such transportation was altogether interdicted by the Secretary of War. Again citizen opposition in every locality where there were schools was gathering force. Places which

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

had appeared in the outset favorable to education became suddenly inimical. It was evident to us who were on the lookout that the whole movement for educating the freedmen would cease unless kept for a long period under the protection of the general Government. Our officers and agents, without exception, wrote decidedly that military protection alone could save our schools. Without it they would be before long utterly broken up and new ones could not be put in operation. It was not altogether the driving out of teachers or the treating them with contempt and unkindness which threatened the existence of the schools. There was wanting that sense of quiet and security which is always essential to a successful prosecution of study. There was indeed apprehension in the air in all places where military or Bureau occupation did not exist.

CHAPTER LII

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S RECONSTRUCTION AND FURTHER BUREAU LEGISLATION FOR 1866

PRESIDENT JOHNSON, by the inspiration and help of his Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, had succeeded before the meeting of Congress in December, 1865, in completely rehabilitating all the States that had belonged to the Southern Confederacy, so far as the form went. Apparently all the functions of Government, both State and National, were already reawakened and in operation. By taking the old State constitutions of 1861 and modifying them slightly to make them comply with the Thirteenth Amendment of the National Constitution, seemingly the problems of reconstruction were solved. Everything, for a time, to the late Confederates, was going on as they would have it. All those who had been for four years fighting against the United States were again in power at the State capitals, or so close behind those in office that they made themselves felt in every sort of legislation and act of administration. But the freedmen were left outside of all proper citizenship. They had no voice directly or indirectly in the new governments over them, and soon, worse than that, vicious laws were passed that made their actual condition deplorable. They were, indeed, but for military protection, which still lingered in the South, worse off than under the old system of slavery.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

At this juncture, when Congress was assembling, the situation may be summarized as follows: The Southern legislators, in keeping with Judge Taney's famous Dred Scott decision, very clearly demonstrated that the negro had no rights. True, they had formally adopted the Thirteenth Amendment to the National Constitution, but had followed that action by legislation which vitiated its provisions. The smallest acts annoying to white men were raised to misdemeanors, while vagrancy, poverty, and even enforced idleness were made to constitute a crime to be punished by excessive fines or hard labor under constraint. The labor and vagrancy laws, ostensibly for white and black alike, were so executed as to reach the freedmen only, and indeed to many of them the liberty granted by our amended Constitution was thus to all intents and purposes overborne and crushed by hostile State action.

As soon as Congress met, Southern senators and representatives elect from the insurrectionary States were on hand at the doors of each House waiting for admission and recognition. But this thirty-ninth Congress had taken fire. The Executive, so Congressmen alleged, had largely encroached upon its proper province. The members of both Houses were too impatient even to wait for the President's message. Combating resolutions were at once introduced and passed, appointing a joint reconstruction committee of fifteen members to inquire into the condition of the States which claimed to be reconstructed, and to report whether any of them were entitled to representation in Congress, "with leave to report at any time by bill or otherwise."

The contest that here began between that Congress

President Johnson's Reconstruction

and President Johnson, with all the Southern legislatures involved, affords a piece of history of deepest interest, and subsequently it greatly affected the existence and operations of the Freedmen's Bureau. The life of that Bureau was to terminate by law one year after the close of the war. By the most favorable interpretation that one year could not extend beyond the fiscal year ending June 30, 1866. The necessity for the protection which the Freedmen's Bureau would give became more and more apparent. Every report received from our agents bore evidences of troubles then existing and apprehended.

The words of the assistant commissioner of North Carolina, Colonel Whittlesey, were significant. They found a veritable echo in the reports of other assistants and subassistants throughout the South.

Writing from Raleigh, December 1st, he said: "But it is evident all over the South that the colored race cannot be safely left in the hands of the late masters or the Southern people. Just as sure as that is done, such oppressive laws will be enacted that the blacks will be driven to desperation and the scenes lately witnessed in Jamaica will be reenacted in many sections of our own country."

He gave instances of outrages committed against loyal people because of their loyalty. This was done in places where the military had been withdrawn. A young man was threatened and stoned because he had opened a "nigger" school. Whittlesey added: "I do hope that Congress will grasp the whole subject and show itself master of the situation. No legislation for *the freedmen* should be allowed—it is not consistent with the republican form of government. All laws should apply to all races alike. Give equal rights to

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

whites and blacks; impose the same taxes, the same duties, the same penalties for crime, and then execute the laws with simple justice; and the result will be peace, safety, and prosperity. . . . But the white people in this State are not yet ready to treat black men justly. Therefore, the Federal Government ought to retain control. Our military force ought to be increased and not reduced."

Early in this, the last session of the thirty-ninth Congress, Senator Trumbull of Illinois, instead of simply sending for me as would have been customary, kindly came to my office and studied the operations of the Bureau. I was then striving to carry out the existing law, and realized how essential to the interests of the freedmen it was to extend the time of its operation. It was indeed important for the sake of humanity that that continued operation should obtain, not only in the cotton, but in the border States. I further believed and desired that the recent slaves should attain to all the rights of freemen before the existing protection of the general Government should be withdrawn from them. I had been much hampered by the instructions of the President himself, who had now gradually drifted into positive opposition to the Bureau law—a law that he was bound by his oath of office to execute, but one that his process of reconstruction had caused to be violated in the spirit, if not in the letter, so as to render it nugatory. This worthy senator, always of a conservative turn, warmly took the freedmen's part. I well remember those nights at my headquarters, for Mr. Trumbull's thoughts deeply impressed me. In a subsequent speech he declared the freedmen's condition to be "abject, forlorn, helpless, and hopeless."

President Johnson's Reconstruction

January 5, 1866, he introduced in the Senate a new Freedmen's Bureau bill. On the 12th of the same month it was brought up for discussion, when he explained what he wished to accomplish with it: (1) An essential extension beyond the one year to be terminated by a future Act of Congress. (2) That it should apply to the whole country wherever were the beneficiaries; (3) That the President should give them land by reserving not exceeding 3,000,000 acres from settlement or sale in certain Southern States where public lands still remained; (4) That General Sherman's possessory titles on the sea islands be made real; and (5), more important still, that when discriminations against negroes were made Bureau officers and agents should take and hold jurisdiction of the offenses.

Much feeling and bitterness were evolved in the discussion that followed the senator's statements. Yet all hindering amendments were voted down, and January 25th, the bill passed the Senate by 27 majority. In the House there was a like fiery discussion. The bill was amended so as to limit it to sections of the country where the habeas corpus remained suspended on February 1, 1866.

The Senate removed the amendment, so that the original bill passed both Houses and February 10th went to the President. He returned it with a veto. He objected to thus legislating without the new representatives and senators from the South. He declared that the bill interfered with the local administration of justice; that it was unconstitutional for the general Government to support indigent persons; that it was unreasonable to make provision for a class or color; that it was extravagantly expensive, there being \$11,745,000, according to the commissioner's estimates for the

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

current year, and likely under the bill to be double that amount—"greater than the entire yearly administration of John Quincy Adams."

The Senate did not get a two-thirds vote to overcome the veto, several senators having changed their attitude regarding it, so that Trumbull's bill failed to become a law. But in the House the persistent chairman of the Freedmen's committee, Mr. Eliot, very soon introduced a new Bureau bill, from which he had removed several objections made by those senators who refused to vote for the first bill over the veto. The duration he fixed at two years; he left out the sea island clause, and he reduced the acres of public lands to 1,000,000. This measure went through both Houses and was vetoed like the others for similar reasons. But this time both Houses passed the measure over the President's veto, and it became a law July 16, 1866. The attitude of President Johnson and of the leading Southern whites, together with the apparent inability of Congress to enact a law to which he and his new friends objected, created, during those six months of trial, prior to the passage of this measure, great anxiety and apprehension. Still, all officers and agents, coöperating with the small military garrisons in their vicinity, had worked on energetically and hopefully to meet and overcome the increasing difficulties of the situation.

By November it was evident that the new law had had a salutary effect. Aside from its relation to the business interests of the Bureau, which were difficult to manage under the uncertain tenure of the previous law, it served to cheer the freed people throughout the entire South, to increase their confidence in the general Government, to give new stimulus and a firmer tone

President Johnson's Reconstruction

to industrial and agricultural enterprises, and to impart strength to the hope of justice; a law less comprehensive and explicit would have been insufficient. Under the new provisions Maryland and Kentucky were now embraced and assistant commissioners appointed. The freed people of those States had become an important consideration. Most of them were willing and anxious to labor; yet very many had required the protection of a powerful agency to shield them from the imposition of employers and cruelty of enemies, and the unfairness of courts constituted and held under old laws. When nothing else could be done, it was something for an accused negro to have at least the counsel of a Bureau officer as a friend present in court.

The most annoying things that I, as commissioner, encountered, and they were hitherto unceasing, were the complaints made to President Johnson against officers and agents and referred to me for examination and correction. Any agent who took the part of the freedmen against a Southern planter, especially one who had the hardihood to arrest a white man for misusing a negro, was traduced, and often, I am sorry to say, his discharge was brought about. The President was very anxious to be rid of every prominent officer who was reported to have been long the freedmen's friend. In his eyes assistant commissioners, such as Mr. Conway, Colonel Brown, Generals Whittlesey, Saxton, Samuel Thomas, and Absalom Baird, were too pronounced in behalf of those assailed; they seemed to be friends of the so-called carpet-baggers, i. e., immigrants from the North, and of Southern Unionists and negroes; and many subagents also were accused of a like attitude. They were too much the

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

advocates of their wards to suit the situation. As I was obliged to execute the law under the direction of his Excellency, little by little his power made itself felt. To give my work the utmost opportunity to succeed I came to the conclusion, first, that all Government agencies within a given State must work in harmony, and so I recommended to the President that the functions of the military commander and of the assistant commissioner in each State be exercised by the same officer. To this he gladly assented. It was early done in Virginia. General Alfred H. Terry, the new department commander, became also the assistant commissioner for that State. He took his predecessor in the Bureau, Colonel Brown, on his staff and so operated all Bureau work through him, and soon that arrangement prevailed throughout other departments. Next, I worked to make each military subdivision coincident with the Bureau subdistrict. Terry's department, the State of Virginia, was divided into eight subdistricts with an officer in charge of each. Then I carefully instructed subordinates that, touching all subjects of a military character, the agents were to be under the direction of State department commanders.

The Bureau officer acted in the same manner as an officer of engineers building a fort might do, reporting on all matters of construction directly to the chief of engineers at Washington, but at the same time being the engineer officer on the staff of a local commander.

Fortunately for me the Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton, and General Grant, the commander of all the geographical departments and garrisons, were friendly to my work; it was, therefore, not difficult to secure in that way unity of organization and action;

President Johnson's Reconstruction

it was easy enough in and near all towns actually garrisoned, and in places which were reached by rail.

Perhaps the needs, the hopes, the fears, the failures, and such progress as was made in the Bureau work for 1866 may be best illustrated by some of the work before the courts that year.

General C. H. Howard, who had succeeded General Eaton in the District of Columbia and vicinity, found it next to impossible to get the courts to allow the testimony of colored witnesses anywhere in Maryland until the effect of the United States Civil Rights Law, recently enacted, which forbade such distinction, came into play. Upon a case of great outrage, committed by a white man upon a negro, where the Bureau agent brought the white man to trial and the white man was condemned and sentenced, an appeal was taken before Judge Bowie of the Maryland Court of Appeals, and the constitutionality of the Civil-Rights-Law called in question. Judge Bowie, to our joy, July 2d, decided that colored witnesses were competent, and that the Civil-Rights-Law in this respect was constitutional. After that happy decision warrants were issued on the testimony of negroes. But the agents now found another obstacle. Constables refused to serve subpoenas for such witnesses, and even when colored men did testify, the prejudice of jurymen gave little or no weight to their testimony.

In North Carolina General Robinson, now in command, delayed the transfer of cases for trial to the civil courts, especially those where whites had committed fraud, injury, or violence upon persons of color. In July the governor wrote him: "There now exists under the laws of this State no discrimination in the administration of justice to free persons of

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

color." The general then directed the reference of all cases to the county and State authorities, with the single exception of the claims for wages due under contracts witnessed by Bureau officials. These admitted of no delay, and the agents adjudicated them as before. It was indeed better for both parties. But still in cases of neglect, where the civil tribunals failed to act, Bureau officers were directed to make arrests where the freedmen were concerned, and detain the criminals till a proper court should be ready to try them. The Bureau exhibit for this State for August was not very reassuring. Forty-nine cases were shown of assault, whipping, false imprisonment, shooting, and other outrages against blacks, with but one of a negro against a white man. Many more reports of such outrages were made directly to the civil authorities, embracing assault and battery, rape, church burning, arson, and murder. The civil courts, however, as a rule were keeping faith. The offenders had been required to give bonds and so held to answer the charges. General Robinson was sanguine of the future. He believed that after time enough had elapsed for new adjustments between the races "mutual confidence would be restored."

General Tillson was a conservative and harmonizer, leaning possibly to the side of the white employers; he was this year of the opinion that the Georgia civil courts were disposed to do justice to the freed people, but unfortunately the jurors, selected from a class who hated the negroes, attached little weight to negro testimony. Even Tillson finally saw and believed that considerable time must elapse before the colored people could enjoy substantial equality before the law; yet the having a Bureau officer at hand to interpose as a

President Johnson's Reconstruction

friend had so far affected the actions of white citizens that acts of injustice and oppression were less numerous. Planters looked to Bureau officers to make their laborers reliable; and freedmen sought their aid also to obtain their wages.

General Swayne, contrary to his first expectations, a little later found the Alabama legislators anything but fair and just. He said: "The vagrant law of Alabama operates most iniquitously upon the freedmen. In terms, the law makes no distinction on account of color, but in practice the distinction is invariable. I am satisfied that the law would be annulled if fairly tested. I have taken up three classes under it by habeas corpus, but in every case the persons were discharged for informality in the commitment without reaching the merits of the case." So many grievances occurred that even Swayne, with whom the good governor sought to cooperate, was forced in several of the worst localities to reestablish Bureau courts.

General Absalom Baird in his last message in September indicated a bad outlook for Louisiana. Brutal conduct in distant parishes remained uncorrected for want of military force. The perpetrators were lawless and irresponsible white men; they were the terror of both property holders and laborers. They were countenanced by the community either through sympathy or fear. Baird added that the Civil-Rights-Law was to some extent having a good effect, restraining those who had hitherto been disposed to treat United States laws with contempt. Several magistrates were under arrest for violating its provisions.

General Sheridan, following Baird in Louisiana, rather heightens the adverse picture: "Homicides are frequent in some localities; sometimes they are investi-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

gated by a coroner's jury, which justifies the act and releases the perpetrator; in other instances, when the proof comes to the knowledge of an agent of the Bureau, the parties are held to bail in a nominal sum, but the trial of a white man for the killing of a freedman can, in the existing state of society in this State, be nothing more or less than a farce."

In not a single instance, however, when contracts had been entered into between planters and freedmen in the mode prescribed by the Bureau, had a complaint been subsequently made by either party to the contract, while in a large proportion of other contracts bitter complaints were constant. The reason was plain enough. In all those approved by a Bureau officer, the terms were first carefully explained to both parties; and the whole power of the Bureau would be afterwards exerted against the party attempting to violate an approved contract.

In Mississippi General T. J. Wood, an able division commander during the war, always of a conservative turn of mind, gave a statement of the condition of affairs which was not very encouraging. Grievous outrages had been committed. A class of citizens called "regulators" appeared in several States as if by concert of action; the fear of them in some parts of Mississippi was so great that peaceably disposed inhabitants were afraid to give the information necessary for their detection and punishment. The regulators shot freedmen without provocation, drove them, unpaid, from plantations and committed other crimes. So many outrages of this kind were perpetrated that General Wood at first wondered that the better portion of the community did not take decided measures against the guilty.

President Johnson's Reconstruction

The general, however, said in abatement: "We shall not do them (the whites) justice unless we remember that, with very few exceptions, they were fully persuaded that slavery was right and beneficial to the colored man, as it was profitable and pleasant to the ruling class. They felt injured by the emancipation; their profits and pride were assailed and destroyed. In the midst of the excitement, hurry, confusion, and active enmity of the times nine tenths of the white people could not be expected to attribute the change to anything but a spirit of revenge. . . . It was to be expected that the ignorant, violent, and unprincipled portion of these people, being additionally demoralized by the war, should give vent to the evil within them by committing outrages. On the other side it can surprise no one that the freedmen should be somewhat unsettled, inclined to avoid labor to which all their lives had been devoted under stern compulsion, and that they should misapprehend their rights and duties."

The deliberate murder April 30th of that year of a worthy officer, Lieutenant J. B. Blanding, Twenty-first Regiment Veteran Reserve Corps, while walking on the street at Grenada, Miss., and attempts upon the lives of other men who had been faithful and fearless in the discharge of their delicate and dangerous duties, gave rise to increased anxiety everywhere and seemed to necessitate an increase of military force.

General Clinton B. Fisk had good results in Tennessee in 1866. The State legislature took liberal action in matters of vagrancy, or apprenticing and contracts which affected the freedmen; they modified the old laws to conform to the Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution and to the Civil-Rights-Law. Before

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

General Fisk, in September, was relieved by General J. R. Lewis, he took occasion by a circular, widely published, to transfer all cases to the civil officers elected by the people, to call their attention afresh to the United States laws involved, and to entreat them to lay aside all feelings of prejudice, in order that the State laws might be administered in such a manner as not to compel a return to military courts. We all believed then that greater security for the life and property of the freed people existed in Tennessee than in any other of the late Confederate States.

Kentucky had meanwhile been full of trouble. The "regulators" had been for some time committing horrible outrages in the southeastern districts. Old laws and old customs like flogging prevailed in many counties. The department commander, General Jeff. C. Davis, who also came to be the assistant commissioner for Kentucky, had been previously reported as hostile to negroes, so that I was fearful that matters there might grow worse. But I was greatly mistaken. Davis said: "The laws shall be executed at whatever cost." He settled difficulties between the negroes and white men with satisfaction to both, and punished the lawless with such promptitude that even the bloody and much-feared "regulators" were obliged, where he could reach their haunts, to suspend their base work of terrorism which they had undertaken among the freedmen and their teachers.

General J. W. Sprague, most manly and fearless of men, in October of 1866 was no longer sanguine for Arkansas in the line of justice. The legislature did not grant the negroes their rights. He feared to give cases to State officers on account of their manifest prejudice and unfairness. He could not, he con-

President Johnson's Reconstruction

fessed, carry out his Bureau instructions without the troops. Murders of freedmen and other crimes against them were on the increase. Civil authorities utterly failed to arrest and punish offenders. The clouds were growing thicker and thicker. There were many thefts, robberies, assaults, and murders; some of them of the most brutal and unprovoked character, where not a finger had been raised by citizens or law officers to bring the guilty parties to justice.

And yet the good General gave us a gleam of light when he reported that the freedmen were working well and abiding by their contracts in good faith. The Bureau officers still held control of the registration of laborers and supervised the contracts, so that the results in that quarter were promising.

The assistant commissioner in Virginia found some improvement in the feelings of the whites toward the freedmen, but alleged weakness and neglect on the part of State officials touching heinous crimes. Murders and robberies were committed and nobody was arrested and brought to trial except through the agency of United States officers, most of them of our Bureau.

In three counties it had been necessary to reëstablish the Bureau courts to prevent insurrection among the freedmen, who threatened retaliation for the wrongs which they suffered from local civil courts.

General J. B. Kiddoo, the Texas commander, found little respect for any law in the northeast counties. The legislature had delayed the necessary legislation; freedmen could not yet testify in spite of the advent of the Civil-Rights-Law; great distinctions were constantly made in all dealings with them. His chief troubles consisted in his efforts to protect them from violence; he entreated for more troops for those re-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

moter districts where the greater number of outrages occurred. As in Arkansas, where the interests of the larger planters came in play, the Bureau agents became a help, a necessity. A lack of confidence existed between the planters and freedmen, until the assistant commissioner had successfully inaugurated a system of contracts by which the planters could place some reliance upon the steadiness of labor, and the freedmen have security for their pay.

These illustrations all through the South show our work in creating law-abiding communities in which fair local laws were slowly extending to the protection of negroes. Judicial proceeding was in a transition state everywhere and needed careful watching and continued experiment under friendly supervision, such as our officers uniformly gave. How much violence, fraud, and oppression, how much idleness, theft, and perhaps insurrection our agency prevented can never be measured. Other nations have not succeeded so well in relieving the shock to society when they were passing from slavery to freedom.

The schools were increasing and were in much better shape than in 1865 and yet there were only 965 organized schools, 1,405 teachers, and 90,778 pupils. We knew that there ought to be ten times as many. It was but a beginning—a drop in the bucket—a nucleus—an object lesson. The demonstration, however, showed that it was practicable to educate the children of negroes.

CHAPTER LIII

THE BUREAU WORK IN 1866; PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S FIRST OPPOSITION

MAJOR FOWLER, who had, as his main business, to hasten the return of houses and lands to pardoned owners, was given in addition the *Claim Division*. Its origin was this: At the office in Washington constant complaints had been received from our agents that discharged colored soldiers were constantly defrauded by unprincipled men of amounts due them from the Government. Some were told that they had dues when there were none. The deceivers would get from the individual soldier discharge papers and require a fee for their return. Soldiers would wait days and weeks in towns and cities for promised action touching bounties and prize money, often when the same had no existence in fact.

Again, in the thousands of cases where there were actual dues exorbitant fees would be taken in settlement, totally regardless of all law or reason. The gross ignorance of the mass of colored soldiers rendered them especial objects of such extortion and fraud, and the numerous shrewd transactions against them were usually so concealed as to render it exceedingly difficult to detect and expose the guilty. To prevent these soldiers far and near from being uselessly disturbed in their work; to forestall and prevent all such frauds in future and to enable those entitled to

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

do so to obtain their prize and bounty money and other *bona fide* dues that might be lost to them, this Claim Division had its birth and was regularly set on foot. It began its work March 17, 1866, and by our extensive agency which penetrated every State, great numbers of both soldiers and sailors of the freedmen class were, without charge to the beneficiaries, helped and benefited. It was the efficient work done here that led to the Act of Congress which the next year placed all remaining payments of bounties, prize money, and unsettled claims of colored soldiers and sailors under the charge of this Bureau.

An incident showing the variety of our burdens was the making of the Bureau by Congress the channel of expending an appropriation of \$25,000 for the immediate relief of destitute whites and blacks in the District of Columbia.

In the early spring, there suddenly appeared an extraordinary destitution in Washington and Georgetown, caused by the overplus of population which no effort on the part of the Government had been able to reduce. In this destitution there were more white people than negroes who were in a starving condition. April 17, 1866, Congress made that special appropriation and charged me, the commissioner of the Bureau, with its disbursement.

With a view to have others share with me the responsibility, a special relief commission of six members was constituted by me and placed under the immediate supervision of the assistant commissioner of the home district. Surgeon Robert Reyburn was chosen as the president of the commission. By using in this organization officials of the Bureau, and securing the help of many benevolent citizens besides as

The Bureau Work in 1866

visiting agents without pay, the assistant commissioner was able to do the work with comparatively small expenditures. There were made twenty-two subdistricts and a visitor appointed for each. All of these except two performed the duty gratuitously, and our officers gave them great credit for their assiduous and self-sacrificing labors. The destitute fund was expended directly in small sums for groceries, clothing, fuel, rentals, medicines, and their careful distribution attended to. Probably no sudden want of a destitute multitude was ever more promptly and satisfactorily met and relieved.

Surgeon Horner of the Volunteer Army returned to his civil practice during the summer prior to being honorably mustered out of service, November 15th, and our Medical Division thereafter came under the charge of Colonel L. A. Edwards, a surgeon in the army. Both classes, namely refugees and freedmen, including the blind, deaf mutes, insane and idiotic, were put under him and faithfully cared for. The total number in all the country under medical care during the eleven months prior to August 31, 1866, was of refugees 5,784, of freedmen 160,737. Still, there remained September 1, 1866, but 501 refugees and 6,045 freed people actually in hospital. The 56 hospitals, according to our plan, were reduced during the year to 46; there were, however, established a number of dispensaries at different points from which medicines were obtained. The orphan asylums aided were reduced to five without reckoning one at Richmond, Va., and another at Lauderdale, Miss., as these two were not separate from the permanent hospitals. Prompt and energetic measures, both remedial and preventive, were invariably adopted whenever any contagion or epidemic

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

appeared in any part of the country. Cholera showed itself at several points, but its ravages were limited, and diminished far more than could have been anticipated; military quarantine of all seaports and Bureau surveillance of the blacks were prompt and constant. Our medical officers, civil and military, 231 in all, during the year were reduced to 128 at its close; they prided themselves on the cheering and successful results due to their zeal and energy. The percentage of mortality among the vast number of persons treated was for the refugees but three per cent., and for the freedmen four and six tenths per cent.; it was quite an advance on the aggregate average of the year previous of nine and thirteen per cent. for both classes. Thus we have a bird's-eye view of the situation in 1866, and rejoice at a good work done for humanity.

For political reasons, however, the President desired to put before the people a very different view of the Bureau. His plan of reconstruction of the Southern State governments had been discredited by Congress; senators and members of the House applying for seats under it were refused admittance. The plan had been broached of giving negroes a vote, the Bureau to be the means of preparing them for the suffrage and protecting them in it. It was during the time that the new Bureau bill was being debated in Congress (May, 1866), that he inaugurated a remarkable inspection of the Bureau in the South by two officers in the interest of his policy. One of them, General Steedman, had been a brave soldier; but he was a rough character with no sympathy for negroes. The other had been my adjutant general in the field, and afterwards a long time in my Bureau. He was a kind,

The Bureau Work in 1866

upright young man, but unaccountably took part in this attack upon the Bureau and upon the administration of some of our best subordinates. The two men set out, reporters with them for the press, generally unfriendly to plans of reconstruction favored by Congress. They passed on from city to city and from place to place, visiting military and Bureau headquarters in each Southern State, and sent their reports, as critical and adverse as possible, broadcast through the newspapers to the entire country.

Before this operation began, General Grant, who had to some extent found out what was to be done, kindly sent for me and said substantially: "Howard, you must not take too much to heart or as against yourself what may be said or reported before long against your Bureau." I did not at first very well understand what he meant, till the noisy and pretentious inspection of Steedman and Fullerton was well on foot.

The following statements of mine to President Johnson, given August 23, 1866, in reference to this inspection, portrays the Bureau troubles and triumphs of that year. "The last report of Generals Steedman and Fullerton of an inspection of the Bureau under my charge contains so many statements differing from those I have received from other officers and assistant commissioners, and furnishes deductions so widely varying from those I have formed and offered, that I deem it my duty to review the main points of this report; and more especially is this course necessary for me that I have been assigned to duty by yourself, and have administered the Bureau in accordance with your instructions, verbal and written, keeping constantly in view a thorough and practical execution of

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

the law by which my officers and myself have been bound.

“The ostensible object of the inspection is to detect and correct abuses of administration and furnish yourself with information of the actual state of things. Had the inspectors made a thorough examination and report to yourself or to the Secretary of War, in accordance with their written instructions, so that I could have corrected the wrongdoings of individual agents or modified any policy that was faulty, I would not complain, but be grateful for the aid and encouragement thus afforded. This method of inspection and report is the one that has always been pursued in the departments of the service with which I have been connected.

“The inspectors have pursued an extraordinary course. I understand they took as clerks several newspaper reporters, who gave to the press the substance of their reports, and sometimes the reports themselves, before you had time to give them consideration. The effect of this course has been to concentrate the attention of the public upon certain individual acts of officers and agents, or accusations against them carelessly drawn, in such a way as to keep the faults committed, and not the good done, prominently in view.

“Some things they have held up as criminal, which were not so in reality. Erroneous conclusions have been drawn from a state of affairs now existing in many places, for which the Bureau is not responsible, e. g., they charge to the account of the Bureau all the evils of the labor system which they find, while they attribute to the State governments and citizens, in great part, the good accomplished. Certainly this is the impression received from reading the reports.

The Bureau Work in 1866

“In what I have to say I have no desire to screen my officers from just charges; in fact, I have taken instant measures to bring to trial any officer against whom there seemed to be any well-founded accusation. It is a fact well worth considering here, that of thirteen assistant commissioners there was but one whom the inspectors were able to condemn, namely, the assistant commissioner of North Carolina; and he, though held up to the country as a liar and a dishonest speculator, has been acquitted by a decision of a fair and honorable court, so far as the charges were concerned.

“Again, in the departments of Virginia and North Carolina, of over two hundred agents, accusations were brought against ten only, seven officers and three civilians. The majority of them have been honorably acquitted of the charges preferred against them. The Reverend Mr. Fitz, of such terrible notoriety, who was having his case investigated on the arrival of the inspectors, proves to be not a reverend, but a young man of eighteen years, a quartermaster’s clerk during the war, and personally guiltless of the cruelties imputed to his charge. All these cases will soon be officially reported—I need not refer to them further.

“I may say, however, that the charge against an officer of putting men in a chain gang had no foundation in fact, but in another part of the same State another officer specially selected by the inspectors for unqualified commendation had issued an order to place delinquents as vagrants in a chain gang. . . .

“Their final objection is to citizen agents, and in order to reduce expenses, they recommend that all such agents be discharged—given in the following language: ‘A great reduction in the expenses of the

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

Bureau, and a reform which would render it far less objectionable than it is now, would be effected by the discontinuance of all paid employees not in the military service of the Government.'

"I assent to this principle, though the inspectors do not seem to do so, as they have given unqualified praise to the administration of the Bureau in Georgia, where the greatest number of citizen agents are employed. Could I obtain details from the army I should certainly do so; but the smallness of the military force in most of the States has rendered it impossible. They next speak of Georgia, saying that the amended laws of the State are fully as liberal as those of any Northern State, and place the negro in all respects on a perfect equality with a white man as to his civil rights, conveying the impression that the freedmen are thoroughly protected under the execution of these laws.

"General Tillson, who is highly commended by the inspectors, and who is known to be a man of integrity and good judgment, in a late report to me says: 'There are many instances where, through the prejudice of the people, or the incompetency of the magistrates, the freedmen are denied the protection of the law, and where the interference of the Bureau is absolutely essential to secure justice. When this influence has been wisely directed, and the authority of the Bureau brought to bear firmly but kindly, the happiest consequences have followed, not only protecting the freedmen in individual cases, but changing the tone and temper of the people, so as to prevent the recurrence of acts of injustice and oppression. The continuance and agency of the Bureau is still a necessity.'

"The case of maladministration of Captain Lewis

The Bureau Work in 1866

J. Lambert is the only one mentioned among two hundred and seventy-three agents. This will be thoroughly investigated by General Tillson. I am thankful for so great purity of administration in Georgia. I may say here with reference to legal justice, that the policy pursued constantly has been to transfer jurisdiction to civil tribunals wherever there was a prospect of its impartial exercise under just laws; in fact, it has been the practice in most Bureau courts to use the State laws when no distinction exists on account of color.

“No fault is found with Alabama, except that a few officers are reported as engaged in planting.

“The inspectors must mean that these officers have invested some of their private funds in planting. All I can say is that a great many—in fact nearly all—officers of the Government have invested their funds in planting or something else. If they have not prostituted their official positions for private gain I cannot complain, though I have lately forbidden such investments within the limits of their official jurisdiction, in order to avoid even the appearance of evil.

“General Wood, assistant commissioner of Mississippi, is commended for improving upon the administration of Colonel Samuel Thomas. The policy of the latter is declared not calculated to produce harmony between the races.

“In this statement, the inspectors have doubtless been misinformed, for I have testimony from General Wood and from inspectors that the policy pursued by Colonel Thomas has not been changed.

“They next admit a state of affairs in Mississippi that demands some other remedy than the removal of the military force, that is, if freedmen and peaceable

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

citizens are to be protected. The murder of a United States officer, and the firing upon others without cause, are admitted, and there is evidently a reign of terror in portions of the State. . . .

“The inspectors complain of expenses and recommend reduction in Louisiana. They allege that the main part of the money has been expended for schools. Had they inquired of General Baird he would have told them that as soon as the taxes were suspended by your order, the schools were closed or continued as private enterprises, or by employers of freedmen under their contract stipulations.

“The admirable system of education in New Orleans was established by military commanders long prior to the existence of the Bureau. No facts have been presented to me to prove the statement that the money under Mr. Conway, the late assistant commissioner, was squandered as charged.

“The corruption of a few officers under his administration may possibly be true; but whether so or not it does not affect the present administration of the Bureau in that State.

“It is a little singular that officers long ago relieved from duty should be chosen as exponents of the present management of the Freedmen’s Bureau.

“The report with reference to Texas rather commends than censures the administration in that State.

“One officer, Captain Sloan, is condemned for perjury, and for his conduct in office. A subsequent examination of his case has furnished a more favorable report. The case will have a thorough investigation.

“Arkansas, Kentucky, and Tennessee were not visited by the inspectors, and it is fair to suppose that the administration of the Bureau in those States is as

The Bureau Work in 1866

it has been represented by the assistant commissioners and other officers and by reliable citizens.

“It should be noted, with regard to expenses, that aside from commissary, quartermaster, and medical issues, the entire expenses of the Freedmen’s Bureau have been defrayed, from its organization up to July 1st, without an appropriation, and without incurring a debt. The quartermaster, commissary, and medical issues were being made by the army proper when I took charge of the Bureau, and have been reduced as much as possible, consistent with the present necessities of the people, whites and blacks.

“I now come to by far the most important part of what the inspectors have to say—the summing up of their conclusions after four months’ inspection of the Bureau, in which they assert that there is an entire absence of system or uniformity in its constitution. They have never asked me for a word of information with reference to records, reports, and orders!

“They have made no examination of my office, asked no reason for any action taken. The records or information they desired that could not be found in the offices of the South may be found here. What would be the result if they should make a general inspection of the quartermaster, commissary, or other departments in the same way? Those officers who have been relieved or were beyond their reach, are supposed to have made improper dispositions of all records or papers connected with their offices. This is all wrong.

“There is not a bureau in Washington with a more complete set of reports, books, and records, than can be produced in this office at any time for inspection. They attempt to prove their assertion by the statement that in one State its officers exercised judicial powers;

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

in one adjoining, all cases were referred to civil authorities, while in a third State Bureau officers collect the cases and turn them over to military courts. Their own inspection reports will refute this. In the States of Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Florida, Virginia, and North Carolina, Bureau agents do not exercise judicial powers of any kind, and in the other States the powers exercised by the officers of the Bureau are modified by the feelings and conduct of the people toward the freedmen. They admit there is a great difference in the feelings of whites toward the blacks. What other principle more uniform is it possible to adopt than to regulate the power of agents of the Bureau by the disposition and conduct of the people, favoring them as they approximate equal justice?

“It will be seen by referring to the regulations from this Bureau (Circular 5, Series 1865), approved by yourself, that a gradual transfer of jurisdiction was implied; and just as soon as practicable we have made trial of the civil courts in every State. I have sought the provost courts, as well as the civil, to relieve me of the exercise of judicial powers.

“Bureau officers have never attempted to regulate wages, and no order ever existed making regulations on the subject. Demand and supply controlled this matter. Of course wages, manner of payment, and all the questions entering into the labor subject differed widely throughout the South, and, from the nature of things, could not be uniform.

“Although importuned from all parts of the South to take some action about wages, I steadily refused. The following has been the standing order for all the States: “No fixed rate of wages will be prescribed for

The Bureau Work in 1866

a district; but in order to regulate fair wages in individual cases, agents should have in mind minimum rates for their own guidance."

"Assistant commissioners are required to furnish me with copies of all orders and circulars issued by them, and a close examination of all they have written on the subject fails to produce any attempt upon their part to regulate wages or contracts. The freedmen and employer have been left to manage the matter for themselves.

"They say that schools in Louisiana have been supported by the Government. Their report shows, however, that they were supported by a military tax, and perhaps to some extent from the income from abandoned property.

"They say that agents interfere in an arbitrary manner in favor of freedmen sometimes, and at others in favor of the planters. This is simply a crime, according to Bureau regulations, and the inspectors should have preferred charges against these officers that they might have been tried and punished. . . . It is not justice to the officers of the Bureau to charge them with crimes that were committed against the freedmen in time prior to its organization, and to suppress dates and the location of grave charges so as to shift the responsibility upon those not guilty. This was just what these inspectors did.

"The inspectors next admit the necessity of the Bureau last year, and acknowledge that it did much good for all classes. If this be true, it is bad logic to condemn the workings of the Bureau for mistakes and errors that were committed last year, and more particularly for the year before its organization. Nearly every charge made against officers in this final report

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

is for acts of last year, and upon which these officers have already been called to account by the Bureau or the War Department.

“I cannot agree with the inspectors altogether as to a complete revolution in the sentiment of the Southern people which insures sufficient protection to the freedmen, when United States officers and freedmen are murdered, and the freedmen abused and mutilated, as is reported by the inspectors themselves.

“They say the good feelings of the whites toward the blacks are owing to their interest in securing their labor. This I regard as insufficient security when trusted to absolutely without some other principle, e. g., the guarantee of equal laws. For years slaveholders have deemed compulsory measures the best security for labor.

“The inspectors declare that the Bureau has been in the aggregate productive of more harm than good, and give as their reasons, substantially, the reliance upon it of the negroes, and their consequent distrust of the property holders, and the *provocation* of espionage creating mutual suspicion and bitterness.

“I deny the whole statement. It is not founded upon fact, but upon theories constantly put forth by the enemies of good order. A few bad agents have been sent, and have doubtless done much harm, yet this Bureau agency has been mediatorial and pacific as a whole. It has relieved this very suspicion and bitterness that existed when it was first organized. Riots, murders, and wicked deeds have recently sprung up, but these are in no way initiated or caused by the officers of the Government. . . .

“The principles that apply to wages induced the present contract system. I would have been glad to

The Bureau Work in 1866

have adopted precisely the same methods of regulating labor as have obtained in the Northern States, but neither the planters nor the freedmen were yet prepared for this.

“Planters complained that freedmen under a free system of labor would not work till the crop was harvested, but would remain only till they obtained money to keep them a short time, and then would desert the crops at a most critical period. Nearly every Southern State had provided laws by which the freedmen are to be contracted with for one year. Planters refused to employ freedmen at all unless they would agree to remain one year. Of course, freedmen were driven into those obligations by the same force that compelled them to work for low wages. Anyone who will recall the current news of the day, as reported during the months of last January and February, will remember that all the power that capital could exercise was brought to bear upon the laborers of the South to make them contract.

“We then labored earnestly and successfully to elevate wages and defended the interest of the freedmen in their contracts, being constantly resisted by the inertia of the peculiar opinions of Southern property holders. The evils in the contracts will disappear just as soon as free labor shall have a permanent foothold under its necessary protection of equal and just laws properly executed.

“From the course pursued by the inspectors, I have good reason to suspect the object of the inspection, as they understood it, was to bring the Freedmen’s Bureau into contempt before the country, and, to do this, they have endeavored to prove maladministration.

“On the contrary, I am prepared to prove to your-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

self or any other candid mind that I have fulfilled with care, conscientiousness, and faithfulness the trust you committed to me; I have obeyed your orders and instructions, making no other objections than those I have made directly to yourself and the Secretary of War; my system has been a thorough one, and as complete and uniform as was possible in an institution intended to be temporary and to meet a transient necessity. Could the Freedmen's Bureau be now administered with your full and hearty sanction, and with the coöperation of other branches of the Government, it would fulfill the objects of its creation in a short time, and be made, while it existed, to conduce for all classes of the people to industry, enlightenment, and justice. The work committed to it may doubtless be done by the army, without a bureau, but not with much less expense. Yet, if the Government would keep good faith with its new-made citizens, some sort of a United States agency must be maintained in the Southern States until society shall have become more settled than it now is."

CHAPTER LIV

PUBLIC ADDRESSES CONCERNING THE FREEDMEN IN 1866, ADVOCATING EDUCATION

IN order to secure adequate means for aid societies to prosecute their good work it was necessary to plead the cause of knowledge, of industry, and of humanity in the North as well as in the South. We looked to the North and West for contributions of money, and even more for moral sympathy and support. To this end when I could get away from my office I accepted invitations to speak publicly concerning the freedmen. Incident to a trip to Maine in February, 1866, I delivered some dozen addresses. From the following extracts it is now clear enough to see the subjects on which the public then demanded information.

¹ “Our emancipation occurred at the close of a long and exasperating conflict for and against emancipation, so that we have given the new birth to freedom under the worst possible conditions.

“Lee’s army surrenders, then Johnston’s, then Kirby Smith’s. The war is over and suddenly the chains of slavery are broken and the captives go free. Between three and four millions of slaves are emancipated in the very midst of a people who heartily disbelieve in freedom, who naturally are filled with peculiar prejudices and resentments, and who sometimes,

¹ Extracts from address delivered at Springfield, Mass., February 19, 1866.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

even now, glory in the apparent chaos that follows the death of slavery.

“Hostile to liberty, they raised large armies; they fought with desperation; they are conquered, but they will not be brought in a day to love the thing they hated. No, the contrary is true; the Southern man lets go of slavery inch by inch, piece by piece; he says, ‘We will give it up’ but he really does not do so, and I do not think, as a general rule, he will till he is constrained to it by the power and the needs of freedom itself.

“You should read the systems proposed from so many different quarters. Every plan has in it the very gist of slavery; ‘compulsory labor’ is stamped upon it. The whole thought seems to be, How can we white men maintain our authority over these black men? How can we keep them from renting and owning land; how hinder them from suits and testimony against us? How can we restrain them from rising in the social scale; how prevent their individuality from cropping out; their holding meetings; their bearing arms; how prevent them from having a voice in making or executing the laws?

“I do not say that there is unanimity on all these points; but that the great body of the Southern white people are to-day with regard to some one or more of them, avowedly as I have described. I do not say it to injure them, or to alienate you from them, but because I believe it is a truth that must underlie every measure adopted to secure to us and to the freedmen the fruits of our recent struggle.

“On the other hand, let me say that there is a large class of our fellow-citizens in the North brought up under influences diametrically opposite to those under

Public Addresses Concerning the Freedmen in 1866

which the Southern mind has been molded, who reason in this way: 'Slavery is a great crime, therefore all slaveholders are conscious criminals.' No kindness is shown them, no sympathy felt for them. They are denominated oppressors, heathen, or condemned by other opprobrious epithets. One who uses the dirk and pistol against negroes who chance to cross his path is represented as an exponent of all Southern feeling and principles. Those who believe and reason in this way are themselves either partially informed or are incrustated with prejudice quite as real as that exhibited by Southern extremists.

"Southern men are generally outspoken. What is the truth? It is that a large body of them are sincere. Strange as it may seem, they heartily disbelieve in freedom for the negro. They even now reason upon emancipation as a curse of God cast upon them. The warmest-hearted Christian regards his Northern brother as carried away by a delusion which is founded altogether on ignorance of the negro character.

"The great body of the emancipated no doubt will be purified and strengthened by the experiences they are passing through, just as the children of Israel were by the experiences they encountered in passing from Egypt to the promised land. Those beyond middle age have been dependent so long that freedom gives them a hard trial. Work they can, and the most will, but what they lack is the ability to provide for themselves in such way (to use their method of expressing it) as 'to enjoy the fruits of their own labor.'

"Again, thousands and thousands are poor women with families of children, without husbands to care for them. In Virginia, where large numbers of children

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

were reared to be sold and work further South, there is naturally a large surplus. Without visiting them, you could hardly realize how very much they need aid, not simply food and clothing, but instruction of every description, kindness, sympathy, and guidance.

“The Southern society is twofold; the whites, with their peculiar prejudices and beliefs, and the blacks, with their present disabilities created by antecedent slavery. The Government stands forth between the two classes with its gigantic resources as an intermediary power. The spectacle is singular, and the heart is often balanced between hope and fear in contemplating the struggle actually going on.

“My first decision was that labor must be settled, and if we would not relapse into some species of slavery it must be done without compulsory means; and if we would avoid anarchy and starvation what we do must be done immediately.

“It was very tempting to put the hand on the new freedman and compel him; it was so easy, by military power, to regulate all matters for him in that way. How the letters did pour in upon me urging that course! ‘Give us a system’; ‘Fix the wages’; ‘You don’t understand the negro—he won’t work,’ and similar expressions. Gradually these letters diminished and the cry ‘*Compel him! compel him!*’ is more distant and less distinctly heard.

“If we can hold a steady hand for a time—prevent extreme and widespread suffering by timely aid—afford encouragement to every laudable enterprise—multiply examples of success in every species of free labor and do so in every county in every State, my decided impression is that, before five years, there will be no more use of an agency of the general

Public Addresses Concerning the Freedmen in 1866

Government in the Southern States than there is now in Ohio.

“Harmony between the laborers and the holders of property, which is essential to meet immediate wants and settle society that has been so much disturbed at the South, may, however, be brought about in process of time without much real progress. There is a fundamental prejudice, a false theory as really existing as that in feudal times of the nobles against the masses of the common people; it is that the negroes were never intended by nature for education. ‘If you educate them,’ they say, ‘it will upset them, unfit them for the duties imposed upon them, rob us of our position and consideration among them. Educate them, and you will not only render them discontented laborers, but they will get into all sorts of political jars and excitements, they will become a prey to all the sophistries and isms of New England, and bad politicians will guide them to our detriment. In brief, all the beautiful natural order that God has imposed, making us superior, wise, and provident, and them confiding, childlike, and dependent, will be destroyed as much as the peace of Eden was by allowing Eve to eat of the tree of knowledge. Fix it so that we can be the mind and they the obedient muscle, and all will be well, whether you call it *free labor* or not.’

“If the simple truth could at once break into the minds of all classes at the South, that the elevation of their common people to a higher plane of knowledge and skill would be a positive advantage to the whole, so that in each State there would be established such a system of schools as would bring the privileges of learning to the children of the humblest, then, indeed, could we count upon substantial growth.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

“Looking at the great numbers of indigent freedmen, old men and women and helpless children, in every Southern State, I have not wondered that the old slaveholder should pour into my ear the glowing accounts of the blessedness of slavery in its prosperous and patriarchal days, and that he should heap curses on that freedom which he believes to be the occasion of so much restlessness and suffering.

“But you and I know that the real cause of the desolation and suffering is *war*, brought on and continued in the interest of and from the love of slavery. I present you this picture to urge upon you kindness, sympathy, and liberality; yes, magnanimity toward the whole South, without distinction of race or color.

“Not a day passes but that there is some affecting reminder of the fault of those who aimed their blows at the heart of the Republic; but I say slavery, that gigantic evil which during the past gave us no rest—slavery has done all this—and, thank God, slavery has received its death blow, and the fact has been proclaimed, not only in America but throughout the world. In view of this we must seek courage and strength from on high so as to lay aside all malice, all purposes of revenge, and put on a broad, living charity, no less than love to God and love to his children.

“Already, my friends, I have been severely censured for such sentiments as I am putting forth, such entreaties for wholesale charity, and I am pointed again and again to the wrongs of the freedmen. I know them.

“I might multiply the statements of wrongs that they daily suffer. I hope that these wrongs will all be righted and full justice secured to the freedmen by our Government. Should we dwell upon the follies, the

Public Addresses Concerning the Freedmen in 1866

blind prejudices, or the positive faults, even crimes of certain people in the Southern States, the tendency would only be to widen and deepen the gulf already existing; but if, on the other hand, we will watch for every sign of favorable change, cherish every enlightened sentiment expressed, extend the hand of kindness and genuine sympathy to those who are in need, while we adhere to true principles of liberty with firmness, it will not be long before the revolution will be completed and we shall realize the blessings so often anticipated by the words: 'No North, no South, no East, no West!'

"The rights of the freedman, which are not yet secured to him, are the direct reverse of the wrongs committed against him. I never could conceive how a man could become a better laborer by being made to carry an overheavy and wearisome burden which in no way facilitates his work. I never could detect the shadow of a reason why the color of the skin should impair the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Differences of form and feature, variety of mind and capacity, perhaps infinite in gradation, indicate to us somewhat of the divine arrangement and prepare us for the multiplicity of social relations that do exist, so that we never expect or seek for what is called 'social equality.' Yet the epitome of Christian principles as set forth by the Lord when He said 'Love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, soul, mind, and strength, and thy neighbor as thyself,' demands between man and man the plain recognition of brotherhood.

"I hope I may be permitted to live to a good old age, that I may have an earnest of what I so heartily believe; that I may tell my children's children of these times when the American people put forth their

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

strength, saved a Republic, broke the chains of four millions of slaves, and inaugurated genuine, universal, unqualified liberty.”

On February 21st, at a meeting in the interest of my work held at the Cooper Institute, New York, the venerable Dr. Ferris, president of the New York University, Horace Greeley, and many other men of social and political prominence were present. The meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. Dr. Hiscock, and then I was introduced to the large audience. After brief comparisons and contrasts drawn between Russian serfdom and American slavery, I went on to discuss the attitude of the Southern white people toward negroes now free. There was, I claimed, on their part a positive aversion to giving freedom and rights of citizenship to the negro. A large proportion of the former slaveholders looked upon the reasonings of Northern men as vagaries and did not hesitate to express the conviction that the emancipation was a judgment of God. It was not strange that the greater part were overwhelmed and chagrined by the loss they had met in the abolition of slavery. But there were notable exceptions—men who took a comprehensive view of things, and believed that the South would ultimately thrive better than ever before through the genius of free labor. Education was urged as the true relief. Its thorough practicability was shown by the liveliest examples of daily occurrence among the colored youth. Industrial education above all was urged.

I had hardly ceased speaking when Mr. Greeley, wearing his usual light gray coat, was loudly demanded. He responded, and among other things, said: “Should the Government cease, through its agents, to make efforts for the education and upholding of the

Public Addresses Concerning the Freedmen in 1866

freedmen, private individuals would take up and still carry on the work, and finish the noble task which has gone so far in disenthraling the black race." Mr. Greeley sat down amid a tempest of applause.

I had hardly resumed my desk in Washington after this trip when some delegates from the colored people, Frederick Douglass, Henry H. Garnett, Sella Martin, John M. Langston, and others who had come from various sections of the country to Washington to have a conference with each other and watch the interests of their race in legislation, desired an interview with me. The gentlemen sought the highest and best privileges and securities for their people, and laid stress upon their right to vote; but, judging by newspaper reports, they feared that I was opposed to them and that I was not in favor of securing to the blacks the right of suffrage. They came to my office and told me frankly what reports they had seen. I expressed to the delegation my sincere desire to have the coöperation and support, in my efforts to benefit the freedmen, of leaders of the colored people like themselves. My conviction was, first, that all citizens should be equal before the law, and then, as in military generalship, one position should be carried at a time and then the next tenable position, each of which I would fortify and defend for the right, and advance from that. I was all along in favor of eventual suffrage for the negroes, but hoped that it might be limited at least by an educational qualification. Opposition to education was, I feared, forcing us to adopt at once universal suffrage.

On April 20th, there was a gathering of the Methodist church people in Baltimore at the new Assembly Rooms. The object of the meeting was stated to be to

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

discover and adopt measures for the intellectual and religious improvement of the colored race. Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase, Judge Hugh L. Bond, of Baltimore, and Senator Evans, of Colorado, and myself, as commissioner of freedmen, were present. Judge Bond, Senator Evans, and I were to make the addresses. The chief justice, it was hoped, would add at the end a word of encouragement.

Rev. J. A. McCauley gave out a hymn and led in prayer. Judge Bond followed in his effective style, half humorous and half earnest. The judge hoped that it would be the result of that meeting that suppression of certain subjects in church conferences would cease; that it would not be unlawful hereafter to say negro as well as African—that is, refer to this race in America as well as in Africa—and that the Methodists would now see and meet their duty to the colored race. Judge Bond was one of those Southern heroes deeply attached to the Union who underwent persecution and ostracism for conscience' sake.

I spoke of my early career and experiences in the army when stationed in Florida, how Christians there believed that negroes had souls, that we were all children of a common Heavenly Father, that our Lord made sacrifices for all, that He taught the doctrine of universal brotherhood, and that we could not escape the injunction to "love thy neighbor as thyself." Then I made a plea for education in the South for blacks and needy whites. That pleading has always held my mind and heart.

After that I urged a more practical extension of marriage rites. I stated that it was ridiculous to demand for church offices only proper marriages among the negroes. As to the constant statement that negroes

Public Addresses Concerning the Freedmen in 1866

had proclivities to certain sins—as lying and stealing—and that it was of little use to expect any self-restraint except from fear of the lash or other punishment, I declared all that to be a prejudice, a slander. If among us whites a system of selfishness, lying, and cheating is to prevail, and not the principles of the Christian religion, then may we consistently push the negroes to the wall. As Christians our first duty toward them is to recognize their manhood, that which all through the country we have hitherto neglected. Then I endeavored to demonstrate how the Almighty had been leading us step by step through the war and since, and to show how great souls were already seizing upon the facts. Every statesman, every individual—preacher, lawyer, or other professional man—who attempts to stop the wheels of progress will be sooner or later crushed to atoms. Shall we sacrifice the Republic that we have saved? The church must stand up and tell the truth. Whenever you Christians have the opportunity to say what you think, say it! Stand firm for your own convictions of truth and duty. Mr. Lincoln gave us the principle—“With malice toward none, with charity for all, but with firmness in the right as God gave us to see the right.”

George Washington was our beginning. We have been brought on substantially and securely by his glorious successor, Abraham Lincoln. As his countrymen let us not hide our light, but speak the truth, yet speak it kindly in the fear of the Lord.

Resolutions strong and good were unanimously adopted. Then Senator Evans gave a ringing speech, asking: “Is it possible that anyone should ever conceive that the religion of Christ could be modified to suit one class of people differently from another; that

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

it was not intended for the whole human family?" His answer was a conclusive demonstration of the universality of Christ's teaching and that negroes in Africa, in this country, or elsewhere were included.

Salmon P. Chase stood up at last to his full height of six feet and two inches, and calmly closed the meeting in a few words that sounded like a benediction, promising equal justice to blacks and whites, particularly in the Supreme Court.

Friday, April 27th, the negroes celebrated the fourth anniversary of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. A strange procession made up of military battalions, freemasons, Odd Fellows, schools, civil organizations—all negroes—was of the best. They marched past the White House and called out the President. They passed the Army and Navy Departments, General Grant's and my headquarters, and Charles Sumner's house, cheering heartily at every point of interest as they went. The long column of glad souls had a dozen bands of music preceding their well-regulated divisions. There was no point from which one could see the entire length of the parade. At last it was massed at Franklin Square. Beautiful banners were tastefully grouped around the ample speakers' stand. Bishop Payne, of the African Methodist Church from South Carolina, opened this public occasion in a brief and appropriate prayer. He was a negro very dark, slight in stature, with handsome, regular features and was wearing large spectacles; he spoke the choicest of English. His people were greatly delighted with his ministrations and held him in high esteem.

Then arose the tall Henry Highland Garnett, the colored man who stood in point of oratory and influ-

Public Addresses Concerning the Freedmen in 1866

ence next to Frederick Douglass in the old days of abolition warfare. He gave this day a rousing speech: "I suppose it will no longer be presumption to call you *fellow-citizens*, since the Constitution has been so amended as forever to prohibit slavery and involuntary servitude, except in punishment for crime, and since the 'Civil Rights bill' has become a law of the land. To-day the principles of liberty are triumphant; the principles for which patriots and philanthropists have labored from the foundation of our Government, and for which the immortal Lincoln became a martyr, and which John Quincy Adams and Giddings and the Lovejoys and Henry Winter Davis and Solomon Foot proclaimed with their dying breath." He eulogized dead heroes and praised the living, taking up name after name. He praised the Lord for their work.

"Thank God," he went on, "that my noble, suffering and rising race live and flourish like the goodly cedars. The history of 250 years has demonstrated the fact that the black race in America, or wherever dispersed, can neither be forever enslaved or blotted out. God is with us and we must be free.

"One year ago Abraham Lincoln was lying in his coffin. You and I, fellow-citizens, were among the mourners. Although his remains sleep in a tomb in the far West, yet he is buried in the hearts of this sorrowing people. Rest, rest in peace, glorious martyr, statesman, ruler, benefactor, and friend!"

Garnett concluded by reading some well-worded and touching resolutions. The last one was:

"RESOLVED: That we are sensible of the fact that we are engaged in a stubborn war with numerous and unrelenting foes, which, by the help of God, we mean to fight out to the end on our native soil, aiming

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

to complete the establishment of our rights and liberties; and that our weapons are the spelling book, the Bible, the press, and the implements of industry; and our impregnable fortifications are schoolhouses and the Church of Christ; and our watchwords are UNCONDITIONAL LOYALTY TO GOD AND OUR COUNTRY."

As soon as the great cheering died away Senator Lyman Trumbull spoke: "I am here to-day to rejoice with you in this anniversary of your freedom—freedom from the most abject bondage ever visited upon any portion of the human race—freedom that makes you masters of yourselves, protects you in the enjoyment of the family relation, secures to you your children, prevents the father from being torn from his child, and the mother from being torn from her infant. (Amen and applause.) Secured not without a struggle, not without time, and not, I may say, by human instrumentality alone. Whatever credit any of us or any man may claim for the freedom enjoyed to-day by four millions of American citizens, that credit belongs to Omnipotence, who has so molded events that some of us have been instruments merely in bringing about this greatest and grandest result in the history of the human race."

Mr. Trumbull closed with these words: "Henceforth, no matter who makes the law, it must be equal, and if it is a law that deprives you of a right, it must deprive us white men of the same right. Equality before the law belongs to you from this time henceforth, and, by the blessing of God, I trust forever."

Henry Wilson followed Mr. Trumbull with a strong voice and effective utterance: "As I have gazed to-day upon this mighty throng in the capital of my country, as I have looked upon these banners, listened

Public Addresses Concerning the Freedmen in 1866

to the music, heard the voices to which you have listened, I have turned back one third of a century to that little assemblage of God-fearing and liberty-loving men that laid the foundation in America for the triumph which we enjoy to-day. I remember that national convention of humble men from ten States to whom we owe everything sanctioned by law, humanity, and religion, for the abolition of slavery, and for the elevation of every person of color. The work began one-third century ago. (That's so.) Humble, devoted men have since gone on from struggle to struggle, until, to-day, there is not a slave that treads the soil of the country from the Delaware to the Rio Grande. Not a cradle of yours can be robbed in America to-day; not a wife of yours can be torn from your bosom; not a bloodhound can bay on your track. Thanks be to God for the labors of these faithful men. Every fetter of yours is broken, and every man born in America can stand up and say: 'I am a man, a brother, a citizen of the American Republic!'

About this time the platform gave way and sank enough to frighten the people on and near it; but fortunately nobody was seriously hurt. As soon as it was again properly propped up Senator Wilson resumed: "Ladies and gentlemen, I have come back again. We sometimes during the last thirty years have had falls, but we always rose again. The friends of human freedom, sometimes baffled for a time, sometimes checked, sometimes even temporarily defeated, always rose stronger and marched forward with a bolder front."

My own speech came after Mr. Wilson finished. It showed pretty clearly my feeling at that time toward the emancipated.

"Fellow-citizens and fellow-soldiers: It gives me

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

more than ordinary pleasure to be able to be present on an occasion like this; to be able to look forth upon these masses of men; to be able to see in their faces the gleamings of intelligence; to see senators from Congress standing up before you; to listen to the declarations of truths so solemn, so momentous, so deep, and stirring the very foundations of the heart. I notice on one of your banners the inscription ‘Friendship, Love, Truth.’ I take as my motto the central—‘Love.’

“The closing sentiment of your resolution to-day was loyalty to God, and loyalty to your country. I thank the soldiers yonder and all they represent, for the manifestation of true loyalty during our past struggle for liberty; and I unite with you and with them in ascribing gratitude to Almighty God that He has put it into our hearts to be loyal to Him who sits on the throne of the heavens, because it is He who has brought our public mind into the channels of truth; and whether I as a soldier proclaim it or the minister or the bishop proclaims it, we hear the solemn truth that ‘God is love.’ The fundamental truth of the whole Gospel is love. We are required by that fundamental law to love God, to love humanity, to love one another, to love the child of God. It is not *like*, it is *love*. With all the depth of the human heart to love, and to take that and carry it into yonder cottage. There you will find it will make the different parts of the same family agree; it will make the children kind to their parents and kind to each other. It will create a scene beautiful in itself; a picture lovely to look upon. Carry it into your neighborhood, and it will produce agreement between one family and another. Carry it into yonder capital and it will produce right feeling and doing. It makes senator grasp senator by

Public Addresses Concerning the Freedmen in 1866

the hand and say, 'God bless you!' It makes the dying senator grasp his brother senator and point him to God and heaven. It takes hold not only of time, but of eternity. It is the real true bond of this country. I tell you it is the fundamental law; it is the very bottom of a true reconstruction. I asserted it in another form once and was abused for it. I said that there was required in this country a little more of the spirit of Christ. I proclaim it again before this vast audience, that it requires the genuine, practical spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ to make our people agree, to reconstruct our Government, to make us what we ought to be—a united, homogeneous people, with homogeneous institutions. Carry it to the Presidential mansion and there it inspires the head and front of our Republic. It was what there animated the bosom of Abraham Lincoln. It warmed the heart of the poor negress who knelt in one of our streets in Washington after his death and weeping said that in Abraham Lincoln she had lost more than her God, because God had made her a slave and he had made her a free woman. She, it is true, did not understand that God was leading him, was inspiring him, was guiding his heart and his mind into the channels of truth, leading him to walk in the light as God gave him to see the light. Thus the great governing principle of his heart was love to his Maker, and, through that, love to mankind.

“Now, my friends, bring the same principle to bear upon the condition of things in our Southern States. What do we need? We need true men; we need that principle which shall lead the rough man, the untrue man, to bow before the same Maker and to show a broken and a contrite heart. He, then, will not persecute a man because he is red, because he is green, be-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

cause he is yellow—oh no! not even if he should happen to be black. He hears the command: ‘Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.’ I do not learn in any of the Commandments or in the Gospel of Christ, that black men are excepted; and I have always taken it for granted from my childhood till the present time that the Commandments and Gospel apply alike to black and white. . . . One of our generals in this city told me the other day that many years ago in Florida he had been outside of many of the cabins of the negroes and heard them night after night sending up petitions to God for their freedom. He said he believed then that those prayers were registered in heaven, and that sooner or later these people would be free. Now, certainly, taking into consideration what I have seen and what I have heard, I believe there will be a great body of negroes in heaven; and in spite of it, I want to go there, and if we can carry out the principle of love to one another, we may all go there. If we cannot carry it out, those men whose bosoms are not big enough, or broad enough, to take in that principle will never be likely to go there!

“We can rest on fundamental truths; they apply alike to statesmen and President; they apply to me; they apply to you. You have a great work to do—an immense work. I am not one of those who cry, ‘The negro will not work.’ I know you will, but I want you to work with unusual zeal. I want the brightest and smartest among you to put forth every energy. (We will.) We have fought and fought together; and whenever I feel a returning throb from an old wound, I thank God I lost what I did lose in the procurement of practical liberty. I thank God it was done in opening up a chance for the colored people to go ahead in

Public Addresses Concerning the Freedmen in 1866

the inauguration of the principle that every man have a chance to develop, to grow, to increase, to multiply, not merely bodily, but mentally and morally. I now begin—we begin to-day—to realize and celebrate the truths that have been so long in the Bible, truths that were in our Declaration of Independence, but which were falsely or partially proclaimed from many forums. We do realize that Declaration to-day; and on the next Fourth of July if I should participate in the celebration of the Independence of the United States I will do it as to-day with a free, undivided heart and mind. I can say: Liberty now, union now, liberty and union, one and inseparable.”

Prof. H. Howard Day made the closing address. A single sentiment exhibits its tenor. “This emancipation I look upon as a part of God’s work, and very properly first of all to Him you give the glory. A man who forgets the agency of God in such a work makes a vital stab at the very cause which he seeks to benefit. This emancipation was the legitimate triumph and a first result of the true idea of the American Government.”

At the annual meeting of the American Missionary Association at Cooper Union, New York City, May 8, 1866, which I attended, a brief letter from the assistant commissioner for Tennessee, General Clinton B. Fisk, read by the secretary, showed that the General was detained from participating in the meeting by the Memphis riot. He wrote from Nashville, May 4th: “The sad state of affairs at Memphis requires my personal presence there. The tale of blood, murder, and arson in the chief city of this State will sadden the hearts of all who are earnestly striving to establish peace on an enduring basis. The ashes of our school-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

houses in Memphis but indicate the imperative necessity of education and Christianity (more pronounced) for the Southern States.”

This riot beginning Tuesday, May 1st, and continuing over two days, was brought on by the armed city police attempting to check the disorder of some discharged colored soldiers who had been drinking. This beginning resulted in killing that day from fifteen to twenty negroes, in burning eight negro schoolhouses and the churches where schools were taught, and also thirty-five of their private houses. The resulting excitement was so great that General Stoneman, the military district commander, put the city under strict martial law. The Memphis riot naturally excited the members of the American Missionary Association, for it had teachers and agents in every part of the South, and it greatly influenced the anniversary exercises. This riot, coupled with the others a short time before at New Orleans, where many black men perished and much property was destroyed, everyone feared would be extended to other cities.

Mr. Lewis Tappan, the senior vice-president of the association, and one of New York's most honored merchants and philanthropists, presided. After the preliminary exercises, including a grand missionary hymn, Mr. Tappan introduced me in very flattering terms. I closed a description of our work with an appeal for moral support, saying: “After we shall have exerted ourselves to the utmost there will be tasks which no Government agency will be able to accomplish. There will be poverty it cannot reach. There is already a strong feeling abroad against taxing the people to support the Southern poor; and there are also objections, alleged by good men, against

Public Addresses Concerning the Freedmen in 1866

efforts in behalf of education carried on by the general Government. My Bureau, though engaged specifically in a work of relief; though it is the means of feeding the hungry, caring for the orphans and widows, protecting and promoting education, and working to secure justice to the weak and oppressed, nevertheless, partakes of the hatred everywhere meted out to all who are caring for the negro. Its friends are sometimes doubtful about its expediency; many think the universal franchise will dispense with it; so that it is not safe to count upon it or its measures as of long continuance. Work then, my friends, while the sun shines. Do what the Government cannot do, send Christian men and women who are not afraid of outrage, even such as that noble girl¹ suffered at Warrenton, Va.; who are not afraid to die; send such as teachers and almoners of your contributions and as Christian missionaries.

“The only way to lift the ponderous load of poverty from the houses of the poor whites and blacks, and keep it lifted, is by instruction. I do not mean simply what is learned from books, but what is gained from example. But I must detain you no longer. The suffering of the poor is a heavy load upon us; the villainies of those who can rob and murder the poor, burn the churches and schoolhouses, try us severely. The twistings and turnings of our great men, who are wedded to politics as a trade, who are too great to own the manhood of the slave, too great to consider important the interests of the lowly, perplex us; but the past cannot be blotted out; our country

¹ A band of white men opposed to all attempts to benefit the blacks had brutally assaulted a teacher, from the North, at Warrenton, Va. *American Missionary Magazine*, June, 1866.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

is being purged, is being redeemed, and shall be blessed."

Henry Ward Beecher followed me and urged help, real help to the freedmen's societies. He spoke with great force and earnestness.

Two days later I entreated the American Bible Society at their anniversary exercises, held also in New York, to extend their Bible distribution to the freedmen in the South, and hastened back to my work in Washington, which I only left once again that year to address the people of Brooklyn and Newark, N. J., on "Our Christian Duty to the South," and to attend the meeting of the American Freedmen's Mission at the Cooper Institute in New York. The burden of my efforts in these assemblies may be condensed into the words: *Educate the children*. That was the relief needed. Is it not always the relief which in time becomes a permanency?

CHAPTER LV

FIRST APPROPRIATION BY CONGRESS FOR THE BUREAU; THE RECONSTRUCTION ACT, MARCH 2, 1867; INCREASE OF EDUCATIONAL WORK

THE year 1867 for the Freedmen's Bureau was an eventful one. The army appropriation by Congress for the year ending June 30, 1867, was made July 13, 1866, and contained the first formal appropriations for the support of our work. The items of most interest were: for salaries, stationery, printing, quarters, and fuel, \$308,200; for clothing and rations for distribution, \$4,273,250; for medical department, \$500,000; for transportation, \$1,320,000; for school superintendents, \$21,000; for repairs and rent of schoolhouses and asylums, \$500,000; for telegraphing, \$18,000. Total, \$6,940,450. Hostile spirits thought almost \$7,000,000 enormous.

By a law, of date March 2, 1867, the plan of Congress for a reconstruction of the South had been passed over the President's veto. Its preamble read: "Whereas, no legal state governments or adequate protection for life or property now exist in the States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Florida, Texas, and Arkansas; and whereas, it is necessary that peace and good order should be enforced in such States until loyal and republican State governments can be legally established," etc., etc. The law provided for five mili-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

tary districts through which the country would be governed until the people of any State should adopt a constitution framed by a convention elected by male citizens without distinction of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, but still disfranchising participants in the rebellion. The new constitutions must grant suffrage to negroes and be submitted to Congress for approval. Civil governments where they existed were allowed to continue till the new were established.

The districts were then organized with General Schofield in command of Virginia; General Sickles for North and South Carolina; General George H. Thomas for Georgia, Florida, and Alabama; General Ord for Mississippi and Arkansas, and General Sheridan for Louisiana and Texas. All these officers, as will appear, who were commanders of individual States, became *ex-officio* my assistant commissioners. Coincident with the Bureau work, the work of reconstruction along the lines of the new law now began and went on. In each State the assistant commissioner was at the head of the Bureau work with at least an adjutant, a disbursing officer, a medical officer, and a superintendent of schools as his staff in Bureau matters.

Each State was divided into military districts whose commanders were the Bureau agents in matters pertaining to the freedmen, and under them were the sub-districts where the subagent, usually without troops present, procured the necessary supplies for the extremely destitute, adjusted labor matters, encouraged negro education and counteracted the effect of unjust, prejudiced juries, and the action of some local courts, which arrested and in many instances practically re-

First Appropriation by Congress for the Bureau

enslaved the negro. I simply conformed to the new law, as I had to President Johnson's previous plans.

It was all the while my steady and avowed purpose, as soon as practicable, to close out one after another the original Bureau divisions, namely, that of lands, commissary and quartermaster supplies, justice through Bureau or military courts, and the medical establishments, including provisions for the orphans and the destitute, while with all the energy I could muster I increased the school work. I hoped at the end of the Bureau term to transfer the educational division in a high state of efficiency to some more permanent department of the general Government for continuance and enlargement, certainly until the States should severally adopt a good, wholesome school system whereby all the children of every color and description should have the same facilities as those of Massachusetts or Ohio.

As a condensed account of this year's work let us take a survey of each assistant commissioner's field, instancing only enough of detail to show how the variety of conditions led the efforts of each State into directions peculiar to its own necessities.

I was glad enough that new laws and orders made General Swayne a district commander as well as my assistant commissioner for Alabama. From and after November 1, 1866, the status of freedmen, under the laws of that State, was the same as that of other non-voting inhabitants. The Reconstruction Act of Congress gave the men the ballot. The school work though small was really hopeful. There were 68 white teachers and 15 colored. Preparations had been made to erect large buildings for educational use at Mobile, Montgomery, and Selma. At remote places and on

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

plantations rude temporary structures were put up, and these Swayne aided with school furniture. Applications for assistance beyond the ability of General Swayne or myself to supply, were on the increase. The willingness of negro parents out of their poverty to sustain, as far as they could, schools for their children was everywhere manifest; they soon warranted Swayne's strenuous efforts to make them wholly self-supporting.

Opposition on the part of the better and influential class of white people had diminished when Swayne made his annual report, and a manly purpose on the part of the freedmen toward self-help and independence was evident. Somebody, however, must organize in new fields and instruct the freedmen in their duty and interest. The General cited several instances of good disposition and success. At Mount Moriah, six miles from Mobile, lived a colored man, Edward Moore, who had built a log schoolhouse at his own expense, putting it on his own land. In this he was teaching 52 pupils. This school the freedmen supported. Again, at Selma, B. S. Turner, himself a prosperous and representative freedman, was helping his friends and neighbors by eloquent words and by money out of his own earnings to secure school advantages to the children. His brief speech to an inspector was recorded: "Let us educate, let us make sacrifices to educate ourselves, in this matter, let us help those of us who are unable to help themselves." At Montgomery, one of the seven schools there existing was taught by a white man of Southern birth. All this was encouraging, but the cold fact remained that a large number of the 62 counties, densely populated with the freed people, had as yet no schools whatever, and further,

First Appropriation by Congress for the Bureau

that when there were schools, only a small proportion of the children had the privilege of attending them. Such teachers as Swayne then had were earnest, laborious, and efficient. They preserved good discipline and made their instruction, as far as they could go, thorough and accurate.

To the State of Arkansas there had come a new commander and assistant commissioner, General C. H. Smith, General Sprague having left the service to become the Western general superintendent of the Northern Pacific Railway. Arkansas was a difficult State to reconstruct, and progress, especially in the line of justice, was slow enough. There were numbers of desperadoes in remote places, especially in the southern districts. They evaded punishment by running across the State line, so that emancipation acts and the civil rights law had there little effect.

The catalogue of wrongs upon freedmen indicated feeble progress, even among the better class of former slaveholders; yet in the aggregate in Arkansas the colored people had made great gains. They were allowed to testify in the courts, even against white men, and white men had been punished for offenses against negroes in State and city tribunals.

To the educational work planters, now evidently for self-interest, were more favorable than before; some proprietors had shown marked kindness; others had found facilities for the planting of new schools on their own estates. The ardor of the freedmen for education exhibited ever since emancipation was unabated. Strange to say, they were willing to be taxed and gave even from their poverty all they possibly could to bring knowledge to their children.

The teachers in Arkansas often had a difficult task;

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

but some of them overcame even ugly prejudice, which is a hard thing to do. One of such teachers, while on her way to open her school in the neighborhood of a large plantation, was refused shelter by the owner. His reason was that no real lady would perform a work so discreditable as teaching "niggers." But in a few months she had so won the confidence of the planter by her judicious conduct and Christian efforts, that when she was taken suddenly ill, he had his doors opened to receive her and saw to it that she had every comfort and attention necessary. I enjoyed immensely the stories of such acts of gallantry.

There was deep sympathy between teacher and pupil. A single illustration from a school at Little Rock will illustrate. The teacher with moist eyes told a girl of perhaps twelve years that an act of childish indiscretion pained her. Seeing the tears the child ran to the teacher at once, asked her forgiveness, and said that in the future she would be a good girl. This spontaneous act sensibly affected the whole school. This teacher, who had taught the pupils to cast their burdens on the Lord, was soon to leave the school. The time of her going was announced. The grief was manifest and universal. One of the scholars arose and asked permission to pray. Permission being given, several scholars in succession, in simple and touching language, asked forgiveness for all their errors, and for blessings on their teacher, and that the Lord, if it were His will, would send her back to them.

In Florida, Colonel J. T. Sprague had succeeded as district commander and assistant commissioner to General Foster. The State, ostensibly for the education of the black children, in its new school law im-

First Appropriation by Congress for the Bureau

posed a tax of \$1 upon all negroes between the ages of twenty-one and fifty-five; but very little money was obtained and so used. It was to be collected at the same time as the ordinary State tax, and paid into the treasury. No such law was imposed upon white men. The law went a step further—freedmen not paupers were to pay to the State superintendent, in addition to the tax, \$1 a month tuition for each of their children attending the State schools. This State law had another feature capable of being used oppressively. No person was to teach any school of persons of color without a license costing \$5 per annum—a license that the superintendent could give or withhold at his pleasure. The penalty for violating this provision was a fine of not less than \$100 nor more than \$500, or imprisonment for not less than 30 nor more than 60 days. The object of the license clause was to exclude Northern white teachers. If it had not been for the presence of the military forces, Northern teachers already there who had not the superintendent's certificate, though sent by the Government or by benevolent societies, would have been fined or imprisoned. Prejudiced men sought at every step to impose new and irksome burdens upon the newly made citizens.

It was, then, a little refreshing to catch a word of hope for Florida. I wrote at the time: "Notwithstanding the peculiarity of these enactments, there is reason to believe that former white residents are not altogether averse to the establishment of freedmen's schools, but are coming to look upon them with increasing favor. During the past year the Bureau had repaired a large number of church and other buildings, in order to adapt them to school purposes,

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

and the educational results achieved give favorable promise.”

General N. A. Miles took great interest in the freedmen's schools of North Carolina during this year, and under the management of his assistants and himself they were exceedingly prosperous. He built on the good foundations that his predecessor, General E. Whittlesey, had laid, while the latter came to my headquarters to perform a most important duty. The pupils in North Carolina were greatly increased in numbers, and the hard-working, self-denying teachers were much encouraged. Upward of 10,000 colored children were enrolled in our schools in the State, and three or four thousand more could have been added if teachers could have been provided for them. The rental of school buildings by the Bureau had secured the continuance of many schools which having been started during the war would otherwise have been obliged to disband. Occasional adversities had appeared, as the burning of schoolhouses in Green and Chatham counties and the violent assault upon a teacher in New Hanover county. But on the whole the prejudices were far less pronounced. In fact, in many places former opposers had become friends and were encouraging this educational campaign. It is a wonderful thing to recall that North Carolina had never had before that time a free school system even for white pupils, and there were then no publications in the State devoted to popular education. The death of slavery unfolded the wings of knowledge for both white and black to brighten all the future of the “Old North State.”

In South Carolina General R. K. Scott was the Bureau representative. He reported that there was a

First Appropriation by Congress for the Bureau

class of men within his jurisdiction who took the greatest pleasure in persecuting freedmen, and considered the murder of a colored man only a practical joke; that the civil authorities took little pains to put a stop to such crimes, and that freedmen were killed and buried without notice to the authorities. Yet by the end of October, 1867, he considered his educational work highly satisfactory. Like North Carolina, there was here no State system of public schools for any of the children. Beyond the limits of the Charleston district there was not a single "free school" in that State. The law, however, with grim humor encouraged education by the following exemption: that persons convicted of certain crimes, as burglary and arson, were relieved from the death penalty, provided they could read and write—a strange survival from the English law of the "benefit of clergy." At that time 30 per cent. of the white population of that proud State could not write their names. In the Charleston district the colored people, who were then two thirds of the whole population and paying their proportion of the taxes, had all their children excluded from the new "free schools," i. e., in the district where schools just started were supported by 30 per cent. added to the general tax. The excuse was that the general Government had freed the negroes and might now educate them; and taxes of all kinds put upon the whites were but a meager return to the State because of the loss of slave property. The colored schools in South Carolina, both those aided by the Bureau and private ones not formally reported, contained 20,000 pupils. Some of the most prominent South Carolinians, among them the Rev. A. Toomer Porter, D.D., had come forward to take a positive and earnest interest in the work of

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

education for all the children of the State. The latter came to visit me at Washington, and together we succeeded in obtaining the use of the great Marine Hospital for the colored children. We together visited that building afterwards and found it filled with pupils called "colored," but actually presenting the spectacle of all shades as to the hair, the eyes, and the skin. It was, indeed, an admixture of races. The whites proper were, of course, not there. For these the worthy doctor himself founded an institution of a high order which will endure.

For Georgia, General Tillson, after his faithful work, the middle of January of this year (1867) was replaced by Colonel C. C. Sibley of the regular army. Tillson in his conciliatory policy had appointed as sub-agents many resident civilians, allowing them remuneration by the collection of fees upon labor contracts of freedmen. Upon Sibley's report that many of the resident agents had shamefully abused their trust, inflicted cruel and unusual punishments on the blacks, and were unfit from their education and belief in slavery to promote the interests of free labor, I directed him to discontinue the fee system altogether and employ salaried men only. Of course, it took time to complete such a reorganization and some bitterness and fault-finding came from every district which was touched by the change.

Mississippi always afforded a peculiar study of human nature. General T. J. Wood, who went there after General Thomas's transfer to Washington, was himself relieved by General A. C. Gillem, an army officer who had long been a special friend of President Johnson. He entered upon his duties the last part of January, 1867. Gillem, whom I had known as a fellow

First Appropriation by Congress for the Bureau

cadet, consulting his hopes, believed that public sentiment in some sections of Mississippi was then undergoing a most favorable change. He found the freedmen usually ardent for education and willing to bear part of the expense of the children's schooling; and also employers who desired the friendship of their laborers who were encouraging schools on plantations, as well as in villages and cities; but the whole number of schools for the large population of Mississippi aggregated only about 66 (day and night) with pupils 4,697. General Gillem reported that while laborers were working well and complying more strictly than heretofore with the terms of their agreements, a number of white citizens were disposed apparently to defraud their laborers of their earnings by quarreling with them upon the slightest pretext, and for trivial reasons would drive them from their homes by threats of actual violence.

The burning of the freedmen's schoolhouse at Columbus unhoused 400 pupils. Teachers took scholars into their quarters, but not half of them could be accommodated. There was little doubt that some evil-disposed persons and not accident had done the burning. It was a hopeful sign, however, that year in Mississippi that John M. Langston, school inspector, with his color against him, should be everywhere civilly treated. He had many good things to say of both the white people and the negroes of that State. The Society of Friends was supplying the teachers and doing good work at Jackson, the capital of the State. Tuition of fifty cents per month was required and the small tuition was educational in itself, favoring self-support. At Meridian, the school, for want of a structure, had to be held in the Methodist Church. Lang-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

ston found six miles from Meridian a Southern white lady, who was conducting a colored pay school on her own account with 90 pupils. At Columbus, Miss., the white people had already given \$1,000 to rebuild the schoolhouse which had been destroyed. Mississippi thus at that time appeared an inviting field and no personal hostility whatever met this colored inspector, and his picture of the freed people was a happy one. Many of them were intelligent, many reading the newspapers and having accurate and comprehensive understanding of the political situation. This was a better story than Gillem's. It is a pity that subsequent years had to vary the tale.

General Mower, in Louisiana, gave a very promising view of the reaction during the year (from 1866 to 1867) in favor of the schools of his jurisdiction. The numbers, however, were not large enough for that great State—only 246 schools with pupils 8,435. More than half of these were sustained by the freedmen themselves. The majority of the planters in the southern and western portions of Louisiana were still openly against education of the freedmen, so that plantation schools in those localities were few indeed.

By army and Bureau changes General Charles Griffin came to be, the first of this year, district commander and assistant commissioner in Texas, with headquarters at Galveston. He did good work while he lived. I wrote of him: "His thorough knowledge of the people, eminent patriotism, sympathy with the freedmen, and the remarkable energy and promptness which marked his administration endeared him to the laboring classes and commanded universal respect." He fell a victim to the epidemic of yellow fever that prevailed during the autumn of that year, dying at

First Appropriation by Congress for the Bureau

Galveston, September 15, 1867. General J. J. Reynolds, a respected instructor of mine at West Point, replaced him for the remainder of the year. Before Griffin came, Texas had been but partially occupied. The troops had been mostly located near the southern coast. The agents of the Bureau could do little or nothing away from the garrisons. In remoter parts, robberies, murders, and other outrageous crimes were matters of daily occurrence. Griffin at once distributed the troops and by May, 1867, had occupied 57 subdistricts, and sent out 38 army officers and 31 civilians as his representatives; all were so stationed and so supported as pretty thoroughly to cover the State. He made these assistants his school inspectors, each of his own subdistrict. Schools were started. Every school was visited monthly. Land was obtained by donations; on lots so obtained and held, usually by colored trustees, Griffin permitted or caused school buildings to be erected and school furniture to be supplied. Through our Northern benevolent societies and through the freedmen's own support, the Texas schools were multiplied. Griffin, shortly before his last illness, wrote: "If the associations which have done so much for freedmen will send me 100 good teachers I will furnish them schoolhouses and aid besides to carry on 200 primary schools." He thus hoped to reach 40,000 children by day schools and 50,000 adults by night schools. Planters were now favoring schools and applying to Griffin for teachers. Of course there were drawbacks. In parts, as I intimated, where desperadoes had the mastery, public opinion was intensely hostile to any project for the improvement of negroes. The poverty of the white people of Texas was never so great as elsewhere in the South, and they had suf-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

ficient pride to take care of their own poor. This of itself was a great boon to the assistant commissioner.

General W. P. Carlin had become district commander and assistant commissioner for Tennessee. His account of the conduct of employers after the freedmen had cast their first ballot, which happened this year, was not very reassuring. They drove away and persecuted laborers who had voted for candidates that the planters did not approve. From June to October there were recorded at his headquarters 25 murders, 35 assaults with intent to kill, 83 cases of assault and battery, 4 of rape, and 4 of arson; all these were perpetrated against the freed people of Tennessee. Military courts had been relaxed and the civil law was again in full control. But not one murderer anywhere in the State had been punished, and the majority of other criminals had escaped every penalty of the law; while the few brought to trial had been very leniently dealt with. A large number of additional outrages were committed here and there which were not officially reported to our agents, and so were never properly recorded.

Near the close of 1867 in Tennessee the status of schools was better than that of justice, there being an enrollment of 9,451 pupils. The greater part were carried on by the Northern societies, but the freedmen, out of their small possessions, had in one month contributed nearly \$2,000. The Tennessee legislature had, in addition to white schools, provided for colored schools, putting one in any district or town where there were upward of 25 scholars, and also had established a permanent tax of 10 mills upon taxable property for school support. Just as soon in 1868 as this fund should become available, the State superintend-

First Appropriation by Congress for the Bureau

ent promised to coöperate with our Bureau officers and earnestly push the educational work. So there was hope ahead for Tennessee.

General Sidney Burbank had relieved General Davis about the middle of February in Kentucky. This State was slow to modify objectionable laws in spite of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments of the United States Constitution and the clear-cut Civil-Rights-Law, which necessitated the eventual repeal of every cruel and unjust measure. The State Court of Appeals had in fact retarded progress by giving a decision against the constitutionality of the Civil Rights Act, that is, within the State jurisdiction.

Kentucky in its criminal calendar for the year had kept abreast of Tennessee. The record for the year was: Murders, 20; shootings, 18; rape, 11; other maltreatments, 270. Total outrages of whites perpetrated upon the freedmen, 319 recorded cases.

But a little light dawned upon the State. United States Judges Swayne and Ballard had heard cases in the District Court in Kentucky, and strongly sustained the Civil-Rights-Law. This was auspicious for the negroes. The testimony, however, that came to me from Kentucky, to my surprise and comfort, showed that the schools had more than held their own, and had done so in spite of the contentions and hatreds due to the State's action in all things that affected the courts or politics. Yet I found that a large number of white citizens had manifested a bitter opposition to education of all colored children, and their opposition had tended to dishearten freedmen and thwart the efforts of our workers. Threats had been made in neighborhoods, and oft repeated to destroy the school buildings.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

The opposers of education were, of course, deterred in many places by the presence of our soldiers. In one place a teacher, an upright and educated clergyman, having been mobbed, was, with his family, driven out of town. Such conduct made our Northern societies desirous to go elsewhere, where they could receive protection and better treatment. The freedmen freely offered their churches for the schools, and the assistant commissioner endeavored to protect the buildings against that most unreasonable public sentiment which incessantly sought their destruction. Notwithstanding the favorable showing of numbers in the schools it was but a nucleus. Against the nearly 6,000 at school upward of 30,000 children in Kentucky had yet no school advantages whatever. Not yet in this State could my representative, the assistant commissioner, find one prominent man, though he might admit in private the reasonableness of education, who dared openly to avow his conviction.

The prejudice is illustrated by a single instance: At the Walnut Street Baptist Church in Louisville, one of our white teachers during a revival applied for admission to fellowship. The pastor and other officers found her qualified in every way, sent her the baptismal robe, and made all arrangements for her reception. But as soon as they heard that she taught a freedmen's school, and lived at the house of a clergyman who was pastor of a colored church, they forbade her admission. Even religious zeal could not break the adamant shell of unreasoning prejudice.

Nearer Washington, matters in all respects touching Bureau operations during the year gave assurance that at the end of the term fixed by law, July 16, 1868, I could lay down my heavy burden of responsibility

First Appropriation by Congress for the Bureau

with good hope of the future if not with positive satisfaction.

I remember that I found the subdistrict of Lynchburg, of which General N. M. Curtis had charge, especially satisfactory. He not only successfully encouraged the school work but afforded a good example in harmonizing the labor interest and promoting goodwill between the white people and the freedmen.

In Virginia Colonel Brown had, by the action of his district commander, passed from the staff back to the office of full assistant commissioner, and all the State of Virginia had again been put under his supervision.

General S. C. Armstrong, who had been sent to Virginia and had been placed in charge of a district of fifteen or more counties, withdrew from them and began work at Hampton during the year 1867.

A few words from his pen will show the fairness of his mind and account somewhat for his subsequent and successful career at the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute. He wrote: "I cannot refrain from expressing my satisfaction and surprise at the proficiency of the pupils in the Hampton schools as manifested in the examination of the 28th ultimo. . . .

"I believe that the finest intellectual achievements are possible to colored children; no one who listened to the prompt answers or perceived the 'snap' of the pupils during the exercises can doubt it. What I was most gratified with was the enthusiasm for and pride in knowledge, which is a motive power that, if given play, will carry them up to noble attainments." Armstrong thus studied the situation at Hampton; came to the true conclusions, and made them the stepping-stone to his own great achievements in the line of Christian training.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

General C. H. Gregory was made assistant commissioner for Maryland and Delaware, and General C. H. Howard continued in charge of the District of Columbia and West Virginia. Under the latter educational work was coöperative and supplemental and the District of Columbia the principal field. Benevolent associations and freedmen's contributions sustained the schools to the extent of paying the salaries of the teachers and incidental expenses. But our Bureau furnished the buildings by rental or by construction, and aided the societies as elsewhere by transportation of their teachers to places where the schools were; also their agents and considerable of their furnishing material were so forwarded.

West Virginia, which was from its birth always a loyal State, was really ahead even of the border States in its arrangement for free education. It had in 1867 an impartial system; it was careful to keep the colored and white children separate; the levying of taxes, the building of schoolhouses, and the employing of teachers were entirely in the hands of white men. This was a fact not at all to be wondered at nor deplored, considering the short period since emancipation came; there were, in general, honest and conscientious dealings.

Under the new Bureau law approved July 16, 1866, which extended its provisions and care to all loyal refugees and freedmen, Missouri and Kansas constituted a nominal district over which Lieutenant Colonel F. A. Seeley was placed and acted especially as superintendent of education. The educational law of Missouri was quite as good as that of West Virginia. It did the legislation of that State great credit in its liberal provisions; and could the dispositions of the peo-

First Appropriation by Congress for the Bureau

ple have been as good as that of the legislators at least two thirds of the children of the freedmen would this year (1867) have been at school.

Outside of St. Louis, however, they had not yet the advantages of a single public educational institution; although along the line of the railroads there was springing up a favorable feeling; in other portions of the State the hostility to negro schools was very pronounced and the teachers of freedmen were stoutly opposed by the white residents.

In Kansas, whither large numbers of negroes who had escaped from the calamities of war or from slavery had fled, attention was at once given by the citizens to the children's education. Nearly 2,000 colored pupils were this year enrolled, though there was in this State but a fraction of colored population compared with the neighboring State of Missouri.

CHAPTER LVI

FAMINE RELIEFS; PAYING SOLDIERS' BOUNTIES, AND SUMMARY OF WORK ACCOMPLISHED

IN parts of our Southern States a famine existed early in March, 1867; the published reports of the extensive destitution of all classes of people, including the freedmen, became so heartrending, that for once I anticipated the action of Congress. It was one offense of which none of those who were hostile to my administration ever complained. I had abundant authority so far as the loyal refugees and freedmen were involved to feed them to the extent of our food appropriation; but we had reduced this number to narrow limits when this famine fell upon the Southern coast. In some counties actual starvation had set in. I hurried off my quartermaster, as soon as I was convinced, to Alexandria, and succeeded in getting Mr. McKenzie, a wealthy and prominent citizen of that city, to load a vessel with the necessaries of life and send them off in the quickest time. I also shipped other supplies to points where the suffering appeared greatest; then going before a Senate committee reported what I had done. One of the most conservative of our Northern members said at first: "We will not give help to rebels." I insisted stoutly: "The rebellion is over; people are starving, and humanity demands that we succor them. It is not a question now of whether we shall help those who are likely to perish, for I have already made a beginning and have come to Congress to ask to be sustained. I have sent a shipload of provisions

Famine Reliefs

and want approval." A joint resolution (March 30, 1867) followed; it was the substantial answer to my petition. My action was thus approved.

The public resolution directed the Bureau: "To issue supplies of food sufficient to prevent starvation or extreme want to any and all classes of destitute and helpless persons in those Southern and Southwestern States where failure of the crops and other causes have occasioned widespread destitution." The expenditure itself was not to extend beyond my existing appropriations, but the Congress authorized the use for this purpose of unexpended balances of appropriations which had been made for other objects. After carefully considering the items of our funds on hand, I saw that we would not require for transportation all the money held under that head. The necessity for large removals of freedmen or refugees had now ceased. Thereupon, four days after the passage of the law, April 3, 1867, I set apart \$500,000 to go as far as it could toward the relief of the great destitution. I made the following estimate: In Tennessee, persons needing aid, 2,000; in Mississippi, 3,900; in Alabama, 15,000; in Georgia, 12,500; in South Carolina, 10,000; in North Carolina, 5,545, and in Virginia, 5,000; total destitutes, 53,945. Of this number 30,000 were children under 14, giving 23,945 adults.

For a general rule, I thought it safer to begin the issue with corn and pork.

Corn for adults.....	5,363,680 lbs.	95,780 bu.
Corn for children.....	3,160,000 lbs.	60,000 bu.
Total.....		<hr style="width: 100%;"/> 155,780 bu.
Pork—Total.....	1,246,240 lbs.	6,232 bbl.
Estimated cost of the corn.....		\$233,670
Estimated cost of the pork.....		186,960
Making a total of.....		<hr style="width: 100%;"/> \$420,630

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

On April 4th General Eliphalet Whittlesey, then the inspector general of the Bureau and recently brought from North Carolina, was appointed to superintend the distribution of the supplies. All the clerical force which he might require was placed at his service. The assistant commissioners in the States concerned were notified of this appointment and each was ordered to assign a faithful and efficient officer to act in this relief work as a commissary for his State. This officer was in this matter over the local agents, who receipted in bulk for all the supplies distributed to the needy; they made all proper returns and vouchers, as was done in the army subsistence department. No fund was ever better regulated, and the reports of General Whittlesey were so neat and clear that accounting officers highly complimented them.

Whittlesey closed his able reports made near the end of the year 1867, in a condensed paragraph: "The whole expense incurred in giving this relief has been \$445,993.36, i. e., about \$8 to each person for the period of four months, or \$2 per month. There remain on hand some commissary stores, which are reserved for the most destitute who will require help during the coming winter."

Little evidence of deception or fraud was found anywhere in the vast field supplied, and showed that for the most part the relief, small as it was, was timely and effective. As the incoming corn crop in the South and West was good, the relief, after the middle of August, was discontinued. The amount given to an individual appears very small; but there was an indirect additional supply through our associate benevolent societies. I have credited them in school aid with about one half. In this relief for the famine also, they

Famine Reliefs

did about as much; they supplied funds where the famine was severest, sending through their teachers and agents sometimes food and sometimes clothing. General Whittlesey said that voluntary contributions from this source had served to lessen the demand so much that the expenditure had fallen far short of the original estimate of the relief needed. Surely this was an unusual exhibit.

Our *Claim Division* was of great help in protecting ignorant colored soldiers and sailors, now scattered in different parts of the country, who were claimants for bounties, back pay, and prize moneys. Referring to this General Swayne remarks: "Five hundred and sixteen applicants passed through my office (at Montgomery, Ala.) during the month of August. There is reason to believe that convenient and gratuitous assistance is almost indispensable to the parties in interest." Yet without further legislation the Bureau could not give sufficient protection. There were some claim agents who had taken advantage of the late colored soldiers. They at first charged them exorbitant fees. Then by various expedients they managed to get from them a large part of their claims. As long as they could work into the Treasury the receipts well drawn up, signed and witnessed, and satisfy the deceived soldier that his cash in hand was all he could get, and all right, the fraudulent claim agent laughed at the feeble complaints that subsequently reached his ears, and escaped with the poor man's money too often without punishment. Officers of the treasury and myself, finding that there were on foot extensive frauds of the kind described, brought the matter to the attention of Congress.

The Hon. Henry Wilson introduced a joint reso-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

lution in the Senate, March 12, 1867, entitled: A Resolution in reference to the collection and payment of moneys due colored soldiers, sailors, and marines, or their heirs.

This resolution underwent considerable discussion, and no little opposition. It provided that all checks for the object named should be made payable to me as commissioner, or to my order. Senator Wilson showed abundant evidence of the frauds against the soldiers and marines that had been already committed, and averred that the second comptroller and the second auditor urged the passage of the resolution. Mr. Wilson was asked if General Howard should not be required to give bonds, and replied: "I have no objection to his giving bond, but this is imposing upon him a duty for which he gets nothing, and it is a great responsibility. I think it is enough to ask him to do this work." Even while I was frequently consulted and was myself urging some legislation to protect these wards of the Government, I did not dream of the passage of such an Act as the one that finally went through both Houses and became a law (March 29, 1867). All references to the help of the branches of the Freedmen's Bank which Mr. Wilson proposed and embodied in his bill, an institution chartered by Congress to do a banking business in the South, but with which I was not connected, *were thrown out* by the amendments. My duties and responsibilities under the resolution which finally passed may be thus summed up:

1. Every claim of the colored soldiers, sailors, and marines, or their heirs, for bounty, back pay, or prize money, no matter by whom prosecuted, was to be paid by me, or through me, as commissioner.

Famine Reliefs

2. Any agent or attorney, if he had prosecuted the claim, was to be paid by me his lawful fee.

3. The claimant was to be discovered, identified, and settled with through my officers and myself, not in checks or drafts but in current funds.

4. I was responsible for the safe custody and faithful disbursement of all the funds involved. Probably at that time there were over 50,000 colored soldiers and sailors who had not yet been fully paid.

5. All this disbursement was to be done under the same regulations as those which governed other disbursing officers of the army.

Fortunately, well-disposed agents and attorneys became my friends; but the others, not well disposed, made indescribable trouble for my officers and agents, and finally involved me, myself, in the meshes of accusation, personal expense, and Congressional and military investigations very prolonged, and which have become historic. There were two points of attack that worried me most: one was to work carefully through political influence to get a dishonest field agent appointed who probably would not only defraud the Government, but would delude the poor claimant. Glad to get even a small sum, the soldier would go off without objection or complaint, having in some instances received less than half his due. By the most thorough care and inspection the fraudulent were caught. We had, all told, but a very limited number of such cases. The second point of attack was to deceive the honest field agent, by palming off upon him frauds, i. e., wrong men, who had been coached enough to prove themselves the genuine claimants, and so carry off the currency and divide with the dishonest attorneys. These cases were more frequent than the first; but the

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

real claimants very often helped us to detect that sort of crime, and so checked its occurrence or repetition. When the *bona fide* soldier or sailor had died, the crime, which was a robbery of the heirs, was harder to uncover and punish. There was but one transaction in connection with these moneys held by me for the soldiers and sailors (after remaining for six months or more to my credit at authorized depositories) of which some of my real friends complained; it was putting the waiting money into United States bonds.

The use I made of the interest on the bonds was to meet cases where the true claimants had been defrauded, as heretofore explained, and for such other purposes as were by law authorized for any and all refugees and freedmen's funds. I made the investment under the advice of Dr. Brodhead, the venerable second comptroller. Doubtless his interpretation of all the laws which were involved, was right. On his clear and fearless decisions all War Department disbursing officers always depended for the final adjustment of their money accounts.

A brief summary will set forth in convenient form the vast work touching back pay, bounty, and prize money for colored claimants. All cases intrusted to me by the claimant were settled without necessitating attorney's fees. After the bounty law of March, 1867, went into effect, up to October, 1870, 5,108 such cases were thus brought in, saving to freedmen concerned \$51,080 legal fees, and, judging from attempts at fraud continually occurring, many times that sum in illegal fees which would have been extorted from them on every conceivable pretext by greedy attorneys. The whole amount paid from the passage of the Act to October, 1870, was \$7,683,618.61. At the close of the

Famine Reliefs

Bureau we had settled over 40,000 cases and turned over but a few as yet unsettled to the Secretary of War. It was not too much to affirm that through the labors and vigilance of the officers and agents of the Bureau, enough had been saved to the Government and to deserving claimants to justify all the expense involved.

By the autumn of 1867 there was food generally throughout the South, and the district commanders, in connection with their military commands and the work of political reconstruction, were still acting for me as assistant commissioners.

During this and the next year it was constantly asserted by opponents and by the press in some parts of the country that I was opposed to closing out the Bureau work. This statement was untrue. I did wish to close out all other parts as rapidly as possible and have the educational work continued as long as necessary. At the end of 1868 I wrote this to the Secretary of War: "Many entreaties have come to me from Southern men, white and colored, and from several commissioners, to urge upon Congress the continuance of the operations of this Bureau beyond the time of its limit by law (January 1, 1869). But after having carefully considered the whole subject, I believe it is better *not to do so.*"

It was extremely difficult to induce the cities and counties to assume the charge of the indigent, and they would not do so while the general Government furnished assistance, so I added: "Much suffering will doubtless result from the complete withdrawal of the Bureau during the coming winter in Virginia and Mississippi unless some provision (for the poor) be made by the district commanders. I therefore recommend

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

that a special appropriation be placed in their hands to enable them to defray the expense of the freedmen's hospitals in Richmond and Vicksburg." I also recommended the continuance of a hospital or an asylum for the District of Columbia to be used for the aged and infirm and the many sick who had come there. They had come from the freedmen's village, near Arlington, from other parts of Virginia, from Maryland, and elsewhere as refugees. I also urged provision for the hospital at New Orleans which contained the aged, the infirm, and the insane. I asked that the military commander of Louisiana have the care of the New Orleans hospital.

Congressmen, who were willing to impute good motives, saw clearly that I was acting in good faith, and was earnestly desirous of closing out all the Bureau work possible without producing suffering or acting with inhumanity, but that I hoped to hold steadily to aiding the faithful colored soldiers and sailors till that Claim Division should properly end; and, further, they saw that I wished to stimulate every educational interest till our Government schools and those of benevolent societies should become absorbed in a grand free system; we hoped such a system would be inaugurated by each separate State after the processes of reconstruction had had time to crystallize.

To further my wishes and recommendations, Congress gave us the Act of June 24, 1868. This continued the Bureau with some modifications, to July 16, 1869. It directed after discontinuance at any point, that the Secretary of War should reestablish it in any place where he was satisfied the safety of the freedmen required it.

The second paragraph enabled the secretary, after

Famine Reliefs

advising with the commissioner, to discontinue the Bureau from any State fully restored in its constitutional relations with the United States, excepting the "Educational Division," which was to continue in each State till suitable provision for the education of the children of freedmen had been made by the State.

The third section enabled me to apply all unexpended balances to the education of freedmen and refugees.

The fourth section gave us the power to retain volunteer and veteran reserve officers in the service of the Bureau with their proper pay, and the fifth and last section enabled me to sell buildings to associations, corporate bodies, or trustees; this was to be done either for the relief of want or for purposes of education.

This Act of Congress became a law without the approval of President Johnson, he permitting the ten days allowed for his veto to elapse without returning it to the House where it originated.

Owing to the heated controversy still going on between the President and Congress, it was thought that the President would cause my removal, the air being full of rumors to that effect, so that the work of reconstruction as provided by the several Acts would be retarded by his replacing me by an opponent of Congress. To prevent that, the Act of June 24th was followed by another brief Act, that of July 25, 1868, entitled: "An Act relating to the Freedmen's Bureau, and providing for its discontinuance." The first paragraph provided that I should be continued as commissioner while the Bureau lived; that in case of vacancy by death or resignation, the Secretary of War should nominate and the Senate confirm a new commissioner,

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

or during the recess of Congress that the acting assistant adjutant general of the Bureau should do the work. The second and last paragraph directed me to discontinue the Bureau altogether on January 1, 1869, except the educational department and payment of bounties and other dues to colored soldiers and sailors or their heirs. These two latter divisions were to go on until otherwise ordered by Act of Congress.

Very naturally this bill was vetoed by the President, but was speedily passed by both the Senate and the House over his veto, and so became a law.

To close out my general work, and to aid schools and pay the bounties, I was equipped with just the right kind of an organization, and also relieved of much of the previous responsibility and consequent anxiety. The necessary orders and instructions were issued very soon after the publication of the Act of Congress which, in fact, was to effect the substantial close of the Freedmen's Bureau.

Officers, agents, and clerks were notified that their services would be no longer required after December 31, 1868. The freedmen were generally carefully apprised of the situation, and shown that they must now look to the civil magistrates more directly than heretofore for protection of their rights and redress of their wrongs, and that supplies of food and clothing for the destitute, medicines and care for the sick, the transportation of laborers to new homes, and all aid and oversight of contracts must very soon cease to come to them from the general Government.

Disbursing officers were directed promptly to settle outstanding obligations, and to sell the public property no longer needed. "Abandoned lands and lots," now few in number, must at once go to their owners,

Famine Reliefs

where it was possible to find them, or be dropped from their returns.

All this served as a sufficient warning, we thought, to all parties concerned. But I found that the freedmen's hospitals at New Orleans, Vicksburg, Louisville, Richmond, and Washington could not be abolished so soon without exposing the numerous helpless patients therein to great distress. The local authorities refused to assume charge, so that pressed by an extreme necessity, with the assent of the Secretary of War, I continued them for a while, and reported my action to Congress. All my action, by an Act approved April 7, 1869, was formally approved by that body. Congress instructed me then to discontinue these hospitals as soon as practicable in the discretion of the President of the United States. General Grant, after March 4th, was the President, so that no unkind action was feared. His discretion and mine naturally agreed. No immediate troubles worth the record followed the discontinuance of the Bureau. The officers paying bounties had to be kept, and nearly all the school machinery remained intact, and the military arm, with General Grant for President and General Sherman for army commander, was still garrisoning the entire Southern field. Thus my trying work and responsibility appeared happily diminished. All disbursements were henceforth to be made from the Washington headquarters.

The entire work of the preceding four years was summarized by me October 20, 1869, to wit:

One year ago there were on duty in this Bureau one hundred and forty-one (141) commissioned officers, four hundred and twelve (412) civilian agents, and three hundred and forty-eight (348) clerks. At

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

shook and shattered the whole previously existing social system. It broke up the old industries and threatened a reign of anarchy. Even well-disposed and humane land owners were at a loss what to do, or how to begin the work of reorganizing society, and of rebuilding their ruined fortunes. Very few had any knowledge of free labor, or any hope that their former slaves would serve them faithfully for wages. On the other hand, the freed people were in a state of great excitement and uncertainty. They could hardly believe that the liberty proclaimed was real and permanent. Many were afraid to remain on the same soil that they had tilled as slaves, lest by some trick they might find themselves again in bondage. Others supposed that the Government would either take the entire supervision of their labor and support, or divide among them the lands of conquered owners, and furnish them with all that might be necessary to begin life as independent farmers.

In such an unsettled state of affairs it was no ordinary task we undertook, to inspire hostile races with mutual confidence, to supply the immediate wants of the sick and starving, to restore social order, and to set in motion all the wheels of industry. . . .

Surely our Government exercised a large benevolence. We have had under our care no less than five hundred and eighty-four thousand one hundred and seventy-eight (584,178) sick and infirm persons, for whom no provision was made by local authorities, and who had no means themselves of procuring the attendance and comforts necessary to health and life. It has not been possible to provide for the proper treatment of the insane. For some of this unfortunate class admission has been gained by earnest correspondence to

Famine Reliefs

State asylums, but the majority have been of necessity retained in the Bureau hospitals, and all that could be done for them was to supply them with food and clothing and prevent them from doing injury.

For more than a year our principal aim has been to relieve the general Government by transferring to the civil authorities all these dependent classes for future care and treatment. To this end medicines and hospital stores have been furnished as an outfit where State or municipal governments have consented to assume charge of destitute sick and disabled freedmen within their own borders. By means of this aid, and by patient and persistent effort on the part of my officers, the hospitals, at one time numbering fifty-six (56), have been reduced to two (2), and one (1) of these is about to be closed.

In addition to the sick, many others were destitute and required aid. To relieve this destitution without encouraging pauperism and idleness was at all times a difficult problem. . . .

The wonder is not that so many, but that so few, have needed help; that of the four millions of people thrown suddenly upon their own resources only one in about two hundred has been an object of public charity; and nearly all who have received aid have been persons who, by reason of age, infirmity, or disease, would be objects of charity in any State and at any time.

It would have been impossible to reach such satisfactory results, and reduce the issue of supplies to so small proportions had not employment been found for a great multitude of able-bodied men and women, who, when first set free, knew not where to look for remunerative labor. . . .

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

They were uniformly assisted by us in finding good places and in making reasonable bargains. To secure fairness and inspire confidence on both sides, the system of written contracts was adopted. No compulsion was used, but all were advised to enter into written agreements and submit them to an officer of the Bureau for approval. The nature and obligations of these contracts were carefully explained to the freedmen, and a copy filed in the office of the agent approving it; this was for their use in case any difficulty arose between them and their employers. The labor imposed upon my officers and agents by this system was very great, as is evinced by the fact that in a single State not less than fifty thousand (50,000) such contracts were drawn in duplicate and filled up with the names of all the parties. But the result has been highly satisfactory. To the freedman, the Bureau office in this way became a school in which he learned the first practical business lessons of life, and from year to year he has made rapid progress in this important branch of education. Nor can it be doubted that much litigation and strife were prevented. It could not be expected that such a vast and complicated machinery would work without friction. The interests of capital and labor very often clash in all communities. The South has not been entirely exempt from troubles of this kind. Some employers have been dishonest and have attempted to defraud the freedmen of just wages. Some laborers have been unfaithful and unreasonable in their demands. But in the great majority of cases brought before us for settlement, the trouble and misunderstanding have arisen from vague verbal bargains and a want of specific written contracts. . . .

Famine Reliefs

In spite of all disorders that have prevailed and the misfortunes that have fallen upon many parts of the South, a good degree of prosperity and success has already been attained. To the oft-repeated slander that the negroes will not work, and are incapable of taking care of themselves, it is a sufficient answer that their voluntary labor has produced nearly all the food that has supported the whole people, besides a large amount of rice, sugar, and tobacco for export, and two millions of bales of cotton each year, on which was paid into the United States Treasury during the years 1866 and 1867 a tax of more than forty millions of dollars (\$40,000,000). It is not claimed that this result is wholly due to the care and oversight of this Bureau, but it is safe to say, as it has been said repeatedly by intelligent Southern men, that without the Bureau or some similar agency, the material interests of the country would have greatly suffered, and the Government would have lost a far greater amount than has been expended in its maintenance. . . .

Of the nearly eight hundred thousand (800,000) acres of farming land and about five thousand (5,000) pieces of town property transferred to this Bureau by military and Treasury officers, or taken up by my assistant commissioners, enough was leased to produce a revenue of nearly four hundred thousand (\$400,000) dollars. Some farms were set apart in each State as homes for the destitute and helpless, and a portion was cultivated by freedmen prior to its restoration. . . .

In a few instances freedmen have combined their means and purchased farms already under cultivation. They have everywhere manifested a great desire to become land owners, a desire in the highest degree laudable and hopeful for their future civilization.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

Next to a proper religious and intellectual training, the two things needful to the freedmen are land and a home. Without these, high degrees of civilization and moral culture are scarcely possible. So long as he is merely one of a herd working for hire and living on another's domain, he must be dependent and destitute of manly individuality and self-reliance. But the most urgent want of the freedmen was a practical education; and from the first I have devoted more attention to this than to any other branch of my work. . . .

Though no appropriations had in the outset been granted by Congress for this purpose, by using the funds derived from rents of "abandoned property," by fitting up for schoolhouses such Government buildings as were no longer needed for military purposes, by giving transportation for teachers, books, and school furniture, and by granting subsistence, I gave material aid to all engaged in the educational work. With the aim to harmonize the numerous independent school agencies in the field, and to assist all impartially, I appointed a superintendent of schools for each State, who should collect information, encourage the organization of new schools, find homes for teachers, and supervise the whole work. The law of July 16, 1866, sanctioned all that had been previously done, and enlarged my powers. It authorized the lease of buildings for the purposes of education, and the sale of "Confederate States" property to create an educational fund. Appropriations by Congress were also made for the "rental, construction, and repairs of school buildings." This enabled me to give a more permanent character to the schools, and to encourage the establishment of institutions of a higher grade. . . .

Famine Reliefs

In 1869, official reports gave two thousand one hundred and eighteen (2,118) schools, two thousand four hundred and fifty-five (2,455) teachers, and one hundred and fourteen thousand five hundred and twenty-two (114,522) pupils. These figures do not include many evening and private schools which have not been reported. It is believed that not less than two hundred and fifty thousand (250,000) colored adults and children have received considerable instruction during the past year. . . .

Since the freedmen have been invested with all the rights and privileges of free men, and already exert a powerful political influence, it is admitted by all the intelligent and fair-minded people that they must be educated, or they will become the tools of demagogues, and a power for evil rather than good. This necessity has already led to the organization of a system of free schools in some of the reconstructed States. Until this is done in every State, and such public schools are in practical operation, the safety of the country, and especially of the South, will demand the continuance, by some agency, of the additional work now carried on. Not only this, but means should be provided for greatly extending these operations to meet the wants of the whole people. Just at present not more than one tenth of the children of the freedmen are attending school. Their parents are not yet able to defray the expenses of education. They are already doing something, probably more in proportion to their means, than any other class. During the last year it is estimated that they have raised and expended for the construction of schoolhouses and the support of teachers not less than two hundred thousand dollars (\$200,000). They have shown a willingness to help,

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

and as they prosper and acquire property, they will assume a larger share of the burden, either by voluntary contributions or by the payment of taxes for the support of schools.

The poverty of the freed people has been in some slight degree relieved by the payment of bounties and other moneys due from the Government to soldiers, sailors, and marines. These payments have been made through us in accordance with law.

So far as I have had authority and power I have endeavored to protect the freedmen from all kinds of abuse and injustice to which they were exposed in a region for a time destitute of civil government, and among a people bitterly hostile to their emancipation. . . .

In all important cases where the civil courts existed they were first resorted to; but when such courts would not admit the testimony of negroes nor treat them as equals before the law with whites, appeal was made to military tribunals or under the Civil Rights bill to the United States courts. . . .

One assistant commissioner reports three thousand four hundred and five (3,405) cases adjudicated in a single quarter, which, taken as a fair exponent of the business, gives more than one hundred thousand (100,000) complaints heard and acted upon by Bureau officers in a single year. The reports of murders, assaults, and outrages of every description were so numerous, and so full of horrible details, that at times one was inclined to believe the whole white population engaged in a war of extermination against the blacks. But careful investigation has proved that the worst outrages were generally committed by small bands of lawless men, organized under various names, whose

Famine Reliefs

principal objects were robbery and plunder. There was no civil government with strength enough to arrest them, and they overawed and held in terror the more quiet citizens who were disposed to treat the freedmen with fairness and humanity. But for the presence of Bureau officers, sustained by a military force, there would have been no one to whom these victims of cruelty and wrong could have appealed for defense. And the evils remedied have probably been far less than the evils prevented. No one can tell what scenes of violence and strife and insurrection the whole South might have presented without the presence of this agency of the Government to preserve order and to enforce justice. Several officers and agents have been severely wounded, and some have lost their lives in this service. Fallen in the faithful discharge of duty, in brave defense of right, in heroic protection of the weak and poor, their names deserve a place on their country's "Roll of Fame."

Notice the appropriations by Congress:

For the year ending July 1, 1867.....	\$6,940,450.00
For the year ending July 1, 1868.....	3,836,300.00
For relief of destitute citizens in the District of Columbia..	• 40,000.00
For relief of destitute freedmen in the same.....	15,000.00
For expenses of paying bounties in 1869.....	214,000.00
For expenses for famine in Southern States and transportation.....	1,865,645.40
For the support of hospitals.....	50,000.00
Making a total, received from all sources, of.....	<u>\$12,961,395.40</u>

Our expenditures from the beginning (including assumed accounts of the "Department of Negro Affairs"), from January 1, 1865, to August 31, 1869, have been eleven million two hundred and forty-nine thousand and twenty-eight dollars and ten cents (\$11,249,028.10). In addition to this cash expenditure the subsistence, medical supplies, quartermaster stores,

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

issued to refugees and freedmen prior to July 1, 1866, were furnished by the commissary, medical, and quartermaster's department, and accounted for in the current expenses of those departments; they were not charged to nor paid for by my officers. They amounted to two million three hundred and thirty thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight dollars and seventy-two cents (\$2,330,788.72) in original cost; but a large portion of these stores being damaged and condemned as unfit for issue to troops, their real value to the Government was probably less than one million of dollars (\$1,000,000). Adding their original cost to the amount expended from appropriations and other sources, the total expenses of our Government for refugees and freedmen to August 31, 1869, have been thirteen millions five hundred and seventy-nine thousand eight hundred and sixteen dollars and eighty-two cents (\$13,579,816.82). And deducting fifty thousand dollars (\$50,000) which Congress transferred to the Agricultural Department, and five hundred thousand dollars (\$500,000) set apart as a special relief fund for all classes of destitute people in the Southern States, the real cost has been thirteen millions twenty-nine thousand eight hundred and sixteen dollars and eighty-two cents (\$13,029,816.82). . . .

It was obvious that the payment of bounties and other moneys due colored soldiers must be continued by some agency until all should have a reasonable time to present their claims. National honor forbade that the task should be left incomplete, and an Act of Congress was required to transfer this important work to some other department when our divisions should be entirely closed. I so recommended.

I added: the Educational Division should not only

Famine Reliefs

be continued but greatly extended. If the State governments are not prepared nor willing to provide for the education of all classes (as I hope they will soon do), I recommend that the general Government take the matter in hand. "The safety of the Republic is the supreme law." There can be no safety nor permanent peace where ignorance reigns. The law of self-preservation will justify the national legislature in establishing through the Bureau of Education, or some other agency, a general system of free schools, and furnish to all children of a suitable age such instruction in the rudiments of learning as may be necessary to fit them to discharge intelligently the duties of free American citizens.

The foregoing comments and summary upon what was undertaken and accomplished, which were made forty years ago, are, I believe, of special interest to-day. Problems touching labor are always recurring.

CHAPTER LVII

THE KU-KLUX KLAN

AFTER Congress had overthrown President Johnson's plan and had completed the formal reconstruction of the insurrectionary States according to its own views, the political disabilities of the late Confederates deprived them of suffrage and placed the political control of these States in a new party, composed of Southern Union men, Northern men who at the end of the war settled in the South, and the negroes.

Politicians of the Republican Party hoped through this combination to keep the Southern States Republican on national issues and secure the rights of complete citizenship to the new voters.

The negroes were generally very ignorant and not wisely led, and even if they had been the wisest of rulers the opposition of the whites to being ruled by their late slaves would have been naturally very fierce.

The opposition, as yet powerless at the polls, was greatly strengthened by the course, hostile to Congress, which President Johnson had pursued, and early in 1868 began to show itself in the operations here and there of certain secret organizations. The primary object of these associations was undoubtedly political, in some places avowed to be in opposition to the Union Leagues, that favored strong national control in the South, leagues which not only took form in Northern

The Ku-Klux Klan

cities but also had prototypes in the South among the Unionists and negroes.

The ex-Confederate General Forrest even claimed for the former a "benevolent and defensive" purpose. The benevolence was to be mutual aid; the defensive, ostensibly to prevent Union leagues, composed mostly of negroes, from disturbing the peace. Whatever the origin of the associations, when full grown they became a monster terrible beyond question. The oath of perpetual secrecy with the penalty of death attached to its violation, of implicit obedience to a chief or chiefs, the guarding of secrets by the obligation to slay a betrayer, and the oath of every chief to obey without hesitation the orders of some "inner circle," constituted societies which in some parts of the South came to rival the Nihilistic assassins of Russia or the inner chamber of the old Spanish Inquisition. From the numerous cases of murder and outrage perpetrated upon negroes and those who befriended them during the days of reconstruction, which were reported to my officers and were by them recorded with the different circumstances attending them, it is now clear that the main object from first to last was somehow to regain and maintain over the negro that ascendancy which slavery gave, and which was being lost by emancipation, education, and suffrage.

The opposition to negro education made itself felt everywhere in a combination not to allow the freedmen any room or building in which a school might be taught. In 1865, 1866, and 1867 mobs of the baser classes at intervals and in all parts of the South occasionally burned school buildings and churches used as schools, flogged teachers or drove them away, and in a number of instances murdered them. But the better

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

portion of the communities had not been engaged in these acts, and there was no evidence that respectable Confederate soldiers were involved in these enterprises.

Our work of establishing schools went steadily on. Early in 1868, however, was the first appearance in my Bureau school reports of an offensive secret organization. It was from Charlestown, W. Va. Our workers received a note from the "Ku-Klux Klan." Not a white family there after that could be found willing to board the excellent lady teachers. At Frostburg a male teacher was threatened with violence, the Klan having sent him notes, ordering him to depart. Loyal West Virginians, however, stood by him and he did not go. In Maryland, also, one teacher was warned and forced to leave. The Klan signed their rough document which was placed in his hand, "Ku-Klux Klan." The face of the envelope was covered with scrawls; among these were the words: "Death! Death!" By a similar method a teacher at Hawkinsville, Ga. (a colored man), was dealt with by menace and afterwards seriously wounded. The Georgia superintendent wrote that for the last three months, April, May, and June, 1868, there had been more bitterness exhibited toward all men engaged in the work of education than ever before; and there were few but had received threats, both anonymous and open. Several freedmen had abandoned their fields from fear.

The cry from Alabama was even more alarming. People from a distance could not comprehend the feeling; schoolhouses were burned, and those left standing were in danger; teachers were hated and maltreated, two being driven from their work. "The

The Ku-Klux Klan

truth is," they cried, "we are in the midst of a reign of terror."

But Louisiana exceeded; Miss Jordan's school at Gretna was entered by ruffians; the walls of her room were covered with obscene pictures and language, and threats against the teacher posted; she was insulted on the ferry and in the streets, and even annoyed in such a small way as to be required to pay twice as much ferriage as the teachers in the white schools. In Markville, the Ku-Klux Klan made more open demonstrations, but always by night. They posted their documents around the town, so terrifying the colored people that they did not dare leave their homes after dark. The night schools had to be closed. At Mary and Sabine parish; at Cherryville and Rapides parish; at Washington and Opelousas; at St. Landry parish, and elsewhere in a similar way by visitations and threats the schools were shut up and the teachers driven off.

In Texas, both at Georgetown and Circleville, the schools were similarly closed out; at the latter place the school edifice was burned to the ground.

Mrs. Baldwin, the teacher at Bowling Green, Ky., was a Christian lady of agreeable manners and unusual culture, but not one of the twenty-seven loyal families of the place dared incur the odium of giving her a home. The Regulators had made themselves felt; men, professing to be gentlemen, insulted her upon the streets. Vile books and pictures were sent to her by mail; and, as a last resort, she was threatened with assassination if she was found in the city at the expiration of five days. Many other schools had to be maintained under military guard; five school buildings in Kentucky were burned about that time.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

Of course such conduct, bad as it seemed for the community, could not properly be charged to any of the people beyond those who were guilty of the barbarous acts, or those who, in their blindness of prejudice, sustained them. It became evident in studying the letters and communications which reached me, usually cautiously written, so as not to anger the whites around them if they should happen to be published, that in the early summer of 1868, the former irregular and local hostility to freedmen's schools had taken on a new strength. It involved in its meshes Unionists and well-to-do industrious negroes, as well as teachers and scholars. Further examples will illustrate the procedure: On May 16th, L. S. Frost, a white teacher in Tennessee, was taken at night from his room by a mob of disguised young men and carried to a field near by, men choking and beating him all the way; they were flourishing their pistols over his head, and threatening to kill him instantly if he did not cease resisting. They made him promise to leave town the next morning. They then blackened his face and portions of his body with a composition of spirits of turpentine, lampblack, and tar, and released him. About a dozen persons were engaged in the outrage, some of whom were recognized by Mr. Frost.

John Dunlap, a teacher educated in Ohio, was in July, 1868, in charge of a colored school at Shelbyville, Tenn. On Independence Day, about ten o'clock at night, a body of Ku-Klux, some fifty strong, masked, armed with pistols and bearing an emblem resembling the bleeding heart of a man, were paraded in front of his house. When he presented himself, they gave him commands which he resisted. They fired through his window, made him surrender his pistol, caused him to

The Ku-Klux Klan

mount, and escorted him to the public square. Then they seized and secured a prominent colored man, James Franklin. Proceeding with the regularity of soldiers, a captain commanding, they marched their victims across the Duck River, where, dismounting, with something like a leathern thong or strap they first flogged Franklin, each man giving him five blows. After that, taking Dunlap to another place, with the same parade, they performed the same operation, badly lacerating his body. After directing him to leave the city the next day, they released him. Dunlap not at once complying with their demand, they served upon him a formal notice, sent in the form of an unstamped letter through the post office, ordering him to leave by July 15th, or he would be burned to death. Dunlap thereupon went to Nashville and remained two months. Then he came back. He was visited again after his return, but was now prepared with a guard. While the Ku-Klux were hallooing that they "wanted Dunlap and fried meat" and were approaching his residence, the guard fired upon them. The band retreated and did not appear in Shelbyville again.

A school building was burned at Carthage, Tenn., by incendiaries; and at Somerville, Saulsbury, Pocahontas, and in numerous other country places the schools were completely broken up by insults and shameful outrages perpetrated upon the teachers.

The outcropping of cruelties in portions of Louisiana showed by the persons who were chosen as victims that the effort of the secret organization was particularly political. On July 28, 1868, William Cooper, a white Unionist, came to our agent in the parish of Franklin. He was severely wounded, having been shot in his own house near Girard Station; a freedman

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

named Prince was killed in the same parish, and all the teachers were so terrified by such demonstrations as to stop teaching.

In the preceding April a good teacher, Frank Sinclair, had been slain in Ouachita, and other helpers there were so put in jeopardy of their lives that they could only teach secretly in the cabins.

At many points in the State were these "bands of desperadoes formed in secret organization, styling themselves the Ku-Klux Klan." They shot and hung colored men. Their lifeless bodies were found, but the secrets were so well kept that no guilty parties could be discovered. In some places negroes were taken out and whipped (as a rule by night) and there was no clew to the perpetrators. Even United States agents dared not hold a public meeting in that region—a gathering at night of negroes at any place would be regarded with suspicion by the whites and result in outrage and suffering to the blacks.

The aspect of society in Arkansas in the summer and fall of 1868 presented similar combined secret planning and movement. Lawlessness, rowdyism, and depredations in some parts of the State for a while ran riot. Union men were driven from their homes and freedmen subjected to the grossest maltreatment. In Crittenden county, Mr. E. G. Barker, our Bureau agent, was shot and severely wounded, August 12, 1868. An attempt to assassinate him at Hamburg, Ashley county, two years before had failed to end his life, but the wounds received had caused him the loss of an arm.

The secret bodies had different names in different localities. They appeared as "Regulators," "White Caps," "Pale Faces," "Knights of the White Ca-

The Ku-Klux Klan

mellia," and "Ku-Klux" or "Ku-Klux Klan." General Forrest testified before the Congressional Committee that his estimate of their numbers in Tennessee alone exceeded 40,000.

The latter part of the year 1868, before the election of General Grant for his first term, these murderous secret societies reached their greatest activity. Even the country hamlets in the neighborhood of Chattanooga, which city always after the war abounded in Union men and late Union soldiers, were boldly visited by this strange horde. They came upon one commodious schoolhouse in the country and burned it to the ground; but the persistent teacher, a colored youth, though threatened by the Ku-Klux Klan with violence and death if he did not yield to their commands, made himself a brush arbor and there continued his school to the end of the term. Before the November election (the freedmen's first national suffrage) the Ku-Klux, armed and masked as usual, at night paraded the streets of several cities, and filled the freedmen with terror. Similar detachments boldly roamed over large districts of country outside of the cities.

At Rock Spring, Ky., the Ku-Klux, estimated fifty strong, came at ten o'clock at night, seized the teacher, James Davis, a native of the place, an able and respected colored man, and ordered him to leave the country. His fine school building was reduced to ashes.

On October 21, 1868, a host of these "Regulators" set upon a negro assembly at Cadiz, which a Bureau messenger, Mr. P. S. Reeves, was visiting and addressing. The Regulators stoned the building and dispersed the negroes. Some of the rush shouted after Mr. Reeves: "Kill the scalawag!" "Shoot the Yan-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

kee!" This was done while he was finding his way to the hotel. He halted and faced them. They then "surrounded him, thrust their pistols into his face, beat him, kicked him," and after abusing him for a while ordered him to run for his life. This time, by what he called a quick walk, he reached the hotel. A larger mob surrounded the public house and could only be appeased by his promise to leave town the next morning.

After the election, for a time, the excessive wrath abated. From my point of observation, the two months of 1868 that followed the Presidential election and the first six in the next year, 1869, were quite free from the Ku-Klux raids.

During the last half of 1869, however, there was a quickening of the secret pulse. In the northern part of Alabama, along the border between Alabama and Tennessee, now and then there was "trouble between the races." "But," said our representative, "this is attributed to incursions of Ku-Klux coming from Tennessee where, in remote localities, the organization is kept up for political effect, rather than for the bitter strife of former years." But Tennessee herself was at this time comparatively clear of any active operations of the Ku-Klux Klan. From Kentucky, however, a teacher who had a remarkably good school about ten miles from Bowling Green wrote: "The Ku-Klux Klan came one night and told me if I did not break up my school they would kill me." The teacher obeyed. He reported that the white people said that this action by the Ku-Klux was had because "the niggers there were getting too smart."

North Carolina, that had made such good progress in every way under our systematic work, began in

The Ku-Klux Klan

some of its counties to be infested during the latter half of 1869. "There was for a time a suspension of schools in a number of districts." Our inspector wrote that it was "owing to the influence of certain lawless bands." Teachers became frightened, and, under the threats of violence printed on placards and put upon doors and fence posts, it was deemed best to obey the dread-inspiring foes that, many or few, were magnified by excited imaginations into multitudes. The marauders went in bands, always masked, usually in small squads, each squad having from five to ten in number. One of our best North Carolina workers near the close of this bitter year, 1869, had in his communication from his district, consisting of Rowan, Iredell, Davie, and Yadkin counties, these sad words: "Our situation is now more painful than it has ever been since we took up this notable cause of the freedmen. I mind my own business as closely as I can, but know no safety of life or property."

South Carolina showed some eruptions of the same nature as late as December 24, 1869. A gentleman of good standing was building a large school structure at Newberry, S. C., for the education of the children of the freed people. He was visited by armed men and driven from the hotel where he was boarding, and a young lady teacher at the same place, sent by the Methodists from Vermont, was subjected to the meanest sort of insults and persecutions.

Georgia, too, in this time of comparative quiet, furnished some instances of the action of the secret bands. In about half of the State "Ku-Klux Klans," armed, disguised, roaming through country districts, committed their atrocious outrages. The teacher, R. H. Gladding, was by them driven from Greensboro. The

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

gentleman who boarded him, because he had harbored him, was taken from his house at night and unmercifully scourged. Abram Colby (colored) about this time being a member elect of the legislature, was beaten nearly to death. At Maxey's Station, Oglethorpe county, P. H. Gillen, a white man, was dealt with in the same way and forced to leave. My agent thus witnessed: "I have also found outrages of a similar character committed in this month (December, 1869) in the southern part of the State. These murders and outrages are committed by organized gangs, generally in the night, and the civil authorities seem to be unable to prevent them."

Texas, at this period, presented a better field. Order had generally been secured, yet Major McCleery, our State superintendent of education, while extending and inspecting his schools, had to say: "Sometimes we were driven out of places on our mission becoming known. Frequently we had to do our business in secret and travel in disguise." His clerk was twice ambushed by the Regulators and fired upon, and his messenger several times assaulted for serving "the Yankee." Threatening letters were sent, bricks were thrown through the windows, dead cats were dropped into cisterns, and other such petty annoyances frequently took place to worry him. Yet with the courage and perseverance of a hero, he kept on, and "planted many flourishing schools." The pros and cons of Texas society were shown at Gonzales. A Hungarian teacher of good ability and character was set upon by a small night detachment of six of these Regulators, well disguised and armed with revolvers. They beat him, they took him to the river and immersed him, with threats of drowning. The postmaster, a truly brave

The Ku-Klux Klan

Southern man, successfully came to his relief, and the white citizens of Gonzales assembled and passed resolutions against the outrage, and promised the utmost aid and support to the town officers for the discovery, apprehension, and punishment of the offenders. Such affairs, thus ending, became stepping-stones to progress.

Tennessee in its middle and western sections was the leader in this Ku-Klux business. The most heinous crimes occurred just before an election. Gradually the friends of order and good government in those very much disturbed sections came to the front and were outspoken in their condemnation of the whippings, lynchings, and assassinations, and all such infamous secret proceedings; so that even when the Regulators were for a time apparently very strong, reaction in the best Southern circles had set in against them before the close of 1869.

During 1870, there were few localities which were kept in ferment by these unscrupulous secret organizations. By procuring the support of good citizens all over the South and, when necessary, action by the army to arrest outlaws, our schools whenever temporarily closed were soon reopened and steady progress made.

Colonel Beecher, in his June report from Alabama, spoke of bad feeling in a few counties. There were threats to burn school structures, but by vigilance the dreaded calamity was everywhere prevented. But in northwestern Louisiana there was still trouble enough. McCleery, the superintendent from Texas, and those aiding him, had many narrow escapes. While traveling on duty through Winn parish, a band like those so often described waylaid him and drove him to refuge in a swamp, where, by staying all night and making a

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

twenty-five-mile detour, he managed to escape from their clutches. The negroes, he said, never recovered from the election murders of 1868. His accounts, in keeping with that of a Louisiana State committee, showed that there had been in nine parishes two hundred and twenty-seven (227) freedmen and Union white men (freedmen mostly) killed outright, and sixty-eight (68) wounded by gun shots or maltreated; that is, this was the number officially discovered and sworn to, but there were very many who had disappeared whose fate was not known. McCleery added: "All this has had a terrible effect on these (colored) people, unnerving and discouraging them in all respects."

The masked outlaws had spread terror from Winn county to the Texas border; they had burned the courthouse and records of Winn, and stopped the courts; they promised to kill our agent there if he opened a school, and the teacher sent thither was never heard from again, probably drowned in the bayou.

Lieutenant Butts, of the army, who was murdered by the same masked band about election time, had been buried near where he fell. McCleery could get no aid to move his body eight months after the event, so cowed were the citizens, white and black, by the terror that the Ku-Klux had inspired.

July 11, 1870, is the date memorable at Cross Plains, Ala., for a later specimen of Ku-Klux raid. It is the one that Senator Wilson recorded in his "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power," "Tony Cliff, Berry Harris, Cæsar Frederick, and William Hall," colored men, and the "white schoolmaster, William C. Luke," all for some insignificant charge, raised against them, were in the hands of civil authorities; they were taken from them by force and murdered by a detachment of the

The Ku-Klux Klan

Ku-Klux Klan. Though nobody was indicted by the grand jury in this case, yet the stir and opprobrium of this dastardly crime, like that in the case of the colored Baptist preacher, Elias Hill, who had been dreadfully abused and scourged in the Carolinas, made themselves so widely felt, that the organized outlawry became less apparent from that time on.

However, there were some disturbances, accompanied by crime in places, as in three counties of Mississippi, the accounts of which came to my headquarters during the spring of 1871. The school, six miles east of Okolona, was closed by order of the Ku-Klux outlaws. The information was sent us on April 5th. All schools in Monroe county, over sixty in number, were also ordered to be closed by the same authority. Notices were served upon Northern men to leave the State. The schoolhouse at Meridian was burned. It was built by the Government.

Reports came in of Warren Tyler, foully murdered at Meridian; of Aaron Moore banished and his house destroyed; of Mayor Sturgis driven from Meridian; of the father of Wesley Lee, pursued and finally assassinated; of teachers (April 21st) at Rouses Mills, Monroe county, and at Aberdeen, driven off from their schools by the Ku-Klux; of a colored man named Durham slain April 23d; of Tom Hornburger, a freedman, literally shot to pieces April 24th; the same night a schoolhouse burned, where a colored girl was teaching; of a postmaster at Aberdeen, a Southern Republican, ordered to change his politics; at Athens, Mississippi, of Alex Page, colored, (March 29) taken out of his house and hanged; near Hood's Church, of another freedman shot and killed, about twelve miles from a station of some of our troops.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

A Ku-Klux letter of notification ran: "We can inform you that we are the law itself, and that an order from these headquarters is supreme above all others."

I closed an itemized account in a letter to the Secretary of War in these words: "I therefore report them to enable you or the President to act officially, hoping that you may be able to cleanse at least three counties, Monroe, Lowndes, and Noxubee, and that part of Lauderdale especially infested by the outlaws, in the way that your extensive war experience has taught you."

Reviewing the operations of those secret, unscrupulous organizations popularly known as "Ku-Klux Klans," in connection with the freedmen's education, after an interval of forty years, my conclusions are as expressed in the following language:

"The operations of the Ku-Klux Klan were directed principally against the negroes, and those who were supposed to especially lend them countenance, by murders, whippings, and other acts of violence, to inspire them with such terror as to render unavailable their newly conferred political privileges."

But the hostility to education was rather incidental than otherwise. The grand object of the "Solid South," so called, was to prevent what was denominated "negro domination." The secret societies turned their machinery against Union Southerners to silence or convert them; against "carpet baggers" (which included the Northern teachers of colored schools) to banish them; and against all negroes to so intimidate and terrorize them that they would not dare to vote except as their new masters directed. All my officers and agents were naturally involved in the dangers and sufferings of their wards.

The Ku-Klux Klan

After Grant became President, United States military action against the Ku-Klux was very prompt and had much to do with causing the cessation of their outrages. But the end sought by those cruel associations had been obtained, first by their action and later by the counting of the ballots against the blacks. Negro voting, negro office holding, and negro domination were put under an effectual ban. But in spite of all the cruelties and hindrances the education of the freedmen has been rapidly developed and steadily advanced, till all the States have a reasonably good basis for free schools and the foundation of a system of universal education.

CHAPTER LVIII

BEGINNING OF HOWARD UNIVERSITY

IN my earlier interviews with Mr. Stanton in May, 1865, I claimed that the education of the freedmen's children, and of adults, as far as practicable, was *the true relief*.

"Relief from what?" asked Stanton, glancing toward me over his colored glasses.

"Relief from beggary and dependence," I replied.

I had the same opinion with reference to our numerous "white refugees" of the South, though it was believed that they would naturally be incorporated in ordinary schools there without such prejudice to their interests as existed against the negro population.

Very soon all my assistants agreed with me that it would not be long before we must have *negro teachers*, if we hoped to secure a permanent foothold for our schools. This conclusion had become plain from the glimpses already given into Southern society. Naturally enough, the most Christian of the Southern people would prefer to have white teachers from among themselves. Feeling a sympathy for this seeming home prejudice, quite early in 1866, I tried the experiment in one State, in coöperation with the Episcopal Bishop of that State, to put over our school children Southern white teachers, male and female, but the bishop and I found that their faith in negro education

Beginning of Howard University

was too small, and their ignorance of practical teaching too great, to admit of any reasonable degree of success. After trial and failure it was given up. But faith and enthusiasm combined to give the negro teachers a marvelous progress. Of course, in the outset there were few negroes in the United States who were properly fitted to teach. The most who had a smattering of learning could not speak the English language with a reasonable correctness. It was then a plain necessity to have schools which could prepare teachers. My own sentiment often found vent when I was visited by men of opposite convictions—the one set saying that *no* high schools or colleges were wanted for the freedmen, and the other declaring their immediate and pressing necessity. My own thought favored the latter, but not with haste. It was given in this form: “You cannot keep up the lower grades unless you have the higher.” Academies and colleges, universities and normal schools, had long been a necessity in all sections where the free schools had been continuously sustained.

A brief experience showed us that the negro people were capable of education, with no limit that men could set to their capacity. What white men could learn or had learned, they, or some of them, could learn. There was one school diagonally across the street from my headquarters, named the Wayland Seminary. The pupils were from fourteen to twenty years of age. It was taught in 1866 by a lady, who, herself, was not only a fine scholar, but a thoroughly trained teacher. One day the Hon. Kenneth Raynor, of North Carolina, whom I had long known and valued as a personal friend, came to my room to labor with me and show me how unwise were some of my ideas.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

He said in substance about this educating the freedmen:

“General Howard, do you not know that you are educating the colored youth above their business? You will only destroy them. Those young girls, for example; they will be too proud or vain to work, and the consequence will be that they will go to dance houses and other places of improper resort.”

“Why, my friend,” I replied, “do you really think that? I am astonished! That is not the way education affects the Yankee girls. Come with me to the Wayland school, across the street.”

We went together to the large school building and entered the commodious room where the school was just commencing its morning exercises. After extending a pleasant welcome, the teacher gave us seats well back, where we could see the blackboards, which were near her desk, and the open school organ at her left, ready for use. She first sent up two nice-looking girls, of about fifteen years, to the instrument. One played, and the other, like a precentor, led the school in singing. There was evident culture in the singing and playing, and none of the melody was wanting. My friend's eyes moistened; but he whispered: “They always could sing!”

Next, we had a class of reading. It was grateful to cultured ears to have sentences well read and words correctly pronounced. Spelling and defining followed, with very few mistakes. The recitations at the blackboard in arithmetic that next came on were remarkable. To test the pupils beyond their text, I went forward and placed some hard problems there. With readiness and intelligence they were solved. The politeness and bearing of these young people to one another, to the

Beginning of Howard University

teacher, and to us, struck my good friend with astonishment. Such a school, even of whites, so orderly, so well trained, and so accomplished, Mr. Raynor had seldom seen. As we returned across the street, arm in arm, he said to me: "General, you have converted me!" This fine seminary was tantamount to a normal school. It was preparing many excellent teachers for their subsequent work.

Miss M. R. Mann, a niece of the Hon. Horace Mann, through the aid of Massachusetts friends, had a handsome school building constructed in Washington, D. C., and it had the best possible appliances furnished—all for her own use. She charged tuition, except for those whose purpose was avowed to become teachers. She commenced at the foundation of instruction, and led her pupils step by step on and up, class by class, as high as she could conveniently take them. She began the enterprise in December, 1865. Pupils of different ages were admitted, so that teachers, still in embryo, might learn by experiment. It became before long the model school of the District of Columbia. The neatness and order, the elegant rooms for reciting, and the high grade of Miss Mann's classes in recitations always attracted and surprised visitors. From this school, also, several teachers graduated and proved themselves able and worthy in their subsequent successful career.

There were various other schools, as we know, in the United States which had been long in existence, preparing colored teachers, physicians, ministers, lawyers, and others for the coming needs of the new citizens—notably Oberlin College; Wilberforce University, of Xenia, O.; Berea Academy, Ky.; The Theological Institute (Baptist) at Washington, D. C., and Ash-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

mun Institute at Oxford, Pa. The institute also for colored youth in Philadelphia, founded in 1837 by the bequest of a Friend, Richard Humphreys, was designed to teach agriculture and mechanical arts, and prepare teachers for their profession. By other gifts, and by the help of benevolent and friendly associations, this institute had come, in 1866, to have a capacity for three hundred (300) pupils; it was fairly endowed and doing well, giving excellent results. Its teachers were all colored persons. It had that year 48 graduates, 31 of whom became teachers. Still, notwithstanding these sources of supply, the need for more teachers was constant, and if any general system of free schools should be adopted, the demand would be a hundred times beyond the possibility of meeting it by competent instructors.

As the work of carrying forward the schools developed, the old negro clergymen of every name became inadequate for the religious instruction of the more enlightened people. Many ministers felt themselves to be unlearned, and so sought such knowledge of books as they could get. Negro pharmacists and other medical men were soon required, and contentions with white men in the courts demanded friendly advocates at law.

Under the evident and growing necessity for higher education, in 1866 and 1867, a beginning was made. Various good schools of a collegiate grade were started in the South, and normal classes were about this time added, as at Hampton, Charleston, Atlanta, Macon, Savannah, Memphis, Louisville, Mobile, Talladega, Nashville, New Orleans, and elsewhere.

In every way, as commissioner, I now encouraged the higher education, concerning which there was so

Beginning of Howard University

much interest, endeavoring to adhere to my principle of Government aid in dealing with the benevolent associations. These, by 1867, had broken away from a common union, and were again pushing forward their denominational enterprises, but certainly, under the Bureau's supervision, nowhere did they hurtfully interfere with one another.

Each denomination desired to have, here and there, a college of its own. Such institutions the founders and patrons were eager to make different from the simple primary or grammar schools; these, it was hoped and believed, would be eventually absorbed in each State in a great free school system. The educators naturally wished to put a moral and Christian stamp upon their students, especially upon those who would become instructors of colored youth. My own strong wish was ever to lay permanent substructures and build thereon as rapidly as possible, in order to give as many good teachers, professional men, and leaders to the rising generation of freedmen as we could, during the few years of Governmental control.

One of the institutions for the higher education of the negro which has maintained ample proportions and also bears my own name, warrants me in giving somewhat in detail its origin and my connection with it.

The latter part of 1866, a few gentlemen, at the instance of Rev. F. B. Morris, who held an important Governmental office at the capital, and was a benevolent and scholarly man, came together at the house of Mr. A. Brewster, on K Street, Washington.

There had been two or three of such informal meetings, consisting mainly of residents of Washington, when Senators Wilson and Pomeroy, B. C. Cook, Member of the House, and myself were invited to this re-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

spectable self-constituted council, November 20, 1866. Nearly all of the dozen or more gentlemen who were present, and among them Rev. Dr. C. B. Boynton, the pastor of the Congregational Church of the city, were Congregationalists. A preliminary organization was already in existence. The subject under discussion for this time was a place for a theological school for the colored preachers and those who were to become such, that their teachings should be of value. Mr. H. D. Nichols moved that the new institution be entitled "Howard Theological Seminary." That name was adopted. Mr. Morris and some others were in the outset in favor of connecting with the seminary some industrial features; and, to show my good will, I made the same offer, being authorized by the law, that I had been making to other educational associations, that if they would furnish a proper lot, I would cause to be erected thereon, by the Bureau, a suitable building. I believed it wiser not to use my name, but it was remarked sportively "there are other Howards."

At a meeting December 4, 1866, there was in ideas and proposals considerable progress manifested. At first, I had desired delay, thinking that the time was hardly ripe for a large institution at the capital; but, seeing the enthusiasm and fixed purpose of this body of some fourteen gentlemen, a few of whom I now observed were Presbyterians and two or three of other persuasions, I participated in their discussions. "Howard Normal and Theological Institute for the Education of Teachers and Preachers," was the new title adopted.

On January 8, 1867, at another gathering, Dr. Boynton was elected the president of the preliminary board. At this session my brother, General C. H.

Beginning of Howard University

Howard, then assistant commissioner of the district and vicinity, moved a committee to plan a law department—a medical department having already been favorably canvassed. Thus, little by little, the idea of a university grew upon the preliminary board, the project of an institution which should have many separate departments acting together under one board of trustees. At this January sitting, an important committee was named to obtain a charter. It consisted of Senators Wilson and Pomeroy and Hon. B. C. Cook; and in anticipation of funds, General George W. Balloch was elected treasurer of the university. The institution had already stepped up into the dignity of another name, to wit: "Howard University." I had, during the discussion, continued to oppose that name, not only from modesty, but from my feeling that I could do more privately and officially for an enterprise that did not bear my own name; I did not wish to be suspected and accused of raising a monument to myself. But the universal voice was against me; in fact, the naming did little harm, for it was not long before the name, even in a public address to the students, was imputed by a distinguished English divine to John Howard, the philanthropist. The charter was easily obtained, having seventeen charter members. The incorporation title was: "An Act to incorporate the Howard University in the District of Columbia." It was approved by the President of the United States March 2, 1867.

The enactment required a board of trustees of not less than thirteen members to be chosen by the incorporators.

The scope of the university, in keeping with my own plan for that institution, is indicated in the charter: to consist of six designated departments and such

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

others as the trustees may establish—first, normal; second, collegiate; third, theological; fourth, law; fifth, medicine; sixth, agriculture. Under this charter, Howard University was set in motion.

General Whittlesey and I were very soon appointed a committee to look up a site. We had visited various parts of the District of Columbia without being able to get an option for our purpose, when, one day, we were standing near the place where the largest structure of Howard University now is. Whittlesey had been there before and liked the site. It was now evident to us both that we could not find a more appropriate place. The outlook, taking in the city of Washington, the monument, the Capitol, the White House, and other public buildings, and a grand expanse besides, including miles of the Potomac, could not be better. To locate good structures there would make weight for the manhood of those whom we especially purposed to benefit by a university education.

Together we went to the house of the owner of the estate, Mr. John A. Smith; it was situated just beyond the present location of the President's house. The cottage was almost hidden by a small grove of trees. We found Mr. Smith, with his wife and two or three members of his family. As we sat together, I tried to get Mr. Smith to promise a third of his farm. He claimed to have 150 acres. Some time before this the Bureau had purchased a small lot nearer the city of this Mr. Smith, with an old dance house on it, to use it for educational purposes, and had rented the same to the trustees for the first university school. It would unify the proposed departments if we could now make a favorable bargain with Mr. Smith. But he insisted on selling the whole at one thousand dollars (\$1,000) per

Beginning of Howard University

acre, or none at all. General Whittlesey was of the opinion that in a few years' time enough of such a property could be sold to pay Mr. Smith's price, and still leave us a reasonable portion as a reserve for our use. I, too, felt sure of it. Suddenly, I said: "Mr. Smith, what terms will you give us on the whole tract?"

He answered: "One third down and the balance in one and two years."

"All right," I answered, "we will take the land provided you give us a clear title."

His wife turned pale at the suddenness of the bargain, and there was evident excitement in all the company present. After we had left the house, General Whittlesey, who was a good business man, remarked with a smile: "Well, general, if the trustees do not sustain us in this purchase, we can handle it without them."

We were sustained by our board, though the question of money troubled them. Time was gained by finding that there were several incumbrances which required negotiation and settlement. At last, Mr. Smith deducted on this account two thousand dollars (\$2,000) and the settled price became one hundred and forty-seven thousand five hundred dollars (\$147,500). General Whittlesey and Mr. R. M. Hall were constituted our land agents with power to advertise and convey. The trustees authorized them to make surveys and maps, and instructed them to sell all the lots over and above the University Reservation.

Later, in his report to our board, which unkind criticism had drawn out, Whittlesey made several interesting statements; for instance he wrote: "When appointed the agent of the board the task was set

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

before me of solving the financial problem of making one half or two thirds of the land purchased pay for the whole. This I have done. My success has been a happy surprise to myself. My work is open to fair criticism, but I am not willing to be subjected to unjust censure." He just then demurred at the yoke of extraordinary surveillance that was sought to be imposed upon him, and he asked them to find another agent in whom they could repose ordinary confidence exercised among business men.

In the same paper, Whittlesey said: "The truth is, the board of trustees have had very little to do with the purchase of this property. They did not encourage it. Several members expressed opposition to the whole project.

"The work was done by General Howard and by me, acting under his authority. The entire responsibility was thrown upon us. Had it been a failure, we should have borne the disgrace, and the board would have declared itself free from all blame. It has not failed, and every person in the land, who has at heart the welfare of the university and the good of those for whom it is designed, must rejoice."

How to meet the primary payment was my first problem. Some gifts had come to our university treasury, but they were not enough. The university treasurer showed that the first amount to be paid to Mr. Smith was twenty thousand dollars (\$20,000). To meet that and other expenses in starting this enterprise, there was in the hands of the Bureau disbursing officer a residue of "the refugees and freedmen's fund." And as I had the authority of law in the Appropriation Act for March 2, 1867, to use it at my discretion for education, after reflection, I resolved to

Beginning of Howard University

transfer thirty thousand dollars (\$30,000) to the Howard University treasury, and did so by a carefully drawn order dated April 15, 1867. The university treasurer, being duly authorized by the trustees, receipted for the same. Thus the treasurer now had ample means to meet the first payment.

July 2d of this same year the executive committee of Howard University wrote to the board: "The number of lots sold is 245, and their average value, as estimated by Mr. R. M. Hall, their agent, is six hundred dollars (\$600) each, and the total value one hundred and forty-seven thousand dollars (\$147,000)," so that the university treasury was fairly well supplied, as the deferred payments from lots, from time to time, came in.

Able instructors, meanwhile, were selected. A normal department and a preparatory to fit young men and women for teachers and for college courses were well under way before the end of the year. More than 100 pupils were enrolled, and a small college class formed. Theological lectures and careful teaching were given to an assembly of colored ministers of various denominations, who had been but partially prepared for their work in their churches. The task of planning suitable structures, and of erecting them, went steadily on. Applications were numerous for the admission of students from all parts of the country.

Thus I have indicated the beginnings of that large institution, which has already given to intelligent youth at the nation's capital, whatever might have been their previous condition, the benefits of a complete collegiate course and of a thorough professional training.

CHAPTER LIX

INSTITUTIONS OF THE HIGHER GRADE; THE BARRY FARM

AT the time of this writing we are able to take a brief review of the several freedmen's institutions that were commenced more or less under my supervision. Naturally enough, in the several historic accounts given by the present professors or presidents, more credit is awarded to private donors than to public officers, even when the latter were the real promoters; yet in case of the higher schools, such as were capable of educating and supplying efficient teachers for a vast field, those officers did lead the way against a strong and decided opposition. They made innumerable sacrifices, labored incessantly, and endured obloquy and false accusations while they were steadily planting and sustaining such institutions, wholly worthy, which now every contributor who is still alive is proud to have helped. Taking these schools alphabetically:

1. *Atlanta University* was chartered in 1867. It is governed by a corporate body formed "for the Christian education of youth." It includes both male and female students. I can remember in the outset when the Hon. E. P. Smith, then a field agent of the American Missionary Association, came to my office and sat down with me to see what could be done to found this institution. I said: "My friend, get your land and

Institutions of the Higher Grade

your corporation to hold it and I will attend to the erection of your first buildings, and to the transportation thither of your teachers. Hence, we now find in the catalogue these facts: Money came from the Freedmen's Bureau and other sources; a noble site of fifty acres on the west side of Atlanta was procured; in 1869 the first building was opened and at once crowded with students; other good things followed.

In time Atlanta University became independent of the American Missionary Association, so as to be as far as possible without denominational connection and control.

It has a college church organization of its own, where the Methodist, Baptist, Episcopalian, and Congregational young people labor together. This works so well that all the graduates of this year are in the best sense of the word, *Christians*.

Rev. E. A. Ware, whom, while he lived, I counted as a personal friend, was the president for the first sixteen years till his death. He kept the advance for Georgia in education of the higher grade. The university is still vigorous under President Horace Bumstead, D.D. The present student enrollment is 273. It has many fine buildings which, with land and equipment, are valued at \$290,000, and 14 instructors. Industrial training is supplied: *for boys* the care and use of tools for the first year; the use of the turning lathe, including drawings, with considerable job and fancy work for the second year; mechanical drawing, use of instruments in all sorts of architectural and other constructions for the third year.

For the girls, in their industrial division, sewing, cooking, and household management are made much of. Both boys and girls, at option, work in the printing

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

office. Several fine publications have been the result; and the students do considerable job printing for the outside market. As the demand for teaching in Georgia is still great, this university continues to pay most attention to this part of its labor and claims to have furnished the best prepared teachers in the State. It wouldn't be quite right to complain of an industrial institution like Atlanta University.

2. The *Avery Institute*, situated in Charleston, S. C., was established by the American Missionary Association in 1866. It is mentioned in my accounts for 1870 as having 305 pupils, 9 teachers, and two buildings. It has maintained its existence and has to-day 8 teachers, and 348 pupils, though but few of them are in the higher grades.

3. The *Biddle Memorial Institute*, started by the Presbyterians at Charlotte, N. C., has been raised into the *Biddle University*. I aided the incorporated board of trustees, as I did those at Atlanta, from educational funds with \$10,000. Now this university has a high school, a normal and collegiate course, and enrolled last year 240 students. About 170 of them receive additional industrial instruction.

4. *Berea College* is located in Madison county, Ky. It began during 1855 as a select school with 15 pupils; was incorporated as Berea College in 1859. The charter applied to "all persons of good moral character." At first the pupils were all white. After consideration by the teachers and trustees, including the founder, John G. Fee, the sentiment adopted and acted upon was: "If anyone made in God's image comes here to get knowledge which will enable him to understand his relation to God in Jesus Christ, he cannot be rejected." This would admit negroes. In consequence of this ac-

Institutions of the Higher Grade

tion or sentiment, a steady and bitter persecution arose against all the instructors and patrons of the college, and the sessions were for a long time intermitted. When I came to the freedmen's work in 1865, the institution, hardly yet advanced enough to bear the name of college, was reorganized by Prof. J. A. R. Rogers, and though suffering much opposition in Kentucky because of its coeducation of whites and blacks, soon had plenty of students of both colors. From the start I determined to help Berea, particularly because of its Southern origin and because of its sturdy and fearless recognition of the manhood of the negro.

In 1866 and 1867 we called it "Berea Literary Institute." It was still elementary and then composed of both races, in about equal numbers. The progress was manifest; pupils who had commenced there with monosyllables were in three months able to read fairly well.

The latter part of 1867, four new buildings, principally by my aid, had been erected. The normal features were already introduced and 240 pupils enrolled. Many young men and young women were receiving special training for teachers.

Before the close of 1868, the record calls the school by its charter name: "Berea College." There were 156 students. My superintendent of education, who paid them a visit, spoke of the excellent recitations in mathematics and the classics, and predicted for Berea a grand future.

A year later the construction of *Chase Hall*, which I helped largely, is mentioned in the Kentucky reports. It was finished in September and cost us about \$17,000. The money was well appropriated.

Another communication of my superintendent in Kentucky concerning Berea says: "Upon the earnest

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

solicitation of President Fairchild and Mr. Fee I determined to finish the work at Berea by giving them an additional \$2,000."

And the final reference to the college in 1870 shows my authorization of \$7,000 more to complete the large and commodious Ladies' Hall.

This placed Berea with its extensive grounds on a substantial basis. The students there numbered 170 with eight teachers. Having steadily grown, Berea in 1896 had 460 students and 23 instructors. In 1903, 972 students and 52 instructors, and property valued at \$791,968. The Government aid was for the freedmen and such as would properly be called refugees and their descendants.

5. The *Burrell School*, one of a high order, at Selma, Ala., had in 1870 but 35 pupils and two teachers. In 1896 there were 92 pupils.

6. *Claffin University* was organized in 1869 at Orangeburg, S. C. In my accounts of schools for 1870 I mention it as then under Methodist auspices. It had a good academic course of study and numbered 170 pupils with 9 instructors. By Act of the South Carolina legislature, 1872, the university was enlarged to embrace the Institute for Agriculture and Mechanic Arts.

It was recorded in 1895 as nonsectarian, having 570 students.

In 1896 the two institutions, Claffin University proper and the Institute for Agriculture, separated and now educate youth each in its own line. Claffin University had an enrollment in 1904 of 481 pupils.

7. *Central Tennessee College*, located at Nashville, Tenn., and founded by the Methodist Freedmen's Aid Society, had in 1870 92 scholars and 5 teachers. It had

Institutions of the Higher Grade

risen in 1896 to a total of 165 scholars, all in professional courses.

The first building used by this college was a Confederate gun factory.

8. *Fisk University* had its beginning in the thought and plan of E. P. Smith and E. M. Cravath, who were both at the time secretaries of the American Missionary Association. They met at Nashville, Tenn., October 3, 1865, and had a conference on the subject of making Nashville an educational center for the then newly emancipated and their descendants. This conference soon took into its councils General C. B. Fisk, commissioner, and Prof. John Ogden, an able educator who had been an officer of the army during the war. A half square of land was purchased, and by General Fisk's solicitation a number of temporary hospital structures which were on the land were by the Government assigned to the use of the proposed university. January 9, 1866, the first school connected with the enterprise opened. General Fisk upon solicitation allowed the use of his name for the university, and Professor Ogden, equipped with fifteen assistant teachers, commenced his work. In 1870 there were 283 pupils; in 1904, 525 students. Mr. Cravath was the president till his death; he was aided by a faculty and officers to the number of 29. The Fisk Jubilee Singers became famous throughout the world. They raised by their public concerts in the United States and abroad over \$150,000 for their university. The campus has been increased to thirty-five acres and covered with noble and appropriate structures.

General Clinton B. Fisk from his private estate left the institution heir to a fund of about \$30,000 from which was erected its beautiful chapel. The university

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

gives degrees to normal college and theological graduates, and every department has been sedulously kept up to a high standard. Fisk University has, as my officers who gave it aid early predicted, given to Tennessee and, in fact, to other States a steady supply of well-qualified colored teachers. Fisk University has done a noble work.

9. *Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute.* Having been assured of General S. C. Armstrong's ability and fitness, in March, 1866, I placed him, as we have seen, a subassistant in charge of fourteen counties of eastern Virginia, with his headquarters at Hampton. In 1868 he left the general work for the freedmen and took the presidency of the institute at Hampton, which, in fact, with the American Missionary Association behind him, he founded and steadily developed till his death. Armstrong, from his experience and observation among the natives of Hawaii, insisted on more attention to labor as the basis of his institute; more attention than he thought was given in our other schools.

My own reference of 1870 gave this institution 75 students and 6 teachers. It was extended after a time to embrace a portion of the Indian youth.

In General Armstrong's last statements he said: "Steadily increasing, its full growth just reached is 650 boarding students from 24 States and territories, averaging eighteen years of age, 136 of them Indians; 80 officers, teachers, and assistants, of whom half are in the 18 industrial departments and shops."

The last annual in my hands since General Armstrong's decease is for 1904. The force of teachers is 134, the students 1,239. The President, H. B. Frisell is having abundant success; and Virginia is already

Institutions of the Higher Grade

replete with good teachers from Hampton, and the Indian tribes are benefited by the 400 young people trained in academic knowledge and useful arts who have gone out with bright faces and hopeful hearts.

In the start I took great interest in Hampton Institute, and many times aided it by Government contributions to its buildings and to its permanent endowment.

10. *Howard University* of Washington, D. C., recorded in 1869 over 400 students pursuing academic and professional branches. The enrollment for 1905-6, the 39th year from its inception, was 950 students and 98 professors and other instructors.

The summary of graduates in all the nine departments at the 1897 Commencement was 1,354. Since then the enrollment has at times exceeded 1,000 students per year.

The property valuation, i. e., grounds, buildings, and endowment, is estimated at \$1,300,000.

11. The *Lincoln Institute* at Jefferson City, Mo., was among the first schools of a high grade undertaken in a former slave State. Like Fisk and Hampton, it had much help from its earlier students.

I remember in the summer of 1865 that a lady of large benevolence living in Jefferson City came all the way to Washington, D. C., to see me and to consult concerning the ways and means of sustaining and developing this institute.

The Sixty-second and Sixty-fifth United States colored regiments, when discharged from service in 1865, contributed generously to its founding—the Sixty-second, \$5,000, and the Sixty-fifth, \$1,379. The condition of the gifts was that a school for colored people should be begun in Missouri. In 1869 there

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

were 3 instructors and 98 students. The summary for 1903 showed 386 scholars and 17 officers and instructors. The buildings, grounds, and industries are of the best. This Missouri institute has afforded an example of what the faith and work of one good woman can accomplish.

12. The *Howard Normal School*, of Baltimore, just starting in 1869, has been replaced by the Baltimore City Colored High School. In the latter to-day are 21 instructors and 350 pupils.

13. When I first knew the institution for colored youth at Oxford, Pa., it was called *Ashby Institute*. As it was just in the line of work which was desired for the speedy preparation of teachers, I gave, as commissioner, all possible aid, and the trustees soon changed its name to *Lincoln University*.

I attended the Commencement of this university in 1867, as I recall the visit. The students on that occasion gave evidence of remarkable advancement. Their oratory appeared phenomenal. From time to time I contributed to its endowment. It maintains a good record, and had in 1904 14 teachers and 184 students.

14. The *Maryville Normal* at Maryville, Tenn., had in 1869 60 pupils and 3 instructors. It appears to have changed its name to *Freedmen's Normal Institute*, and in 1897 it had 14 teachers and 243 students, mostly in the normal course of study.

15. The *Normal School* at Elizabeth City, N. C., had two instructors in 1869 and 46 students; in 1904 it was called *State Colored Normal School* with 6 instructors and 404 students.

16. The *Straight University* at New Orleans, La., commenced operations in 1869 and gradually developed into a large and well-favored institution. Its

Institutions of the Higher Grade

students in attendance numbered at the Commencement of 1903 765. Officers and instructors in all the five departments 27.

It has kept up its work steadily from year to year. Once a great fire came and swept away the buildings, but by the work of the students and the help of the benevolent they were soon more than replaced. Its industrial department in the building trades is the best I have seen. There is not room for agriculture with its small grounds in a great city. The students, as mechanics, have erected several of the college buildings, and their teachers are especially proud of the cabinet work done by the young men and the fine needle work by the young women.

17. *St. Augustine Normal and Collegiate Institute*, located in Raleigh, N. C., began in 1867 and has continued its work thirty years under the auspices of the Episcopal Church. It received at the start considerable aid from the Government. In 1869 there were 3 instructors and 46 students; in 1904 an enrollment of 360 students and 18 teachers. I remember well its beginning and followed it with much sympathy and aid.

18. The *Swayne School*, and also the *Emerson School* at Montgomery, Ala., not now found in the United States school reports, were absorbed in the newer *State Normal School for Colored Students*, which gives an aggregate enrollment for 1903 of 416 pupils and 20 teachers. General Swayne, my diligent and able assistant commissioner, aided these schools in every possible way.

19. The *Stanton Normal School*, of Jacksonville, Fla., began January, 1868. A good building was dedicated April 10, 1869. General G. W. Gile, subassistant

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

commissioner, sent me that day from Florida this dispatch: "The Stanton Normal Institute is being dedicated. Thousands assembled send their greeting to you as their truest advocate." That year this Normal had 348 pupils and 6 instructors.

20. *Shaw University* in Raleigh, N. C., had its inception in 1865 in the work and enterprise of Rev. Dr. H. M. Tupper (who was an enlisted Christian soldier during the last three years of the Civil War). He was the first President. It is a large thriving university. In 1869 it had 70 students and four teachers. In 1904 the Government (Department of Education) recorded 499 students and 35 instructors. Its departments of medicine and pharmacy place its medical work abreast of Howard University.

21. The *Normal School* under the Friends' control at Warrenton, N. C., had two teachers and 50 pupils in 1869. The *Shiloh Institute* appears to have replaced it, having four teachers and 95 pupils in 1896.

22. The *Normal and Manual Labor School* just beginning in 1869 at Tougaloo, Miss., soon became the *Tougaloo University*, under the patronage of the American Missionary Association. I remember to have given this school an impulse at the start by a special appropriation. It is finely located, a few miles north of the capital of the State. The university has many departments and maintains for its graduates a high standard of conduct and scholarship. The boarding pupils number over 200. The total enrollment for 1903 is 502. Much stress is laid upon the "industrial work," including farm and garden work. The industrial features on a smaller scale are like those of Hampton.

23. The *Talladega, Ala., Normal School* began

Institutions of the Higher Grade

about the same time as that at Tougaloo, under the same patronage and having General Swayne's active and efficient aid. Its name was soon changed to College. In 1869 there were two teachers and 70 scholars. In 1904 we find Talladega College in full and active operation. The total enrollment was 596 students, coming from seven States. There were 31 in the body of officers and instructors.

24. *Wayland Seminary*, before mentioned, was already in existence; it was the first that I visited in Washington in May, 1865. It stood as my model and object lesson, where I could show doubting visitors from North and South the possibility of educating negroes.

Its first buildings, altogether too small, cramped the work till the trustees moved to the head of Chapin Street, Meridian Hill. The patrons are of the Baptist Home Mission Board, and the thorough good results the seminary has already accomplished cannot be overestimated. Its enrollment (1897) gives 159 students and 15 officers, and other instructors.

25. *Wilberforce University*, under the patronage of the African Methodist people, began in the fifties. Bishop D. A. Payne of the A. M. E. Church was president from 1863 to 1876. Like *Lincoln University*, I found it the right sort of helper to furnish teachers as the freedmen's educational institutions developed, and so I rendered it, as I did *Oberlin College* and for the same reason, what encouragement and pecuniary aid was in my power. Wilberforce being near Xenia, O., Oberlin College at Oberlin, O., and Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, neither of the three in the former slave States, subsequently caused me some legal difficulties on account of the Government donations. They

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

did before emancipation and are still doing noble work for the negro population. The enrollment of Wilberforce for 1906 is 400 students with 30 on the board of instruction. Its industrial division, including that of hospital and trained nurses, is extensive.

26. There was one thriving school of the grammar grade in Atlanta, Ga., called the "Storrs School." When I paid a visit to Atlanta in the fall of 1868 I visited that school. Sunday morning the Congregational Sunday School was well attended in the Storrs schoolhouse. Here neatly dressed children with intelligent faces, prompt, cheerful, and hearty in all their responses, could not fail to attract the attention of any thinking man. They indicated and gauged progress. After my address to the school I asked if anyone had a message for the other children I should visit. One little boy of about twelve years, wearing a clean white jacket, rose and said: "Tell them we are rising." It was this incident that Whittier put into his poem entitled "Howard at Atlanta." That boy, R. R. Wright, has since been a major in the army, a minister abroad, and is a college president.

There lies before me at this writing, over thirty years after the child's message, a book entitled "A Brief Historical Sketch of Negro Education in Georgia." It is a faithful and exhaustive sketch. The author is that same Atlanta boy with added years; now at the head of the Georgia State Industrial College located at College, Ga., and has 15 in his official and faculty board, with 443 students. Storrs School itself in 1904 continued with 8 teachers and 354 scholars.

The foregoing are brief accounts of twenty-six of those institutions of higher grade which began under

Institutions of the Higher Grade

my supervision from 1865 to 1870 and continued for more than twenty-five years, having had a constant development. The last year of my administration of the educational work among refugees and freedmen, I reported 70 schools, graded high enough at least to educate teachers. In 1904 there were open to the colored students, i. e., especially intended for them, 128 such institutions and 131 public high schools. Many of the original 70 have been absorbed in the total, often under new names.

More and more has the education of those who were once wards of the Government taken a practical turn, and much stress has been put upon *industrial features*. There has been no cessation of demand for well-trained colored youth, and no diminution of interest on the part of the descendants of the freedmen in seeking for that knowledge which will fit them for the common duties of life. To show how great things spring from small in this matter, notice the work of a single graduate of Hampton: Booker T. Washington. He graduated in the class of 1875; he taught school three terms in West Virginia; he took further studies at Wayland Seminary, Washington, D. C., and returning in 1880 to Hampton he taught Indians till 1881; then, recommended by General Armstrong to found a State normal school at Tuskegee, Ala., he was appointed principal. He commenced the school with thirty pupils in a colored church, with an outfit of \$2,000 and nothing besides.

Washington wrote in 1896: "Beginning July 4, 1881, without a dollar except the annual appropriation (\$2,000), during the thirteen years there has come into our treasury \$491,955.42 in cash from all sources." During the thirteen years it is notable that the stu-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

dents have done labor for the institution to the amount of \$187,612.52. The number of students enrolled this year (1907) is 1,624. The property, including land, buildings, live stock, and apparatus, is valued at \$838,277.69; the endowment, \$1,238,924, and the total assets have reached (1907) \$2,227,047.77. The institution named Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute is a success. Its academic and industrial training are going on, hand in hand. One item is full of encouragement: During the college year 1906-7, \$8,233 were paid by the students themselves in entrance fees and chapel collections. From Mr. Washington's effort and example, more than a score of kindred smaller schools which did not before exist have been set in motion in Alabama alone.

This retrospect affords me great satisfaction. Could the whole school business be set forth in graphic sketches, it would require volumes to contain them. We who labored so hard and so confidently against untold opposition, and often under accusation, suspicion, and obloquy, take exceeding comfort in seeing our hopes fully realized—yes, even beyond our most sanguine predictions. A grand Christian work has been done in the land by sanguine souls since the fetters were knocked from the feet of the slave, and I am glad to have borne a part of the burden.

In connection with three institutions of a higher grade, early in April of 1867, as commissioner of freedmen, I set apart a sum of money under peculiar circumstances. It will be remembered that the colored population in Washington had at one time become so numerous and congested in some sections of the city, that I had been obliged to do something to relieve the suffering people from excessive want. One measure

Institutions of the Higher Grade

had been to issue rations and clothing; another, after careful examination of their condition, to feed the most needy, through work temporarily provided near by, and through tickets to established soup houses; but the main expedient was in sending small parties under chosen agents, who were men or women of fitness, to places where there were work and wages, i. e., places already ascertained where there were reliable promises of employment. But in one locality, where there was a large, troublesome crowd, all my efforts in providing for the men, women, and children appeared to fail. I was almost in despair.

One day, one of the largest owners of the land, or rather city lots, situated between Fourteenth and Seventeenth streets and north of K Street, came to me in great distress. He had gladly suffered the Government in the war time to put up on his own property, barracks, hospital structures, and quartermaster's storehouses. The owners of the lands thereabouts, including himself, had bought in these buildings at Government sales after the war; but not before they had been seized and occupied by the floating colored population which had gathered there from Maryland, Virginia, and farther South. A few industrious negroes were cultivating small gardens on the vacant lots, but the majority were of that crowd of helpless refugees that were living from hand to mouth, nobody could tell just how. The owners had tried in vain to get the city to remove them, for their land was now worth \$1,500 an acre. They could get no rentals and could not sell while thus encumbered. My visitor said that he came to the commissioner of freedmen as a last resort. He was a kind man and declared that he had not the heart to force these wretched people into the streets or into

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

the lowest resorts and hovels of the district; but he did not think that he and the other owners of that property ought to be required to bear so heavy a burden. I said to the gentleman that there were thousands of people, refugees and freedmen, in the same condition as those on his valuable property, and I could not then see how to relieve him; that I was charged in an opposition press with "feeding people in idleness," and I must not add to our pauper list. Yet I answered him, however, that I knew I ought to make an effort to help him.

At last, I proposed, as I should have done in the field, to go to the place where the trouble was pressing. We took a carriage and rode to the encumbered lots and rough structures. We called out all the men that we found in the buildings. Many of them did not lack intelligence. At first, I explained the situation as I understood it, telling the people who we were. When I said: "You cannot expect to stay here on other people's property without paying rent," they very pertinently asked: "Where shall we go, and what shall we do?"

I answered them by asking another question: "What would make you self-supporting?" Several replied: "Land! Give us land!" They seemed to realize that they could not much longer stay there in the heart of the capital on that costly ground. Yet some were saucy and some stupid; but the greater number appeared anxious somehow to earn their way. At last, I said: "Now, if I could manage to secure you a homestead, say an acre of land apiece near the city, might I rely upon it that you would work, earn money, and repay my outlay?" Some of them fully understood me and earnestly promised to do so. Others hung down their heads and said nothing. The above is a detailed

Institutions of the Higher Grade

account of that one community. There were a number of such crowds at that time in Washington or within the District of Columbia, not so pressing, but where poverty prevailed. In meditating upon this condition of things, upon the evident desire of many of the poorest to do something for their own support, and upon their entreaty for land, I concluded that it would be well to take a portion of the "Refugees and Freedmen's Fund" which had been accumulating mainly from the rental of abandoned property, and which I had already devoted, in the exercise of my discretion, to educational purposes, and with that fund purchase a farm of large size as near Washington as practicable, and make it an object lesson, affording what relief it could. I would divide it up into acre or two-acre lots, give lumber enough for a small, comfortable tenement, and sell to the poor freedmen on time, on a bond to be followed by a deed in fee as soon as the terms of the bond should be fulfilled. The nearness to Washington would enable me to give the execution of the plan my personal oversight, and help me from time to time to secure city employment and wages for the industrious. I had no doubt of my right, under the laws governing me, to use the funds in question, except perhaps the constitutional one of purchasing land. So I consulted the second comptroller of the Treasury, who agreed with me. I even ventured to interview Chief Justice Chase on the subject. He was kind and approachable and freely advised me in the premises. He said: "Without doubt, General Howard, you can use your funds in the way you propose."

At last, April 3, 1867, I issued a special order, transferring \$52,000 to S. C. Pomeroy, J. R. Elvans, and O. O. Howard as trustees; the amount to be held

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

in trust for three normal collegiate institutions or universities, embracing the education of refugees and freedmen; the institutions to be incorporated: one located in the District of Columbia, one in the State of Virginia, and the third in the State of North Carolina. The order also authorized the investment of the money, so transferred, in land "with a view of relieving the immediate necessities of a class of poor colored people in the District of Columbia, by rental, by sale, or in such other way as the trustees might judge best for that purpose; provided that all proceeds, over and above the necessary expenses, should be transferred annually to the three institutions implied in the order. The proceeds were to be divided equally between them.

I had great difficulty at that time to find anybody willing to sell, and was obliged, finally, to purchase without being known in the matter, and particularly without having the object of the purchase revealed. The Barry Farm, 375 acres, situated near the "Government Hospital for the Insane," was thus obtained. When about two years later I was obliged to turn over the funds to a successor, Mr. John A. Cole, treasurer of the "Barry Farm Fund," 266 families had already been provided for. Some of those who bought one acre or two-acre lots were fairly well off. I found it better to have a few among the purchasers who were reasonably educated, and of well-known good character and repute, to lead in the school and church work, and so I encouraged such to settle alongside the more destitute. The land all the time was constantly inquired for by working freedmen. It was taken with avidity, and the monthly payments, with very few exceptions, were promptly and regularly made. The prospect to these freedmen of owning a homestead was a great stimulus

Institutions of the Higher Grade

to exertion. Fortunately there was, during the ensuing year, 1868, much Government work of grading on Capitol Hill and in their neighborhood, so that they obtained steady employment and pay. A number of these awakened people at the same period united and raised sufficient money to purchase a school lot. The Freedmen's Bureau aided them to erect upon it a school building that would accommodate 150 pupils.

Everyone who visited the Barry Farm and saw the new hopefulness with which most of the dwellers there were inspired, could not fail to regard the entire enterprise as judicious and beneficent.

The amount returned to the fund and distributed to the three educational institutions, as provided in the original order before the time I turned over the accounts in 1869, was \$31,178.12, and the cash besides, transferred to my successor, was \$10,081.41.

The Hon. Edgar Ketchum, who was my counsel before a Congressional Committee of Investigation in 1870, gave to the gentlemen of the committee a few sketches of homes on the Barry Farm. Here is one: You may see another (man) some thirty-six years of age, very black, very strong, very happy, working on his place. He will welcome you. His little house cost him \$90. You will see his mother; that aged "aunty," as she raises herself up to look at you, will tell you that she has had eleven children, and that all of them were sold away from her. She lived down in Louisiana. The man will tell you that he is one of those children. He went down to Texas, and when he came up through Louisiana and Alabama he found his old mother and brought her up here with him, along with his wife and son. And there they live.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

“Have you paid for your place?” you may ask him, and he will say: “Don’t owe fifteen cents on it, sir.”

Mr. Ketchum spoke of the educational facilities: “You go into the school, and you see a boy of ten years old who will answer any question in geography when the others fail, though they may be older than he; he is a bright boy, though of dark complexion.”

He added: “These people are happy there, having homes and having comforts.”

Thus the “Refugees and Freedmen’s Fund” was made to perform a double part in furnishing the Barry Farm homes, and the accompanying school facilities, to the thrifty poor, and also in endowing in part with necessary funds three collegiate institutions.

CHAPTER LX

OPPOSITION TO BUREAU AND RECONSTRUCTION WORK BE- CAME PERSONAL; THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH OF WASHINGTON

DURING my Government work in Washington, D. C., from its commencement, May 12, 1865, to its close, July 3, 1874, as was predicted by my friends, I was obliged to meet and overcome many obstacles, and to encounter a constant and determined opposition. Hostility showed itself in hydra-headed forms. The Freedmen's Bureau itself, regarded by its best friends and promoters as abnormal to our system of Government, and as only a temporary necessity, was always a source of bitterness and complaint to all extreme opponents, North and South. President Johnson's course, after he had made up his mind to antagonize the party that elected him, strengthened all Southern hostility to the Bureau work, and brought into disrepute its most faithful officials. Identifying itself with the upholding of the blacks in their industries, it favored them in the possession of land, in the courts of justice, in labor interests, in having hospitals and asylums, and in planting schools from the primary to the university. In fact the Bureau constantly kept stirred up all social life where its operations touched the field. It was bound to put its foot firmly upon every form of slavery. It was obliged to foster individual independence. While it allowed no apathy among its wards, and thus encouraged industry and justice, and a lawful

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

resistance to wrong, it became out and out an advocate of negro manhood. That was its theory; that was its practice; that was its sanguine hope. How could these Southern white people, who had not even believed in emancipation, enter heartily into sympathy with me, a commissioner, as they claimed, of a party of radical Republicans? How could the conservatives of the North, who wanted the care of the freed people left entirely to their old masters and to the Southern State governments, favor my theory? To them, even to those who had confidence in my integrity and in the distinguished officers who were my assistants, the whole system of dealing seemed wrong. It appeared to be cruelty and oppression. Their sympathetic minds always stopped with the white population. Again, the prospect of suffrage for the late slaves seemed to all such intolerable. Though my officers and myself had no responsibility for the gift of suffrage, yet we had to bear no small part in its introduction. We were at court the friends of the freedmen and had to bear that odium. I think these simple statements are enough to account for all the antagonism that occurred. An officer in charge of any district where the negroes were in considerable majority met with the distrust of the Southern whites; he was maligned by the local press the instant he differed from the prevailing opinion among them; he was ostracised; he was accused; if he favored universal suffrage and it became known, his life even was in peril. The accumulations of this odium, enveloping me in their murky cloud, soon attacked my reputation, though, of course, they could not affect my character. I defended my officers and agents and teachers with all my heart both publicly and privately, and that fact made it desirable for the

Opposition to Bureau and Reconstruction Work

hostile forces arrayed against the Bureau to be somehow rid of me. It seemed at one time that there was no indignity of language too harsh or contemptible for my foes to use. My friends and supporters were, however, equally pronounced and ardent in my defense, and with their confidence and aid in Congress and out, I carried through the Freedmen's Bureau to the natural consummation of its larger purposes in 1869. About that time I met with troublesome assaults upon my reputation for integrity from two new sources. One came, as we have before seen, through the imposing upon me of the payment of the back pay and bounties and prize money of all unpaid colored soldiers and sailors, and especially the being obliged by law to pay these claimants in currency and not in checks or drafts. This work raised up against all honest payers and payees a wicked host, whose sole aim was greed. They had accomplished much when they could in any way corrupt a paymaster, stain the reputation of a disbursing officer, or circumvent an assistant commissioner. This trouble I fought to a successful issue by facing every official accusation and demanding official investigation and trial.

Other difficulties arose from a second source quite outside of Government operations. Being engaged in a struggle for what I have called *the manhood of the black man* in labor, justice, suffrage, and the schools, I naturally carried the same efforts with me into the church, with which I was connected. One day, during the fall of 1865, two college classmates met me and asked me if I would not join a little Congregational Church, just then forming in Washington. "We have thirteen members," they said, "and you will make fourteen. When slavery was here people several

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

times tried the Congregational form of church organization, but had always failed! Now surely, as slavery is dead we can succeed." This is the substance of their speech. I assented to their request. It was my own church, and I was glad to cast in my lot with the few courageous souls that were starting the first *bona fide* Congregational Church at the capital. There seemed to be a general understanding that there should now be no distinctions in our church relationship on account of color. Equal rights in church government, equal for all. Rev. Charles B. Boynton, D.D., then chaplain of the House of Representatives, lately from Cincinnati, the chosen historian of the navy, a man of marked ability, and one who had been distinguished as an "old-line abolitionist," was called as the first pastor. His son, General H. V. Boynton, of the volunteer army, had come to Washington as a correspondent for the press. He was in daily telegraphic communication with the Cincinnati *Gazette*, and corresponded with other papers. He then lived at the home of his parents in the city.

There was a small church party, after we had grown to fifty or sixty in number, who clung very strongly to New England traditions and church organization. This party often opposed the pastor, but at first with no noticeable exhibition of feeling, more than is manifested in the usual controversial spirit of our people. There was no important division of sentiment, and I did not take sides with the one party or the other. For a year or more the First Congregational Church greatly prospered. It worshiped sometimes in a hall of the city and sometimes in the hall of the House of Representatives. A large number of the members seriously objected to the latter as a place of worship.

Opposition to Bureau and Reconstruction Work

It did not, they claimed, afford them either Sabbath or week-day facilities for meetings such as they wished. They could have the place only once or twice a week and often only on Sunday. The church committees, Sunday schools, sociables, and midweek gatherings for prayer were all hindered and so there arose an unpleasant controversy about this matter. The members of the society who did the business for the church became divided for and against the pastor, who earnestly desired to preach at least once each Sunday at the Capitol. From this controversy I also held carefully aloof, but felt that there were growing differences which might soon or late hurt or spoil our enterprise. In one great work we were all the while acting in harmony. It was that of the proposed erection of a church edifice. A building lot was secured at the corner of G and Tenth streets, northwest. The plans for a construction which would cost over \$100,000 were carefully made, a picture promise of the new church made and multiplied by handsome woodcuts, and subscription books opened. I was made special treasurer of the building fund on account of my reputed ability to raise money, and further, because, in giving addresses in behalf of the freedmen's schools and colleges, I was visiting different cities and might solicit contributions. In this matter I was at first strongly supported by all our members.

Our brotherly letter, dated November 1, 1867, signed by the pastor himself and countersigned by the deacons of the church and the trustees of the society, had in it sentiments such as I have named, for example: "You are probably aware of the efforts which the friends of an untrammled gospel, and of equal rights for all men, are making to establish at the national

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

capital a church which, unhindered by any social or political restraints, shall give the support of its teachings and its influence to those principles which the great party of freedom and progress is endeavoring to establish as the basis of our national policy. . . . Such a church we are endeavoring, by the aid of those who sympathize with us, to establish here, and we wish to make it in all respects a worthy representative of the new spirit of the land. . . .

“Toward the payment of this lot and edifice, about \$75,000 have been subscribed, much of it through the personal influence and efforts of General Howard, a member of our church, who has given as much time and attention to the work as his public duties will permit, and will continue to do so. But we need a large sum to enable us to complete our building, etc. . . .

“We, therefore, take the liberty of sending this statement to you in the hope that you may give it a favorable consideration. General Howard is chairman of our building committee and treasurer of the building fund, and any amount forwarded to him will be duly accounted for and applied.”

The letter further averred that the intention was to make this church a national representative of the Congregationalism of the land, an exponent at the capital of those evangelical doctrines, and those principles of civil and religious liberty, upon which the safety and stability of the nation depended.

By personal application I did raise a great deal of the church money, and in answer to letters of solicitation that I sent to churches far and near, I received many small sums of \$5 and \$10 each, all of which were paid into the church treasury. At the May meetings of 1867, held in Brooklyn, during one evening, at the

Opposition to Bureau and Reconstruction Work

church of Henry Ward Beecher, the Congregational Union, a church building society, had its anniversary. The house was filled with people, and Mr. Beecher presided. Our church had recently solicited pecuniary aid from the building society. Our Washington pastor, Dr. Boynton, and I were designated to plead our cause at this meeting and show why a Congregational enterprise at the capital should receive assistance from this national society. Dr. Boynton was well received by the people and gave an excellent, comprehensive written address. I followed with an offhand speech, in which I said in a half-jocose manner, that I had been at one time offered as a personal gift some United States bonds from citizens of Maine; that the press of Portland and of Boston had quickly taken up the subject before I had any notification. The newspapers declared that it was believed, *a priori*, that General Howard would not accept such a present. On seeing such words in print, I had written to friends in Portland and Boston and stated that I agreed with the published statement, but that I earnestly hoped that the contemplated bonds and money would be given to the orphans of our deceased soldiers. In the same manner I had hitherto declined such gifts. Then, turning to Mr. Beecher, I said: "Permit me to change my mind about taking presents. Generals Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, and Meade have had theirs. Now I will take mine. It shall be wholly for the house of the Lord!"

Mr. Beecher, full of happy humor, said: "Well, General Howard, you shall have your gift." Then he told the people to pass in their donations. Some \$5,000 for our building fund was handed up from the people, in various sums, while Mr. Beecher amused them by his odd and humorous remarks. Something

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

was said or done that night that offended Dr. Boynton. In some way he imbibed the idea that my special friends and myself were endeavoring to build up a "Howard Church," to which idea he feelingly objected. Soon there came from the Pilgrim Church of Brooklyn, as an outgrowth of my address at Mr. Beecher's church, \$7,000 more for the same object. At a later period in Washington Dr. Boynton and his special friends drew up a pamphlet of some thirteen pages which complained of this matter in particular, and of other grievances, imaginary or real, that were coming in ever after that Brooklyn meeting to divide our church and society. The ostensible object of the pamphlet was to put the sister churches, over the country right concerning our Washington enterprise. Opposition now set in strongly against me by many of our church members. Many points of controversy also found their way into the board of trustees of Howard University. Differences arose between Dr. Boynton, the first president of the university, and two or three of my associates, among them my close and confidential friend, General Whittlesey. I defended my friends with ardor, and often said sharp things impulsively that worried the president. He had a great power of satire, a sort of rasping sarcasm, and I was now and then treated to it. I declared that it was like piercing a man with a rapier and then twisting it in the wound. It would anger me at times beyond self-control, and my replies were sometimes such as caused him to send friends to me to insist on apology and reparation, which surely was never withheld. Yet the doctor's frame of mind was such that he would hinder the trustees in the midst of important constructions by withholding his approval.

Opposition to Bureau and Reconstruction Work

In church matters, during the summer of 1867, the First Congregational Society was holding all its sessions in Metzertott Hall, while our church edifice was in process of construction. The pastor was away on a short vacation. Seeing one Sunday that our Sunday school was very small, I addressed the teachers and children just before the closing exercise and said that there were plenty of children outside that had no Sunday school, and urged the scholars to make an effort to fill up our room with those who had no such school advantages. My last remark was in keeping with my own constant wish. It was to this effect: "I will give a present to five (I believe that was the number) who will bring in the most new scholars, and they need not look at the color of the eyes, hair, or skin."

The next Sunday plenty of scholars came trooping in, and among them many colored pupils. This action, to my astonishment, displeased very many of our church members, both men and women. Our pastor was informed. He returned at once from his vacation, took sides against my action publicly and privately, though the colored children already there were suffered to remain in the Sunday school. The church society proved itself now to be divided, and those opposed to Dr. Boynton were uniting in action. However, even yet, I deprecated these dividing tendencies and tried to check them.

Later in the year, I was called to St. Louis, Mo., and when there in the Congregational churches pleaded for help to our building fund, restating, as our early letters had declared, that our new Congregational body would be careful to make no distinctions on account of race or color. That was one of our reasons for the establishment of our church in Washing-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

ton. When I reached home, I found that the pastor had seen fit completely to reverse the wheels, and to make public contradiction to this sentiment in a remarkable sermon. Like Moses in Egypt, he insisted that the colored people should refuse to remain with the Egyptians. He praised their advancement, but declared for separation. That was his own opinion, and though grieved about it I did nothing immediately because our pulpit was always free. The newspapers, however, religious and secular, took up the sermon, and showed our plain inconsistency. We professed the utmost catholicity in raising money, but were behind all other churches in our practice. For did not Christ live and die for all men? Then the pastor and his immediate friends, being vexed by this public criticism, which was in their suspicions imputed to my influence, at a church meeting from which a large number of those holding to the original views were absent, adopted a series of resolutions; these fully endorsed the statements and theories of that strange sermon. They were passed, and spread upon the church record. That sermon there defined the attitude of our body toward the freedmen. It seemed to me like a wall of partition between races. I drew up a brief protest, making it as strong as I could word it. Over fifty of the male members of our church and congregation united with me by signing the document. From that time a veritable controversy was upon us, and our troubles soon became known to all the kindred churches of our country. Our Northern contributors almost ceased their gifts. It resulted finally in our calling an *ex parte* council to judge between the opposing parties.

When the sessions of the council meeting in Wash-

Opposition to Bureau and Reconstruction Work

ington were had and the discussions of the members of the council, which was gathered from many Northern Congregational churches, were going on and became animated, the son of the pastor, General Boynton, the newspaper correspondent, naturally sided with his father and his party, and filled his columns with what I deemed biased accounts of the proceedings. The excitement ran high.

One or two incidents will show how remarkable had been our heated debates and how divergent were our views. At a communion service held in a hall on Fifth street, opposite the city square, Dr. Boynton made some preliminary remarks in which he said that according to the teachings of our Lord in Chapter xviii of Matthew, he was conscious of being ready for this solemn ordinance and implied as much for those who were on his side; but he averred that there were those present who had improper feeling toward him and those who believed as he did. He was sure that they ought not to partake of the communion in such a frame of mind. That was the burden of his address. It was an extraordinary thing for me to do at a communion, but I arose and entered at once upon the defense of myself and my friends so charged. I was claiming for us love to God and our neighbor, when suddenly the pastor asked significantly: "General Howard, do you believe in amalgamation?" Instantly it occurred to me that there were two meanings of that word "amalgamation"; one was the union of whites and blacks in church and school relation; the other the union in marriage. Whichever Dr. Boynton meant, I decided to make answer to the latter. I had never hitherto advocated intermarriage; but a case illustrated my thought on that subject. I said: "A gentleman in Virginia,

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

soon after graduating from West Point, had left the army, married, and settled on a plantation. After perhaps one year his young wife died. He did not marry again, but had one of his slave women as his house-keeper, and by her he had several children. This woman had recently come to me for protection against the gentleman's severity of discipline; as she was leaving she said: 'Do not hurt him, for I love him; only keep him from whipping me!' Now," I added, "before God that man and that woman are man and wife." Here I closed. Dr. Boynton cried out: "Yes, and I would marry them." The communion, after that, proceeded without further interruption.

On another occasion after the communion, in the parlors of our new church building, among those who presented themselves for uniting with the church were a colored woman and two colored men; the men were graduates of Oberlin College and one of them had been a captain of volunteers in our army during the war. No objection could be made to them by the examining committee; but during the session of the committee, the pastor put to the men the same question he did to me: "Do you believe in amalgamation?" As they were already married to women of their own race, they understood very naturally that the pastor objected to the union of races in the church, and they therefore withdrew without becoming members of our body.

A more general council in process of time was secured and assembled in Washington, holding their sessions in our new church edifice. It was composed of our ablest clergymen and laymen, drawn from some twelve or fifteen Northern and Western churches. Before that body were brought all our points of difference, and notwithstanding the able manner in which

Opposition to Bureau and Reconstruction Work

matters were met by Dr. Boynton and his followers, the council decided that, in the principal subjects at issue, my friends and myself were right. My protest was sustained. General Boynton, who seemed at that time to control the correspondence with many papers besides the *Cincinnati Gazette*, in his dispatches did not let me rest. His father, followed by the majority of our members, now left the First Congregational Church and united with a Presbyterian Church, of which he became the pastor. He resigned, too, from the presidency of Howard University, and from that time on my official intercourse with him ceased. But the woes that follow such divisions continued.

As I was returning from an International Conference of the Young Men's Christian Association, held in Detroit, Mich., in June, 1869, and passing through Ohio, I had been conversing with Mr. Locke, whose *nom de plume* was "Petroleum V. Nasby." As he was glancing over a paper, sitting just behind me, he spoke up with evident surprise: "How is this, General?" He then showed me one of General Boynton's Washington communications of about a column in length, which attacked me severely. It was one of a series of articles which accused me in my Government administration of every sort of delinquency. As it appeared in the *Cincinnati Gazette*, and as I was near at hand, I wrote to the editor and asked the privilege of replying to the allegations as soon as I should arrive in Washington. But I did not receive an answer from the paper, and as the same sort of charges were published from day to day elsewhere, in Pittsburg, Penn.; St. Louis, Mo.; Cleveland, O., and in Boston, with an occasional column of similar import in the *New York Press*, all of them often inserting reasonable statements in rebuttal,

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

I decided to wait and confine my replies officially made to charges from official sources. When at last, after I had formally and strongly recommended the closing out of the Freedmen's Bureau, except the educational division, and that this be transferred to the Department of Education with the residue of the Bureau money, then estimated at \$600,000, the subject came up in the House of Representatives for consideration. Fernando Wood, representative from New York, was reported in the *Congressional Globe* and *Daily Chronicle* to have asserted that this was only a scheme of General Howard to make away with \$600,000 more of the public money. It appeared to me incredible that he, a representative in Congress, could have made the remark, so I wrote him immediately the following letter:

WAR DEPARTMENT, BUREAU REFUGEES, FREEDMEN AND
ABANDONED LANDS,

WASHINGTON CITY, April 1, 1870.

DEAR SIR: By this morning's *Chronicle* you were made to intimate that I had grown rich from this Bureau, and that the Bill proposed on education was to enable me to control \$600,000 more. I do not think you can have said it, because if you know my financial condition you will know that I have a large family, a small property, and considerable indebtedness, and as the Bill proposed to take from me the \$600,000 and put it into the Bureau of Education, I cannot think you made the remark. I have discharged the trust committed to me with fidelity, and as you yourself would say if you would give every transaction the most thorough examination.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

O. O. HOWARD, *Commissioner, etc., etc.*

Honorable Fernando Wood.

Mr. Wood, taking advantage of my letter, asked the privilege by a unanimous consent of the House to

Opposition to Bureau and Reconstruction Work

make a personal explanation. Obtaining the consent, he first sent my letter to be read at the clerk's desk; then, answering it briefly, submitted fifteen formulated charges. Though he might possibly have been checked, as he was going farther than a "personal explanation" called for, yet my friends—and I had a great many on the floor of the House—insisted on my having an opportunity to answer, and so did not rest until Mr. Wood's charges, which were substantially those that had appeared in the *Cincinnati Gazette*, had been sent to the Committee on Education and Labor. Furnished with able counsel on both sides, Mr. Wood and I brought my case before this committee of Congress having a membership of ten in number. The Hon. Samuel M. Arnell, of Tennessee, was chairman. The committee met behind closed doors in a commodious room in the basement of the House side of the Capitol, nearly every day for three months, and had brought before them hundreds of witnesses, giving, as I much desired, every opportunity to the prosecutors to bring to light their accusations.

The committee by a vote of 8 to 2 sustained me and closed a faithful review of the fifteen charges by these remarks:

"The committee has thought it proper to deal, primarily, with the charges referred to them by the House. But it would be unjust to the gallant officer and faithful public servant who has so honorably passed the severe ordeal to which he has been subjected, daily, during the last three months, to close this report with a simple verdict of acquittal.

"No approximately correct history of civilization can ever be written which does not throw out in bold relief, as one of the great landmarks of political and

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

social progress, the organization and administration of the Freedmen's Bureau.

“The great labor to be performed, its unremitting and exhausting anxieties, the wide field of operations, the obstacles that interposed and were to be overcome, the breadth of mind and sympathy of heart necessary to the proper accomplishment of the task, are facts which must be considered in forming a just estimate of General Howard's services.

“The colossal proportions of the work of the Bureau will be seen at a glance. Its operations extended over 500,000 square miles of territory devastated by the greatest war of modern times. More than 4,000,000 of its people sunk in the lowest depths of ignorance by two centuries of slavery, and suddenly set free amid the fierce animosities of war—free but poor, helpless, and starving. Here, truly, was a most appalling condition of things. Not only the destiny of the liberated race was in the balance, but the life of the nation itself depended upon the correct solution of this intricate problem. It was a great practical question that had to be met.

“The letter to Mr. Whiting, solicitor of the War Department, setting forth the details of the scheme, has been cited in another connection. His plan was substantially adopted by Congress, save in regard to the suggestion that the head of the work ought to hold a Cabinet position, to which the dignity and magnitude of his duty certainly entitled him. Then arose the practical question—who among the tried, wise, and humane men of the nation should be trusted with the execution of this work? As has been before stated, Major General Oliver O. Howard was appointed commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau in 1865. The duties

Opposition to Bureau and Reconstruction Work

assigned him were novel and perplexing. He had no landmarks to guide him. The experience of France and England was even discouraging. The emancipation problem in Russia was, in many important respects, different from ours, and he could get no hints from that quarter to serve him. The failures of the past were before him, and as he thought of the causes of them, he could get but little consolation from those sources, so he addressed himself boldly to the work before him from a new standpoint. The impulses of freedom and progress were controlling the national mind; and, trusting to those impulses, he went to work on the principle that only 'ideas save races.' If the negroes were to be saved and were to benefit civilization, it was to be only by making them self-relying and responsible citizens.

"His first attempts therefore were to prevent pauperism, to make the freedmen and their families understand that charity should be considered odious by them, that they should work to support themselves and families, and that they should be educated.

"The Bureau, at the close of the war, was the representative at the South of the best ideas of the country, promoting peace and ordaining justice. What it accomplished in this respect exceeded the expectations of its most sanguine advocates.

"Let it be further remembered, to the credit of the colored race, and of the inspiration that prompted General Howard's plans, that not one insurrection, not one murder, has occurred on the part of the negroes in revenge for two centuries of slavery. Yet the two races have lived side by side, in the same neighborhoods, looking into each other's eyes, while this wonderful transformation has been going on. What a dif-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

ferent spectacle presents itself on the blood-drenched sands of the Antilles under French rule. Ours was the substitution of moral for brute force.

“It may be well to state, in this connection, that it was in a freedmen’s court that colored persons were first admitted to testify in any of the late slave States. To-day all the courts are open to them, and a colored senator sits at the other end of the Capitol and assists in making laws for those courts.

“Not less potent has been the influence of the Bureau on the labor question. At the close of the war famine looked the South in the face. There was a cry for bread throughout the Southern country. It was sneeringly said by the enemies of emancipation that the negro would not labor. Satisfied by the Bureau that contracts would be enforced, that justice would be administered, with words of encouragement whispered in his ear, the negro went to work. The battle-plowed, trampled fields of the South yielded a wealth of production that seemed not the result of human labor, but as if ‘earth had again grown quick with God’s creating breath.’ The crops at the South have been larger proportionately since the war than at any previous date.

“An article by Sidney Andrews, in the February number of *Old and New*, makes the following concise and truthful statement of the workings of the Bureau:

“‘Of the thousand things that the Bureau has done no balance sheet can ever be made. How it helped the ministries of the church, saved the blacks from robbery and persecution, enforced respect for the negro’s rights, instructed all the people in the meaning of the law, threw itself against the stronghold of intemperance, settled neighborhood quarrels, brought about amicable relations between employer and employed,

Opposition to Bureau and Reconstruction Work

comforted the sorrowful, raised up the downhearted, corrected bad habits among whites and blacks, restored order, sustained contracts for work, compelled attention to the statute books, collected claims, furthered local educational movements, gave sanctity to the marriage relation, dignified labor, strengthened men and women in good resolutions, rooted out old prejudices, ennobled the home, assisted the freedmen to become land owners, brought offenders to justice, broke up bands of outlaws, overturned the class rule of ignorance, led bitter hearts into brighter ways, shamed strong hearts into charity and forgiveness, promulgated the new doctrine of equal rights, destroyed the seeds of mistrust and antagonism, cheered the despondent, set idlers at work, aided in the reorganization of society, carried the light of the North into dark places of the South, steadied the negro in his struggle with novel ideas, inculcated kindly feeling, checked the passion of whites and blacks, opened the blind eyes of judges and jurors, taught the gospel of forbearance, encouraged human sympathy, distributed the generous charities of the benevolent, upheld loyalty, assisted in creating a sentiment of nationality—how it did all this and hundredfold more, who shall ever tell? What pen shall ever record?’

“These are warm and generous words. They are eloquent. But the facts that they state are still more eloquent.

“Still it is asked, ‘Has the Bureau been a success?’ Success! The world can point to nothing like it in all the history of emancipation. No thirteen millions of dollars were ever more wisely spent; yet from the beginning this scheme has encountered the bitterest opposition and the most unrelenting hate. Scoffed at

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

like a thing of shame, often struck and sorely wounded, sometimes in the house of its friends, apologized for rather than defended; yet with God on its side, the Freedmen's Bureau has triumphed; civilization has received a new impulse, and the friends of humanity may well rejoice. The Bureau work is being rapidly brought to a close, and its accomplishments will enter into history, while the unfounded accusations brought against it will be forgotten. . . .

"In conclusion, the committee find on the whole case that the charges are utterly groundless and causeless; that the commissioner has been a devoted, honest, and able public servant. The committee find that his great trust has been performed wisely, disinterestedly, economically, and most successfully. If there be anything in the conduct of affairs of the Bureau which would excite a suspicion, even in the breast of partisan or personal hate, it is owing to the fact that General Howard, conscious of his own purity, intent on his great work, has never stopped to think of the appearances which men of less conscious integrity much more carefully regard.

"Who is the inventor or instigator of these charges it is not the purpose of the committee to inquire. Mr. Wood, as has already been stated, disclaims all personal responsibility for them. The evidence which he adduced was not evidence tending to establish the accusation, but was, nearly all of it, merely experimental—an inquiry by the person calling the witness into the details of transactions of which he seemed to have neither accurate knowledge nor information. While the examination was going on, with closed doors, under a pledge of secrecy imposed on the committee, counsel and parties, incorrect statements, purporting to be re-

Opposition to Bureau and Reconstruction Work

ports of the testimony, were spread extensively through the country, most injurious to General Howard, and utterly without support in the evidence. It is not in the power of the committee or of the House to repair this injustice or to compensate this faithful public officer for the indignity, anxiety, and expense which his defense has entailed upon him. All that is in our power is to recommend to the House the passage of the following resolution, as expressing our opinion of the whole case, and an act of justice to a faithful and distinguished public servant:

“ ‘*Resolved*, That the policy pursued by the United States toward four and a half million of its people suddenly enfranchised by the events of a great Civil War, in seeking to provide for them education, to render them independent and self-supporting, and in extending to them civil and political equality, is a source of just national pride; and that the House hereby acquits Major General Oliver O. Howard of the groundless and causeless charges lately preferred against him, and does hereby declare and record its judgment, that in successfully organizing and administering with fidelity, integrity, and ability the Freedmen’s Bureau, which has contributed so much to the accomplishment of the first two of these great ends, he is deserving of the gratitude of the American people.’ ”

March 2, 1871, the House passed this resolution by a large majority. I was often subsequently assured by men in opposition to the Republican party, that it was because the first part of the resolution claimed so much credit for Republican action, that they voted no; but that so far as I was concerned the resolution was all right.

The minority of two of the committee reported two

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

resolutions, recommending that I be court-martialed and that the Secretary of War be directed to take steps to recover money disbursed in aid of "churches, religious associations and educational institutions not in pursuance of law." The adoption of the majority report eliminated this one. This minority utterly ignored the Acts of Congress which had empowered me as commissioner to cooperate with all the bodies and associations referred to by them in the work of the support and education of refugees and freedmen. It had become a political party matter, and one of the minority when asked to join with the majority, said frankly: "I cannot leave my party."

Surely, I was gratified at the result, though so long delayed. I had been brought under severe charges and bitter accusation before the House of Representatives. After a long and tedious investigation, the House awarded me, instead of censure, a happily worded vote of confidence and thanks.

CHAPTER LXI

COURT OF INQUIRY; PRESIDENT OF HOWARD UNIVERSITY

EARLY in 1872 I had a brief change from my Bureau work, though no relief from its responsibilities. Under the last Bureau Act, that of August 4, 1868, I was engaged in finding and paying the colored soldiers and sailors in different States who had not as yet been reached by our limited agencies. I had been ardently pushing forward the educational division, and was also performing the administrative functions of Howard University, which now had in operation eight departments. The Young Men's Christian Association of Washington, very active under the efficient secretaryship of Mr. George A. Hall, had for some years kept me as its president, and our Congregational Church under its new and able pastor, Rev. J. E. Rankin, D.D., still claimed some of my time. Indeed, there was as yet no leisure; and all friends believed that I was laden about as heavily as one man ought to be, when one day I received a note from the Secretary of the Interior, Columbus Delano, inviting me to call at his office. Not a little curious at such an unusual invitation, I went at once. He asked me as soon as we were face to face if I were willing to go to Arizona and New Mexico as a "Peace Commissioner." General Grant's administration, he said, in pursuance of his peace policy with the Indians had succeeded in making

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

peace with every tribe that was on the war path except one; that one was the Apache tribe of the notorious chieftain Cochise.

Finding that my selection was at the wish of the President, I accepted, and left Washington March 7th, leaving General Whittlesey as acting commissioner. The Indian work given me was very absorbing, so that for the year 1872, after the first two months, I was practically detached from my Bureau.¹ During the spring a strong desire appeared on the part of the politicians in control, many of whom had been staunch friends of the freedmen, to eliminate the Bureau completely from the future political issues of the day. On questions concerning which they, who were members of the Senate and House of Representatives, would naturally have consulted me, they advised during my absence with the Secretary of War. He advised them, and particularly the appropriation committee of the House, to make at once an ostensible close of the Freedmen's Bureau, putting directly into his office the bounty division and that part of the medical and hospital department which could not in the interest of humanity be shut off.

Though General Grant himself had sent me to Arizona and New Mexico, endued with extraordinary powers, still in military circles great irritation naturally sprang from my going in the capacity of a peace commissioner, and the action which I was obliged to take to accomplish the desired results found severe

¹I successfully adjusted the differences among the Indians and whites in Arizona and New Mexico; and with only my aide, Captain Sladen, and a guide, Jeffords, I succeeded in reaching Cochise in his own stronghold amid the Dragoon Mountains, Arizona. We there concluded a lasting peace. For detailed accounts see "My Life and Experience Among Our Hostile Indians." O. O. H.

Court of Inquiry

criticism and complaint not only among frontiersmen and their newspapers, but among army officers of different ranks in bivouac and garrison, and at district, department, and even military division headquarters.

General Sheridan from Chicago, commanding the large central military division, had had his jurisdiction extended to New Mexico. On receiving such criticisms and complaints, he gave me such comment in his indorsements that I remonstrated. He happened to be in Washington soon after my return from Arizona in November, and I had an interview with him. I said: "General Sheridan, did you never know that General Grant himself sent me to the Southwest to do just what I did?"

He answered: "No, Howard, no! Did Grant really do that?" I replied: "Indeed he did, and I never in the whole expedition went beyond my instructions."

Sheridan then assured me that he would try to rectify the mischief that he and others had done me by a too hasty judgment and action. From the criticism and complaint that thus came into the War Department, and from the personal hostility of W. W. Belknap, then Secretary of War, I was made to feel that the department was against me, and that during my absence there had been unfriendly planning and action against my late Bureau.

The legislative action, however, was just what I desired, except that I would have preferred to close out my own Bureau and not have another do it for me in an unfriendly manner in my absence. The legislation was embraced in an Appropriation Act (June 10, 1872). After giving one hundred thousand dollars (\$100,000) for the expenses of the payment of bounties, it was provided: "That the Bureau of Refugees,

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands shall be discontinued from and after June 30, 1872, and that all agents, clerks, and other employees then on duty shall be discharged, except such as may be retained by the Secretary of War for the purposes of this proviso; and all Acts and parts of Acts pertaining to the collection and payment of bounties, or other moneys due to colored soldiers, sailors, and marines, or their heirs, shall remain in force until otherwise ordered by Congress, the same to be carried into effect by the Secretary of War, who may employ such clerical force as may be necessary for the purpose."

The Freedmen's Hospital and Asylum at Washington, by the same Act, given to sustain them an appropriation of seventy-four thousand dollars (\$74,000), was placed directly under the Secretary of War, requiring him to make all estimates and pass upon all accounts, and be responsible to the Treasury of the United States for all expenditures.

At the time of the transfer from my office at Howard University to the War Department of all books, documents, and papers, my entire office establishment was at the university, where I held by rental part of its main structure. The distance to carry the records was two miles. The majority of my clerks were educated colored men, or bright colored youths, attending the night courses of university study, and were suddenly discharged—this created consternation. Confusion was produced in the transfer itself. Belknap's assistant adjutant general sent wagons, messengers, laborers, and clerks to take away the archives. My few clerks were disappointed and irritated, having been suddenly cut off from all employment, and it seemed to them treated as if in disgrace, though they

Court of Inquiry

were as able and upright as their successors. Books and papers were taken with little regard to order, and tumbled into the wagons. Important papers were picked up *en route* to the new office, and record books were found on the stairs of the university and on the grounds.

After the apparent close of the Freedmen's Bureau and after the completion of my Indian peace expedition, I was still detained at Washington. Events which rapidly followed each other show that what was called the "confusion of records" of the late Bureau was the actual cause of my detention. General Vincent, who was placed over the records, and who undertook to systematize a part for complete files, and to rectify others for further use, advised Mr. Belknap to work out through General Howard not only the rectification of the records in his office, but the gathering of all missing books and accounts from Maryland to Texas. I was, notwithstanding this demand upon me, denied access to my own books. The officer in charge constantly wrote me asking explanation of apparent discrepancies to be found only in papers, many of which his clerks had thought of no value and had burned in the basement of the War Department before they were properly arranged after the transfer. Others, though ordered to Washington, had not yet come from inaccessible points of operation in the South.

This lengthy correspondence began as soon as I returned from the Southwest. Out of that correspondence came misconceptions; some reasonable on their face and some imaginary. Finally, as the friction became intense, formal accusations in two letters of the Secretary of War were addressed to the Speaker of the

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

House of Representatives, dated respectively December 4, 1873, and January 5, 1874.

As soon as the first letter appeared (which it did before I saw it elsewhere) in the public journals, and before its receipt by the Speaker, I wrote to Generals Grant and Sherman, and to Secretary Belknap, and demanded a hearing of some kind for all the charges, before any court or tribunal the Government might elect. The secretary's letters suggested that I might be court-martialed were it not for the statute of limitation; so I at once waived that as far as I could. I did not wish, however, a court of inquiry of three officers selected by the secretary, who was hostile to the negro and unfriendly to me. After much delay and discussion in Congress, a special court of inquiry of seven army officers of high rank was created by law. General Grant, the President, appointed the court. It first assembled March 3, 1874, in rooms of a dwelling house, No. 1816 F Street. After two adjournments, the members of the court, seven in number, were all present, to wit:

- 1st. General William T. Sherman, United States Army, President of the Court.
- 2d. Major General Irvin McDowell, United States Army.
- 3d. Brigadier General M. C. Meigs, Quartermaster General.
- 4th. Brigadier General John Pope, United States Army.
- 5th. Colonel George W. Getty, Third United States Artillery.
- 6th. Colonel J. J. Reynolds, Third Cavalry.
- 7th. Colonel N. A. Miles, Fifth Infantry.

Major Asa Bird Gardner was appointed judge advocate of the court and, as prosecutor, represented the Secretary of War.

The charges were in substance that General How-

Court of Inquiry

ard had failed to establish and enforce a proper system of payments to colored soldiers, involving great loss; that he was responsible for some minor defalcations of officers who had already been punished; that he had misapplied public funds; that he had transferred confused and incomplete records, and failed to report the state of the same.

The investigation of all the items of charge and complaint went on from day to day till the forty-second session of the court had been had, May 9, 1874. After the review and advice of the judge advocate general upon all the proceedings and findings, General Grant affixed his approval July 2, 1874. It lacked but one day of four months that I was under the most careful and searching investigation, and I am proud to insert the findings of this celebrated court of inquiry as follows:

First.—The court is of the opinion that, in the matters referred to it for investigation, General O. O. Howard has not, with knowledge and intent, violated any law of Congress, regulation of the army, or rule of morals, and that he is “not guilty,” upon legal, technical, or moral responsibility, in any of the offenses charged.

Second.—The court finds that General Howard, when charged by his superiors with a great work arising out of the war, devoted his whole time and all his faculties and energies to the execution of that work. In this he employed hundreds of assistants and dealt with hundreds of thousands of men. In regard to the expenditure of money, it appears that his accounts are closed and settled to the satisfaction of the accounting officers of the Treasury, whose decisions in such matters are by law the highest authority, “final and conclusive upon the Executive branch of the Government and subject to revision only by Congress or the proper courts.”

Third.—In relation to the investment of certain public mon-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

eys in United States bonds, while the court does not hold that such investments were justified by existing laws, yet in view of the fact that these investments were made only under the opinion and advice of the Second Comptroller, the court attaches no blame to General Howard therefor. The investment of portions of a similar fund, viz.: the "irregular bounty fund," had previously been authorized by express law.

Fourth.—Some questions arising out of the sudden termination of the operations and organization of the Freedmen's Bureau yet remain to be settled, with those who were formerly subordinates and assistants to the Commissioner. Some few erroneous payments made by honest subordinates, and some others made, or not made, by officers now dead or cashiered for fraud, remain to be adjusted. The adjustment of these matters belongs properly to the successors of General Howard in the Bureau; and in these matters, as in all others brought to the notice of the court during thirty-seven days of careful and laborious investigation, the court finds that General Oliver O. Howard did his whole duty, and believes that he deserves well of his country.

(Signed) W. T. SHERMAN,
General, President of the Court.

The finding of the Court of Inquiry is approved.

July 2, 1874.

(Signed) U. S. GRANT.

As the primary objects for which the Freedmen's Bureau was created, to wit, the relief of the destitute, the reorganization of labor upon a free basis, the securing to the freedmen the rights and privileges of free men in the courts and in the schools, had been gradually accomplished, until at last the schools alone remained under my charge, I gave my time more and more to Howard University. Almost from its inception I regarded that institution as of the first importance as an object lesson—a complete exhibit in its organization and in its operation of the higher grade

Court of Inquiry

of school work. Here I tried to foster its life in the social as well as in the literary scale, recognizing as far as it could be done the manhood of the negro scholar, teacher, and professor. My own efforts were reasonably successful in securing—first, the careful supervision and management of the estate purchased so as to give a fair endowment fund; second, the securing of a large subscription for the professorships; third, the providing of professors, teachers, and frugal professional students with houses, or tenements, building them within the university reserve, or constructing them for individuals on outside lots. I built a house for myself near the university on a lot I purchased from it in order to enhance the value of the property the university had for sale; but owing to the hard times which followed, I had some troublesome financial reverses before I left Washington.

I had previously acted in one capacity and another for the institution till I was chosen president April 5, 1869. I accepted the office with the express condition that its demands should not interfere with my military duties. After that, I habitually performed every day the executive functions of the institution. I was *ex-officio* chairman of the executive committee, chairman of the board of trustees, and of each separate faculty. The morning exercises at the chapel were opened by me when in Washington, and in some instances during the temporary absence of a professor I taught the classes. I also prepared and delivered to the students lectures on conduct, discipline, and other subjects. This office I held for five years and four months.

In the summer of 1873, the trustees, independently of me, fixed upon their own method of settlement of money accounts, very properly desiring to return to

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

me, as far as possible, all extraordinary outlays, and to compensate me for my time and labor expended for the institution over and above that reckoned as officially due to the Government.

In the statement which they prepared, called "General Howard's Account," of date July 4, 1873, they put down receipts and expenditures and attached a summary which exhibited on the debtor side \$17,583, and on the credit side \$16,906.18, showing that I had received a balance of only \$676.82 in money.

The trustees then remarked: "The amount General Howard has actually received over and above what he has given to the university and to destitute students for seven years' service is six hundred and seventy-six dollars and eighty-two cents (\$676.82).

"If we recall the investment he made to enhance the realty of the university, the amount of rental in the way of interest has been \$2,000 yearly in excess of the rental of his former city house, making in five years of occupancy \$10,000. For this interest there is no return except in the increased value of his lot, viz.: \$4,434, estimated; deducting this from \$10,000 gives \$5,566, a forced expenditure for the benefit of the university. This shows that he virtually contributed more than he has received in the sum of \$4,889.18."

Later, in 1883, by the help of a friend who desired to be anonymous I paid a subscription of \$10,000 for the Law Department, and have since been the channel of aid to the amount of \$1,500 more. I have been thus particular because it has been claimed by some critics that I made money out of my connection with the university. I did not, however. The day I took my departure from Washington, I was not nearly so well off pecuniarily as when I went there in 1865.

Court of Inquiry

One very plausible criticism which for years was reiterated in the newspapers, was, in substance, that General Howard ought not to have received any compensation, remuneration, or salary from Howard University, while he was an agent or president, because the Government so largely helped that institution. The answer I made to my own conscience was that the circumstances were unusual, and that my course was necessary, legal, and right. That course after long investigation was approved by my Government and by the board of trustees of the university.

I took some compensation and remuneration because I was lawfully entitled to it, and as the success of the institution was very near to my heart I spent money for it in ways which I thought would do the university the most good.

The fight for my reputation and honorable name having been finished by the action of the President in approval of the proceedings of the court, I was assigned to the command of the Department of the Columbia. I gladly left Washington, after nine years of incessant labor, with frequent and painful struggles, through all of which the comfort of a wise and devoted wife, and a strong belief in the goodness of God, were my principal reliance. At times there was a seeming success of the machinations of wicked men, whose personal hatred or bad politics would make me a sacrifice to their venomous persistency. But to-day they were; to-morrow they were not!

PART IV

**COMMANDING MILITARY DEPARTMENTS
INDIAN CAMPAIGNS
LITERARY WORK
FOUNDING LINCOLN MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY**

CHAPTER LXII

LIFE IN WASHINGTON, D. C., 1866 TO 1874; ASSIGNED TO
DUTY IN REGULAR ARMY AS COMMANDER, DEPART-
MENT OF THE COLUMBIA

ONE day in Washington, a gentleman introduced me to Madame Schoolcraft. She was the granddaughter of an Indian chief and the widow of Henry R. Schoolcraft, the Indian historian who has left such graphic accounts of Indian tribes. She was apparently about sixty years of age, a tall, handsome, stately woman with exceedingly dark and brilliant eyes which seemed to pierce one through and through when she was talking. She had considerable funds in her hands left her by her husband, and was induced by a real estate agent to invest a large part of them in Washington city property: stores, houses, and house lots in various parts of the city.

It was just after the wonderful changes that had taken place through the vote of the city (at that time the citizens of Washington had a vote granted to them by Congress). Under the leadership of the energetic and enterprising Alexander R. Shepherd, sometimes called "Boss Shepherd," the improvements were so extensive throughout the city that property rose everywhere in value.

Madame Schoolcraft came to me very much troubled about her property. She said: "I am too old to take care of so many pieces." After looking into the subject, I thought that I could aid her by an exchange

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

of equities. Each piece of her property was more or less mortgaged.

I owned my home and more than an acre of ground. I consented to take over her property, and her attorneys, thinking that my home and grounds would be easier for her to care for and fully equivalent in value, made the exchange.

For a while there was a great boom in real estate and I was very hopeful of being able to properly dispose of my possessions and lay by something for my family, but the tables very soon turned; the legislation of Congress went against the city of Washington, and except in certain favored localities the price of property went down with wonderful rapidity. For example, one of the stores that had come into my possession was at the time of my purchase valued for taxation at \$18,000, and had on it a mortgage of \$4,000. The next valuation was \$12,000; the next following was \$6,000, and being at last forced to sell I disposed of it at \$5,000, clearing hardly \$1,000. The houses took a like plunge and I was glad to dispose of most of them for the mortgages that were upon them. I did, however, pay one or two of my obligations out of this property, but the result was that I made nothing from the exchange; in fact, I would have been thrown into bankruptcy but for some lots I owned on Meridian Hill. These I sold to very fair advantage, receiving enough to clear me of nearly all my pressing obligations—obligations incurred by my official work.

This was the condition of my estate when I was ordered away from Washington in 1874. I had been, as is evident, put to very great expense by the investigations into the affairs of the Freedmen's Bureau. I had to pay for my own counsel in every case, so I did

Life in Washington, D. C., 1866 to 1874

not have much left when I received the order from the War Department to proceed to the North Pacific Coast and take command of the Department of the Columbia.

A friend at that time loaned me \$7,000, with no other security than my personal note, so that I was able to pay the balance of my subscriptions to the Y. M. C. A., and some dues to Howard University, and defray the expenses of my son at Yale College, and of my daughter at Vassar, besides taking my wife and the other five children across the continent.

I had some unimproved lots in Buffalo, N. Y. This property brought me later \$5,000 in my settlement with the friend who had so kindly accommodated me before setting out for my new station.

The journey across the continent was very pleasant and memorable. I had two aids, Captain J. A. Sladen and Captain Melville C. Wilkinson. Captain Sladen had three children, Captain Wilkinson two, and Mrs. Howard and myself five, so that we took quite complete possession of a railway car. People would come along and take a look at the car filled with children, and if they liked children would come in and enjoy their gaiety, and play with them; but others would say: "Don't go in there, that car is full of young ones." Those who did come in were happy and helpful, and I hardly think that a more jovial company ever made the journey. It took us seven days from Washington to San Francisco.

Here at San Francisco we had our first experience with the depreciated "greenbacks." The traders would take hard money only. For \$100 we received in exchange but \$60 in gold or silver.

Soon after this we went by steamer to Oregon—passing through the Golden Gate. We accomplished

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

the voyage in four days. During this sea trip we were fortunate to make several new and valuable acquaintances. I recall Hon. Henry Failing, of Portland, Ore., among them. Some of these ever after remained constant friends. They warned us against the country we were going to—how rough it was; how extensive the fir forests, and how interminable the rains. They told us the people there were usually called “web-feet,” because of the abundant water.

As everybody knows, Astoria is at the mouth of the Columbia River; Portland, 120 miles from Astoria, and some ten miles above the mouth of the Willamette.

Coming to Portland in August, we found the country not only clear of storms, but very dry and dusty.

The city had then about 8,000 people. Nearly all the streets and walks were paved with plank.

Since then Portland has been extended in every direction up and down the Willamette River, across to East Portland, and beyond, encroaching upon the great fir forests until there are few left; the city now ascends the hills westward till the extensive wilderness has almost vanished. There are to-day (1907) 100,000 inhabitants within the city limits. Portland has every modern improvement in electric cars, trolley lines, railways passing in and out, and pavements of stone. The new churches, bank buildings, hotels, and splendid houses with beautiful grounds give to Portland, with the Willamette at its feet, a picturesque appearance equal to that of any city of its size in the Union.

Of course, the hills still remain, each crowned with a few trees. From any one of these heights the view of the lofty, snow-capped mountain peaks is superb.

Portland people were wise in centrally locating their United States post office, the courthouses, the

Life in Washington, D. C., 1866 to 1874

jail, and customhouse; and they also had the good sense to reserve very commodious parks which are beautiful and a delight to the people.

What was called the O. S. N. Co. (the Oregon Steam Navigation Company) was at the time of my arrival a monopoly. It held the transportation of the upper Columbia in its hands, and could regulate the prices not only of grain for hundreds of miles inland, but also of passenger transportation.

In one of the buildings owned by this company the headquarters of the Department of the Columbia was located. I assumed command August 25, 1874, relieving General Jeff. C. Davis.

It took several days to find a house, but at last we secured a small cottage on Washington Street, and there made ourselves very comfortable until the next spring, when we found a larger house on Tenth and Morrison streets, vacated by my adjutant general H. Clay Wood. This house we enlarged, with the permission of the owner, by building a corner tower; its grounds adjoined those of D. B. Thompson, who had been governor of the State, and were opposite to the home of Harvey Scott, who was at that time collector of the port, and has since been for years the editor of *The Oregonian*.

The military department of the Columbia was very extensive. It took in all of Washington, Oregon, a part of Idaho, and included within its limits the Territory of Alaska. About 1,000 troops were then stationed at different posts of the command. The central station was Vancouver Barracks, only six miles from Portland but west of the Columbia River.

My first official act was to close out General Davis's Modoc Campaign by sending a remnant, those still

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

held as prisoners, to the Indian Territory. My aid-de-camp, Captain M. C. Wilkinson, who had done a like service the preceding fall, was detailed to have charge of the party. At first he treated the Indians with some severity, handcuffing the leaders, but soon finding them obedient and well disposed, he took off the handcuffs and fully trusted them. His expedition was successful and gave another instance where kindness conquers and wins.

It was not long after our arrival before I counted up some twenty Indian tribes within the limits of my department, not including those in Alaska. I discovered further that I had inherited quite a number of Indian troubles which unless well handled would lead to war; so I began very soon to visit the different tribes of Indians in order to look into their condition and consider carefully their causes of restlessness.

A very remarkable instance of hardship to a boy, and my later personal experience with him, I recall whenever I think of my journey from Washington to Oregon. I had hardly taken my Bureau headquarters in Washington at the corner of Nineteenth and I streets, when there came into my office a young man apparently about twenty years of age. He had a napkin about his head. He was straight, slender, of good build and soldierly bearing. He said: "General Howard, I have been trying in vain to get employment. I have to support my father and his family. My father, partially insane, struck me this morning, and I am in great distress both from this fact and from the want of means to give the family bread."

I said: "Where are you from?"

He answered: "Richmond, Va."

At that time I was forbidden to employ anyone who

Life in Washington, D. C., 1866 to 1874

could not take the oath of allegiance, and, further, all my places were filled. I told him this. He did not know about the oath, but supposed he could take it, as he had not fought against the Government. He begged so hard for employment that my compassion overcame all reason and caused me to say: "Go in there with the clerks and do what you can and I will try in some way to pay you."

He wrote a good hand and was an excellent clerk, was devoted to duty and made no complaint with regard to hours or wages, at all times doing his best.

Two years before the close of the Freedmen's Bureau I secured him a situation under General Leggett, one of my division commanders who was then at the head of the land office in the Department of the Interior. Leggett gave him a good clerkship and for a time he was doing well. A Union soldier in that department who had lost one of his feet in the war, for some reason took a great dislike to him and began to worry him with petty persecutions. Cudlipp, for that was the young man's name, had married, and now had one child a little over three years of age. With this child he was one day in a grocery store when the lame soldier came in, and seeing Susie's little dog jumping about he angrily kicked the dog into the street. For this Cudlipp, instantly seizing a stick of wood, knocked the soldier down. The encounter aggravated the situation so that the latter searched out Cudlipp's record and found that at one time when a boy he had been in a Richmond prison.

A few days later Cudlipp, just after dark, was carrying a pitcher of milk to his family. Suddenly from an alley way the soldier sprang upon him, when Cudlipp, quickly backing off, swung the pitcher over his

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

head and laid the soldier upon his back, bruising him badly. This occurred in 1874.

One evening Cudlipp's sister came to my house near Howard University. She was crying bitterly and could hardly speak. She said that her brother had been arrested and thrown into jail and wanted very much to see me. Learning the story, I went at once to the police judge, who was my friend, and heard his version of the case. He said that Cudlipp had nobody to appear for him, and, thinking that he deserved severe punishment, he had fined him \$100 and given him confinement for one month.

When I told the judge the circumstances of the young man's life and what a faithful clerk he had been when with me, and, in fact, ever since, the judge said that if I would pay the fine he would remit the confinement. I did so at once and then went back with Cudlipp to see General Leggett. The general declared that he could not reinstate him, for, he said: "I have just learned that he has been in a penitentiary at Richmond, Va., having been convicted of a high crime." I then found this to be the record:

When a lad of twelve years a rough man had come to his mother's home and insulted her in his presence. The boy had a large-sized jackknife in his hand and struck the man with it in the breast, inflicting a fatal wound. The boy was arrested, tried, and sentenced to ten years in the penitentiary and had been kept in for his full term. While there, though associated with criminals, he was thoroughly trained in all that would be necessary to fit him for a clerkship.

I carried the case up to the Hon. Columbus Delano, the Secretary of the Interior. I left Cudlipp in the hall near the secretary's door. The secretary was very

Life in Washington, D. C., 1866 to 1874

pleasant and expressed his sorrow, but he said: "General Howard, it will not do to have a penitentiary man in Government employ." Such was his decision.

With a sad heart I stepped out and told the young man that the secretary did not dare to put him on the rolls again. The effect upon Cudlipp was startling. Pale as death, he leaned against the wall and murmured: "It is no use, general! I can never do anything in this world!"

That was the nearest approach to despair that I ever witnessed. I said to him: "Cudlipp, look at me. Who am I?"

With a faint smile he said: "General Howard, of course."

"Have I been your friend?"

He said: "I should think so."

"Are you sure?"

"I could not doubt you."

"Now you may understand this: that if I am once a man's friend, I remain so, unless there is some good reason for a change. I am going to start for the Pacific coast in a few days and I will take you as my clerk."

The revulsion was very strong. His face flushed and his eyes filled as he said: "Would you do that?"

My answer was: "Go home and get your wife and Susie ready and go with me."

So on the same train and steamer with us William Cudlipp and his wife and child made their way to Portland, Ore. There he became, in my office, as he had been before, an energetic, hard-working, faithful clerk.

CHAPTER LXIII

IN THE NORTHWEST, AMONG THE INDIANS; TRIP TO ALASKA;
LIFE IN PORTLAND, ORE.; 1874 TO 1881

IN Portland, Ore., there were two large banks on Front Street; one was the First National, of which Henry Failing was the president, and the other a private banking house of which Ladd & Tilton were the proprietors. Ladd's bank was at the time of my arrival probably the wealthiest, and had the largest circulation of any in Oregon. Mr. Ladd was a Christian man and wanted to do a kindness to the Young Men's Christian Association, then very small in numbers and in possessions. He gave it a room in the rear of his bank building in the second story, and there our young men met from time to time. They were very poorly supplied with books or facilities for doing their work. I had hardly become established in my headquarters and in my home before I was elected to the presidency of the association. This came probably because I had been for so many years president of the Y. M. C. A. in Washington.

It was not long before I found myself associated with several active workers such as Dr. Lindsley, William Wadhams, Mr. Wakefield, James Steele, and others. At that time Captain M. C. Wilkinson of my staff was very active and earnest in Christian effort.

Soon we rented a large set of rooms on the lower side of Front Street, where there had been a saloon

In the Northwest, Among the Indians

and extensive gambling arrangements. Our meetings kept increasing, and large numbers of those who had gone astray were brought back to the Master's service.

A single instance may show how we worked in those days. E. P. Hammond, the evangelist, was holding meetings in the skating rink, a very spacious hall. There came in several men under the influence of drink who seemed to have had the purpose of breaking up the meeting. One man quite befuddled with liquor said to me as I tried to reason with him, "Old man, you are right. I wish you would sing 'The Sweet By and By.'"

Instantly the assembly took up the hymn. I sat down by the youngest of the intruders. His name was Williams, the adopted son of Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Williams, special friends of my family. The young man had gone so far that his parents despaired of him, and he appeared to be given over to dissipation. Suddenly he looked up into my face with a hopeless expression and murmured: "Little as you think it, I would like to reform!"

Of course I reasoned with him, but he was too much under the influence of liquor to give me hope that he would remember what he promised.

Two days after that, just at evening when I was leaving my office on Front Street, I saw Williams sitting in the doorway of a closed store. He was badly intoxicated and hardly able to sit erect. I went to him and asked him to walk home with me. This he was unable to do. I called a hack that was passing and told him to get in. With bleared eyes he gazed around to see if anybody was looking and said: "I am ashamed."

I succeeded in getting him into the hack and took him home with me, where we put him to bed and kept

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

him for several days, taking good care that he should not get at his clothing and give us the slip till the effects of the liquor had left him.

He then went into the evangelistic meetings of the Y. M. C. A. and was soon a new man. He was restored to his parents, and was soon married. All the time I had knowledge of the family, he was leading an honorable life.

There were many other remarkable instances of reformation. It seemed at that period that Satan was striving with all his helpers against light and knowledge, but in process of time the better people of that Western city conquered, building up their effective school system and their magnificent churches.

I remember that Mr. William Wadhams, Captain Wilkinson, and myself paid a visit together to a man who had a wife and several children. He was a drunkard, and she was slatternly dressed and foolish, really taking advantage of his dissipation to get the sympathy and help of the well-to-do. We found this man at his home and talked to him awhile. His wife brought out their large Bible, and he took a pencil in his hand and signed a pledge which one of us had drawn up, and looking up he said with determination: "May the Almighty strike me dead if I do not keep this pledge." Then he signed it.

With more difficulty we succeeded at last in getting his wife to promise to do her part in taking care of the children and the home, and doing what she could to make her husband comfortable during his hours of rest from labor.

He drove a heavy freight truck, and ever after that he came into our meetings, participated with us in our exercises, and sustained a good and wholesome career.

In the Northwest, Among the Indians

This shows what can be done in our Y. M. C. A. by a little united effort in behalf of those who are astray. Those cases seem to indicate much work, yet all of us who belonged to the Y. M. C. A. had other employment at that time, very absorbing on every day except the Sabbath, and such evenings as we could set apart for religious effort.

About this time I was one evening in the chapel of the Presbyterian church, Dr. Lindsley's, conducting a social meeting. Many were present, when suddenly there came in, across the room from the desk, a wild-looking man with jet black, disheveled hair and keen eyes. It was a striking figure and attracted quick attention. The man seemed to be beside himself. He cried out: "Is this the house of God?"

I answered: "Yes, that is what we call it."

He said: "May I say something here?"

Walking and talking he came up to the desk. I answered him: "Certainly."

He turned around and the first utterance he made was: "God bless them women!" looking at several who sat in front of him. Then he told us that some ladies had entered his saloon a few days before and knelt and prayed in their work to try and stop this evil. Their brave act had affected him strongly. It seems that he had been what they call in the Northwest a "sport." He, Ned Chambreau, was a Frenchman, and had come from Canada in the early days of Oregon. He had married a young girl who was already, though not more than fifteen years of age, a decided praying Christian. Ned said that she would pray him out of any difficulty he got into, and his difficulties were many. Indeed, his conduct at times was criminal and exposed him to arrest.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

Now he was thoroughly in earnest for good and ready to turn over a new leaf. Mr. William Wadhams helped him, by a stock of goods, to go into the hardware business, but he did not succeed in that. Then he undertook the grocery trade, but after a time a second failure distressed him. I shall never forget how he would come to me and ask me to walk up and down the sidewalk with him to comfort him.

One day when matters were at their worst Chambreau received an offer from one of his old gambling friends which was very tempting, and it was accompanied by some apparatus necessary to make the card game safe and sure. His friend said: "Christians don't care for you. You will starve to death. Come back to us and you can have anything you want."

The night after receiving this apparatus a kind lady was going past his store when she heard a man weeping aloud and praying; she went in and found Ned Chambreau on his knees in terrible distress.

"Why, Mr. Chambreau," she said; "what is the matter?"

"Oh, dear, I cannot pay my rent and I cannot get ahead in my business, and I have had this tempting offer to go back to my old ways."

She said kindly: "I will be your friend," and ran out immediately, and visited several good Christian people who contributed money enough to pay his rent and bridge over the difficulties.

It was not long after, that, finding Ned Chambreau a most efficient Indian scout, I employed him as such. I sent him everywhere, and, as he was familiar with the different tribes and spoke fluently the Chinook language, he did the Government good service. He remained an active Christian until his death.

In the Northwest, Among the Indians

Owing to my pecuniary condition on leaving Washington, I was forced to do something to earn money over and beyond my pay. Of course, by extreme economy something could be saved of the salary, though when it is remembered that for some time we were paid in greenbacks, a depreciated currency, and lost at least a quarter of the face value, it will be seen that the needs of a large family would not allow me to save much. It was then that I began to write for publication.

My first effort was "Donald's School Days," an attempt to put the New England school life of my youth into a story for boys. My publishers succeeded in getting quite a circulation.

In the winter of 1876, at the request of D. H. Stearns, during his absence of three months, I wrote the editorials for his paper, *The Portland Bee*. This work did not require much of my time. I have preserved the editorials until to-day. I remember thinking I would try an experiment and so wrote sketches of our public men of the past, of Presidents and other statesmen, comparing and contrasting them with the statesmen of that day who were well known to the country. My efforts worked so well that the paper increased in circulation. One day Judge Deady of the United States District Court met me, and not knowing that I was connected in any way with the paper said: "What has happened to the *Bee*? It seems to have taken on a new life."

His compliment pleased me and made me redouble my efforts to give interest and strength to the editorial work.

A little later I wrote also for magazines and monthlies, particularly reminiscences of the Civil War.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

These articles were well received and brought me a few hundred dollars.

One day in Portland I was invited to give at the Y. M. C. A. rooms a lecture on Gettysburg. It was then that I made my first effort in the war lectures. I spoke without notes and told the story of Gettysburg as well as I could from my own points of observation.

Evidently it proved interesting, for I soon received many invitations to give the lecture.

Nothing ever oppressed me more than a debt, and I was exceedingly anxious to make the last payment to that friend who had loaned me the \$7,000 when I needed money.

While in Portland, Ore., we took our letters to the First Congregational Church of that city, and here, uniting with our friends of that connection, I did what I could to assist the minister, Rev. Mr. Eaton, in his arduous work. Habitually I taught the large Bible class in his Sunday school, and bore my part in his social and religious meetings.

As much of my duty had to do with the various tribes of Indians, I spent much time in going from one post to another of my extensive territory. The three Indian wars with the Nez Perces, the Piutes and Bannocks, and the so-called "Sheep Eaters" took three summers and much planning during my command of the Department of the Columbia.

In the Nez Perces campaign I gathered all available military force near Fort Lapwai, Idaho, and after the most arduous campaign, with several battles and a continuous march of over 1,400 miles across the Rocky Mountains, making our way through the forests of the Yellowstone National Park, I succeeded in de-

In the Northwest, Among the Indians

taining the Indians till General Nelson A. Miles overtook and had a battle with them near Bearpaw Mountain. The firing was still going on when I arrived on the field, and through my own interpreters succeeded in persuading Chief Joseph to abandon further hostile effort and make a prompt surrender.¹

In 1876 what was called the "Custer Massacre" occurred in Dakota. A large number of officers of the Seventh cavalry were killed, thus creating an unusual number of vacancies in the army.

My son Guy, who had finished his studies at Yale and had been a year working in a Portland banking house, came to me and said: "In our bank a cashier-ship became available and another young man without experience, just from Scotland, was given the place over my head. Now, father, I want you to ask for me an appointment; your friends are in the army!"

I wrote a dispatch to General Sherman, stating that my son wanted an appointment in the army. Guy, smiling, said: "Please do not put it that way, but say that you want it."

"All right, Guy, go up home and see your mother and find what she says about such an appointment!"

He soon came back to headquarters and said, "Mother assents, with the hope of something better by and by outside."

I sent the telegram asking for a commission in the cavalry. Within twenty-four hours an answer was returned: "Your son is appointed by the President, regiment to be designated hereafter."

He was then placed before an army board, passed a creditable examination, and entered the service.

¹ For account of Indian campaign see my works entitled "Chief Joseph in Peace and in War" and "My Life among Hostile Indians." O. O. H.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

When his commission of second lieutenant came, it was for the Twelfth Infantry, not for the cavalry.

Eventually, however, he was appointed captain in the quartermaster's department of the army, and did service where it was especially pleasing to him. He took great pains to inform himself with reference to everything pertaining to military affairs, studying the tactics of all civilized nations and showing himself particularly able as an executive officer. Part of the time during the Indian wars I had him on my staff.¹

While acting in this capacity, he never wished me to tell him how to do anything. "Just say, father, what you want me to do and it will be done." These characteristics enabled him to perform a variety of service and finally promoted him to lieutenant colonel and chief quartermaster of the Second Corps in the enlarged army during the war with Spain.

We had been in the Northwest not quite a year when, having to visit Alaska, I took my family with me to that territory. We were on the June trip of the steamer *California*. The weather was fine and the expedition was very successful, full of interesting incidents from start to finish.

We were able to take our steamer on a trip north of Sitka,—a few days and nights' run; visiting altogether seven Indian tribes.²

¹ In both the Nez Perces and Bannock wars Second Lieutenant Guy Howard's gallant conduct was conspicuous. On August 20, 1877, at Camas Meadows, Ida., the Indians made a night attack on our camp and the bullets were cutting through the tent occupied by Guy and myself. Guy called out, "Father, lie down or you will be hit," but I noticed that Guy did not lie down himself but immediately went out to assist in forming the lines for defense.

For gallant service in action Lieutenant Howard received from the Government the brevet rank of first lieutenant. O. O. H.

² Of this journey I have given a detailed account in my book on Indians.

In the Northwest, Among the Indians

On June 17th we were on St. Frederick's Sound. It appeared like an inland lake, as smooth as a mill pond, and surrounded by hills large and small and mountains covered with snow. It being Bunker Hill Day, we fired a salute with our single cannon. Near evening I gave to the passengers the story of Gettysburg, using some red chalk on an improvised blackboard. At ten o'clock at night I was still talking to the people while the sun was considerably above the horizon. That night we noticed that there was but little space from twilight to dawn, not more than an hour. It was difficult for Mrs. Howard to persuade the children to go to bed when the sun was shining.

After our return, October, 1875, I received word that a British general was moving along our border between Canada and the United States to make inspections, and that he would be in the vicinity of Fort Walla Walla before many days. Taking my staff with me, I went up to meet him, October 12th. Just as we were setting out from the fort, mounted, my aid-de-camp, Captain J. A. Sladen, undertook to ride a horse that had not been recently used. The horse had only a snaffle bit, and the captain, who was a good rider, had hardly reached the saddle before the animal sprang forward and leaped a newly opened ditch, just grazing a tree against which Captain Sladen was thrown. With a leg badly fractured he could see the bottom of his foot, and as he lay on the ground he cried out in prayer: "O Lord, help me!" Just as I reached him he looked into my face and smiled, saying: "We always do so when we get into trouble."

I remember that I answered: "Sladen, sometimes the trouble is permitted for that reason!"

The captain's leg had to be amputated and he was

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

confined for a couple of weeks at the fort and then went down the river to his home in Portland; when, later, taking a steamer to join our families at Fort Stevens near the mouth of the Columbia, he slipped and broke open the newly healed wound. He endured great suffering in consequence of this and, in fact, was obliged to have his leg amputated again.

Since the accident or providence, whatever we may call it, Sladen has especially enjoyed his Christian work.

We met the English general and his staff and after showing them proper attention brought them to Vancouver and Portland. I remember that the general was greatly pleased with everything in the West except that the Sabbath was not carefully observed. Walking with him one Sunday morning, he pointed to some busy workmen along the line of the railroad and said: "What a pity to set such an example."

I had not been in the city of Portland long before the active people in the different churches combined to form a union mission with a view to doing something for the Chinamen, who had already come in large numbers to that part of the Pacific coast.

In my family there was a young Chinaman of slender build, very dignified, and apparently independent. His name was Moy Yu Ling. One day I gave him a Bible printed in Chinese. He read it quietly without remark, but soon he joined the mission, became deeply interested, and united with one of the churches, and for over twenty-five years has been a consistent Christian and a local missionary to his own people in Portland. A little later he opened up a store filled with Chinese goods of various descriptions. As a merchant and as a Christian teacher, for he continued in both

In the Northwest, Among the Indians

capacities, he has been remarkably successful. His children speak good English, and we always say when we meet them: "What a beautiful family!" The last time I was in Portland every child remembered me, took me by the hand, and called me by name.

Through Moy Yu Ling I came in contact with a large number of Chinese people and have from time to time interested myself in their welfare. I always feel that we ought to put up the bars against an overplus of immigration; but surely we ought not to discriminate against any given nation.

In 1878 a policy was inaugurated by the War Department, with a view to economize, to change the headquarters of each department from the cities in which they were located to the nearest army post. At the end of four years the headquarters of the Department of the Columbia were moved to Vancouver Barracks, and there I went with my staff officers and my family to remain two years.

At first we occupied the house that had been brought in pieces around the Horn to Vancouver from the East. This was done when Captain Rufus Ingalls was post quartermaster. Soon after its erection Captain U. S. Grant had his rooms in this building. I took the house as my quarters till we could put up another structure for the commanding general of the department. As soon as that was completed we moved again and occupied it with increased comfort and satisfaction.

It was while I was stationed at this post and occupying these new quarters that General Grant with some of his family and friends, returning from his visit around the world in 1879, made us a call. We gave him and his party an evening reception, having

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

invited public men from the territory of Washington and the State of Oregon to meet him.

When General Grant and his wife rode up with me from the Vancouver dock to my quarters, he had many observations, in the way of reminiscence, to make concerning the situation. For example. "That is the Ingalls house, where I lived for some time." After looking at the house for some moments, he turned to the right in the evening twilight—we could see quite a distance up the river—and said: "Julia, that is the field where I planted my potatoes."

She said: "Did you raise a crop, Ulysses?"

"No, I got little more than the seed."

As we passed through the town he noticed a tall brick structure that he had not seen before and he said, addressing me: "What is that, general?"

I answered: "A brewery, sir."

Then he said: "I think, Julia, that must have been put up on Howard's account; it wasn't here in my day!"

During the reception that evening Governor Ferry, of Washington Territory, in an informal address in behalf of the citizens, welcomed the general and his friends to the Pacific coast. The general, standing with his hand upon a chair, blushing like a young man making his first speech, answered the governor in a few simple, well-chosen words. He pointed out some of the changes that had taken place since he was stationed in that vicinity, and he predicted a great future for Washington and Oregon. After his address I said to him that I had been told he could not make a speech.

"Oh," he said, "I have been practicing on my feet since I went abroad till I can manage to say a few words."

In the Northwest, Among the Indians

Everybody, including General and Mrs. Grant, gave Mrs. Howard special credit for the cheerful, simple, and satisfactory entertainment of the evening.

It is sometimes thought that a happy reception like the one we had could not be given without the aid of wines. This one was especially successful and a good object lesson to many who were there and who would be called upon in like manner to entertain their friends.

The general and his company returned to the steamer for the night, and the next morning I went with them to Portland—going down the Columbia and up the Willamette.

One instance showed Grant's humor. He and his wife were standing near the gunwale as we approached the city of Portland. The houses, including the roofs, and the docks were thronged with people. Noticing them General Grant said to his wife: "Julia, look there; see those people. This turn-out must be on your account, because when I came here before there were not three people on the dock!"

Soon after this visit to Portland we all accompanied the general and the strangers on one of the Ocean Steam Navigation Company's large steamers on an excursion to the Cascades of the Columbia. On the way up we habitually gathered in a large room of observation, just in front of the lofty pilot house. Grant and most of the company were smoking, while he told incidents of his journey around the world. Among other things he described in a very graphic way his visit to Japan. He said he was received by the princes and officials at Tokio in great style. They were questioning him with reference to establishing a constitutional

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

government in Japan. One of them said: "General, we would like to have a government such as you have, or such as England has, but we are afraid that if we give the right of suffrage to the people they will vote us out of office; of course, we would like to participate in the liberal government that we desire to establish."

The general replied: "But do not go so fast; give the people a right to vote on a few things at first—upon the establishment of schools, for example. By voting they will learn how to vote."

This instance is quite interesting in view of the fact that very soon a constitutional government was inaugurated in Japan, the history of which is certainly in line with this wholesome advice of our general, whose heart and soul were permeated with a love for our form of government.

While we were in Vancouver, on September 17, 1879, our daughter Grace married Captain James T. Gray, the son of the missionary, W. H. Gray, historian of Oregon.

During the fall of 1879, President Hayes, accompanied by General Sherman and others, paid a visit to Oregon and Washington Territory. I met him at Roseberg as they came up from California, and accompanied them along the line of the railroad and elsewhere, while they were in my department. We had interesting journeys up the Columbia and over Puget Sound. Mr. Hayes was greatly interested in the various Indian tribes that we met. He had a characteristic council one day with the Puyallups at Tacoma. The Indians selected their speakers with some care, and after the interview was over President Hayes remarked: "What orators they are! Every one

In the Northwest, Among the Indians

of these wild men has made a speech that would do honor to a member of Congress."

Just about that time I had difficulty in preserving a small tract of country to Spokane Lott and his people. He was the chief of a band of Indians. Lott was a remarkable character. He was taught Christianity when a youth by Father Eeles, an old missionary. I was on one occasion with him in a meeting where there were two Presbyterian ministers holding a communion. The habit was for each communicant to make a confession of his sins. The Indians told in their simple way what they had done that was wrong. One man, for example, said: "I have stolen two horses. I will never steal horses any more, and I have given back the horses to the Indian owner."

We were in a large Indian house constructed without any windows and having but one room. It was the only room in the tribe. The women and children crowded in and sat on the ground. There were a few benches and a table on one side, where the ministers were. Several public confessions, one after another, had been made; one woman far back rose up and was talking in a querulous voice. Lott, who was as tall as Abraham Lincoln, rose slowly from his squatting position near the table. At his full height he stretched out his hand, palm down, and motioned it toward the woman and said something. The interpreter near me whispered: "Lott says, 'Sister, sit down. You can confess your own sins, but you have no business to confess other folks' sins.'"

I was in great distress a while before the President's visit, because I could not properly protect Lott and his lands against the encroachments of avaricious white settlers. I carried the case at once to General

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

Sherman, and showed him an order setting apart a portion of the public land, where Lott was, for a reservation. This order, approved by General Sherman, was signed by the President, and I had the satisfaction of issuing it and seeing it executed. When, a few months later, I was obliged to leave for the East, being under orders to go to West Point as superintendent, Lott heard of it and came five hundred miles to see me in Portland. Hearing that I had already taken the steamer to depart for San Francisco, Lott rushed on board, and, seeing me, began to talk rapidly in broken English. "You no go, no leave! You leave, we have trouble; you stay, we have peace." It would be impossible to describe his pleadings, but he showed much feeling and was sure I could remain if I would. I told him that the President had ordered me to another field of duty and that I must obey, but that I should always be his friend, and that I did not think he would have any more trouble.

I asked Lott once with reference to giving the land in severalty to the Indians. He said: "No! No!" that with his band it would do no good. There was hardly an Indian who could take up land according to law; they did not have the energy or the education. "If you will let me take the reservation I can raise enough, with the help of the old people, to support them well; and this is the way to do till the children grow up and are taught to be like other Americans."

CHAPTER LXIV

SUPERINTENDENT OF THE UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY;
COMMANDING DEPARTMENT OF THE PLATTE,
OMAHA, NEB.

A SERIOUS trouble had occurred at the Military Academy on account of a colored cadet, Whittaker, who had been injured, so he asserted, by young men hazing him. He had been previously so badly treated that it was not unnatural to suppose that it had finally culminated in doing him a physical injury. Whittaker claimed that this was the case and that he had been bound and maltreated. Those who were opposed to him said that he had injured himself and then tied himself up afterwards, and made complaint with a view to revenging himself upon his enemies. This was the contention. A court of inquiry had been held at West Point the result of which had not been at all satisfactory. The incident had caused a great deal of public comment in the newspapers, and sharp excitement for and against the colored cadet.

President Hayes had an idea that I was the proper man to settle such a case. For other reasons also the President wished to assign me to command the Military Academy. I knew nothing of these reasons when suddenly I received orders, near the close of 1880, to proceed to West Point, and as superintendent of the Military Academy take command there.

When we reached Chicago the cold was intense. The thermometer registered thirty degrees below zero.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

A colored man unknown to me, who was driving the carriage from the station to the hotel, seized a buffalo coat and put it over my shoulders, but my son John, who was then a lad of fourteen, was not sufficiently covered and took a severe cold which in the end resulted in an attack of pneumonia that nearly cost him his life.

Cold like that seemed to be a positive quantity and not simply the absence of heat, and when it does take hold even of a healthy child, it is apt to make its mark upon him for life.

I went to Washington before I entered upon my duties at West Point. The President laid the case of Whittaker, the colored cadet, before me, and asked me what I would advise. I said at once that I should advise taking the case away from West Point, where the social prejudice was strong against a negro cadet. I suggested the yielding to his desire to have a regular court-martial and to locate the court in New York.

Whittaker had an able lawyer, a young colored man by the name of Greener, who was defending him and who was very strongly of the opinion that Whittaker was innocent of any attempt at fraud or deceit. The case was tried in New York as I recommended, and the young man was pronounced guilty of doing himself the injuries in view of putting his cadet comrades in a bad light. He was convicted and sentenced to be discharged the service. On review the President, permitting the young man to tender his resignation, remitted the sentence. After a few weeks the ugly excitement that grew out of this event disappeared altogether.

I went to the Military Academy and assumed com-



GENERAL HOWARD, SUPERINTENDENT UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY, AND AIDS-DE-CAMP AT WEST POINT, N. Y., 1881.

(To the general's right is his son, Colonel Guy Howard, later killed in action in the Philippine Islands; in the center, Lieutenant C. E. S. Wood; to extreme left, seated, Captain J. A. Sladen, who was with the general twenty-three years in campaign and battle, and lost his leg in service on General Howard's staff.)

Superintendent of the U. S. Military Academy

mand, and was the superintendent for the two years 1881-82.

I found it the hardest office to fill that I had ever had. There is a beautiful outside to the Military Academy: everything goes on with regularity and order, and every professor and assistant professor and officer does his duty as fully as any officer in the service, but I found at that time a social undercurrent that was not so pleasant, and that the superintendent had something to do besides the ordinary work of commanding a department. A majority of the officers were strongly opposed to its remaining a department. They in general wanted to get it back to where it was, under the charge of the engineers of the army with an engineer officer as superintendent. Indeed, there was extraordinary fretting when the first general officer was assigned. I was the fourth. The opposition had gathered strength with time. It was not open, but secret, and consisted in correspondence with the War Department, with the head of the army, and with all officers who had in Washington anything to do with the Military Academy.

There had always been opposition to the change, and perhaps it was well that, ending with my administration, the Military Academy, which consisted of the corps of cadets and other organizations, with all the population of the reservation, should again be put under charge of an officer of lower rank than myself, and cease forever to be a military department. In fact, it requires less machinery and perhaps more direct responsibility on the part of the superintendent, who could have no other help than the academic staff proper.

One change I had made that gave me a good deal

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

of satisfaction. It was with the chaplain, that he might come into more immediate contact with the cadets, and that they should have the privilege of going directly to him at all times. To this end he was given rooms in the cadet barracks, and there he invited the confidence of the cadets.

The meetings for social religious exercises had been retained ever since I had established them before the war.

Another change which caused me a good deal of heartache was to do away with the system that had been in vogue so long at the mess hall, of treating the cadets to very indifferent fare and reasoning that they ought to be kept to the rations of the enlisted men. In fact, the rations of the men at the different posts in the army in the time of peace had been improved by their company gardens, by their sale of bread, and by other means until they were far ahead of the cadet mess. True, the cadets had a garden, but in some way everything touching their food was unsatisfactory to them. I recommended that the veteran purveyor of the mess be retired, and properly paid, and that an officer, William F. Spurgin, be detailed in his place, and have the whole charge of the cadets' commissary, garden, and mess hall. I had had a long experience with Spurgin in the West and knew what he could do. He came and took hold of the work as nobody had ever done before. His efforts were so productive of good results that the cadets very soon called him "General Spurgin." His theory was to give them the best possible of everything, and while he improved their table extraordinarily, he managed to diminish and not increase the expenses.

I found again that the windows of what we used to

Superintendent of the U. S. Military Academy

call "The New Barracks," having small diamond panes of glass, brought so little light into the cadets' rooms, that it was positively injurious to their eyes. It was not long before I had those properly replaced by good windows with large panes.

When I first reached the Military Academy, owing to a few things in the previous administration in which the general officer had striven to give the cadets more and more privileges with a view of relieving as much as possible the great severity of what had been called "the West Point system" of merit and demerit, the cadets had not realized what was being done for them, and were not appreciative of the favorable changes enjoyed; these they could not comprehend as well as the officers who had been there before. Boylike, on several occasions they showed themselves careless of their privileges, and taking advantage of the relaxation of discipline did several mischievous things.

On one holiday, for example, they brought in the night a cannon and a cow into a tower of one of the buildings; and the next morning a cow's head was seen out of the window of an upper story.

Immediately, of course, there was an investigation, but the cadets would not betray each other, so that the mischief makers were unknown to the authorities. At once there was a resumption of the old severe discipline, and, in fact, it was increased so that after going into barracks cadets were required, contrary to usage, to walk post as sentries all night in the barrack halls; commissioned instructors were ordered to live in the barracks so that every division should have at least one army officer constantly on the watch to supervise and report delinquencies.

What resulted from this sudden severity, indicated

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

by the cases I have given, affected the character of the corps. I found young men who happened to be seen off limits running to cover, skulking, and hiding behind logs. It seemed to be just the thing to do to avoid an officer and deceive him, and break the regulations without scruple.

On February 22d, after I took command, I gave an address to the corps of cadets upon the character of Washington, and showed them plainly what I thought of the conduct described, and I told them how much ashamed their friends were of this evident want of manliness.

I said further, that I proposed to relieve them of the stringency that had been put upon them. The guards would be as they formerly were, and taken off at ten o'clock at night; the instructors should take up their quarters elsewhere, and no officer be allowed to report them from behind windows and sheltered places. I wished them to respond to this leniency by their courage and manliness, and I was going to trust them, as cadets had always been trusted. The response was immediate, and I never had cause to regret this method of effecting the change.

I studied very hard while superintendent to relieve the overpressure of "the West Point system," particularly of the demerit part, but was never able myself to bring about any considerable change. There is no relief from its severity except in the kindness of the officers who are in charge.

I cannot help thinking that better results would be obtained at West Point and Annapolis by any system that leans strongly to trusting the young men. This is found to be the case in colleges and universities

Superintendent of the U. S. Military Academy

where there is no demerit roll kept and no daily publication of delinquencies.

Those who favor the West Point system, however, claim that there are no nobler men produced than there. That may be true, yet the production of manliness may be due to something else than the terror that is constantly experienced when a young man is listening for his name at every evening roll call.

I did, indeed, save quite a number of young men to the Military Academy who would have been dismissed for having exceeded the allowed demerits, by having them write excuses and so reduce the number within the appointed limit. Some of these young men are today the noblest and ablest we have in public service.

In the fall of 1882 I was ordered to take command of the Department of the Platte, with headquarters at Omaha, Neb. That department consisted of Iowa, Nebraska, Wyoming, Utah, and a part of Idaho. The Platte River, formed by a great many smaller streams, which is very broad near its mouth, has a long run from the Rocky Mountains to the Missouri, and the greater portion of it is within the limits of that military department denominated "The Platte."

This department has to do with various Indian tribes and reservations, and the military posts were located with a view to looking after them. There was already danger of an outbreak from the Sioux at the Rosebud Agency, situated just north of Nebraska, and at the Pine Ridge Agency farther to the west in the territory of Dakota.

In the latter part of my stay in the Department of the Platte there were mining operations quite a distance beyond Fort Steele at Rock Springs and Evans-ton, Wyo. A large camp of Chinamen was located at

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

Rock Springs by the owner of the mines; they were working quietly and faithfully when they were attacked by a body of men who purported to be American miners—really foreigners themselves. These Chinamen were driven out of their homes and large numbers of them were maltreated; several of them were killed. The riot was so serious that I sent troops to the spot who built themselves small huts, and, to keep the peace and assert the authority of the Government, remained there several months. On apprehension of trouble at Evanston, I sent a detachment of soldiers there also.

This was about the beginning of the outrages against the Chinese laborers which were also going on along the Pacific coast from the British line to the southern part of California. The effort was so continuous and systematic and carried out with such persistency that it could not have been merely accidental. I have recently understood that a secret association hostile to Chinese laborers was mainly responsible for these apparent riots, for the driving out of the Chinese, and for the subsequent enthusiasm for what is known as the Chinese Exclusion Law.

The National Park was within the limits of my department and at one time I had to send troops there to preserve order and to help the engineers as far as practicable in their surveys and in the carrying out of the contracts that resulted from them. I visited the National Park when in command of the Department of the Platte three times; once passing across the country from the Union Pacific Railroad to Washakie and thence to the Park, going most of the way with a pack train and saddle horses.

I had the opportunity of being present at the Rose-

Superintendent of the U. S. Military Academy

bud Agency and seeing the peculiar dances of the Sioux Indians gathered there, and later to attend the exercise of the sun dance. After that experience I took measures to prevent excesses in the Indians' war-like dances, and particularly in the sun dance, which is regarded by them as a peaceful, though cruel, settlement of difficulties. I use the word cruel, though the severe injuries received by the Indians were self-inflicted.

This department, like that of the Columbia, covered much territory, with as many posts to visit; restless Indians here also had to be watched; so that my time was principally consumed by public duty.

On February 14, 1884, my son Guy married Jeanie, daughter of Hon. James M. Woolworth, of Omaha. They have had two children, Helen, and Otis Woolworth Howard.

CHAPTER LXV

IN EUROPE, EGYPT, AND CONSTANTINOPLE

EARLY in the season of 1884, I made up my mind, if possible, to go to Europe. General Sherman, after his European tour, had told me that I ought not to undertake it until I had at least seven thousand dollars ahead. I was aware that I had not means enough to take my family; I was sure, however, that if I waited until I laid up that sum, I should never go. One day Mr. Lemon, the editor of the *National Tribune* of Washington, D. C., was on a visit to Omaha. He said he would pay me for monographs on the Civil War if I could furnish one a week. I thereupon entered into a contract with him which aided me to take the trip. My son Jamie was studying in Germany and would meet me at Antwerp, and we two together could make a reasonably extensive observation.

General Sheridan, then commanding the army, gave me a leave of absence, and further extended the time by detailing me to attend the French maneuvers of the Seventeenth Corps d'Armée in southern France. Furthermore he instructed me to proceed to view the English war operations near the upper Nile in Africa and report upon them. The campaign for the relief of Khartoom and General Gordon had just then been inaugurated.

I sailed from New York March 15, 1884, on the

In Europe, Egypt, and Constantinople

steamer *Belgenland* of the Red Star line. I had a very pleasant voyage and was as usual not seasick.

My son James W. Howard had been for some time a student attending lectures at the University of Göttingen. He came to Antwerp and was on hand soon after I landed. Speaking French and German, he became my guide and interpreter. In Antwerp we saw the panorama of Waterloo and different works of art; and became acquainted with some ambitious young artists who were studying, sketching, and painting in the city. One of them I remember was very kind to us. He was of good talent and promise. He became offended at me, however, at last, because one day when I was with him I compared a beautiful chromo with an oil painting, saying that in my judgment the chromo was nicer than the painting. After that weak assertion of mine, the young man, enthusiastic and loyal to his art, would speak to me no more, and I could not blame him.

At Brussels we enjoyed the fine architectural buildings and such pictures of the old masters as everybody sees.

My son and I had a good visit to the battlefield of Waterloo. As soon as I came in sight of the British Monument, approaching it from the north, I could see the favorable military position which Wellington took into his view when he was preparing for battle. The grounds have been disturbed by landscape gradings, and yet there is the well-defined crest of a long ridge behind which the artillery and infantry of Wellington were formed for action. You can see where the sunken road once was, and easily how it broke up Napoleon's cavalry charge.

I was much interested in looking at the walled ham-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

let of Hougomont which Colonel MacDonnell, the indomitable Scotchman, defended to the last. It was in front of Wellington's line of defense, as Devil's Den was out in front of Meade's defensive line at Gettysburg. Hougomont and Devil's Den were alike useful to Wellington and Meade in contributing to final victory. These two great battles furnish epochs in history, and results hard to compare or enumerate.

My son had been in Paris before and at our Hotel de Tibre, and was glad to take me to see the magnificent public buildings, and also the statuary and paintings in the Louvre. Our eight days here were busy ones indeed. Tourists in that time could not have seen more of Paris. During my visit the Hon. Levi P. Morton was our minister to France. He received us kindly, but we did not stay long enough to accept his proffered hospitality and entertainment.

Late Sunday night, April 6th, we set out for Marseilles. We took "third class" on the cars. I had two objects in this. One was economy and the other was to see the people. My son readily conversed with the passengers in French and I could understand them better the longer I was with them. I noticed, however, that I was always treated with marked politeness and a deference they did not show to one another. I asked one intelligent-looking man the reason for this; he said, "*Vous êtes un savant*," meaning that I was a student or scholar. I wished to know what made him think so. He drew his hand across his forehead, and then called attention to the crowsfeet beside my eyes. Of course this distinction was amusing and pleasant to me and to my son, who, they were sure, was a student, though he purported to be only a guide and interpreter. But this feeling hindered the more fa-

In Europe, Egypt, and Constantinople

miliar comradeship which I desired. However, in France we were not only treated with deference but with uniform kindness.

Our visit in Marseilles was greatly enjoyed. Notre Dame, the grand church, impressed me, and not less so when a special guide took us to see the offerings to the Lady, such as oars, ankle supports, canes, crutches, and other things which were donated, coming from those who had been healed. The guide smiled incredulously when he said that the Mother and Child had come down miraculously and rescued drowning sailors in the harbor and cured the maimed whose love offerings we were beholding. It is not a bad superstition to suppose that the loving Virgin with the Child in her arms had come down and exerted this healing power, but I felt that the guide himself did not sufficiently credit the tales.

Marseilles is an old city, and it makes a lasting impression to look upon the streets that have been in the same condition for ages. They were narrow, thronged with people, and nowhere in good police. However, many parts of Marseilles show architectural beauty and modern improvements.

On Thursday, April 10th, we embarked for Alexandria on a good-sized steamer, *La Seyne*, and found that there were three divisions of people on the steamer. One was the first class; the next, the second class; and the third, the steerage. The second class was the most numerous and consisted of very respectable people hailing from every civilized nation. For the first class there was but one passenger, an English gentleman, who became very lonely and crossed the line of separation to converse with other passengers. We took passage in the second class, a

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

slight promotion from our railroad travel from Paris to Marseilles.

It was delightful to be upon the Mediterranean, of whose islands and coasts I had from my childhood read interesting stories. The weather could have hardly been more mild and pleasant and we spent much of our time on the upper deck or on the bridge with the politest and most accommodating of captains, so that we were shown everything that eye could take in as we coasted along eastward.

There was one attractive French family on the steamer who seemed to enjoy our society; three ladies and a gentleman, very tidy in their dress and sprightly in their conversation. There was besides a retired English army officer about sixty years of age—a *bona fide* Englishman in every respect. He had traveled; had seen the world, and was willing to admit when driven to extremes that the United States was already on the road to coequal prosperity and rank with Great Britain. I only wondered, as perhaps he himself did with regard to us, why he had allowed himself to be consigned to the second class; probably because of the price.

In good time we arrived at Naples and anchored out in the offing. Our ship had hardly stopped before she was thronged with small boats of different sizes. After having taken a general survey of the situation, of the city so beautiful in the morning light, of the islands in sight, and of the mountains, particularly of Vesuvius of which we had heard so much, we slowly descended to take one of the most commodious of the transport boats. The man in charge was able to talk a little English and was very polite and accommodating. He sold us our passage at a reasonable rate and

In Europe, Egypt, and Constantinople

told us distinctly that he would take us for the price over to the shore and back, for our steamer was bound for Alexandria and we were to be allowed so many hours ashore. As we were being rowed across the harbor I looked up and down the coast and said to my son, "How like our Seattle are the shores and approaches to the city of Naples and the city itself." I was not disappointed in any view that we obtained that day—the clearness of the cloudless skies, the softness of the atmosphere, and the singular beauty and charm of all things that the sunlight of Italy touched. As in Marseilles, there was every evidence of modern civilization—streets that were broad and well kept, houses that were of every variety, from the neat home-like cottage to the palatial residence; but not far from the main thoroughfare you struck throngs of the poor people and streets so narrow that the buildings almost touched across them in their juttings. Along with all the poverty that comes with the poor tenement structures, there was no cleanliness observable, and I do not wonder that contagious diseases have often decimated the population. I said to myself as we turned back to the quay: "It does not do to go too near to those places which appear so beautiful at a distance." As we undertook to reëmbark, a boat, entirely different from that in which we came, was at the dock for our accommodation. The man in charge cried out that the boats all belonged to the same company. We stepped in and were rowed halfway to our steamer, when the same man stopped the oarsmen and demanded of us another fare. Of course I understood the swindle and naturally made objection. The man talked to me angrily in a language I could not interpret. With some of my old impatience of spirit which

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

I have never been able wholly to quell, I seized this Italian by the lower part of his blouse and roughly set him down upon a cross seat. Just then my son cried out as he saw the man's motions, "Father, father, his knife!" He did not strike me with it, but I was forced, as were the other passengers, to pay a second fare. I have never recovered from the feeling I had, to be thus publicly robbed; and I wondered how the authorities of Naples could be willing to have an abiding reputation for mistreating strangers.

The next day by 3 A.M. we were on deck for the passage of the Straits of Messina. Too calm they then were for any historic purpose.

The remainder of the voyage from Naples to Alexandria was a safe one and in every way enjoyable. Easter Day afforded us a delightful song service. When the sea was calm and the sun shining, the scenery, as long as you could see the land, was delightful. The nights also were charming; we had a bright dome of abundant starlight over our heads, and all the way to Alexandria mild April weather.

Upon the Mediterranean with such perfect weather and favorable skies it was hard to recall either the disasters of Æneas or the shipwreck of St. Paul.

Canon Kingsley in "Hypatia" has given such a lively description of the old landing places in Alexandria and of the wharf loaded with grain and other produce that Jamie and I became curious to compare the modern with the ancient. Indeed, there had not been much change until recently. Now the English and French occupation can be felt as you step upon the shore. Crowds of people meet a boat load of passengers and show the utmost eagerness and enthusiasm; and there are still on the quay, as of old, piles and

In Europe, Egypt, and Constantinople

piles of produce, merchandise, and luggage of every description, from the handbag to the commercial traveler's strong box.

Jamie was getting wiser as we journeyed on, so that when at least twenty guides presented themselves, stretching out their hands and endeavoring with much confusion of tongues to speak English, he quietly remarked, "*Je suis un guide, monsieur.*" However, he sought for one determined-looking man and said to him in French that he would pay only him to get our luggage from the dock to the Abbot Hotel. That well-chosen dragoman, if we may so call him, selected our luggage and had us delivered in good form at the public house, but he could not prevent our being thronged all the way and even after our arrival by overfriendly natives, each of whom wanted to do something, be it ever so little, for our comfort. Jamie obtained some large copper coins of the value of perhaps half a cent each, and he very graciously extended one of these to every man or boy who had been of the least service. That was his polite return for a slight favor. It worked better with him than with me, for I had made no such provision, so that among the irresistible beggars my small change soon disappeared. My banker, Jamie, wisely abstained from too frequent replenishment of my denuded pockets.

A whole book could be written on our new experiences in Alexandria; the statues, old caskets in stone, mummies, all were reminders of ancient history and art which one finds in the principal collections.

During my short stay in Alexandria I was especially interested in the peculiar dress and manners of the people. I would stop long and look at caravans of camels and men of the East just loading for their

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

departure. I enjoyed noticing the women sitting back in shady places; of course, thinly clad, but in garments that had seen much service, and always with the ugly veils below their eyes. There would be adult groups by themselves, or women with children, but men with large turbans sat in stolid dignity—I mean, of course, those who are not servants and waiters—they were always separate.

As early as I could, I went to the principal Christian Mission. The “home” and the school building were just then empty because it was in vacation, so that I did not see either teachers or scholars. One day, however, we journeyed to Rameses, the place familiar to readers of the Scriptures. There Rev. Mr. Ewing and his family had a summer residence where they stayed during the hottest season. As soon as I entered their principal room I felt as if I were in the United States. It was a Christian home. The mottoes over the doors, the few select books, including the Bible and hymn book on the table, and the rocking chairs that had found their way even to Rameses; the familiar pictures on the wall and the tidy lounge underneath—everything reminded one of an American home! I felt this more as we sat down to the noon-day meal with the family, when Mr. Ewing bowed his head and in a few words gave God thanks for comforts and blessings.

We visited one Egyptian residence and saw all we were allowed to see. It was an old type of living and how different from this home at Rameses! We at one time looked in upon a school taught after the Mohammedan fashion: ten or twelve boys sitting on the dirt floor, going over and over again extracts from the Koran or from Sanscrit selections. The missionary

In Europe, Egypt, and Constantinople

teaching of some two hundred pupils in Alexandria was far different. Certainly the new was better than the old.

I met in Alexandria English officers who were returning from the great expedition in upper Egypt, which at one time it was hoped would relieve the pressure upon Chinese Gordon and set him free. Gordon before this had been slain and the expedition given over for the time. One officer, Lieutenant Colonel Ardagh of the Royal Engineers, took me to his temporary office and showed me sketches of the fields of battle in Egypt, and explained to me with so much of detail all that had lately been done that I was able to make a full report to my Government. No officer of our own army could have treated me with more kindness than did this young engineer, and I was exceedingly grateful.

On Friday, April 18th, we set out for Cairo. The English railroad, here as everywhere, was very complete and the journey comfortable all the way. The rate of travel, not then very rapid, gave the observer every opportunity of taking into account this curious country of the Nile. The unique method of plowing with the buffalo, using a stick for a plowshare, the raising of water by old-fashioned machinery, the activity of the people at that season in plowing and planting very much as the people do in Mexico, took our attention. After all, however, I was disappointed in this portion of the Nile country. It seemed so like something that had been, and of which there was now but a faint reminder of the past. Here everybody spoke of streets that once existed, of towns that had almost disappeared, and the bulk of the inhabitants appeared to have little hope of anything better, and

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

therefore showed little vitality. It seemed bootless in this weary land to attempt to engraft a new civilization upon the old.

Arriving at Cairo, we found a commodious inn, the Hôtel d'Orient, and soon after met the missionaries who had come from England and the United States. We found here missionary work going on. There was not only the diligent teaching of children, but the faithful care of the sick in modern hospitals. Our experiences were similar to those in Alexandria in visiting the museums, mosques, and public buildings where the Khedive was ostensibly the head of the Government, but the English and French commissioners, because they controlled the finances, had the real power. There was considerable discontent and fretting among the common people. The French were not satisfied, and the populace in general expressed dislike of the English. One could, however, perceive that English power there was safety, and, as a rule, a just administration of affairs. We were very much interested to see how a body of English cavalry were kept in bivouac in some open spaces in Cairo. Their camp was in order, but the men were behaving very much as if they were commissioned officers; they were lying around in groups under shady trees and entertaining each other with songs and stories, as we were wont to do when times of rest came. We found that each soldier had employed what was called a "fellah" to take care of his horse, to groom, saddle, bridle, and bring him when wanted. Surely it was almost as good as a commission to the soldier thus to be able to keep a servant at his command. It is human nature for a man to wish to have somebody below him.

In Europe, Egypt, and Constantinople

The next day after our arrival at Cairo we took our way to the Pyramids—from start to finish pursued by an army of beggars. My son's precaution to secure a proper dragoman and give him entire charge during the journey was indeed a wise one. In ascending the large Pyramid an English gentleman who had not taken that precaution was persecuted by volunteer helpers. One would aid him here and another there as he ascended the four-foot blocks, from one terrace to another. At last he became furious and swore at them and said if they did not let him alone he would throw them to the bottom, and I think he could have done it. Our dragoman protected us for the most part against such persecution. After our descent from the lofty height I was left alone with a guide to enter rooms that had been opened in the base of the Pyramid. I succeeded in getting up several difficult steps until we came to one room in which was found a sarcophagus long enough and deep enough to take in a giant man. The huge casket was made of granite. After ruminating awhile upon the object of these chambers and of what they contained, I turned back. At one point we came to a sharp descent of four feet. The stone was as smooth as polished marble and of great hardness. My guide turned around and let himself down to the next level. This with one hand I could not do. The guide stood back, and looking up at me smiling said, "Backsheesh, backsheesh," meaning a special reward. I was helpless, so I said, "All right," and sprang into his sturdy arms without being bruised, as I must have been had I tried to descend alone. I had given away all my change, but having a gold collar button, I pulled it out and gave it to him. He seemed satisfied and we worked our way slowly to

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

the outside of the Pyramid. The guide then hastened to find my son and told him that my collar button was not good for him, so Jamie redeemed it for the sum of thirteen cents.

A bright little boy about ten years old was very attentive to me all day. He led me to see the great Sphinx and showed me the curious phenomenon, always affectionately patting my hand and running along holding my fingers. I enjoyed the sprightliness and playful ways of the child. My son had given him a small reward, but when we had stepped into our carriage and had started, the boy ran after the carriage screaming and crying, "Backsheesh, backsheesh!" In his judgment I had not given him sufficient reward. He stopped his crying only when the driver threatened him with his whip, and our dragoman shook his fist at him. Imagine fifty others besides ourselves undertaking that day to satisfy that large swarm of Egyptian "fellahs" who were self-constituted guides. Poor people out there in the desert! This was their only source of revenue.

In Cairo we found the heat intense. The thermometer ran to 110° in the shade.

We next went back to Alexandria and returned the visits of our consul and American residents, all of whom appeared delighted to give us entertainment. The *Quinebaug*, a United States naval vessel commanded by Captain Ludlow, was in the harbor. He had not only paid me a special visit but invited my son and myself to accept his hospitality on shipboard. We were to sail with him from Alexandria to Smyrna. I had been instructed before leaving Washington to concert with the commander of the Eastern Squadron, Admiral Baldwin, in the matter of observing the oper-

In Europe, Egypt, and Constantinople

ations of the British in Egypt. Having already exchanged letters with the admiral I was glad enough to go on with Captain Ludlow to meet him. We embarked about three o'clock in the afternoon, April 21st, and were hospitably entertained. Several officers came to pay their respects to me as the representative of the army. During the night the *Quinebaug* pulled up anchor and set out for Smyrna. We moved slowly along during Tuesday and Wednesday and found ourselves passing numerous islands of the archipelago. Several of them like Chios, Patmos, and Samos, had familiar names. Thursday at sunrise the *Quinebaug* came in sight of Smyrna. The view was simply magnificent as we entered the harbor. A glorious sight in the morning light was the panorama framed in by the hills and the mountains—all as charming as Naples, and something like it in the distance. We soon saw the admiral's ship in the offing. In the afternoon Admiral Baldwin sent his barge with an officer to take me to his quarters. Then I was presented to many more officers of the navy, some of whom I had known before. It was not long before I went ashore. We made the acquaintance of our consul, Mr. Stevens, and also of our excellent missionary of the American board, Dr. Bowen. I had heard much said against the work of the foreign missions, so that I was curious here, as I was in Alexandria, to see all that was going on. There was a grand missionary work in progress; a fine school also where some two hundred students were attending. The effect of the faithful teaching of the missionary was to stir up the Armenians and interest them to erect larger buildings and operate larger schools. One's only feeling of regret is that the privileges cannot be extended to the

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

Mohammedans. I was invited one evening to address the English-speaking people at the missionary chapel, and I had a full house. One helper, an Armenian, who could not speak English, looking up into my face, seemed to be filled with enthusiasm and emotion. When asked if he could understand what General Howard said, he answered in his own tongue, "No, but I understand the spirit of it."

It was a great privilege to visit the tomb of Polycarp and to take in all we could of Smyrna, which is the only one to remain of all those cities mentioned in the Revelation. Smyrna has surely fulfilled the prophecy. We passed by rail out to Ephesus through rolling uplands like the hill country of Massachusetts. We were greatly interested in the Temple of Diana. Many pillars of the great structure had been excavated and each pillar was lying upon the surface of the ground. There is very little of Ephesus to be seen. It has quite another environment from the old; still we found the *débris* of a large city. There were the remnants of the amphitheatre and a place where many of the ancient tombs had been uncovered. There were fragments of the outer walls, and sheep cotes and shelters within them, always opening outward. All the fields round about were roughly cultivated. These lands were hard to work, for they seemed as if sown with fragments of rock. Men were at that time plowing among them and gathering them into heaps. It was difficult to realize that this was the city which the Apostle Paul had so often visited.

We returned from Ephesus to Smyrna and to the *Quinebaug*. On Sunday, Admiral Baldwin invited all hands to religious services aboard his flag ship the *Lancaster*, on which Captain Potter after service kept

In Europe, Egypt, and Constantinople

us to lunch at his mess. Our stay on the *Quinebaug* gave me for the first time some knowledge of the customs of the navy with which I had never been acquainted. There was ceremony which was kept up with great strictness, as it doubtless has to be where many people are confined to so small a space as on a man-of-war.

I soon took passage from Smyrna to Alexandria on the merchant steamer *Cambodge*. Captain Ludlow courteously sent us in his own boat to the steamer and we embarked for Constantinople about three o'clock on Thursday afternoon.

After two nights and a day on board the *Cambodge* we were in Constantinople and went to the Hotel de Pesth. The first night in Constantinople I wrote in my note book, "People, people! Dogs, dogs! and a city on hills." As our funds were rather limited Jamie and I took rooms in the fifth story of the hotel. We had not been in the city a day before the English ambassador, Earl Dufferin, climbed the rickety stairs to our rooms and gave us a cordial invitation to spend all the time we could at the British Embassy. I had been able to give him and those with him special attention some years before in Omaha, Neb., when he was on a tour of observation, and he appeared more than glad to reciprocate. Lady Dufferin was to have that night some amateur theatricals. We did not stay very much at the Embassy, but we did attend the theatricals and once we dined with the family.

Earl Dufferin was a noble soul and an able man, and his wife was a beautiful woman, much beloved by all connected with the Embassy, and by all who knew her.

There is much to see in Constantinople. We vis-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

ited our minister, my friend, General Lew Wallace, whom I longed to see. From his rooms in the suburb of Therapia we went across the Bosphorus to see where Xenophon encamped his 10,000. We enjoyed Robert College and all it represented. When I addressed the students there, perhaps two hundred of them, from Bulgaria and other states, I naturally inquired, "How many can understand me in English?" Nine tenths of the young men immediately responded by holding up their hands. It was during this visit with General Wallace that he told me that he had written "Ben-Hur" before he went to Palestine, and that he had his book with him on his first visit to consult and see how near he had come to veritable descriptions of places in the Holy Lands.

The Sultan of Turkey invited Admiral Baldwin and his officers, also myself and son, to dine at the palace with him. General Wallace went with us and introduced us to his majesty. When we were seated at the table, the Sultan at one end and his two sons at the other, the guests were distributed so that the members of the cabinet and chief officers of the Turkish army and navy should sit between any two of the guests. It was to be a dinner to the army and navy of the United States. I had on my left the Minister of War and on my right some other cabinet official. Neither of them could speak English or French, but they smiled upon me and kindly helped me at table. The young princes were near me. I was told that they were good French scholars, but they did not venture to talk except in monosyllables. The richness of the plate and the multitude of courses it would take an observant news correspondent or an American lady to describe. After dinner we passed into a long hall,

In Europe, Egypt, and Constantinople

where we had a charming reception by the Sultan, who was flanked by his cabinet and staff. General Wallace presented us all. The Sultan spoke to me very kindly, particularly mentioning the abundant services that he had heard I had rendered my own country, and referred to my armless sleeve as a badge. He was short in stature and had very much the appearance of the educated Japanese; his eyes were exceedingly dark, bright, and piercing, and his smile that came and went was very pleasant.

Captain Henry Otis Dwight, the son of a missionary and a missionary himself, who had come home to America to bear the part of a soldier throughout our Civil War and then had returned to his missionary field, was there at Constantinople. He devoted several days to our entertainment and showed us the walls of the city, the mosques, the old churches, including Saint Sophia, the Constantine Arch, the Hippodrome, the Obelisk, and Pera. We passed over to the other side of the Bosphorus (to Scutari) where Dr. Cyrus Hamlin's great work had been done in furnishing the soldiers with bread during the Crimean War, and there we found a splendid girls' school quite equal in quality if not in numbers to Robert College. Miss Williams, the principal teacher, married a missionary while we were there; and we saw the departure of the couple from the institution. The girls were all in tears while they threw rice after the departing couple.

I think that my most instructive visit was to a large room of the harem of a great Turk (Achmet Vefik, Pasha). He had at one time been the governor of a large province, but just then was on the retired list of officials. He had many wives but we were not allowed to see them. He spoke several languages and

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

conversed with us in very fair English. He told us that he preferred the French tongue. He was, however, fond of English books, especially of Shakespeare. He had tea brought in and served on little tables and gave us the opportunity to sit on the side cushions, or floor mats, and smoke. However, he had several chairs for us in his reception room. He was not offended because I did not smoke. The Pasha appeared to enjoy his visitors as much as we did the interview.

We had with us Professor Grosvenor of Robert College, a scholarly man who was a great favorite of this pasha.

CHAPTER LXVI

ITALY AND SWITZERLAND

WEDNESDAY, May 14th, after twelve days in Constantinople, we went on board the Italian steamer *Odonne* and sailed about five o'clock in the afternoon for Greece. The passage via the Archipelago was so interesting that we remained on deck till we saw the lights which showed the way into the little harbor of Piræus. After a sleep of three hours, near six o'clock in the morning, we landed at the principal dock of the city, and I immediately secured a carriage for Athens. The road was comfortable, being macadamized, and the farms were good to look at though not very productive. The people seemed like ours of New England, active and industrious, everybody doing something. As we came to Athens, we cried out, "Beautiful"; for we saw the new part of the city first. The modern structures of white marble were very attractive. The new part had clean streets and sidewalks of stone. We went straight to the Hotel d'Athens, and after refreshment with plenty of clear water, and a nice breakfast, we looked up our good American Minister, Mr. Schuyler. He was a handsome and charming young man and glad enough to welcome his countrymen. While in Greece we paid a visit to different churches, the Acropolis, the Parthenon, the old walls of the city, the Temple of Theseus, and the little

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

chapel on the top of a steep mound called the Temple of the Winds, and all other places that tourists must see. A special privilege came to us on Tuesday, May 20th, in attending King George's reception. The king was goodlooking, tall, strongly built, about forty years of age, and of high culture. We were introduced by our minister and the king received us most graciously. In speaking English his tone and manner were those of England. The reception itself was not crowded and seemed very like those given by our college presidents at Commencement seasons.

Many ancient towns were pointed out to us while in Greece, and especially from the deck of our departing steamer the few remaining tumble-down buildings of Corinth, but we did not go ashore for further inspection. The ruins of the old Corinthian Acropolis were in sight.

Friday morning at Brindisi, Italy, we disembarked from the steamer *Pelops* about sunrise and went at once to the railroad station. The country round about as we left Brindisi was attractive and fertile. The city itself had wide and clean streets, but notwithstanding the general look of prosperity there was a large sprinkling of beggars among the people. We sped by rail across a beautiful land, having every variety of scenery that any country can exhibit, till we came to the charming town of Caserta. Our hotel here was called "Ville de Florence"; in that summer heat we had good air besides a broad and charming outlook. I noticed that there were artificial stone floors, arched ceilings, rooms wainscoted with cement and colored like green marble. As we had planned, we rested here over Sunday.

Quite early Sunday morning Jamie and I saun-

Italy and Switzerland

tered out and walked to the suburbs where we found a large field dotted with troops, then quietly at rest. Soon the reviewing officer, an Italian general, appeared. Immediately the men, about 3,000, were called to attention and marched into position for review. All exercises were had then at double-quick time. The men were hearty looking—not very well “set up,” still the soldiers were vigorous and active. Though their uniforms were somewhat soiled, and discipline not very apparent, still we said to each other, “Not so bad!” We enjoyed the exercises and especially the music.

Most of the day was spent in visiting churches. By four o'clock the next morning we climbed up the neighboring mountain to the old monastery, said to be the only one of any size then presentable in all Italy. There were about 180 students, taught by German and Italian priests. One conducted us into their wonderful chapel, where we had an opportunity to see and participate in the morning worship. We enjoyed the old pictures and rich carvings and took much interest in looking through the students' rooms, which were like small cells in a prison and had scarcely more conveniences. One of the priests, seemingly the Superior, said to me that he heard that the American minister, then one of the Astor family of New York, had visited the grand palace at Caserta. He hoped that he would come up to the monastery sometime, as he desired to see him. He declared with animation that he wanted to set eyes on a man that was worth more than a million dollars and could draw his check for any amount he liked.

Our morning walk and climb gave us good appetites, so that we enjoyed our breakfast when we

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

reached the Pompeii Hotel. We left for Rome before eleven o'clock that same Monday morning, May 26th, and were in the great city by two-thirty in the afternoon. We looked up the Alberti Hotel, where we took rooms to our liking, and here we met many friends from America and some who had traveled with us, such as the Chief Justice of Greece, Miss Clark, a Massachusetts teacher, and others. We spent one week in Rome, a city which from my youth I had longed to see, and enjoyed every moment of that week.

One day we visited the Pantheon, the Amphitheatre and the Roman Forum—so much of it as had been recently uncovered. We looked upon the Obelisks upon the Arches of Triumph and the innumerable monuments which have kept up the record of the Emperors from Romulus to the Cæsars. Here were the Seven Hills in plain view, and then the places which had been crowned with as magnificent palaces as the ancient world knew. Another day we were in St. Peter's, ascending to the very highest point we could of that loftiest of structures; and we studied for a-while the whole surrounding country. We were invited to see, in the interior, the Pope's chapel with its time-honored pictures and its wonderful carvings. We took in chapel after chapel as we traversed the immense spaces below and saw everything that anybody can see except on public occasions. We came away impressed with the thought that St. Peter's of Rome, about which we had read all our lives, had not disappointed our expectations. That great cathedral was broader, longer, higher, more complete, and more magnificent than we had dreamed.

Another day we went to a public parade in the new part of Rome across the Tiber and on the way drank

Italy and Switzerland

at the beautiful fountain. We had the privilege of sitting with an American lady, the wife of an Italian count, who showed that she was happy enough to meet us Americans and speak with us about the home land. Just then the King and Queen were reviewing several well-equipped regiments of the line. Sunday reviews are popular in Europe, except perhaps with the Sultan of Turkey, who is wont to have some 20,000 soldiers escort him to his mosque worship on Friday. On Sunday morning after that review our friends took us to the Rev. Dr. Nevins's Episcopal church, where we had a helpful service. We found at the church Mrs. John Harris. She had been one of the most efficient missionary workers among our soldiers during the Civil War. I had seen so much of her then that I was glad to meet the noble lady again. Her Italian home was near Florence. She seemed well and contented, though kept abroad by order of her physician, who forbade a sea voyage. Perhaps there were no more instructive lessons than those my son and I had in visiting the studios of different celebrated artists. Rome was full of them, and studios were the popular resort of sightseers.

Hardly any young man goes to Rome without experiencing some kind of romantic adventure. I had mine. The first day we ventured out from our hotel and crossed the Tiber we saw an active, restless multitude apparently composed of people from every civilized nation of the world. From the midst of what appeared to me to be a large family group, a little girl rushed out. She perhaps was ten years old. She came with a skip and a jump and extended one hand to me; in the other was a beautiful bouquet, tiny but variegated and sweet. She was tidily dressed, had a pretty fig-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

ure and a laughing face. She tried to speak English as she asked me to buy her nosegay. As I shook my head, not having any change to give her, and pleaded poverty, she took me by the hand and said what I took to be: "I go with you." She tripped along for a time by my side, humming some snatch of a tune or trying to make me understand her talk. At last she smiled in my face, put her flowers into my side pocket and ran away, laughing aloud. Jamie said, "Father, you ought not to have encouraged that child, she will bother you to death." But I liked to be so bothered! Every day when we came she would quickly discover us and come up, clapping her hands and dancing around. I was away from home, away from our own little children, so that the caressing of this beautiful child was only a reminder and a comfort. It may not mean much, but I am always proud of the quick approach and happy recognition of a child.

One day was given to the Catacombs. It was of strange interest to be there underground, to go from tomb to tomb, and follow out the long gallery, and look into the dark corners and singular niches, and trace the lineaments of those who had been long ago distinguished and the mottoes which were preserved. All this was noteworthy, but to me after all it was a grewsome place and I was glad when we had completed our underground wanderings and come out where we could breathe fresh air again. My son, who had become very fond of ancient bridges, singular pavings, and road constructions, took me to the old Appian Way where some of the Christians of Rome, few indeed in number, came out to meet the Apostle Paul. We noticed the narrowness of the way, the peculiarity of the

Italy and Switzerland

pavement, and wondered at the preservation for more than eighteen centuries of that roadway.

From the Vatican to the tombs, and from the tombs to the prison where St. Paul was confined, to this old Appian Way, and thence to the modern hotel, to the new city on the right bank of the Tiber, and to the palace of the King in sight of the Seven Hills of the ancient city, simply jostled us from the old to the new and from the new to the old and made us feel that the centuries themselves are not very far apart.

The special attractions, such as the sculpture and architecture of the modern churches, then the friends met from home and the evening spent in the Roman circus together, and my little child romance are now after twenty years the things most distinct in my recollection.

It was a bright morning, June 2, 1884, when we left Rome accompanied by Mrs. Harris, Dr. McMorris, and Miss Kate Field. It was a picturesque, hilly country all the way from Rome to Florence. After a good night's rest we began our rambles in that renowned city. The cathedral, that every tourist has seen, I found remarkable, not so much for its size as for its simplicity and beauty of form. After taking in the grand structure from different points of view within and without, we went on to the Piazza Signoria. What we observed here were the ancient monuments and the medallion sculptures. Passing through the long corridor to the Pitti Gallery, we studied the statuary and pictures till our necks ached. At the Portia Roma the special thing to see was the statue of Dante; that was like meeting the picture of a well-known friend. Later we visited the house which was said to be his home when in Florence. We also delighted our

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

eyes with the home of Michael Angelo. Indeed, there was nothing remarkable about it except the feeling we had that it was where Michael Angelo had lived.

The most interesting things to me in Florence were those in line of record about Savonarola. Our visit extended to what is called St. Mark's Square, and particularly St. Mark's Church where Savonarola had preached. We went into the monastery which the guide told us contained Savonarola's cell. In the monastery we found a monument that had been erected to his memory. It is still doubtful whether this magnificent preacher of the truth should be classed with churchmen or statesmen; perhaps with both.

In the morning of Wednesday June 4, 1884, we crossed the Apennines, enjoying the grand scenery all the time we could keep outside these blinding tunnels. My eye fell here and there upon the mountain sides and followed the terraces up to the very top of the highest hills. I had not thought that Italy was so thickly settled, but as we sped along we saw villages, cities, and castles everywhere.

Padua interested me on account of its antiquity and its military character. The city was only about twenty miles southwest of Venice and wonderfully fortified. Its principal hall is covered with extraordinary paintings and also contains the monument of the great writer Livy. I had read Livy when a freshman in college. The University of Padua, too, has always been remarkable for its students, sometimes having upward of 2,000.

Of all the rivers we crossed that day the Po was largest. As we approached nearer to Venice my son called my attention to the "Rubicon." Having arrived at Venice, we had, June 4th, our first ride in a

Italy and Switzerland

gondola. The effect produced by finding canals instead of streets, and gondolas propelled by oarsmen rather than a cab, was new and vivid. After enjoying our starlight rowing, we landed at an excellent hotel.

Early on the 5th we set out for St. Mark's and, looking diligently through the cathedral near by, regarded with interest the peculiar tower. It was not long before we were standing on the upper platform at its very top. Here we had, that morning, a clear view of the extensive city and its surroundings. Some young Jews called our attention to the clock on the tower and we beheld the bronze men striking the bell. Quite a multitude were with us while we were on the broad piazza and beholding the happy, active pigeons beautiful and so tame that they would light on your shoulders and feed from your hand. We next went to the Musêo (an academy). The pictures and old sculptures in *alto rilievo* absorbed our attention for a time—we brought away a well-marked catalogue. Then came a welcome rest while we lunched. After that we passed on to the Doge's Palace, took a look at the historic rooms, the Senate House, and the Library, all decorated with abundant paintings. When we came into the street we turned and viewed, on the outside, the Doge's prison, and talked about the bridge which passes from the palace to the prison, named the "Bridge of Sighs," and could almost realize the aching of the human hearts that passed from the palace to the prison never to return.

Venice had everywhere the appearance of decay, though still very beautiful and attractive. What you see, however, leaves a feeling of sadness as if for something passing away. You ask yourself, How can 125,000 people continue to live there? There is little evi-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

dence of enterprise or progress. About ten o'clock in the evening of this day we again went on board a large gondola and with some German students as companions made our way to the train which left the city that night.

We were in Milan the morning of June 6th, where the weather was mild and the skies clear. From the top of the cathedral, ethereal in its surpassing beauty, we had a magnificent view, which took in an immense portion of Italy. The city is circular and still encompassed on three sides by walls. The entire circuit is about eight miles. It can be entered from its different quarters by ten gates. It has sidewalks thoroughly paved. The Brera Palace, which was formerly a Jesuit College, was, when we were there, a great public school of art with a library of 140,000 books.

At Turin we visited an Exposition, which was in active operation just outside the city limits, and saw the multitude—various peoples and climes were represented. From Saturday to Sunday we slept twelve hours and then attended an English church service at eleven o'clock. We walked about the city considerably Sunday afternoon, but it was on Monday, June 9th, that we accomplished the most. My son was especially interested in the mechanical department. We examined also the war and art divisions of the Exposition. On this same day we went from Turin to Bellinzona, an Italian town of some importance, really in Switzerland, situated on the left bank of the Tecino. It used to be guarded by three old castles and completely commanded the road through the valley where it is located. We arrived at midnight and the hotels were closed and so we decided to stay in the depot, but the railroad agent said that he must close up that build-

Italy and Switzerland

ing and that we could not be allowed to remain in it, so we walked about the city for a while and when we were weary, without asking permission crept into some cars that were waiting at the station, and slept there until the morning of June 10th. The train left very early for the mountains. En route before 5 A.M. we caught glimpses of old towers and castles here and there. The land was rough and rocky, but the scenery was grand. The sides of some of the mountains were terraced high up and under cultivation.

Nothing took our attention more than the St. Gothard's Tunnel. The longest reach in that tunnel without opening except for ventilation was ten miles. Having the opportunity to look up, we could see above us a loop of the road we were ascending. The sound of our cars at times resembled the Cascades of the Columbia.

In Lucerne, Switzerland, by 1 P.M. of the same day, where we spent but a few hours, the country is rugged as always in Switzerland, and the ravines and valleys so narrow that it is a comfort to look out upon Lake Lucerne. We had a glimpse of the old tower that was once the lighthouse from which the city and the canton took their names. Lucerne also has an arsenal of importance ready for any sudden need. The famous Lion, a monument to the Swiss guard that was so faithful in its defense of Louis XVI of France, reminded us of the pictures and history of that heroic event.

The next morning by 6.30 we arrived in Paris and went at once to our hotel. That day we took a trip to Versailles with some American friends and examined the fine furniture of the palace. The grounds around the palatial building our party pronounced

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

superb. We were happy that evening after our return to Paris to spend an hour with other intimate friends from the United States. To see them was like a breath of air from home.

At our hotel not far from the Opera, there was a group of Theosophists together with the famous Madame Blavatsky, who was at that time their inspiration and leader. Some newspaper people in America had sent to Paris Mrs. Laura C. Holloway, a writer who had previous to this time written a sketch of my life. Mrs. Holloway had been sent to make a study of this society, which claimed at that time to be investigating Buddhism and other religions of the Orient. She was to examine the pros and cons concerning them and make a report to the friends who sent her. I was glad to become acquainted with Madame Blavatsky, a Russian countess, who could speak eight languages with fluency. She spoke English like an Englishwoman. She smoked her pipe like a man of the world and was habitually rough in her manners and untidy in her dress, but exceptionally intelligent and entertaining. At that time I was simply introduced. Later during my European visit I came across the party again in Germany.

CHAPTER LXVII

FRANCE AND GERMANY; CONVENTION OF YOUNG MEN'S
CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, BERLIN, 1884

ON our return to Paris June 11th, we turned to the Hotel Brisil, Rue Helder. The rooms were small and we were obliged to climb three flights of stairs, but the hotel was neat enough excepting the bathrooms, which were poorly supplied with the main essential, *water*. In those days we furnished our own candles and all other small needs and conveniences and there were not any "lifts." None then existed in Paris except in the largest public houses.

On Sunday, June 15th, we all went quite early to the Madeleine. Perhaps no music could be more effective than that filling the great spaces, caught as one entered and stood near the doorway. There was an annual church festival in progress and the auditorium was filled to overflowing. It was from the front of this building that Bonaparte in the very beginning of his career made his artillery so effective against the National Guard. On this day Jamie gave us a treat in what is called a "Duval." It was a peculiarly constructed restaurant, very economical in its furnishing and in its bill of fare. To our astonishment, we met a number of American friends who were seated at a neighboring table. They recognized us as we came in; thus happily and cheerfully friends meet unexpectedly in all parts of the world.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

That evening we attended Dr. Beren's church (an Evangelical), and listened to a sermon in French of which I was not able to gather much because the clergyman spoke too rapidly for my American ears.

On June 17th we had a charming walk through the Bois de Boulogne. The groves, bright green and fresh in June, have been well preserved and the paths are as well kept as those in our New York Central Park. There is no better success anywhere in cultivating trees, shrubs, and flowers something akin to nature. We passed from this delightful park into cross streets, emerging at last into a broad boulevard which led us to Napoleon's "Arc de Triomphe." When we had sufficiently fatigued ourselves with walking and studying heroic figures and historic inscriptions, we took a carriage and returned to our hotel.

One establishment that I frequently and hopefully visited was the American Exchange, at that time kept by Drexel, Harjes & Co. There I always met friends from America and gathered from New York papers items of news not procurable elsewhere. We naturally looked for letters and went away greatly disappointed when we found none from home. My wife, however, was very faithful to write something and send her letters with choice newspaper clippings by every mail.

My son went to the depot with me on June 21st, and as I was to go to Evreux, France, without him, he gave me pretty thorough instructions. The journey took three hours, and M. Chauvet, our friend, very kindly met me at the railroad station of his small city, and took me to his home. There I remained for six weeks. His family then consisted of himself, wife, and three daughters. The eldest was near sixteen.

France and Germany

My object in tarrying with these good people so long was to learn more French. M. Chauvet was a clergyman of the Protestant faith, called the Evangelical, paid, however, by the Government a regular salary, as church and state were not yet separate. From him I took daily lessons. The family received students from England and America. The daughters could speak a little English, but the father and mother spoke French only. My son, Jamie, had been with them some years before. During my stay I was introduced to several officers of a regiment of dragoons and became a friend of the major, whose office corresponds to that of our regimental quartermaster and commissary, only he habitually lived with his family separate from the regiment. Several times a week the commanding officer sent me a saddle horse accompanied by a mounted orderly, so that I had the coveted opportunity of attending reviews and parades, and was treated with all the courtesy, official and unofficial, that one could desire. On Sundays I attended M. Chauvet's church. While at his house Mrs. Leech, the wife of my West Point classmate, Colonel Leech, came with her two children and niece to spend some weeks. Miss Greble, the niece, my godchild, always talked English to me and so interrupted my French, to her amusement and mine.

A short distance from M. Chauvet's was an extensive forest. The trees were not very near together and there was no underbrush. During a holiday all the family, including the pupils from abroad, would at times go through the forest, hunting for *champignons*. We wandered about at will and enjoyed every experience that an extensive woodland filled with roads and crossroads without fences could give us. In the heart

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

of the forest we would unexpectedly run upon little homes and hamlets. We enjoyed particularly the variety of birds, and here drank in with relish the fresh air during the hot summer days. Having filled our baskets with the right kind of mushrooms, we made our way back.

One Sunday afternoon after the quiet morning service I was taken to what one might call the village green; for Evreux, though a city of small size, is made up of villages in communes. To the village green, I speak of, light-hearted people came in families, and I saw about the liveliest dance ever seen. A strong young man full of fun and ardor would seize a maiden, lift her up, and swing her round, making some joyous exclamation which she usually met by short screams and vigorous attempts to free herself from his embrace. The young people were very happy and graceful, as the French always are, however irregular and wild their performances. The parents and children, laughing and clapping their hands, looked on with delight. Even our Protestant friends did not think this fun and exercise inappropriate to the French Sabbath.

I had been some time in Evreux before I discovered the peculiarity of the people's reception of strangers. Again and again I had talked with a Jewish friend, M. Goldsmith, and he appeared to enjoy my society, and I wondered why he did not call and see me. At last, on inquiry as to the reason, my preceptor told me that it was my duty, being the newcomer, to visit him first. Then I did so and he soon returned my call. Subsequently his house was open to me, and I always received from him a cordial welcome.

One day I had occasion to go to a shoe shop, and finding the shoemaker himself disposed to chat with

France and Germany

me in French while he continued his work, became interested in him. He and his wife were sending to school in Evreux their only son, a lad of twelve. They were very fond of him and hopeful that he would make a scholar, and by and by learn a profession or trade more remunerative than shoemaking. Several times I visited the worthy couple and they repeatedly inquired concerning the chances of earning a living in North America. I was careful in my answers not to increase their discontent. One day I asked this workman if he did not have holidays. Shaking his head he said, "I have none except Christmas." "Why," I remarked, "you do not work on Sundays?" "Oh, yes, I do. I am obliged to work hard seven days in the week to get enough together to give us a decent living." Poor people! Like so many other European workers, *L'Amerique du Nord* was their constant hope.

During one pleasant Sunday I accompanied M. Chauvet and part of his family to a distant village named St. Opportune. Here we attended the anniversary exercises of one of the numerous Evangelical schools. A large congregation, made up principally of the fathers and mothers of the children, was present. As a rule they were dressed in clean blue workday frocks, such as the peasantry in France usually wear. The exercises were similar to what we have on anniversary occasions in our village schools, consisting of literary exercises, examinations, and singing. There were two sessions in this public exhibition. During intermission, while we were at lunch, M. Chauvet asked me to make an address to the school and assembled people that afternoon. I told him that I hardly dared trust myself in French. He smiled and said that I could try. So, mustering cour-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

age, I took a memorandum book from my pocket and wrote down a brief address in which I called the attention of the people to the sympathy between our two republics. I told them how the name of Lafayette was regarded in our country and pointed out some things which Lafayette had so generously done for us during our Revolutionary War; and spoke of the mutual attachment and friendship that had always existed between him and Washington. I submitted my proposed address to M. Chauvet. He ran it over and made a few corrections and returned the manuscript to me with the comment, "*C'est bon.*" I read my composition as well as I could to the audience, and was surprised at the evident sympathy and marked applause which punctuated my queer delivery. This was my first and last attempt to give a public address in French.

It was Friday, August 8th, when I left Evreux for Paris. Mr. Beddhoes, my English fellow-student, very kindly accompanied me to the station, conveying my luggage upon a wheelbarrow. Clara Greble and Susie Leech also came with M. Chauvet to see me off.

I arrived in Paris without accident and hastened to the American Exchange to secure as soon as possible news from home. After dining with a few friends, I set out from Paris for Cologne the same evening. While en route I formed the acquaintance of a Captain Buscho, a very companionable regular officer in the Swiss army. He could speak English, French, or German, and so did me much needed service as an interpreter.

By six o'clock the next morning we had crossed the Rhine. Having been in Cologne before, I only stopped for a brief period between the trains. I had, however, some new and beautiful views up and down the Rhine

France and Germany

and took another coveted glimpse at the outside of the Grand Cathedral. The train moved on and I reached the city of Hanover by the middle of the afternoon. The day was delightful. Hanover was neat and seemed finished above any city I had seen. It was very complete and attractive, even at the railway station; but I was troubled, in spite of the instructions which my son had given me, namely, "Speak English slowly and you will be understood." I did so, but everyone shook his head, saying, "*Verstehe nicht.*" The Swiss captain had left me at a previous junction so that I was indeed feeling like a stranger in a strange land. I asked that my luggage be transferred from one station to another so as to take the train for Göttingen. At last I came across an official who understood my French, so my purpose was accomplished. After a little amusing experience at the main station at Göttingen, where I was making an effort to find my way to Bodemeyer Cottage, I met Mr. Arthur Lawrence, of Boston, whom I knew. He interpreted for me and conducted me to the home of my friends.

The order and completeness of everything in this university town strike the stranger at once. The little home of the family (von Bodemeyer's) was no exception. The family consisted of an aged mother, Frau Morestadt, her widowed daughter Frau von Bodemeyer, and the three grandchildren, young ladies. There was a brother who was then away at Dresden. The *grossmutter* was the widow of a clergyman, who had died while working as a missionary abroad. In this sweet home was a household of five good women. They took into their family students from England and America, and instructed them in the German language. Those who came into the family were fortu-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

nate, for they were taught the very best German, and their student life was made happy. When I arrived my son was absent with two of the young ladies, Adelheid and Hedwig. They had gone on an excursion into the country. The youngest, Gertrude, who spoke English with some difficulty, welcomed me pleasantly and introduced me to her mother and grandmother, and was my interpreter until the return of the excursionists. I once read "Undine" and was greatly interested in the character of an aged grandmother, who had the homage of all the family and occupied the chair of honor. The *grossmutter* at Göttingen had the homage and almost the worship of this family, and she too occupied the chair of honor, which was a little elevated and apart. My conversation with her, even by interpretation, was delightful. I found her remarkably intelligent and well versed in history, especially in the accounts of Napoleon's battles which took place on German soil and at a period that she well remembered. Her strong sympathy seemed to be with Bonaparte, perhaps because Hanover had been absorbed by Prussia.

After the return of my son and the young ladies I became better acquainted with the family. Adelheid and Hedwig spoke English perfectly, and very soon this home in Göttingen became to me a home indeed. Jamie was a little ashamed of his father, I think, at that time, because of his having a swollen face, and nose much too large. He soon, however, took me to a skillful German doctor who could speak English. My son explained to him with some care that his father had not been in any convivial company or place. The doctor hushed him instantly and said in plain English, "Oh, no, no, this could come from dust in a rail-

France and Germany

way coach." Then with a keen lancet he removed the germ which caused the swelling and put it, after showing it to us, in a vial for preservation. In three days my face had recovered its healthy tone and wonted shape.

It was delightful to my son and myself to visit different parts of the University of Göttingen together. He had enjoyed the benefits of this institution for nearly two years. On the Sunday I was in this educational center I accompanied the young people to a large church. The altar was decorated, probably for some festival. I was surprised to see in this Lutheran church a large-sized image of the Virgin and the Child in one corner. A noticeable crucifix was near the high pulpit. The service was long and so was the sermon. I knew too few German words to follow the discourse, though the clergyman spoke with deliberation and clearness. The singing was excellent. The Sabbath in Göttingen was kept very much as it is in a university village in the United States, except that there was a band concert held in the afternoon in an inclosure near an extensive hall with ample grounds. It was a beautiful day in August, so that the seats and music were all out of doors. I do not think that I have ever heard music more restful and satisfying. This appeared to my New England mind to be more appropriate to the Sabbath than the dancing and hilarity that I witnessed on a Sunday in Evreux.

The day before my departure for Berlin I went with my son to an evening entertainment. It was a club meeting where nearly all the members were bicycle devotees. I was asked to give a brief address to the young gentlemen. I did so and Jamie was my interpreter. His translation brought abundant and

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

somewhat noisy applause. I had never seen such large mugs as those from which the members of this club drank their beer. The young men were merry and lively enough, but I saw no signs of intoxication even after several returns to the mug. We were helped to lemonade, which we, with our American taste, preferred to beer.

As I had been called by our International Young Men's Christian Association to a conference in Berlin, I invited my son, Hedwig, and Gertrude to go with me, and we set out August 19th, and, arriving on the evening of the 20th, stopped at the Thiergarten Hotel. I had been invited to the residence of General Zeitung, a regular officer of the German army. He kept bachelor quarters, but at this time was absent from the city. He had left his servants in the house with a royal welcome for me. I dined with Count Bernsdorff and his wife. There I met many Y. M. C. A. delegates, some of whom I knew. The count, who was on the staff of the old Emperor Wilhelm, was of remarkable size. His height was at least six feet four inches, and his handsome wife was almost as tall as he. They had fine figures, and in their reception of guests and at the table presented a notable appearance. I can never forget the sensation that came over me when I was presented to this lady. When, a little later after dinner, I had a chance of conversing with her, she was seated and I was standing; she liked this manner of entertainment better and so did I. This couple could speak English perfectly. The count printed his welcoming address in four languages, German, English, French, and Italian. He delivered it first in German and then repeated it in English.

France and Germany

There were two occurrences at this Young Men's conference which have remained especially bright and clear in my recollection. One was meeting with Friedrich Blumenbach. He had been an officer during the Civil War in the quartermaster's department in my Eleventh Corps. At that time he was a skeptic and inclined to laugh at those who professed to be Christians. Indeed, it was a difficult thing to be a consistent Christian in an active war. Blumenbach had criticised me particularly at that time. After the war, through the influence of one of our Christian officers and his wife he was converted and became as pronounced a Christian as he had been an opponent. He became remarkable for establishing Young Men's Christian Associations, carrying his work into the far South, even through the State of Texas. He and I met at this Berlin conference and I found him actively engaged in Germany, as he had been in Texas, speaking and writing and organizing associations. He was evidently glad to meet me and translated a brief address for me at the conference.

The other occurrence was my visit to Potsdam, where I went with members of the conference. Here we had the opportunity to look at the best-drilled troops that I had ever seen. We went through the rooms of Frederick the Great, which had remained substantially the same as they had been during his life. After our inspection of everything that was interesting, we attended a banquet there given us by our German friends. I had been asked to speak for the Emperor, who had written us a pleasant letter and asked to be considered a "young old man" and to be made at least a nominal member of the association. I was willing to perform this function but I could not speak

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

in German. So I said that if my friend Blumenbach would translate for me, I would take that part and respond to the toast of the Emperor. Blumenbach translated a few sentences at a time as I spoke. When I had finished, he told the story of his conversion and said that he had laughed at me when he was in the army, but now he wished to testify publicly that I had been right and he wrong at that time. After the adjournment of the association and a profitable visit to the fields of the German military maneuvers, I took the cars with my friends for Göttingen and Elberfeld; I soon arrived at the latter city.

Here I again met Mrs. Holloway and the Blavatsky company. They had several people of their way of thinking with them, and Mohini, who had come from India. Mrs. Holloway and her friends were staying at Mr. Gebhart's, a worthy man and a large silk manufacturer. Sorrow came to him and his family in the loss of one of his sons. The young man was away from home, and, getting into some difficulty, wrote to his father for money. His father, thinking him extravagant, sent him a letter complaining of his conduct. The young man, driven to desperation, in some way made a draft upon his father, and his father in order to frighten him had suit brought against him. The son declared that in case of arrest he would take his life. His parents did not really believe that he meant to do so, but as soon as the magistrate put him under arrest he committed suicide. The Gebharts were Lutherans and had held to the orthodox faith, but not long after this they withdrew from the church and united with the Theosophists. They were trying to substitute the Buddhist belief for the orthodox creed—so said their friends. The Buddhist idea of rein-

France and Germany

carnation would promise them a reunion somewhere in the long future with their son.

I saw that, in spite of Madame Blavatsky's great learning and her claims of power to work miracles, she herself was not satisfied; she was not contented, and I endeavored to show her how to become so. I was never able to determine whether or not she was sincere in her claims. She certainly had some extraordinary powers. I came to the conclusion, however, that the simple, straightforward, plain teaching of the Great Master was better than the mysteries clustering about this woman and her followers.

During this stay at Elberfeld I made several visits to neighboring towns. At Düsseldorf I enjoyed the libraries and the picture galleries, which are famous. While there with my friend Mr. Keitly, I was told that the Emperor would make a visit that day to Düsseldorf. I went to a hall on the second floor of a public house where we had a good view up and down the street; there we saw the Emperor with his suite in procession, one carriage following another having outriders. There were a great many people gathered around our window, men and women trying to catch a glimpse of the procession. One lady who stood near me touched me on the arm and said to me in fairly good English: "You are an American officer, I am told." I said, "Yes, I am General Howard of the American army." "Then," she asked, "do you know my brother in the United States?" I smiled as I thought of the vast expanse of the United States and answered, "Pray, tell me what was his name?" She replied, "His name is A. von Steinwehr." Of course I was surprised, and so was she when I exclaimed, "General Steinwehr was under my command when I

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

had the Eleventh Army Corps! He commanded a division under me and held the Cemetery Ridge the first day at Gettysburg.”

I remained till August 30th and then went to make another visit of a day in Cologne; then had the pleasure of ascending the Rhine and of contrasting it with the Hudson; surely there was beauty everywhere. Of course we were reminded of many of the old legends when, from our steamer the *Humboldt*, the location of ancient castles was pointed out.

Landing at Bingen, I went to Paris and was delighted to find at my hotel waiting for me, my son and aid, Lieutenant Guy Howard, and his wife. Later Miss Clara Greble came to us to remain with Mrs. Guy Howard that my son might accompany me to the French maneuvers, which were to take place in southwestern France, near the Spanish border.

CHAPTER LXVIII

FRENCH ARMY MANEUVERS, 1884; PROMOTION TO MAJOR
GENERAL, UNITED STATES ARMY, SAN FRANCISCO
1886-88

IN Paris, September 4, 1884, Lieutenant John P. Wisser, United States Army, who came to me by direction of our War Department, Captain Guy Howard, and myself joined the French officers who were designated to guide us during the maneuvers of the Seventeenth Corps d'Armée in the south of France. A genial young officer, Colonel Rigault, had special charge of us because we were delegates from the United States. From that time to the closing review on September 13th, our delegation, with representative officers from various other nations, was taken by rail by carriages, or on horseback from place to place. At first, arriving at any desired station, horses, with mounted orderlies holding them, were ready that we might follow up and see the military exercises which were already mapped out. We hastened on through groves, forests, or open fields, often galloping to the most prominent knoll, where we could observe with clearness the movements of the troops.¹

During my journeys in France I had the pleasantest relationship with General Kuropatkin, the officer who subsequently became famous in the war between Russia and Japan. He was very hand-

¹ In my report made to the War Department after returning to America, full accounts were given of these interesting exercises.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

some, and spoke French so slowly and clearly that with my limited knowledge of the language I could understand him. He had at the time the rank of field marshal, and wore many decorations, and was undoubtedly the most popular of the officers who were then suddenly thrown together in this unique and harmless campaign. He well illustrated a high order of comradeship, often telling of his odd experiences in Russia and pointing them with happy illustrations.

Furthermore, without any special design in my conduct, I so warmly took the part of the existing republican Government of France against all hostile criticism on the part of many French and foreign officers whom I met, that I shortly acquired rather an unenviable fame.

The aristocratic were against any republic, and particularly adverse to the French President. They insisted that the President, as is always customary in our country, should not be honored with a special toast at the closing banquet. I had a mind to offer a toast in his behalf on that occasion and defend it, but I could not speak French well enough to give me the necessary confidence.

Sunday, September 14th, we reached Vendôme. Marquis Rochambeau, a descendant of Lafayette, whom I had the pleasure of entertaining when I was superintendent of our Military Academy, met us about midday at the station, and drove us in a fine carriage to his own home in the suburbs of the city. That evening we met many French people in a reception given by the noble marquis and his family; there were present distinguished civilians and well-known naval officers of high rank, and I was impressed by their attainments and high-toned gentility. The next day, my

French Army Maneuvers, 1884

son, Lieutenant Howard, and Lieutenant Wisser left me and went to Paris.

On Monday, September 15th, the marquis and his two boys, accompanied by a single manservant and two small hounds, entertained me by a short hunting expedition. We did not succeed in getting any rabbits or other game, yet we beat up the hedges and went through all the forms and exercises of a veritable hunt. As soon as this rather fruitless effort was over we visited the Castle Levidin, which was very old and crumbling, like so many other notable ruins in that part of France. Our host showed the ancient church—a brownstone edifice, distinguished by a cross and thick covering of beautiful vines. The marquis pointed out the peasants' small houses, grouped in little villages, and told me they were occupied by the men who cultivated the surrounding fields of his large estate. We had had a delightful ride, after our hunt, in "the village wagon," the boys attending us on horseback. At the close of this pleasant day we dined again with the family, the parish priest favoring us with his lively company. The honored marquis had a delightful home of which his charming wife was the center, sprightly, cheerful, and happy, never at a loss to entertain those with whom she came in contact. The kindness of this family to all the people round about was marked and seemed to be reciprocated, though there were no signs of wealth on the part of the proprietor or of the villagers.

After an early breakfast Tuesday, the 16th, the good marquis accompanied me to Paris. When I bade their family good-by I hoped that I might return to them at some time and again enjoy their cheerful company. No society pleases more than that of the French peo-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

ple, where they have, as these do, pure morals, elegant manners, and high culture.

I joined my friends in Paris in the middle of the afternoon. That evening our ambassador, the Hon. Levi P. Morton, returned the call that I had previously made upon him. Without previous warning he presented to me from the President of the French Republic, M. Carnot, the beautiful decoration of the Legion of Honor. Of course, I was surprised and pleased with this favor and I regarded it as a compliment to our Government, which I had represented in the maneuvers. That very night a great dinner was given to all of the foreign military officers by the war secretary. It was a brilliant affair, French officers of high rank and distinguished civilians being present. Encouraged by the ambassador, I ventured to wear the much-prized decoration which he had given me.

I was soon in England, where I again met my son Guy and his wife. One evening I had the great privilege of listening to Charles H. Spurgeon. It was difficult for me to get a seat in the remotest corner of the gallery, and surely there were 10,000 people present in the immense auditorium. The great majority of the people had Bibles in their hands and either read in concert or looked over what Mr. Spurgeon was reading. Though so far away, the instant I heard the man's voice, which permeated the audience and seemed to resound from floor to ceiling, and from the pulpit to the back of the upper gallery, it struck me as different from any voice that I had ever heard. It was as clear as a bell and each word of his simple prayer was heard by every man and woman in the vast assembly. His preaching was plain and clear, without any effort at rhetorical effects, and held us all in breathless at-

French Army Maneuvers, 1884

tention. Spurgeon's subject was "A Call to Duty." Surely all present heard the call.

It would have delighted me could I have seen the British Houses of Parliament in session, especially the House of Lords, that conservative body which has preserved the equipoise of government through so many centuries between the throne and the people. I enjoyed the Department of War, comparing it with ours in Washington, but more than anything St. Paul's Church and the statue of John Howard the philanthropist. Quite early in life I obtained as good a picture as I could of his features and I was glad to study them in sculpture.

At the Woolwich arsenal, I was astonished at the extent of the buildings, so well filled with every class of proper supplies. To the British we can apply the words "*Semper paratus*,"—especially in war material.

October 1st I met Lieutenant Wisser at the London Exchange. We were both looking for advices from home. From there we passed on to the famous Morley House, and thence, taking leave of him, I stayed a while at the Paternoster Row. There I saw Mr. Hodder, President of the Young Men's Christian Association, whom I met in the United States. He took me to Sir George Williams, who was the founder of the Young Men's Christian Associations of the world, and whom Queen Victoria knighted for this, the magnificent work of his life. He appeared very glad to meet me again, for we had been together in Germany, and invited me to a lunch. He was still intensely interested in the Y. M. C. A. work, especially just then in France. To this work he was constantly making contributions. Sir George appeared to be a man of decided business ability, and was always remarkable for

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

an unfailing kindness—indeed, large-heartedness was plainly written in his face.

October 2d, when I arrived in Birmingham, Mr. Howard Lloyd, the banker, took me in his carriage through part of the city and then out into the country. After a swift suburban ride, we stopped at his residence. All the country round about reminded me of the beautiful suburbs of Philadelphia. Mr. Lloyd's wife was a Howard and the daughter of a well-known physician. I found here a charming family—at least a half dozen beautiful children. I had come to give a promised address, having engaged to do so at our Y. M. C. A. Convention in Berlin. That evening Mr. Lloyd took me to a large auditorium belonging to the Y. M. C. A. of Birmingham and I had a full house and a very attentive audience. On this occasion I endeavored to show them something of the work of our United States Christian Commission which the young men had set in motion during the Civil War. In England one thing was evident, that the young men themselves, members of the association, were striving all the while to do good to others, and not simply to be the recipients of bounty.

From Birmingham I passed on rapidly via London to Antwerp. Our journeys had been so timed that my son Jamie and Miss Adelheid von Bodemeyer, accompanied by a friend from Göttingen, met me. We four took passage on the steamer *Nederland* October 4, 1884. The weather was rough and the waves troublesome till we passed beyond the North Sea, then the weather was fine.

October 18th, early in the morning, we were at last at Sandy Hook and by twelve noon were at Jersey City. The Customhouse officers were polite

French Army Maneuvers, 1884

and pleasant to us, so that we were not long detained.

I hastened to Brooklyn. There Mrs. Buck and her sister were in great sorrow. Mr. R. P. Buck, almost the last one to bid me Godspeed on my departure, had died during my absence. I had not a better friend outside my family, and I sorrowed with them.

After a few days in New York, October 20th, with my party I set out for the West. My boys and the officers met us at the depot in Omaha, and all the family were soon gathered around the home table once more.

In the spring of 1885, having an inspection tour to make to the Yellowstone National Park, which was within the limits of my department, I enjoyed a brief sojourn with Mrs. Howard and a party of friends amid the wonders of that region. The traces of my route when pursuing Chief Joseph in the Nez Perces War, were still visible.

Our four years' stay in Omaha was delightful in every respect and many were the friends we made there. Our Y. M. C. A. work was well started and especially did I enjoy my relations with the First Congregational Church, whose pastor, Dr. A. F. Sherrill, became the closest of friends to me and my family.

Early in February the death of General Hancock was announced. My own promotion followed March 19, 1886. Immediately there was excitement for my family and that of my personal staff. Possessions that had accumulated had to be disposed of and everything prepared for a move. The order came with my promotion to major general for me to pass from Omaha to California and assume command of the military division which then embraced the entire Pacific coast.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

The journey was quickly made and on April 17th I issued an order assuming command according to my instructions. At first I made my military headquarters, as my predecessor had done, at the Presidio; but I took my family to reside in a charming spot about halfway between the Presidio and the Oakland landing in San Francisco. There was here a large residence which General McDowell had remodeled, the very place where Mrs. Howard and I had been entertained by the McDowells some years before. Near it was an army post of two companies commanded by Major John A. Darling. The post was officially called Fort Mason, but habitually by civilians Black Point. One aid-de-camp occupied a pretty cottage at the post. The grounds of our main house were very charming—the trees of the southern and tropical growth, the hedges all around of geranium, larger than I had ever seen before, and seventy-five varieties of roses beautified a square. After passing through a high gateway, and by the watchful sentinel, we were within a veritable paradise. Taken in connection with the climate, at all times genial, our residence as a family in San Francisco will never be forgotten.

Soon after our arrival here, we received the happy news that our third son, Chancey, whom we had left in Omaha, had married Miss Alice G. Rustin of that city. We had named him Chancey as he was born on the second day of the battle of Chancellorsville. He has for some years been a Special Examiner of Pensions for the Government. His happy household—a wife, three sons and a daughter—constantly remind me of our own earlier family.

CHAPTER LXIX

TRANSFERRED TO NEW YORK CITY

WE united with the First Congregational Church of San Francisco, whose pastor was Rev. C. D. Barrows. He was very enterprising, and with him I entered into church work with earnestness. He set apart his pastor's study on Sundays for my Bible class, and the class was very successful. The room was usually full. We all profited by the choice fellowship of this church. The Young Men's Christian Association of San Francisco was thriving under the superb leadership of H. J. McCoy, the general secretary. He soon called upon me to assist him in his operations, not only for the city but for the coast. My association with the Loyal Legion and Grand Army posts was exceedingly pleasant.

During this tour of duty there was restlessness again among the Apaches of Arizona. General Nelson A. Miles commanded that department, which formed a part of my military division. The Chiricahua Apaches had been surrounded by a cavalry force, taken in a body a hundred miles northward to San Carlos, and put on a reservation with Indians who were hostile to them. This was done ostensibly because some Apaches had become intoxicated and committed grievous offenses. As soon as I knew of this enforced removal, I said: "The Chiricahuas will break out." The

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

next mail brought me news that Geronimo was leading in a raid against the people of Arizona southward. The campaign of General Miles ensued; the Indians after capture or surrender were taken first to Florida and afterwards to Mount Vernon, Ala. With them went a small portion of the Aravipa Apaches under Eskiminzin. There seems to have been no reason whatever for taking Eskiminzin and his people, as they were not engaged in the raid.

At one time I had word from the Apaches begging me to come down and see them and stating that they would give themselves into my hands; but I answered that I was unwilling to interfere because they had broken their treaty with me.

General Shafter was then colonel of the First Infantry and commanding his regiment in my department at Angel Island. I saw much of him, especially in our summer encampments, and always found him a diligent officer in the performance of duty. I did not see him after I left California till I met him in Florida during the Spanish War, when he was in command of the active column at Tampa.

I renewed an exceedingly pleasant acquaintance with General Alexander Piper¹ whom I knew when a cadet. He was now colonel of the Fifth Artillery and commanded at the Presidio.

I kept up my studies, wrote many articles for publication, and prepared lectures, such as "Grant and his Generals," "The Life of General George H. Thomas," "Sherman and his March to the Sea." These and "Gettysburg" were my secular lectures, but for Christian efforts in public I delivered on Sundays or before

¹ He met with a sad death at the burning of the Park Hotel, in 1902; losing his life in the conflagration.

Transferred to New York City

religious bodies, among others, "The Power of Small Things," "Father Love, Patriotic and Christian." I could always please an audience better when I spoke without a manuscript. The manuscript usually had the effect either to repress my attempts at humor or the audience's appreciation of it.

In official work I had for my adjutant general first my classmate General O. D. Green, and later General Chauncey McKeever. My aids were Lieutenant Edwin St. J. Greble, son of my favorite classmate, and Lieutenant George N. Chase. General Sherman had greatly desired for the sake of economy to have division and department headquarters established at the army posts nearest to the towns or cities, and it was so arranged until an Act of Congress directed that they be returned to the cities. By the President's order sent through General Sherman our Military Division and Department of California went back from the Presidio to the Phelan Building in San Francisco.

Sherman having retired, Sheridan was in command of the army till his death at Nonquitt, Mass., August 5, 1888. During his last illness he had been promoted to full generalship. This rank he held for about two months. As soon as his death was announced General Schofield was placed in command of the Army of the United States.

About November 1, 1888, my adjutant general was temporarily absent and my presence at the headquarters of my division had never been more necessary, but by every mail I was receiving word of the extreme illness of my good mother, then living with my brother General C. H. Howard, at Glencoe, Ill. My brother wrote about that time: "If you expect to see mother alive you must come quickly." This distressed me

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

greatly, but I saw no way to leave my post, when unexpectedly a vacancy occurred in the command of the Military Division of the East, headquarters at Governor's Island.

Just as soon as I could get ready I set out for Glen-coe and arrived in time to spend a little over a week with my mother. I went from her sickroom to Governor's Island in time to assume command on December 12th. My mother's death took place two days later. I had left her so cheerful and ready to depart and be with her Saviour that I did not attempt to go back to see her again.

My aids, Lieutenants Greble and Chase, came with me to the new field. The great care of packing up our household goods in San Francisco was left to Mrs. Howard, and with the children she came across the continent by the Canadian Pacific. We were soon all together again at Governor's Island.

As I had care of both the Military Division and the Department of the East, there was an abundance of official work. Shortly after this, very sensibly, the military divisions were abolished and thereafter, with the loss of a few grains of official dignity, I commanded only the department, but it took a sweep of country big enough for ordinary ambition. It extended from the Lakes to the foot of Louisiana. Not a very active command with only twenty-odd army posts to look out for, but one's eyes had to be kept open during strikes, labor troubles, and riots, or disturbance beyond the control of the States and cities within that domain. In peace, contingencies must be meditated upon, and the army commander be always ready for prompt action.

During 1889, when making my inspections, I visited



MAJOR GENERAL HOWARD, COMMANDING DEPARTMENT OF THE EAST, 1888.

Transferred to New York City

Mount Vernon, Ala., and met the Indians, with Geronimo and Eskiminzin. It is impossible to describe the meeting. The men ran to me and embraced me with what I call the "double embrace," and the women brought their children for me to put my hands on them and bless them. Geronimo declared that he was going to do his best to have the children educated, and Eskiminzin begged hard to return to his own farm in Arizona. They all declared they would do anything I told them to do. We had formed two Indian companies from the Indian prisoners, one stationed at Mount Vernon and the other at Fort Pickens. From both companies I had nothing but excellent reports, and as soon as it was at all practicable we had the rest sent to the Indian Territory, where they have been ever since. One trouble with having regular Indian military companies was that white soldiers would not serve under Indian noncommissioned officers, and another difficulty was the impossibility of having an Indian's family with him. They, however, made the best of irregular troops and scouts. It was not long before all the young Indians were mustered out and joined their people.

In the same year in New York City we had the Washington Centennial Parade in honor of the inauguration of George Washington. It lasted three days. On the last day of the month of April was the military participation. All the troops I could gather were brought together and led in column. Major General Fitzgerald, being a major general commanding the New York National Guard, objected to the regulars preceding his troops, because commanded by only a lieutenant colonel of engineers. I had been requested to join the President and others at the review-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

ing stand, but as soon as the difficulty was reported to me, and knowing that I was senior in rank to Fitzgerald, I entered the column myself in command of the small contingent of regulars. This arrangement made everything go off without any further friction.

As a family we changed our church relationship from San Francisco to the New York Broadway Tabernacle, and it was our great pleasure and profit to sit under the preaching of Dr. William Taylor. On our return from church one day my youngest son, Harry, suggested that we might find some missionary work nearer home for Sunday afternoons. A little later we found over an old stable on Elizabeth Street a Sunday school which was a part of "Camp Memorial Church." It was near Grand Street, New York, and had a faithful young man, Mr. Meyerholtz, for superintendent. As there was a dearth of teachers, my son and I took classes and continued with the school until my retirement. The accommodations in the old hall were so poor and the atmosphere so bad that we began to seek for new quarters. We finally bought a very suitable old church edifice on Chrystie Street. To pay for this church and make necessary repairs I was made collector of funds. Just as I had gathered together between three and four thousand dollars for the last payment, and a couple of days before I was to hand over the money, the bank where I made my deposit failed. The next day I borrowed the money and completed the payment on the church. In a short time friends kindly assisted me in raising the debt. This "Camp Memorial Church" was later aided by the Congregational Missionary Society, and it has had over twenty years of very successful missionary effort.

Now living so near New York, I frequently met

Transferred to New York City

Sherman, my old and beloved commander, at his home on Seventy-second Street, and also at public entertainments. He was very fond of having Slocum and myself (left and right wing commanders) with him, and when he could he secured us seats, the one on his right and the other on his left. He then seemed to be very hearty and strong, but during the winter of 1890 and 1891 he had a severe attack of erysipelas. Just before his death, which resulted from this illness, February 14, 1891, he expressed a strong desire that his two wing commanders, Howard and Slocum, should conduct his funeral services. Accordingly his brother, Hon. John Sherman, wrote and asked us to do so. We selected one of his division commanders, General Daniel Butterfield, for the immediate control and direction of the New York processions, which were very extensive. I myself went to St. Louis and was present at the final obsequies, participating in the work of the escort and all ceremonies, and attending his remains to their last resting place beside those of his wife, on the banks of the Mississippi. His son, Father Sherman, a Jesuit priest, admirably conducted all the religious exercises for his father in St. Louis. I asked the young man how he had the strength to do it. He smiled and replied by a question to this effect, "General, do you know what it is to obey orders?" Though General Sherman was not a Catholic, all the services were under the direction of the Catholic church. His brother said to me that this was a comfort to his children. As the casket containing his remains had been brought out and was waiting a few minutes on the upper step of his house, the pallbearers stood on the right and left with uncovered heads. The weather was exceedingly cold. Some one said to Gen-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

eral Joseph E. Johnston, one of the bearers: "General, put on your hat, you will take cold." Johnston answered: "If I were in his place and he standing here in mine he would not put on his hat." Thus delicately he signified his deep regard for Sherman. In fact, these two, after their campaign was over, behaved always toward each other as brothers. General Johnston did take cold at that funeral, and his own sickness and death in Washington City followed soon after. I was present at his funeral. He had a military escort of Confederate friends but without arms. I noticed them as they swung from line to column, obeying their orders with promptitude like the veteran soldiers that they were.

It was about this time that I took my family to Florida. We enjoyed the hospitality of the Hon. H. M. Flagler. What he has done for the eastern portion of Florida is enormous in its inception and results. Our stay later at Key West was made very pleasant. Here I met three colored young men, who were graduates of Howard University. One of the young men was superintendent of colored schools. He presented us with a very beautiful basket of shells. The editor of the *Key West Journal* told me that he did not know what Key West would have done if it had not been for these three young men. The school superintendent was a druggist and a graduate pharmacist. I spent one day in visiting his excellent schools. Nothing gratified me more than to find the alumni of my favorite institution useful and appreciated.

We made a very pleasant trip at this time across the narrow gulf to Havana. Patriotic Cubans then came to me and opened their hearts. They were hop-

Transferred to New York City

ing that Cuba, throwing off the yoke of Spain, might sometime gain her freedom. While standing beside the statue of Columbus I spoke to a Cuban with reference to Isabella and the projected Columbian Exposition in Chicago. He was glad, he said, that so much was to be made of Columbus. A little later I had an interview with the captain general, who was a Spaniard. I remarked that we Americans recognized the fact that Isabella was the patroness who rendered Columbus's voyage possible.

"Yes," he answered, "but why is it that in all America there is not a monument raised to her memory?" This question was the cause of my writing the life of Isabella of Castile; not as a monument, but with a view to quicken the interest, as far as I might be able to do, in a character which certainly deserves a very tender recognition from all who have been benefited and blessed by the discoveries of Christopher Columbus.

Our daughter Bessie had finished her studies at Farmington, Conn., and returned home. Harry had passed through a severe attack of typhoid fever, and Mrs. Howard and I thought that it would be a good plan for them to go abroad together and perfect their French at the house of our good friend, M. Adolph Chauvet, in Evreux, France. This was done and the following January Mrs. Howard left New York on the *Friesland*, and after a pleasant voyage joined the children, and they traveled together.

My brother, Rev. Rowland B. Howard, had gone to a Peace Convention held in Rome. He was ill before starting and was made much worse by his journey from London to Rome. In the convention as secretary of the American Peace Society he took a most active

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

part in the speeches and in the proceedings, especially pleading for a positive recognition of Christ in the deliberation of the Peace Convention. His last speech, eloquent and strong, increased his illness, and he was placed in a private hospital, St. Paul's Home. Here he was attended by Dr. Robert Prochet, Dr. Young, and a competent American nurse, Miss Daniels, of Brattleboro, Vt., and though he had every possible attention and care, he died January 25, 1892. My son Harry, then in France, went immediately to Rome, settled up his affairs, and sent his remains to Leeds, Me., for burial.

During the year 1892 I was asked by D. Appleton & Co. to write a book for their Great Commanders series on the life of General Zachary Taylor. In the prosecution of this work I was wonderfully helped by my honored friend, Francis W. Upham, LL.D., of New York; in fact, Mr. Upham's reminiscences were invaluable. For years the hospitality of himself and, since his decease, of Mrs. Upham, who contributed liberally to my educational efforts in Tennessee, is full of bright sunshine in retrospect.

I enjoyed making a thorough study of Taylor's career, going to every place where history said he had been, and taking a trip to Old Mexico to see his battlefields. On this agreeable visit I was accompanied by Captain and Mrs. Guy Howard, Captain and Mrs. Charles R. Barnett, Mrs. Shoemaker and daughter, of Baltimore, and Mrs. Barnett's mother and sister. Before starting, the Mexican Minister Romero, who so generously befriended General Grant in New York, gave me letters to the President of the Mexican Republic and to others. Their kindness met me as soon as I crossed the border. At Camargo the commandant

Transferred to New York City

had his battalion under arms to do me honor at ten o'clock at night. The same thing occurred later, on our arrival at Matamoros. As soon as I reached the City of Mexico, an officer of rank, designated by President Diaz, met us at the station and showed our party every attention during our stay at the capital. I enjoyed more than anything else the kind reception President Diaz gave me. He showed at once his intense interest in the education of his people, and desired me to visit the schools and particularly the Industrial and Reform School which he had established for delinquent youth.

By the courtesy of General Frisbee, of whom I had heard before my visit, I was able to see all the forts that became historic during our war with Mexico, and from his lips I obtained brief and interesting sketches of each notable conflict.

At the President's suggestion we took a trip to the vicinity of Vera Cruz, where General Scott began his operations in 1847, but we were vastly more interested in the coffee plantations which we found on our route.

President Diaz appeared to me to be a man of decided ability, who combined marked courtesy with prompt decision. After seeing him, I have understood why he has continued so long at the head of affairs, and aided so materially in the development and progress of Mexico. It comes from the strong character of the man.

CHAPTER LXX

D. L. MOODY ON BOARD THE *SPREE*; SPANISH WAR, 1898;
LINCOLN MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY; CONCLUSION

WHILE writing the life of Isabella, I felt the lack of local knowledge, and so determined, if I could get a leave of absence, to visit Spain. General Schofield, commanding the army, gave me permission to be absent from my headquarters from October 15th for two months. At that time I had on my personal staff Lieutenant Charles G. Treat¹ as aid-de-camp, and he accompanied me, leaving New York October 15th, on the steamer *Fulda*, North German Lloyd. I enjoyed the passage from New York to Gibraltar exceedingly.

On Sunday morning we had a public religious service at which I read selections from the sermons of Bishop Brooks. Noticing that an Italian Catholic priest, on his way from Kansas to Italy, did not participate in the service, I rallied him pleasantly on the subject. He said that he had had a headache and that was the reason he did not come out. I then said to him: "Father, why don't you preach the Gospel?" He answered: "What do you mean, General Howard? I do preach the Gospel."

I replied, "I do not think you do, for here are 300 Italians on board, who are going from the United

¹Since Lieutenant-Colonel and Commandant of Cadets, United States Military Academy.

D. L. Moody on Board the *Spree*

States to Italy. Why do you not preach the Gospel to them?"

The father then roused himself and said with considerable spirit: "I would if I could get a chance."

I laughed and said, "I'll get you a chance."

I went to the captain and told him I wished he would give the priest a chance to speak to the Italians.

He answered: "Yes, yes, I'll do so. I'll build you a throne."

The captain had a platform constructed, and the Italians were invited to attend the meeting. They all came, men, women, and children, and the father gave them a good sermon in Italian. He told them that they owed the opportunity for the service to me. I then asked, "Can't you sing?" One tall, bright-eyed man said, "Yes, we can sing the Litany."

The tall man then began a religious chant and all the people, with glad faces, joined in it, and I do not think I ever heard any song or hymn more melodious than what they sang. The father was glad of this opportunity and didn't mind my sitting with him on the "throne."¹

Mr. Treat and I visited every part of Spain where we could find that Isabella had been from the time of her birth till her death and burial. It was an interesting journey and one very helpful to me in the work I was prosecuting. My son James's wife and child were visiting her home in Göttingen and I met them at Bremen in order to accompany them home. Mr. Treat had left me for England while I was en route to Bremen. Mrs. James Howard and her little girl were there on my arrival, and the next day we set out for home on the steamer *Spree*. At Southampton, Eng-

¹ See the details of this visit to Spain in my book, "Isabella of Castile."

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

land, I was delighted to see Mr. D. L. Moody and his son Will Moody come on board. After this accession, Adelheid, my daughter-in-law, having many friends on the vessel, we had the prospect of a happy voyage. On the steamer were people of every nation, 750 of them, separated into first and second cabin, without any steerage passengers.

After midnight Friday, we were about eleven hundred miles on our way, when the main shaft of the propeller broke, sending two large fragments through the bottom of the steamer. The bulkheads had not been closed and for a time about half the compartments speedily filled with water. Of course, the compartments were instantly shut off from each other by the bulkhead doors and the water was pumped out from every compartment except the last two near the stern. These two could not be secured without straining the ship and producing a great leakage. The second-class passengers had been caught in their berths and state-rooms, and rushed to the deck saving scarcely any of their luggage. At first the electric lights were out and the gloom and terror that followed the accident cannot easily be described; yet Captain Willerode, his crew, and all other employees in the ship showed no panic, but every man kept his place and did his duty. My room was near the dining-hall and my daughter-in-law's farther back. I had her take mine at once and then went in search of her nursemaid, Matilda. As I was passing through the crowd, Matilda, who knew no English, got a glimpse of me and seized my hand, which she held with great tenacity till we reached her mistress.

Early next morning I found Mr. Moody and his son sitting on deck. Mr. Moody was weakened by sick-

D. L. Moody on Board the *Spree*

ness, but as soon as he could speak he said: "General, let us go down to my stateroom." As we started he added: "Come, my son, come with us." As soon as he had entered his stateroom he knelt down by his berth and prayed, saying: "O Lord, when Thy disciples were on the sea and in trouble, Thou didst save them. Are we not Thy disciples? Please smooth the waves so that we shall not be drowned, and please send us a ship." His son and myself followed Mr. Moody in prayer, also asking for God's mercy and blessing. Then Moody arose, sat on a high stool, and began to read the Ninety-first psalm. He paused while reading and smiling said: "That psalm seems made for just this occasion, doesn't it?"

After this, with very little delay, we went back to do whatever we could to comfort and cheer the people. Mr. Koop, whom I knew, had with him his wife and two daughters. Mrs. Koop almost immediately became delirious, but under the doctor's care was very soon quietly asleep. Mr. Koop said to me: "Do you think a man who hasn't been doing his duty ought to pray at such a time as this? It seems a little ignoble, doesn't it?"

I answered: "Perhaps the trouble was permitted, so far as you are concerned, to lead you to pray." Then I showed him, giving him an instance, how men have been led to prayer through meeting with accidents. I had hardly finished when Mr. Koop's countenance was filled with hope. From that time on he became the helper of others who were in need. There were many cases where people shed tears, some in great terror and some in great distress.

The acuteness of the situation was shown when during the first, almost hopeless condition, my daugh-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

ter-in-law said to me: "Father, I have given up my home people and my husband, but I do not see how I could bear it if Hildegard (then three years old) should cry as we go down." A French countess who was in perturbation of mind told me she prayed constantly, but still she was so afraid she could not take off her boots.

One elderly Jew from Russia was on his knees most of the time weeping. He insisted that he was the Jonah because he had come away from home without bidding his family adieu. He thought that if we would throw him overboard safety would surely come.

On Sunday morning I was trying to encourage a fellow-passenger who had hard work to repress his fear, when from the next table a member of Mr. Beecher's old church in Brooklyn called out: "I don't see where you get your confidence." I put my hand on my breast and said: "I do not know, but it is in there." I suppose, accustomed to danger as I was, this did not disturb me as much as it did some others.

Mr. Moody proposed to me that we have a service, as it was Sunday. He said: "You see the captain; you can do that better than I can."

I found the captain in his place in the pilot house. Though suffering excruciatingly from an attack of cholelithiasis, he answered: "A Christian service? Oh, yes, I am that way myself."

I went at once and saw the head steward and arranged for a service between ten and eleven o'clock of that morning in the dining salon. Then I reported to Mr. Moody what I had done. He said, "Tell the people." I went one way and said that Mr. Moody would have a service in the dining salon, and Will Moody

D. L. Moody on Board the *Spre*

the other way and said that General Howard would have the meeting. At last he and I met, having given the general notification. Before the hour everybody came crowding into the salon. This was filled, and all the passages leading to it. I think everybody on the ship responded to the invitation, except, of course, those on duty. For a while, in the imminent danger, everybody attempted to pray. Mr. Moody stood at the head of the table and led the reading and the prayer. A good Catholic lady from South America, returning to New York, led our singing, beginning with "Nearer, my God, to Thee." There was singing in English and German. I led the speaking, using the words: "Let not your heart be troubled." A German officer followed me in German, and I heard him use some words with which I had closed: "Man's extremity is God's opportunity."

The rest of the day we watched for a steamer, and saw the day close without any substantial answer to our petitions. After the accident a young man, a second-class passenger, occupied one of the berths in my stateroom, while I slept under the window with my feet toward the door. The electric light had been revived and my door was held open a little way by a long hook. About three o'clock Monday morning, I opened my eyes and saw Matilda looking in from the hallway smiling. She said in plain English, for her mistress had just taught her the four words: "*The ship is coming, Herr General.*" Indeed it was true. The steamer *Huron*, crossing from Canada, had seen our signals of distress, and she came, just in time, to our relief. We had drifted out of the usual course of ships, and to many on board there appeared very little hope of our rescue.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

By nine o'clock Monday morning the *Huron* was towing the *Spree* by two strong cables, and we were quietly dragged for eight days on a smooth sea back to Queenstown, Ireland. As soon as we touched land, the most of the passengers ran to the nearest church. It was of the Methodist persuasion and when the house was well filled, Moody mounted the pulpit and preached a sermon from the text, "God is Love," and we all gave thanks. Moody preceded me to the United States, going over by another line. I returned by the *Harvel*, a sister ship of the *Spree*. When I arrived, I found the newspapers filled with opposition to Moody's theory, which he expressed in the brief phrase, "Prayer saved the ship." When correspondents met me and asked me for the facts, I said: "Mr. Moody's prayer had been, 'Please send us a ship, and smooth the waves so that we shall not be drowned.' The ship *Huron* did come in time to our rescue and we had a smooth sea for eight days back to Queenstown, Ireland. What we asked for came, but whether our Heavenly Father performed a miracle to bring this about I do not know. You ask for daily bread and receive it, and that is sufficient."

It was remarkable that only one man perished on the *Spree*. He jumped overboard and refused the help offered him; a German sailor said: "He murdered his-self."

That homeward trip had hundreds of incidents peculiar to such a situation, but whatever our belief, surely we were made to feel, as Moody said, that "God is Love."

The long detention prevented our reaching home till after Christmas, and in that way I was made to overstay my two months' leave of absence. Under the

D. L. Moody on Board the *Spree*

circumstances I was forgiven the delinquency, which could not have been prevented.

Lieutenant Guy Howard's efficiency brought him promotion to a captaincy in the quartermaster's department, and he was sent not long after to survey, lay out, and build Fort Ethan Allen, some four miles from Burlington, Vt. It is a beautiful post, well constructed, and regarded in the army as a great honor to its builder.

My retirement from the army occurred November 8, 1904 (my sixty-fourth birthday). At noon, the officers of the department staff very kindly gathered at the headquarters on Governor's Island, and I took leave of those who had been so closely associated with me at this my last station. In the evening my family and I, accompanied by my late aids-de-camp, Captain Wm. W. Wotherspoon, Lieutenant Charles G. Treat, and Lieutenant Godfrey H. MacDonald, attended a farewell reception generously extended to me by the U. S. Grant Post G. A. R. in Brooklyn. After the cordial greetings of old war veterans, a slight feeling of homesickness came over me as I looked on the full uniforms of my three young officers; I gave them my last order—to leave me—bidding them an affectionate farewell. Although I had anticipated this retirement, still it finally came like a shock, and it took me some days to become used to the situation, with no one to command.

On our way to Portland, Ore., where we were to spend the winter, we stopped at Fort Snelling to see my good friend Colonel E. C. Mason, who had been my chief of staff during the Nez Perces Indian campaign, 1877. Although I protested, stating that I was supposed now to be retired, the Colonel welcomed me

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

with a military salute of eleven guns. He said that I would always be his commander and so gave me a review of his entire regiment. In the march past, commanding a company, was my former aid-de-camp, Captain M. C. Wilkinson, who in the Nez Perces War in the battle of the Clearwater, July 11 and 12, 1877, had under my eye performed such gallant services in action that he was brevetted a major on October 5, 1898. He was killed in leading an attack against the Indians at Bear Island, Leech Lake, Minn.

While in Portland we lived near our daughter, Mrs. James T. Gray, and her family, and also had the companionship of my aid, Captain Joseph A. Sladen. When I saw him a clerk of the United States Court and a prominent leader in all good works, it gave me a peculiar satisfaction.

I continued my writings, and while returning to the East filled lecture engagements in California, Colorado, and elsewhere. At Denver we visited my half brother, Judge Rodolphus Howard Gilmore, who is a prominent lawyer of that city. In that year, 1895, we came to Burlington, Vt., where my son, Captain Guy Howard, continuing his work at Fort Ethan Allen, was likely to remain for some years. We lived in a rented house for two years, then built a permanent home on the ridge which overlooks Lake Champlain and the Adirondacks. We here received word of the marriage of my fourth son, Lieutenant John Howard, to Emily Britton in San Francisco. John had been commissioned a second lieutenant, Nineteenth United States Infantry, in 1891. During the Philippine insurrection he became major of the Forty-eighth United States Volunteer Infantry. He has seen continuous service with three tours in the Philippines, and has



GENERAL HOWARD'S HOME, BURLINGTON, VERMONT.

D. L. Moody on Board the *Spree*

now reached the rank of captain in the regular army.

After extraordinary efforts on the part of General Horace Porter and several other strong friends of our late General U. S. Grant, the monument erected to his memory in New York was at last completed and ready for unveiling. The procession was large, and General Grenville M. Dodge was made the grand marshal for the occasion. I was selected to command the veteran division and so located as to review all the troops as they passed on northward toward Grant's Tomb. I sat with my staff for over four hours reviewing the parade. My station was in the vicinity of Seventieth Street, with my back toward the river. There was nothing very remarkable except the excessive coldness of the weather, which could not, however, dampen the ardor and enthusiasm of the people. While there, Chief Joseph of the Nez Perces, who had been my stalwart enemy, came along in the column with Colonel W. F. Cody (Buffalo Bill). As they moved past, Chief Joseph smiled very happily and seemed to be gratified to be with the staff of General Dodge and participate in the parade. We were all satisfied with the beauty and completeness of this great ceremonial in honor of him, whom as general we had followed and trusted above every other.

During 1895 we had the first break in our family, then numbering seven children and twelve grandchildren, or, when we take in those by marriage, twelve children. My daughter Grace, Mrs. Gray, brought her five children from Portland, Ore., to Burlington. Her eldest daughter, Elizabeth Howard Gray, then sixteen years old, who some time before had had scarlet fever, died at our home, and was buried in the beautiful

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

cemetery on Lake Champlain. She was lovely in person and character.

It was during that year that I was called to Cumberland Gap, Tenn., for a lecture. A large hotel with some 600 acres of land, called the Four Seasons, about a mile and a half beyond the village, had, prior to my visit, failed, leaving the property unoccupied. The little Harrow school at the village was in financial distress, owing to the fact that its patrons no longer assembled at the hotel. Hon. Darwin R. James, of New York, the Rev. Fred. B. Avery, of Ohio, and I, with some others, sat one evening on the Harrow school porch. "What shall we do with our school?" was asked. I remember to have been walking up and down and thinking of the situation. I stopped suddenly and remarked: "Friends, if you will make this school a larger enterprise I will take hold and do what I can." Out of the conference has grown the large and thriving institution which is chartered as "Lincoln Memorial University." The first president of the board was Dr. Gray, editor of the *Interior*, of Chicago. The 600 acres which embraced the Four Seasons property were purchased, but Dr. Gray's health and strength soon failed him, and I had from him and others an earnest entreaty to take a more active part in the planting and development of the institution. I reluctantly consented, but began to work with all the strength I could muster. I have had associated with me some noble men, and the institution has been steadily progressing until more than 500 of the youth of the mountains are receiving excellent and systematic training. The organizing of the institution, the raising of funds for its plant, the establishment of an endowment, and keeping up the running expenses have

D. L. Moody on Board the *Spree*

been for eleven years a decided labor of love. The continued success of this enterprise as a last work of an active life I greatly desire and earnestly pray for.

In 1896 was the first presidential campaign in which I participated. I had made up my mind, as soon as I was retired from the active list of the army, that I would engage in political work as an example to my children, and also as I wished to carry out my theory as to the importance of citizenship. I began by canvassing Vermont and then Maine, making many addresses in different parts of those two States. Suddenly I received a dispatch from my friend, General R. A. Alger, entreating me to join his special car in Chicago for a political tour. There with General Sickles, General Thomas J. Stewart, Corporal Tanner, and a few others I joined General Alger. We were designated a little later by the opposition as "The Wrecks of the Civil War." We made a remarkable campaign, carefully scheduled so as to pass from place to place and give addresses, sometimes from the rear platform of our car, but mostly from stands arranged for us near the railway line. We began habitually about seven o'clock in the morning and met audiences, as a rule, every half hour during the day, and often had meetings that lasted until eleven o'clock at night. We passed through Illinois, Minnesota, the Dakotas, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri, Indiana, Ohio, Kentucky, and finished in Pennsylvania. To carry it through and meet all the expenses of this extensive tour, cost General Alger upward of \$25,000. As we met the old soldiers, their children, and their grandchildren in every part of the land, we received a royal welcome, and I am sure contributed largely

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

to the election of our comrade, William McKinley, to the first office in the land.

After the Spanish War in 1898 was well under way, Mr. D. L. Moody, the chairman of the Evangelistic Committee, selected Major D. W. Whittle (my provost marshal during the war) and myself to go to the various camps of the volunteer soldiers and "witness for the Master" as best we could. We met early in May and took counsel together. From the American Tract Society we obtained important booklets, Cromwell's Bible, and other publications for distribution. The religious newspapers, especially the *Christian Herald*, aided us with weekly papers. From other sources we obtained dailies in abundance. After we had laid in an ample supply for the camps then existing, for example, Camp Alger in Virginia, Camp Thomas at Chickamauga, the encampments at Jacksonville and Tampa, Fla., and Mobile, Ala., we went together first to Camp Alger. At each camp we found that our young men had already given and pitched a large tent called "The Pavilion." It was well supplied with tables, chairs, and desks. Plenty of headed paper with envelopes was provided for the soldiers. Here was piled up for their use abundance of books and booklets.

A young man well selected by the Y. M. C. A., sometimes with one or two assistants, was attending to all the wants of the Pavilion. We saw a large tank of ice water and noticed a column of soldiers waiting one after another to obtain a refreshing drink. In the early evening we had an opportunity of addressing all who could come to the Pavilion, bringing to the soldiers our Christian message, and reminding them as well as we could of their friends and their homes.

Twice we went to Chickamauga, once to each of the

D. L. Moody on Board the *Spree*

other camps, and stayed for quite a length of time at Tampa. My early Christian association with the churches of Tampa made the visit there especially interesting to me and afforded me much to talk about in the line of reminiscence. Major Whittle, not being well, did not go with me throughout the Southern tour. After we separated I had as an associate a very agreeable young man, William C. Howland. He and I met Chaplain Steele, United States Navy, at Key West. Steele had secured a large old-fashioned warehouse just then unused by the owner. This warehouse was made to answer the purpose of the Pavilion elsewhere. At Key West I had my first opportunity to address soldiers and sailors together. The story of the Cross made simple in its presentation interested them. After that, we were invited to go on board vessels in the harbor, where the naval officers seemed happy to meet us and give their men the opportunity to listen to our proclamation of the truth as we saw it. We went on down from Key West to Guantanamo and there met our fleet under the command of Admiral Sampson. He very kindly sent me on a little steamer, the *Vixen*, commanded by Captain Sharp (a nephew of General Grant), to Santiago de Cuba. I next passed after arrival to the transport steamer *Comal*, which was fastened to the dock in the inner harbor. From this ship I had a clear view of many streets of Santiago. Here I saw crowds of Cubans, wretched, impoverished, and almost blind with starvation, working their way to get at the food which Clara Barton had been providing for them. Touching the work of the Y. M. C. A. Christian Commission I wrote: "We rejoice indeed at what was done and only regret that it was so limited."

Mr. Howland and I came back on the *Yucatan* as

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

far as the Tampa quarantine station, then we went on board the *Segurança*, where there were at least 200 sick people. Every available place in the social hall held a sick man, bolstered by his knapsack. The majority were afflicted with severe malarial fever. It was difficult to find any relief from the gloom of that ship. Of course, Howland and I did what we could to alleviate the situation all the way from Tampa to New York City.¹

My son Guy Howard was sent early before the struggle began to Atlanta, Ga., and controlled an important supply station for the army. When I was at Camp Alger, he was chief quartermaster of the Second Army Corps, then commanded by General William M. Graham. One incident at that time indicated to me the marked executive ability of Colonel Howard. Some great difficulty was had in arranging and loading two large sea transports at Newport News. The Secretary of War (General Alger) telegraphed General Graham: "Can't you name an officer of the quartermaster's department who will go to Newport News and get those vessels loaded and off?" General Graham answered: "Yes, I can."

"Who is he?"

"Colonel Guy Howard."

"When can he go?"

"By the next train."

Colonel Howard did go by the next train, and the day after his arrival the two vessels had all their supplies and the soldiers on board in good order, and put to sea.

During all the operations Colonel Howard gave

¹I have given a detailed account of all this with other experiences in the Spanish War in a book entitled "Fighting for Humanity," written the same year.

D. L. Moody on Board the *Spree*

great satisfaction for the most effective service, so that when the reduction occurred by the mustering out of the volunteers used in Cuba, Porto Rico, and along the coast, he was retained in his department as major and soon sent to the Philippines, where he became the chief quartermaster of General Lawton's division. In Lawton's most important northward expedition he was about to depart from San Isidro, and he needed his important supplies. My son went down the river in a little steamer, the *Oceania*, and securing two large barges, was slowly pulling them up the crooked channel of the Rio Grande, when near the mouth of the Rio Chico a body of armed Filipinos, hiding in the tall grass some 75 yards from the shore, suddenly shot nearly everybody on the launch. Some were killed and others wounded. My son and his messenger fell immediately to the deck. A shot had passed through Guy's right lung. He sprang to his feet and cried: "Whatever happens to me, keep the launch going," then instantly fell and died.

Sergeant Harris, Second Infantry, whom Colonel Howard had selected to accompany him, seized the machine gun and set it in motion, firing rapidly; others of his guard from the barges quickly began their fire, while friendly Filipino pilots steered the boat, after two had been killed. The attacking force was driven off and the barges were carried on safely to their destination.

The very same day, October 22, 1899, the news was telegraphed to his wife and family at Omaha and to us at Burlington. This is the heaviest blow that our family has had. His sister Bessie in the midst of her tears said: "Father, he would rather have died in that way than any other."

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

I do not think I have ever met with an officer abler to plan a campaign or more thoroughly to execute one planned by another than he.

In 1897 I had command of the veterans during the inauguration ceremonies of McKinley March 4th. Again in 1901 I enjoyed a double duty. In the morning General Sickles and I led the escort from the White House to the Capitol. This took about two hours. Later in the day I had charge of a division of the veterans of both wars. When the day was over I found that I had been in the saddle seven hours. That ride, which inaugurated McKinley for the second time, was taken in my seventieth year.

For several years I had kept up the custom of riding on horseback. Accompanied by my friend Frederick Chamberlin, three times I rode through the mountains of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia about the time of the annual Commencement of our Lincoln Memorial University. We habitually made twenty miles a day for a week's time.

At the next inauguration, 1905, I was requested by President Roosevelt to perform a similar part in commanding the veterans; this I gladly did, and was honored by a special review in front of the Capitol, which was given me by Lieutenant General Chaffee.

I may remark here that I participated in the canvass of 1900 for McKinley, making extensive trips and many addresses, mostly in the West, for McKinley and Roosevelt.

In 1904 I did the same for Roosevelt and Fairbanks, going as far as Colorado, but spending most of my time in New York and Brooklyn. I made a special point of sustaining Governor Higgins, whom some politicians wished to lay aside under false assumptions.



MAJOR GENERAL HOWARD.

(From a portrait by Mrs. K. Rogers Nowell, 1906.)

D. L. Moody on Board the *Spree*

As he was a good man, I pleaded his case before the people with ardor. He was elected; he performed his duties during his term of office with marked sincerity and ability. His death has recently occurred, and I am glad to see that all parties now speak of him with esteem and praise.

This same year our daughter Bessie was married in Burlington, Vt., to Joseph Bancroft, of Wilmington, Del. Their little daughter Elizabeth is, at this writing, the youngest of the thirteen grandchildren.

Two years later my youngest son, Harry Stinson Howard, named for my beloved aid-de-camp, married, also in Burlington, Sue E. Hertz, and they now share in the Burlington home. Harry has been with me as secretary since my retirement from the army, and has ably assisted me in all my varied work. He has, in the meantime, graduated from the New York Law School, and been admitted to the Vermont bar.

In addition to lecturing I have spoken on Sundays at different churches and often on other days in behalf of the Lincoln Memorial University. Mine has been a busy life. Indeed, I have never been able to spend more than a week, and hardly that, at any watering-place or chosen spot for summer rest. Thus far rest has been the rest of change.

It is very gratifying to me that personal strength has continued so long, and that I have been so well received and kindly treated in every part of the country. Recently I went to Atlanta, Ga., to be present at the unveiling of a monument to General W. H. T. Walker; it was erected on the spot where he fell on the Confederate side in the battle of Atlanta. McPherson's monument and his are the same in form, and about 600 yards apart.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

A large body of Confederate veterans received me with warmth and treated me as kindly as if I had belonged to them. I think that they recognize the fact that I have been trying hard to sow the seeds of education, and help build up the places laid waste by war.

After many blessed years of married life, Mrs. Howard and I reached the crowning point, the fiftieth anniversary of our wedding, on February 14, 1905. The golden wedding is permitted to a comparative few, so we were grateful to Him who had sustained us through our eventful life, that we might celebrate the occasion together with so many of our family around us. We held a reception in New York, to which old friends came in the afternoon; and thirty-four—brothers, sisters, children, grandchildren, and cousins—dined together, all recording their names in the old family Bible—a wedding gift from Mrs. Howard's mother in 1855.

Amid the rejoicings of the happy event we missed the familiar faces of those who had preceded us to the Heavenly Home, and my brother Charles was the only one present who had stood with us fifty years before, when our life's achievements were still in the future.

COMRADES AND COMPANIONS OF SERVICE:

It was a good work you did in the great Civil War. Without you and those soldiers and sailors who have already passed to the other side of the dark river, the Union could not have been preserved and the incubus of human slavery would not have been removed.

I hope you will not in these later days allow a spirit of unrest or discontent to mar your peace of mind. There is no adequate reward, I am aware, to the in-

D. L. Moody on Board the *Spree*

dividual patriot for his share in the great achievement, but there is a priceless blessing which comes into his heart in the consciousness that he bore his part manfully in the salvation and purification of the Union.

Pessimism will find flaws in our present national fabric—plenty of problems to solve. Your children, fired by your noble example of patriotic fervor and sacrifice, will attend to the flaws and the solution of problems.

Our Union, as I understand it, when perfected in all its parts is worthy of our love. I know of no government on the whole earth so near an ideal republic as ours. I often think of how an equilateral triangle exemplifies our threefold system—the Congress, the Executive, and the Judiciary; each side of equal independence, joined solidly together, and yet each acting separately to perform its functions, wonderful and complete. That triangle indicates firmness of structure and strength. It is the people's method of governing themselves. By a written constitution our Congress, our Executive, and our Courts, all three created by the people, limit and square their modes of action. May those who come after us have the wisdom to preserve and defend our nation thus constituted.

It would be suicidal to take from the States the power essential to their life. As for the territories—the simple territorial system is surely the best, especially when some life has been given it by the fostering care of the nation, particularly, as in the Philippines, in an education which is absolutely necessary to development. Every danger of revolution, riot, or anarchy is lessened by this simple system, which has worked well hitherto.

It appears to me that little would be gained by sun-

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

dering any portion of our domain from the nation. Indeed, I would not advocate it anywhere except where a plain promise of independence has been given.

It is a fitting close to my life story to lift up my heart in thanksgiving to my Heavenly Father for the mercies and blessings which he has unceasingly showered upon me and mine. It is fifty years this spring since my conversion—when in Tampa, Fla., I began to have a sense of the presence of the Spirit of God. I then took the Old and New Testament story of Christ as giving me the Messiah of promise. To me He was and is the manifestation of the Infinite One. And in His name I have prayed and hoped and trusted. His precept—Love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and thy neighbor as thyself—expresses the aim and aspiration of my soul.

True, I have often violated my own conviction of right, yet my religion has been a great help and comfort to me. To be a member of a Christian church, as I have always been since that Florida experience, to participate in its worship from Sabbath to Sabbath, and to contribute to its activities, I have counted as duties—yes, far more, as the most satisfying of privileges.

The people of God—those who hold and have held tenaciously and sincerely to the Lord God as revealed to us in the Holy Scriptures, both before and since the appearance of our beloved Master upon the earth—constitute *one people—one great church*.

For any good man to stand aloof and not identify himself with any branch in a thorough and practical way surely would not be best for him nor for his fellow men. By separate personal action, however intrinsically good one might be, the whole world could

D. L. Moody on Board the *Spree*

not be reached with the good news, and brought into unison with the Spirit of Christ.

In closest union with and loyal devotion to our Great Master, we shall be able to help fulfill His requirement—to go into all the world, to teach all people, and win them to Him by proper words seasoned with genuine love.

My part in the world's work will soon be finished. If I know my own strongest desire, it is that all people, and especially all children, may receive into their minds and hearts that teaching which shall make for their present and future good, which embraces attainable knowledge and loving-kindness whose pattern is in the life of Jesus.

APPENDIX

COLONEL STANNARD AT HARPER'S FERRY

BY GENERAL T. S. PECK

MONDAY morning, September 15, 1862, Colonel Dixon S. Miles was commanding our forces at Harper's Ferry. He was obliged to surrender. At the time the white flag went up Colonel George J. Stannard with his regiment, the Ninth Vermont, was on Bolivar Heights. Seeing the flag, Stannard was deeply chagrined and tried for two hours to get back and break through the cordon of hostile troops formed around our unfortunate garrison. In his last effort he moved down to the lower road, which runs parallel to the Shenandoah River, and was headed for the pontoon bridge that crosses the Potomac from the village of Harper's Ferry. At the foot of this rocky road Stannard called for forty volunteers as a "forlorn hope." He put himself at its head and started, expecting the regiment to follow, rapidly toward the bridge. But halfway down he met the head of A. P. Hill's corps. Instantly we saw two of Hill's aids confronting Colonel Stannard. Though firm, they were gentle in their manner and informed the colonel that the garrison had surrendered, and insisted that he take his regiment at once to the camping ground and stack arms. This occurred two hours after the other troops

Appendix

had given up. Being near him, I looked up and saw that Stannard's face was covered with tears, and I was sure that he was still meditating some way to keep his regiment from marching back to that hill. He began to retire, but his movements were slow and evidently reluctant. One Confederate officer told Stannard that if he did not hasten his march they would not dilly-dally with him longer, but would fire grape and canister into the command.

While the regiment was ascending the rocky road the men were breaking up their muskets and the drummers throwing their drums into the deep gorge below; officers were also breaking their swords and color-bearers destroying their flags.

When at last the regiment arrived we were ordered to stack arms; the Confederates laughed at our attempts, and while they were evidently angry to see the muskets so injured they cheered Colonel Stannard and his soldiers for their bravery.

The next step was for Colonel Stannard to sign the parole for all his men not to take up arms again until regularly exchanged. The colonel on the spot declined to do this, stating that he would give his own parole, but could not be responsible for the men in his regiment. He created delay by one contrivance and another till late in the afternoon, hoping that relief would come from McClellan.

At last General Hill told Stannard that if he did not sign at once the men of his regiment would be marched to Richmond and held as prisoners of war. After that threat Colonel Stannard signed the parole.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

GENERAL STANNARD AT FORT HARRISON

BY GENERAL T. S. PECK

ON September 29, 1864, General Stannard assaulted and took Fort Harrison with his division. The fort was located on the north side of the James River, near Chapin's Bluff, four miles from Richmond. At noon on September 30th, General Lee tried to recapture Fort Harrison; his attacking column, some 7,000 strong, was formed in three successive lines. The Confederates made three different attacks within an hour, and did not withdraw till after at least 2,000 were killed and wounded. Those who survived from the first Confederate line came into Fort Harrison, and one of the first arrivals was the colonel of an Alabama regiment, who, with blood streaming down his face, looked up at General Stannard and said: "You had better come out of this fort, for General Lee himself is over there" (pointing to the Confederate works), "and he says he will retake this fort" (Harrison) "if it takes half of his army." Stannard's reply was: "I shall be happy to see General Lee whenever he chooses to call."

During this short but terrific engagement Stannard stood, walked, or ran around the top of the parapet, hat in one hand and sword in the other, encouraging by voice and motions the men of his division. He was seen not only by men of the Union army, not far away, but by the Confederates.

Within Fort Harrison were log cabins used during their occupation by the Confederates as quarters. These cabins took fire, and between the excessive heat of the burning buildings and the severe fighting the men of Stannard's division were in a most hazardous

Appendix

position. There was great danger of their being prevented in their defense by the hot fire from the buildings. The wounded and hospital men, however, tore down the cabins and extinguished the fires.

At the close of the engagement proper the sharpshooters on both sides for a time continued their carnival; then it was that General Stannard was shot in his right arm, which was afterwards amputated. His heroic gallantry and superb fighting enabled the Union troops to hold this most important fortification, and for that action he received the brevet of Major General of Volunteers.

Stannard, with the Second Vermont Brigade, at Gettysburg, as everybody knows, did heroic work and helped largely to change a doubtful battle into victory. He was a hard fighter and a manly man, with noblest instincts.

GENERAL HOOKER'S CONGRATULATORY ORDER

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,

CAMP NEAR FALMOUTH, VIRGINIA, April 30, 1863.

General Orders, No. 47.

IT is with heartfelt satisfaction the Commanding General announces to the Army that the operations of the last three days have determined that our enemy must either ingloriously fly, or come out from behind his defenses and give us battle on our own ground, where certain destruction awaits him.

The operations of the Fifth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Corps have been a succession of splendid achievements. By command of Major General Hooker:

S. WILLIAMS,

Assistant Adjutant General.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

ACTS OF CONGRESS ESTABLISHING THE FREED- MEN'S BUREAU

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is hereby established in the War Department, to continue during the present war of rebellion, and for one year thereafter, a Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, to which shall be committed, as hereinafter provided, the supervision and management of all abandoned lands, and the control of all subjects relating to refugees and freedmen from rebel States, or from any district of country within the territory embraced in the operations of the army, *under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the head of the bureau and approved by the President.* The said bureau shall be under the management and control of a Commissioner to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Act approved March 3, 1865.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That where accounts are rendered for expenditures for refugees or freedmen under the approval and sanction of the proper officers, and which shall have been proper and necessary, but cannot be settled for want of specific appropriations, the same may be paid out of the fund for the relief of refugees and freedmen, on the approval of the Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees and Freedmen.

Act approved June 15, 1866.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That the supervision and care of said bureau shall extend to all loyal refugees and freedmen, so far as the same shall be

Appendix

necessary to enable them as speedily as practicable to become self-supporting citizens of the United States, and to aid them in making the freedom conferred by proclamation of the commander-in-chief, by emancipation under the laws of States, and by constitutional amendment, available and beneficial to the public.

SEC. 12. *And be it further enacted,* That the Commissioner shall have power to seize, hold, use, lease, or sell all buildings and tenements, and any lands appertaining to the same, or otherwise, formerly held under color of title by the late so-called Confederate States, and not heretofore disposed of by the United States, and any buildings or lands held in trust for the same by any person or persons, and to use the same or appropriate the proceeds derived therefrom to the education of the freed people; and whenever the bureau shall cease to exist, such of said so-called Confederate States as shall have made provision for the education of their citizens, without distinction of color, shall receive the sum remaining unexpended of such sales or rentals, which shall be distributed among said States for educational purposes in proportion to their population.

SEC. 13. *And be it further enacted,* That the Commissioner of this bureau shall at all times coöperate with private benevolent associations of citizens in aid of freedmen, and with agents and teachers duly accredited and appointed by them, and shall hire or provide by lease buildings for purposes of education whenever such association shall, without cost to the government, provide suitable teachers and means of instruction; and he shall furnish such protection as may be required for the safe conduct of such schools.

Act of July 16, 1866.

Autobiography of Gen. O. O. Howard

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That unexpended balances in the hands of the Commissioner, not required otherwise for the due execution of the law, may be, in the discretion of the Commissioner, applied for the education of freedmen and refugees, subject to the provisions of laws applicable thereto.

Act of June 24, 1868.

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INDEX

INDEX

I indicates Vol. I; II indicates Vol. II; hyphen (-) indicates all pages inclusive between figures given.

- Abercrombie, John J., I, 233, 235.
 Abbott, Lyman, II, 269.
 Achron, E. O., II, 586.
 Adairsville, Battle of, I, 521-527.
 Adams, John Quincy, II, 282, 321.
 Aiken, Hugh K., II, 133.
 Alaska, Trip to, II, 468-484.
 Alden, B. R., I, 51, 53, 54.
 Alexander, A. J., II, 8.
 Alexander, E. P., I, 95.
 Alger, Russell A., II, 569, 572.
 Allatoona, Battle of, II, 56-63.
 Alley, John W., I, 44.
 Alvord, J. W., II, 271.
 Ames, Adelbert, I, 349, 383, 386, 424, 429.
 Ames, John, I, 7.
 Amick, Myron J., II, 83, 139.
 Anderson, George B., I, 300.
 Anderson, George W., II, 91.
 Anderson, I. S., II, 587.
 Anderson, R. H., I, 275, 289, 331, 351, 356, 358, 359, 367, 369.
 Anderson, Robert, I, 96.
 Andrew, John A., I, 124.
 Andrews, George L., I, 341.
 Andrews, Sidney, II, 440.
 Antietam, Battle of, I, 286-306.
 Appleton & Co., D., II, 556.
 Archer, James J., I, 408, 415.
 Ardagh, Lieutenant Colonel, II, 503.
 Armesy, Thomas D., II, 54.
 Armistead, L. A., I, 244, 435.
 Armitage, Rev., I, 70.
 Armstrong, F. C., II, 63.
 Armstrong, S. C., II, 347, 408, 415.
 Arnell, Samuel M., II, 437.
 Arthur, Macaulay, II, 586.
 Ashby, Henry M., I, 173.
 Askew, Frank, I, 570.
 Asmussen, Charles W., I, 372, 457, 458, 462.
 Atlanta, Battle of, II, 3-15.
 Atlanta, Campaign, I, 499-512.
 Atwood, A. J., I, 327, 344.
 Austin, Horace B., II, 211.
 Avery, Fred B., II, 568, 586.
 Avery, Isaac W., I, 430.
 Averysboro, Battle of, II, 134-142.
 Bailey, Desire, I, 12.
 Bailey, Rowland, I, 12.
 Baird, Absalom, I, 478, 479, 530, 567, 581; II, 241, 242, 283, 287, 302.
 Baker, E. D., I, 174, 175, 267.
 Baldwin, E. H., II, 506, 508, 510.
 Baldwin, Mrs., II, 377.
 Ballard, Judge, II, 345.
 Balloch, George W., I, 187, 437, 472; II, 113, 216, 256, 263, 267, 397.
 Ball's Bluff, I, 174.
 Bancroft, C. F. P., II, 192, 272.
 Bancroft, Elizabeth, II, 575.
 Bancroft, Joseph, II, 575.
 Banks, N. P., I, 172, 199, 201, 203, 256, 258, 259; II, 186, 216.
 Barker, E. G., II, 380.
 Barksdale, William, I, 173.

Index

- Barlow, Francis C., I, 187, 243, 247, 301, 346, 357, 365, 366, 369, 372, 376, 377, 408, 411, 413, 414, 416, 419.
- Barnes, J. K., II, 258.
- Barnett, Charles R., II, 556.
- Barnett, Mrs. Chas. R., II, 556.
- Barrows, C. D., II, 547.
- Barry, William F., II, 212.
- Bartlett, Wm. H. C., I, 55, 56.
- Barton, Clara, II, 571.
- Bate, William B., I, 558, 559, 614; II, 29.
- Baxter, Henry, I, 323.
- Bayard, George D., I, 260, 311, 312.
- Beauregard, P. G. T., I, 146, 147, 151, 155, 156, 163.
- Beddoes, Mr., II, 530.
- Bee, Barnard E., I, 151, 155, 156.
- Beebe, Wm. N., Jr., II, 101.
- Beecher, Henry Ward, II, 330, 429, 430, 562.
- Beecher, James C., II, 385.
- Belknap, W. W., II, 10, 65, 267, 268, 449, 450.
- Bendix, John E., I, 140.
- Benham, Henry W., I, 352.
- Bennett, E. R., II, 156.
- Benton, Alexander, II, 142.
- Bentonville, Battle of, II, 143-159.
- Berdan, Hiram, I, 368.
- Bernsdorff Count, II, 534.
- Berry, Hiram G., I, 143, 373, 374.
- Birney, David B., I, 234, 244, 269, 336, 368, 425, 426.
- Bismarck, von, O. E. L., I, 34.
- Blaine, James G., I, 68-70, 106, 112-116, 118, 141, 537.
- Blair, F. P., I, 139, 557, 579; II, 4-8, 11, 17, 19, 21, 23-26, 32, 34, 37, 40, 46, 78, 79, 96, 98, 99, 104, 109, 111, 140, 142, 144, 145, 148, 150, 206.
- Blair, Montgomery, I, 139.
- Blake, John W., I, 584, 613, 615.
- Blanding, J. B., II, 289.
- Blavatsky, Madame, II, 524, 536, 537.
- Blenker, Louis, I, 172, 196.
- Bliss, J. S., I, 522.
- Blodgett, Andrew T., II, 38.
- Blucher, von, G. L., II, 24.
- Blumenbach, Friedrich, II, 535, 536.
- Bodemeyer, von, Adelheid, II, 532, 544.
- Bodemeyer, von, Gertrude, II, 532, 534.
- Bodemeyer, von, Hedwig, II, 532, 534.
- Bodemeyer, von, Mrs., II, 531.
- Boggs, William R., I, 48, 63, 64, 72.
- Bond, Hugh, II, 318.
- Bonham, M. L., I, 147, 151.
- Boody, Alvan H., I, 28, 31.
- Borel, Thomas, I, 125.
- Botume, Elizabeth, II, 99.
- Boughton, Horace, I, 491.
- Bowdoin College, I, 23, 28, 30, 37, 42, 43, 123.
- Bowen, Marcellus, II, 507.
- Bowie, Ogden, II, 285.
- Bowlegs, Billy, Chief, I, 84.
- Bowman, A. H., I, 100.
- Boynton, C. B., II, 396, 426, 429-431, 433-435.
- Boynton, H. V., II, 426, 433, 435.
- Bradley, Luther P., I, 613-615.
- Bragg, Braxton, I, 456, 471, 477, 479, 481, 484-486, 488, 490; II, 80, 131, 146, 151.
- Branch, Mr., I, 87.
- Breckinridge, Joseph C., I, 484, 485, 488.
- Brewerton, Henry, I, 46, 50.
- Brewster, A., II, 395.
- Bridgham, Thomas, I, 10.
- Britton, Emily, II, 566.
- Brock, Mr., I, 496, 497.
- Brodhead, J. M., II, 356.
- Brooke, Fort, Fla., I, 73, 77, 88.

Index

- Brooke, John R., I, 187, 244, 246,
247, 300, 317.
Brooks, James, II, 200.
Brooks, Phillips, II, 558.
Brown, Harvey, I, 85, 86.
Brown, J. M., II, 216, 267.
Brown, John, I, 153; II, 170.
Brown, Levi R., I, 49.
Brown, Lieutenant Colonel, I, 369.
Brown, Orlando, II, 215, 217, 232,
233, 283, 284, 347.
Buck, R. P., I, 125, 128; II, 545.
Buckingham, Maurice, I, 313.
Buell, D. H., I, 135.
Buell, Don Carlos, I, 188, 456; II, 169.
Buell, G. P., I, 588, 603.
Buford, John, I, 260, 398-401, 403,
406, 407, 412, 413, 415, 416, 418,
423.
Bullfinch, John, I, 25.
Bull Run, Battle of, I, 146-165, 168,
169, 187.
Bull Run, Second Battle of, I, 251-
270.
Bumstead, Horace, II, 403.
Burbank, Sidney, II, 345.
Burnham, A. H., I, 99.
Burnham, Jonas P., I, 18.
Burns, W. W., I, 75, 239, 267, 297, 345.
Burnside, A. E., I, 138, 154, 155,
158, 189, 190, 259, 277, 279, 280,
283, 284, 287, 289, 294, 303-305,
311, 313-322, 328, 329, 332, 333,
345, 347, 477, 492; II, 181.
Burt, Edwin, I, 115, 119.
Buscho, Captain, II, 530.
Bush, W. W., I, 173.
Bushbeck, Adolph, I, 350, 354, 364,
373, 481, 482, 484.
Butler, B. F., I, 103, 131, 139, 189,
201; II, 137, 168, 170, 171, 174,
175, 186, 265.
Butterfield, Daniel, I, 138, 333, 444,
467, 516, 572, 615; II, 553.
Butts, Samuel A., II, 386.
Buzzard Roost Gap, II, 504-506.
Cade, Mr., II, 139.
Caldwell, John C., I, 267, 300, 301,
309, 342.
Callender, Franklin D., I, 67.
Cameron, Simon, I, 139; II, 170.
Canby, Edw. R. S., II, 188, 216.
Candy, Charles, I, 545.
Cannon, LeGrand B., II, 175.
Carlin, Wm. P., II, 146-148, 344.
Carnot, Monsieur, II, 542.
Carolinas, March through, II, 101-
159.
Carroll, S. S., I, 101, 102, 137, 430.
Casey, Silas, I, 170, 172, 177, 179,
182, 183, 190, 198, 211, 220, 229,
230, 232-234, 236.
Cassville, Battle of, I, 528-538.
Catlett, Lottie, I, 448.
Catlett, Mr., I, 448, 449.
Chamberlin, Frederick, II, 574.
Chambreau, Ned., II, 471, 472.
Chancellor, Melzie, I, 363.
Chancellorsville, Battle of, I, 347-
377.
Chase, George N., II, 549, 550.
Chase, Salmon P., I, 139, 201; II,
184, 185, 318, 320, 419.
Chattahoochee River, II, 589.
Chattanooga, Battle of, I, 471-498.
Chauvet, Adolph, II, 526, 527, 530,
555.
Cheatham, B. F., I, 559, 560, 598,
613; II, 7, 11, 12, 14, 57, 131, 141.
Cheraw, Skirmishes at, II, 134-142.
Cheves, Dr., II, 90.
Childs, Frederick L., I, 69.
Church, A. E., I, 90, 91, 100.
Church, Andrew J., I, 119.
Clare, William, II, 48.
Clark, A. Judson, I, 367.
Clark, Mary E., II, 516.

Index

- Clarke, Francis N., I, 196.
Clarke, William T., II, 143.
Cleburne, Patrick R., I, 483, 488;
II, 7, 8, 29.
Cleveland, Parker, I, 28, 34.
Cliff, Tony, II, 386.
Closson, Henry W., I, 57.
Cobb, Deacon, I, 14.
Cobb, Howell, I, 278, 384; II, 48.
Cobham, George A., I, 620.
Coburn, John, I, 615.
Cockerell, J. R., I, 565, 566.
Cody, W. F., II, 567.
Coke, Phillip St. G., I, 147.
Colburn, N. B., I, 209.
Colby, Abram, II, 384.
Cole, A. S., II, 216.
Cole, John A., II, 420.
Columbia, Taking of, II, 117-133.
Colyer, Vincent, II, 176.
Comstock, Cyrus B., I, 354, 365,
376.
Comte de Paris, I, 377, 401.
Coney, Samuel, I, 69.
Conway, Thomas W., II, 186, 188,
215-217, 283, 302.
Conyngham, David B., I, 532.
Cook, B. C., II, 395, 397.
Cooke, Jay, I, 139.
Cooper, William, II, 379.
Corse, J. M., I, 535, 536; II, 18, 38,
46, 58-63, 66, 70, 81, 82, 103.
Cosby, George B., I, 70.
Coster, Charles R., I, 417.
Couch, D. N., I, 172, 220, 229, 230,
233-239, 272, 289, 298, 306, 311,
324, 337, 344, 345, 349, 356, 359,
362, 367, 398; II, 181.
Courcillon, de, Eugene, I, 65.
Courtney, Mr., I, 238.
Cox, Jacob D., I, 272, 280, 303, 304,
511, 565, 585, 592, 609; II, 13.
Cox, R. S., II, 260, 261.
Cox, Samuel S., II, 200.
Craig, Henry K., I, 66, 67.
Craighill, William P., I, 281.
Cravath, E. M., II, 407.
Crawford, Samuel W., I, 295.
Crook, George, I, 302-305.
Cross, Edward A., I, 185, 243, 247,
301, 342.
Cruft, Charles, I, 476.
Cudlipp, William, II, 465-467.
Curtin, A. G., I, 138.
Curtis, N. M., II, 347.
Custer, George A., II, 475.
Cutler, Lysander, I, 407, 415.
Cuyler, John M., I, 181, 253.
Dahlgren, John A., II, 85, 91, 92, 96.
Daily, Dennis, I, 497.
Dallas, Battle of, I, 550-570.
Dalton, Battle of, I, 499-512.
Dana, N. J. T., I, 239, 292, 296, 297.
Danby, Miss, II, 99.
Daniels, Mary E., II, 556.
Darling, John A., II, 546.
Davidson, J. W., I, 218.
Davis, B. F., I, 277.
Davis, Henry Winter, II, 321.
Davis, James, II, 381.
Davis, Jeff. C., I, 476, 497, 520, 528,
542, 557-560, 581, 584, 585; II,
29, 39, 43, 51, 52, 57, 146, 290,
345, 463.
Davis, Jefferson, I, 99, 203, 488; II,
48, 93.
Davis, Joseph R., I, 408, 415.
Day, H. Howard, II, 327.
Dayton, L. M., II, 62.
Deady, M. P., II, 473.
Dean, Stephen H., I, 23.
DeGress, Francis, II, 13, 82, 90,
119.
Dehon, Arthur, I, 335.
Delafield, Richard, I, 100.
Delano, Columbus, II, 445, 466.
Dennison, William, II, 227.

Index

- Denver, J. W., I, 175.
Dessaur, F., I, 377.
Devens, Charles, I, 233, 328, 349,
364, 366, 368, 370, 371, 375, 376.
Devereux, J. H., I, 450, 452.
Devin, Thomas C., I, 406, 408.
Diaz, Porfirio, II, 557.
Dickinson, Joseph, I, 373.
Dilger, Hubert, I, 364, 372, 413.
Dodge, G. M., I, 557-559, 597, 598,
602, 611; II, 4-6, 8, 13, 15, 17-
19, 21, 23-26, 32, 567.
Dodge, Theodore A., I, 377.
Dole, George, I, 371.
Doubleday, Abner, I, 263, 283, 290,
292, 333, 337, 350, 407, 409, 413-
417, 424, 438.
Douglas, M. I, 293.
Douglass, Frederick, II, 317, 321
Dred Scott Case, II, 278.
Drexel, Harjes & Co., II, 526.
Dufferin, Earl and Lady, II, 509.
Duncan, William, II, 75, 76, 83-
85, 92, 97, 123, 132, 137-139.
Dunlap, John, II, 373, 379.
Dunnell, Mark H., I, 143.
Duryea, Abram, I, 140.
Dwight, Henry Otis, II, 511.
- Eager, C. F., 583.
Early, Jubal, I, 147, 160, 163, 260,
332, 358, 390, 391, 400, 416, 428,
429.
Easton, L. C., II, 96, 97.
Eaton, A. B., II, 256, 257.
Eaton, James D., II, 474.
Eaton, John, II, 179, 215, 225, 232,
251.
Edward, Prince of Wales, I, 98, 99.
Edwards, L. A., II, 295.
Eeles, Cushing, II, 483.
Eliot, Thomas D., II, 198-201, 204,
282.
Elliot, W. L., II, 56.
- Ellsworth, E. Elmer, I, 104.
Elvans, J. R., II, 419.
Elzey, Arnold, I, 163.
Eskiminzin, Chief, II, 548, 551.
Estes, L. G., II, 35.
Etowah, Crossing of the, II, 534-
540.
Europe, Trip to, II, 493-512.
Evans, J. R., II, 318, 319.
Evans, N. George, II, 147, 154-156,
173.
Everett, Carroll S., I, 38.
Ewell, Richard S., I, 261, 262, 264,
386-388, 390-392, 400, 404, 416,
417, 420, 421, 426.
Ewing, Hugh, I, 302.
Ewing, Rev., II, 502.
Ewing, William, I, 147.
Ezra Church, Battle of, II, 16-26.
- Fagan, Andrew, I, 238.
Failing, Henry, II, 462, 468.
Fairbanks, Charles W., II, 574.
Fairchild, Edward H., II, 406.
Fairchild, E. P., II, 586.
Fairchild, Lucius, I, 415.
Fair Oaks, Battle of, I, 227-250.
Farnsworth, E. J., I, 434.
Farragut, D. G., I, 281.
Fayetteville, Ga., II, 134-142.
Fee, John G., II, 404, 406.
Fenton, Reuben E., I, 138.
Ferrero, Edward, I, 344.
Ferris, Isaac, II, 316.
Ferry, Governor, II, 480.
Fessenden, William Pitt, II, 185.
Field, George B., II, 187.
Field, Kate, II, 519.
Finnemore, Sam., I, 16.
Fisk, A. P., I, 251, 252.
Fisk, Clinton B., II, 215, 250, 289,
290, 327, 407.
Fitz, Mr., II, 299.
Fitzgerald, Louis, II, 551.

Index

- Flagler, H. M., II, 554.
Flanders, E. B., I, 190.
Foote, A. H., I, 205.
Foote, Solomon, II, 321.
Foraker, Joseph B., II, 144.
Force, M. F., II, 11, 109, 110.
Ford, Thomas H., I, 276.
Forrest, N. B., II, 28, 30, 46, 375, 381.
Foster, Henry, I, 23.
Foster, John G., II, 91, 92, 94, 96, 335.
Fowler, William, II, 216, 230, 293.
Francis, Thomas, I, 13.
Frank, John D., I, 196, 243, 343.
Franklin, James, II, 379.
Franklin, William B., I, 148, 149, 154, 172, 216, 217, 224-227, 267, 272, 277, 278, 288, 289, 298, 300-302, 311, 312, 317, 322, 326, 328-330, 332, 333, 337, 345, 347, 382.
Frazier, Garrison, II, 190.
Frederick, Cæsar, II, 386.
Fredericksburg, Battle of, I, 327-336.
Freedman's Aid Societies, II, 194-205.
 American Missionary Association, II, 195.
 American Tract Society, II, 195.
 Christian Commission, II, 195.
 Sanitary Commission, II, 195.
Freedmen's Bureau:
 Abandoned Lands, II, 228-244.
 Act, II, 194-205.
 Acts for Education, II, 309-330.
 Appropriations by Congress, II, 331-349.
 Barry Farm, II, 402-422.
 Court of Inquiry, II, 445-456.
 Courts, II, 245-262.
 Early Finances, II, 263-276.
 Educational Institutions, II, 402-422.
Freedmen's Bureau—*Continued*
 Educational Work Increased, II, 331-349.
 Famine Relief, II, 350-373.
 Home Colony, II, 185.
 Legislation, II, 277-292.
 Opposition to, II, 423-444.
 Organization, II, 206-228.
 Orphans, II, 245-262.
 President Johnson's Opposition, II, 293-308.
 President Johnson's Reconstruction, II, 277-292.
 Schools Started, II, 263-276.
 Soldiers' Bounties, II, 350-373.
 Summary of Work in 1866, II, 293-308.
 Summary of Work in 1867, II, 331-349.
 Summary, II, 350-373.
Fremont, John C., I, 201, 256, 257; II, 167, 168.
French Army Maneuvers, II, 539-542.
French, J. W., I, 91, 99, 100.
French, S. G., II, 56, 59, 60.
French, W. H., I, 183, 186, 197, 222, 238, 244-246, 248, 296, 299, 300, 302, 338, 340, 341, 360, 363, 393, 398.
Frisbee, Henry N., II, 557.
Frissell, H. B., II, 408.
Frost, L. S., II, 378.
Fry, J. B., I, 90, 101, 158.
Frye, William P., I, 38.
Fulkerson, W. H., II, 587.
Fuller, J. W., II, 4, 18.
Fuller, Melville, I, 39.
Fullerton, J. S., I, 522, 530; II, 216, 241, 297.
Gamble, William, I, 406.
Gardner, Asa Bird, II, 450.
Garland, Samuel, I, 280.

Index

- Garnett, H. H., II, 317, 320, 321.
Garnett, Robert S., I, 54, 435, 439.
Garrard, Kenner, I, 520, 528, 542, 579, 590, 592, 594, 595; II, 7, 27, 28.
Geary, J. W., I, 430, 432, 433, 461, 465-469, 476, 494, 516, 544, 545, 616-618; II, 94.
Gebhart, Mr., II, 536.
George, George W., I, 11, 12.
George, King of Greece, II, 514.
Geronimo, Chief, II, 551.
Getty, George W., I, 345; II, 450.
Gettysburg, Battle of, I, 397-447.
Gettysburg, Campaign of, I, 378-396.
Gibbon, John, I, 101, 283, 284, 293, 333, 336, 356, 436, 444.
Gibson, H. R., II, 587.
Gidding, Joshua R., II, 321.
Gilbreth, F. W., I, 403, 537, 556; II, 23, 216.
Gile, G. W., II, 411.
Gillem, A. C., II, 340, 341.
Gillen, P. H., II, 384.
Gilman, Frank G., I, 537, 562.
Gilmore, Eliza Otis, I, 17-29, 37, 40, 41, 49, 59, 61, 122, 549, 550.
Gilmore, John, I, 16, 21, 24; II, 45.
Gilmore, Quincy A., II, 131, 178.
Gilmore, Rodelphus H., II, 566.
Gilsa, von, Leopold, I, 349, 364, 371, 372, 429.
Gladding, R. H., II, 383.
Goff, Nathan, II, 54.
Goldsboro, L. M., I, 204.
Goldsmith, Monsieur, II, 528.
Goodwin, Daniel R., I, 33.
Gordan, Charles G., II, 494, 503.
Gorgas, Josiah, I, 71.
Gorman, Willis A., I, 238, 292, 296, 297.
Graham, Thomas J., I, 178.
Graham, Mrs. Thos. J., I, 178.
Graham, William M., II, 572.
Granger, Gordon, I, 478, 490, 492, 493, 499.
Grant, Gabriel, I, 248-250.
Grant, Ulysses S., I, 192, 205, 256, 326, 453, 460, 471-477, 479, 484, 487, 488, 490, 498; II, 38, 51, 65, 69, 154-159, 163, 178-180, 203, 207, 225, 227, 284, 297, 320, 361, 381, 429, 445-447, 450-452, 479-481, 567, 571.
Grant, Mrs. U. S., II, 481.
Gray, Elizabeth Howard, II, 567.
Gray, James T., II, 482.
Gray, Mrs. James T., II, 566, 567.
Gray, William Cunningham, II, 568.
Gray, W. H., II, 482.
Greble, Clara, II, 527, 530, 538.
Greble, Edwin, I, 58.
Greble, Edwin St. J., I, 141; II, 549, 550.
Greble, John T., I, 58, 140.
Greeley, Horace, II, 316.
Green, Charles, II, 94.
Green, Mr., I, 449.
Green, O. D., II, 549.
Greene, Francis, II, 129.
Greene, George S., I, 294, 295, 297, 299, 426-428, 430, 432, 469.
Greener, Richard T., II, 486.
Gregg, David B., I, 434.
Gregory, C. H., II, 348.
Gregory, E. M., II, 217, 218.
Gresham, W. Q., I, 609, 611; II, 11.
Griffin, Charles, II, 342, 343.
Griffith, James J., I, 442, 443.
Griswoldville, Battle of, II, 71-75.
Grose, William, I, 572, 581.
Grosvenor, Prof., II, 512.
Hale, John P., I, 386.
Haley, William D., I, 119.
Hall, Daniel, I, 386, 409, 411-413.
Hall, George A., II, 445.

Index

- Hall, Norman J., I, 322-324, 342, 436.
Hall, R. M., II, 399, 401.
Hall, Sarah, I, 37.
Hall, William, II, 9.
Hall, William, II, 386.
Halleck, H. W., I, 189, 256, 257, 260, 266, 267, 273, 308, 313, 315, 319, 379, 382, 384, 389, 390, 392, 393, 450, 452, 490; II, 42, 49, 51, 153, 167, 169, 173, 206.
Halloway, Laura C., II, 524, 536.
Halpin, Artist, II, 128.
Hamilton, Schuyler, I, 172.
Hamlin, Cyrus, II, 511.
Hamlin, Hannibal, I, 446.
Hammond, E. P., II, 469.
Hammond, John F., I, 105, 249.
Hampson, J. B., I, 553.
Hampton, Wade, I, 155, 239; II, 118, 120, 137, 141, 145, 146, 149, 151.
Hancock, W. S., I, 217, 221, 222, 299-301, 338, 341, 359-363, 365, 381, 418, 422, 425, 426, 429, 432, 444, 545.
Hardaway, B. F., I, 369.
Hardee, Anna, II, 152.
Hardee, Willie, II, 152.
Hardee, William J., I, 92, 101, 485, 518, 528, 533, 534, 540, 542, 543, 556, 558-560, 565-568, 574, 575, 579, 598, 604, 612, 619; II, 7, 8, 11, 14, 21, 36-38, 40-42, 48, 82, 92-94, 131, 136, 137, 141, 151, 152, 189.
Hardie, James A., I, 332, 337, 394.
Harker, C. G., I, 518, 538, 566, 568, 582-584, 586-588.
Harmon, Oscar F., I, 585.
Harney, W. S., I, 73-76, 80.
Harris, Berry, II, 386.
Harris, Ira, I, 72, 138.
Harris, Isham G., II, 48.
Harris, Mrs. John, II, 517, 519.
Harris, Sergeant Wm. D., II, 573.
Harrison, Benjamin, I, 517, 609, 615.
Harrow, William, I, 436, 591; II, 13, 19, 20, 24, 36, 39.
Hartsuff, George L., I, 295.
Hascall, Milo S., I, 586, 609; II, 12.
Haskell, E. H., II, 586.
Hatch, John P., I, 258, 282, 283.
Hatton, Robert, I, 240.
Hawkins, Dexter, I, 128.
Hawkins, Rush C., I, 325, 328.
Hayes, Rutherford B., II, 482, 485.
Hays, H. T., I, 293.
Hays, William, I, 436, 438.
Hazard, John G., I, 342, 343.
Hazen, William B., I, 458, 465, 466, 553; II, 36, 38, 39, 87-97, 109, 110, 144, 148.
Hazzard, George W., I, 79, 83, 197, 198, 243, 435.
Hazzard, Mrs. George W., I, 79.
Heath, William S., I, 161.
Hecker, Frederick, I, 468.
Heckman, John P., I, 476.
Heintzleman, S. P., I, 142, 144, 146, 149, 152, 153, 156, 160, 161, 172, 216, 217, 218, 220, 227, 230, 234, 236, 244, 262, 264, 311, 312, 390.
Herbert, B. H., II, 586.
Hertz, Sue E., II, 575.
Hess, Frederick, I, 517.
Heth, Henry, I, 400, 406, 408.
Higgins, Frank W., II, 574.
Hill, A. P., I, 263, 304, 305, 332, 334, 335, 380, 385, 388, 400, 403, 404, 407, 421, 429, 580, 581.
Hill, D. H., I, 141, 231, 232, 235, 275, 279-281, 284, 287, 290, 293, 294, 297, 299, 332.
Hill, Elias, II, 387.
Hillhouse, John, I, 67.
Hillhouse, Mrs. John, I, 67.

Index

- Hipp, Charles, II, 22, 23.
Hiscock, Rev., II, 316.
Hitchcock, Henry, II, 159.
Hitchcock, Roswell G., I, 128.
Hodder, Mr., II, 543.
Hoffman, Ernest F., I, 365, 376, 491.
Holabird, S. B., I, 101.
Holmes, Freeland S., I, 37.
Holmes, William R., I, 151.
Hood, J. B., I, 240, 287, 290, 294, 332, 426, 510, 518, 520, 528, 529, 532-534, 539, 542, 543, 546, 549, 572, 575, 578, 598, 604, 605, 607, 609, 612; II, 7, 11, 14, 16-18, 21, 26, 28, 29, 34, 41, 47, 48, 50, 52, 55, 57, 63-66, 69, 93, 151.
Hooker, Joseph, I, 172, 192, 220, 221, 230, 235, 236, 242, 248, 262, 264, 265, 268, 272, 277, 281-284, 289, 290, 292-295, 302, 303, 311, 317, 318, 322, 326, 329, 333, 342, 343, 347, 348, 350, 352-354, 356-362, 365-369, 373-376, 379, 381-395, 397, 398, 450, 452, 458-461, 465, 467, 469-471, 476, 480, 483-485, 488, 489, 494, 495, 516-518, 523, 528-531, 542, 544-550, 560, 561, 564, 566, 571, 573-577, 581, 586, 592-595, 606, 618; II, 16, 583.
Hornburger, Tom, II, 387.
Horner, C. W., II, 216, 259, 295.
Hovey, A. P., I, 518.
Howard, Capt., I, 526.
Howard, Bessie, II, 555, 573, 575.
Howard, C. H., I, 13, 113, 119, 161, 187, 214, 215, 246, 248, 249, 251, 252, 298, 344, 386, 414, 416, 442, 443, 455, 457, 458, 472, 497, 515, 537, 556; II, 24, 45, 78, 79, 285, 348, 396, 397, 549, 576.
Howard, Chancey Otis, II, 546.
Howard, Eliza Otis, I, 4-16.
Howard, Grace Ellen, I, 86, 96; II, 46.
Howard, Guy, I, 69; II, 475, 476, 493, 538, 539, 565, 572, 573.
Howard, Mrs. Guy, II, 538, 556, 573.
Howard, Harry S., II, 555, 556, 575.
Howard, Helen, II, 493.
Howard, Hildegard, II, 562.
Howard, James W., II, 494, 495, 501, 514.
Howard, Mrs. James W., II, 559-561.
Howard, Jesse, I, 7.
Howard, John, Aid of Miles Standish, I, 7.
Howard, John, Lieut., II, 566.
Howard, John, Philanthropist, II, 543.
Howard, Mrs. O. O., I, 66, 67, 70, 95, 96, 107; II, 477, 545, 546, 550, 555, 576.
Howard, Otis Woolworth, II, 493.
Howard, Rowland B. (brother), I, 41, 71, 81, 119, 390, 443; II, 555.
Howard, Rowland B. (father), I, 4, 11.
Howard, Seth, I, 3, 4, 7, 20.
Howard, Stillman, I, 16.
Howard University, II, 390-401.
Howard University, President of, II, 452-455.
Howe, Albion P., I, 382, 383.
Howland, William C., II, 571, 572.
Hubbard, George H., I, 472.
Hubbard, Thomas H., I, 43.
Huger, Benjamin, I, 231.
Hughes, H. Y., II, 587.
Humphreys, Andrew A., I, 342, 343, 425, 449.
Humphreys, Richard, II, 394.
Hunt, Henry J., I, 320, 323, 348, 352, 381, 422, 425, 435.
Hunter, David, I, 145, 149, 152-154, 157, 158, 181, 201; II, 168.
Hurlbut, Stephen A., II, 188, 216.
Hutchinson Family, I, 201.

Index

- Indians, in the Northwest, II, 474–484.
- Ingalls, Rufus, II, 479.
- Irwin, William H., I, 299, 300.
- Iverson, Alfred, I, 416; II, 55.
- Jackson, C. Feger, I, 335.
- Jackson, Huntington W., I, 522.
- Jackson, J. W., I, 104.
- Jackson, Thos. J. (Stonewall), I, 151, 156, 199, 200, 258–265, 268, 269, 275, 276, 290, 293, 294, 312, 331, 332, 337, 350, 351, 358, 367–370, 374, 375, 386, 426, 485; II, 108.
- Jackson, William H., I, 540, 541, 579, 598; II, 21, 37.
- James, Darwin R., II, 568, 586.
- James, Horace, II, 176.
- Jameson, Charles D., I, 134.
- Jeffords, Thomas, II, 446.
- Jenkins, A. G., I, 469.
- Jewett, John N., I, 38, 39.
- Johnson, Andrew, I, 349; II, 220, 224, 225, 227, 235, 237, 244, 250, 271, 277, 279, 282, 283, 297, 333, 340, 374, 423.
- Johnson, Edward, I, 391, 400, 426–428, 431.
- Johnson, Edward (negro lad), I, 12.
- Johnson, R. W., I, 551–554.
- Johnston, Albert Sydney, I, 204.
- Johnston, Joseph E., I, 62, 151, 155–157, 173, 181, 196, 202, 203, 216, 222, 225, 226, 230, 231, 234, 493–495, 498, 502, 503, 507–510, 516, 520, 521, 523, 525, 528–531, 533, 534, 540, 541, 543, 550, 551, 553, 559, 561–564, 567, 568, 570, 574, 577, 578–580, 586, 589, 592, 594, 596, 598, 600, 603–605; II, 136, 140–143, 145–148, 150–158, 163, 309, 554.
- Jones, D. R., I, 147, 294, 302, 304.
- Jones, John M., I, 50.
- Jones, J. R., I, 290.
- Jones, P. H., I, 617.
- Jones, Samuel, I, 96.
- Jones, W. S., II, 12, 23.
- Jonesboro, Battle of, II, 27–40.
- Jordan, Miss, II, 377.
- Joseph, Chief, II, 475, 567.
- Judah, Henry M., I, 511, 513.
- Kearney, Phil., I, 221, 234–236, 242, 244, 251, 262–264, 268, 269.
- Keitly, Mr., II, 537.
- Kellogg, Sanford C., I, 354–355.
- Kemper, James L., I, 435.
- Kenesaw, Battle of, I, 571–588.
- Kent, Prentiss J., I, 238.
- Ketchum, A. P., II, 240, 241.
- Ketchum, Edgar, II, 421, 422.
- Keyes, Erasmus D., I, 172, 211, 216, 220, 227, 229–231, 235, 236.
- Kiddoo, J. B., II, 291.
- Kilburn, Charles L., I, 80, 88.
- Kilpatrick, Judson, I, 445; II, 28, 29, 31–34, 36, 37, 40, 51, 71, 72, 75, 76, 78, 86, 87, 114, 115, 130, 140, 141, 149, 154, 156.
- Kimball, Nathan, I, 339, 340, 613, 615.
- King, Adam E., II, 137.
- King, John H., I, 590, 591, 593, 594.
- King, Rufus, I, 172, 263, 264.
- Kingsley, Canon, II, 500.
- Kingston, Battle of, I, 528–539.
- Kip, Lawrence, I, 186.
- Kirby, Edmund, I, 158, 214, 238.
- Kirby, Isaac M., I, 568, 569; II, 106.
- Kirkland, Mr., II, 152.
- Knapp, Hannah, I, 10.
- Knapp, Rufus, I, 10.
- Kniffin, G. C., I, 506.
- Knipe, Joseph F., I, 618.
- Knox, Mr., I, 327.
- Kolb's Farm, Battle of, I, 571–588.

Index

- Koop, Mr. and Mrs., II, 561.
Krzyzanowski, Wladimir, I, 364,
373, 429, 430.
Kuhn, John H., II, 14.
Ku-Klux-Klan, II, 374-389.
Kuropatkin, Alexi N., II, 539.
- Ladd & Tilton, II, 468.
Laidley, Theo. T. S., I, 63.
Lakeman, Moses, I, 136.
Lambert, Lewis J., II, 300, 301.
Lampley, Harris D., II, 10.
Langston, John M., II, 317, 341.
Lansing, Mr., I, 65, 66.
Lansing, Mrs., I, 65.
Lathrop, D. B., I, 218.
Law, E. M., I, 421.
Lawrence, Arthur, II, 531.
Lawton, A. R., I, 290.
Lawton, H. W., II, 573.
Lazelle, Henry M., I, 49.
Lee, C. C., I, 97.
Lee, Fitzhugh, I, 102, 370.
Lee, Mr., I, 503.
Lee, Robert E., I, 54, 96, 102, 203,
259-261, 265, 272, 275, 278, 286,
290, 304, 305, 308, 312, 317, 318,
321, 330, 331, 351, 352, 357, 365-
369, 376, 380-383, 385, 387, 388,
392, 395, 397-401, 403, 407, 413,
416, 419-421, 430, 432, 434, 435,
440, 445, 492, 498, 580; II, 124,
153, 154, 163, 309, 582.
Lee, Robert M., I, 245, 248.
Lee, S. D., I, 85; II, 21, 22, 25, 36,
41, 57, 64, 120, 131, 141, 151, 152.
Lee, S. P., I, 443.
Lee, Wellesley, II, 387.
Lee, W. H. F., I, 358.
Leech, Susie, II, 530.
Leech, William A., II, 527.
Leech, William A., Mrs., II, 527.
Leggett, M. D., I, 611, 612; II, 5, 7,
8, 11, 101, 465, 466.
- Lemon, Mr., II, 494.
Lewis, J. R., II, 290.
Lightburn, Joseph A. J., II, 14.
Lincoln, Abraham, I, 102, 104, 135,
137, 139, 176, 180, 182, 188, 193,
196, 200, 202, 209, 256, 271, 309,
310, 312, 349, 350, 379, 385, 452-
454, 492; II, 42, 94, 155, 156, 159,
168, 169, 180, 183, 190, 197, 201,
205, 207, 319, 321, 325.
Lincoln Memorial University, II,
568, 569, 586.
Lindsley, Rev., II, 468, 471.
Livermore, D. S., II, 187.
Lloyd, Howard, II, 544.
Lockwood, Henry H., I, 390.
Lockwood, L. C., I, 128; II, 175.
Logan, John A., I, 557-559, 592,
611; II, 4, 5, 8, 9, 13, 16, 17, 19,
21, 22, 24-26, 32, 34, 36-38, 46,
98, 99, 104, 109, 122, 131, 135,
139, 142, 144, 145, 148, 206, 211.
Logie, William K., I, 620.
Longstreet, James, I, 147, 221, 231,
235, 241, 259-262, 266, 282, 284,
287, 306, 318, 331, 332, 351, 380,
383, 388, 392, 399, 400, 403, 404,
416, 421, 422, 425, 427, 434, 435,
458, 463, 466, 470, 477, 492.
Loomis, L. L., I, 80, 81, 84, 87.
Loring, William W., I, 574, 578,
579, 616.
Lothrop, Warren, I, 23, 24, 50, 51.
Lott, Chief, II, 483, 484.
Lovejoy, Owen, II, 321.
Lovejoy Station, Battle of, II, 41-51.
Ludlow, Nicholl, II, 506, 507, 509.
Ludwig, Karl Friedrich Wilhelm, II,
534.
Luke, William C., II, 386.
Lynde, D. B., I, 82, 87.
- McAllister, Fort, II, 86-100.
McArthur, Arthur, I, 27, 28.

Index

- McCall, George A., I, 172, 174.
McCandless, William, I, 439.
McCarty, Ellen, I, 63.
McCauley, J. A., II, 318.
McCleery, James, II, 384-386.
McClellan, George B., I, 83, 162, 166-172, 174, 177, 179, 182, 186-189, 192-197, 199-207, 209-211, 216, 217, 219, 220, 222, 225, 227, 228, 231, 234, 237, 244, 255-257, 260, 271-274, 277, 278, 288, 289, 291, 294, 298, 302-305, 308, 310-315, 327, 347, 370, 381, 393, 394; II, 169, 581.
McClintock, J. M., II, 90.
McCook, A. McD., I, 105, 106, 138, 588.
McCook, Daniel, I, 584, 585, 588.
McCook, Ed., I, 501, 542, 544, 566; II, 27, 28.
McCoy, H. J., II, 547.
McDonald, Private, I, 190, 215, 569, 570, 572, 573.
McDowell, H. J., II, 4.
McDowell, Irvin, I, 139, 143, 144, 146, 147, 149-155, 157, 163, 164, 169, 172, 200, 205, 227, 228, 256, 257, 260, 262-265, 272; II, 172, 450, 546.
McGilvery, Freeman, I, 436.
McGregor, Sergeant, I, 68.
McIlvain, Alexander, I, 505.
McIntyre, William, I, 247.
McKeever, Chauncey, I, 144; II, 549.
McKenzie, Alexander, II, 350.
McKinley, William, II, 570, 574.
McKinstry, Justus, I, 80.
McLaren, Adam N., I, 76.
McLaws, Lafayette, I, 275, 278, 288, 289, 318, 337, 340, 351, 359, 361, 367, 369.
McLean, Nathaniel C., I, 553.
McMorris, Dr., II, 519.
McPherson, J. B., I, 49, 55, 499, 502-504, 506-508, 510, 519-521, 523, 529, 532, 542, 550, 556-558, 560, 562, 566, 573-575, 580, 581, 586, 590-594, 596, 602, 605-610, 612, 613; II, 4-9, 15, 16, 575.
McQueen, John, II, 123, 124, 133.
McQuesten, J. F., I, 135.
McSweeney, Paul, II, 81.
MacBeth, II, 141.
MacDonald, Godfrey H., II, 565.
Mack, Oscar A., I, 80.
Madawska War, I, 12.
Magruder, J. B., I, 141, 205, 206.
Mahan, Dennis, I, 385.
Mallory, Charles, II, 168.
Malvern Hill, Battle of, I, 166.
Maney, George, I, 612, 616.
Manigault, E. II, 12.
Mann, Horace, II, 393.
Mann, M. R., Miss., II, 393.
Mansfield, Joseph K. F., I, 131, 132, 135, 137, 272, 277, 289, 290, 294, 295, 302.
Marcy, R. B., I, 96, 170, 177.
Marshall, Joe, I, 19.
Marshall, John E., I, 341.
Martin, Sella, II, 317.
Martin, James S., II, 10.
Mason, E. C., I, 218, 219; II, 565.
Meade, George G., I, 282, 283, 290, 292, 333-337, 349, 353-355, 359-363, 367, 377, 381, 387, 389, 394-399, 401, 403, 404, 413, 418, 422-426, 432, 433, 436, 439, 440, 444, 445, 448-451, 580; II, 255, 429, 496.
Meagher, Thomas F., I, 183, 185, 238, 243, 300, 342.
Meigs, M. C., I, 164; II, 450.
Mellen, W. P., II, 188.
Meredith, Sol, I, 407, 414.
Merritt, Wesley, I, 434.
Mersy, August, II, 14.
Mexican War, I, 21.
Meyerholtz, J. H., II, 552.
Meysenberg, T. A., I, 410, 484.

Index

- Miles, Dixon S., I, 146, 149, 150, 152
162, 273, 274, 276-278; II, 580.
- Miles, Nelson A., I, 187, 211, 240,
241, 245, 248, 342; II, 337, 450,
475, 547, 548.
- Miller, James, I, 178, 243-245.
- Millet, Henry, I, 11.
- Millet, John D., I, 11.
- Milroy, R. H., I, 386; II, 55.
- Missionary Ridge, Battle of, I, 471,
498.
- Mitchell, Henry, I, 23, 24.
- Mitchell, J. G., I, 584.
- Moltke, von, Helmuth C. B., I, 530.
- Monmouth Academy, I, 17, 23.
- Moody, D. L., I, 501; II, 558, 560,
561, 564, 570.
- Moody, Will, II, 560-562.
- Moore, Aaron, II, 387.
- Moore, Alexander, I, 368.
- Moore, Edward, II, 334.
- Moore, Elizabeth, I, 10.
- Mordecai, Alfred, I, 97.
- Mordecai, Alfred, Jr., I, 97.
- Morestadt, Frau, II, 531.
- Morgan, Edwin D., I, 138.
- Morgan, James D., I, 585; II, 17,
20, 24, 25, 146.
- Morgan, Thomas J., I, 515, 522.
- Morrill, Lot M., II, 266.
- Morris, F. B., II, 395, 396.
- Morris, W. W., I, 77, 78.
- Morris, Mrs. W. W., I, 77, 78.
- Morrow, Henry A., I, 350.
- Mortie, Louise de, II, 261.
- Morton, Levi P., II, 496, 542.
- Mosby, John S., I, 391.
- Mower, Joseph A., II, 107-110, 134,
149, 150, 342.
- Moy-Yu-Ling, II, 478, 479.
- Mulliken, Charles H., I, 69.
- Munroe, John, I, 78, 79.
- Murray, Ben, I, 10.
- Murray, Ellen and Two Sisters, II, 98.
- Naglee, H. M., I, 229, 232.
- Napoleon, Prince Jerome, I, 169.
- Nasby, Petroleum V. (Mr. Locke),
II, 435.
- Natto, Joe, I, 84, 86.
- Negro Conditions in Civil War, II,
163-193.
- Nettleton, F. E., II, 587.
- Nevins, Rev., II, 517.
- Newton, John, I, 281, 430, 500, 504-
506, 513, 518, 520-522, 546, 568,
582, 583, 591, 602, 604-606, 609,
611, 613-617, 619.
- New Hope Church, Battle of, I,
542-562.
- New York City, II, 547-557.
- Nichols, H. D., II, 396.
- Niles, Flora, II, 46.
- Nodine, Richard H., I, 569, 570.
- Norwich University, II, 66.
- Officials of L. M. U., II, 586, 587.
- Ogden, John, II, 407.
- Oliver, John M., II, 81, 86.
- Oostanaula River, I, 513-527.
- Opdycke, Emerson, I, 518, 584.
- Ord, E. O. C., II, 332.
- Osborn, T. W., I, 413, 429, 435;
II, 110, 111, 143, 215, 217, 218.
- Osterhaus, P. J., I, 476, 559; II,
36, 65, 72, 74, 75, 79-82, 87, 96.
- Otis, Elizabeth Stanchfield, I,
20.
- Otis, Elmer S., I, 49.
- Otis, Ensign, II, 45.
- Otis, Frances, I, 18.
- Otis, John, I, 17, 40, 41.
- Otis, Maria, I, 18.
- Otis, Oliver, I, 20.
- Otis, William O., I, 18, 40.
- Otto, August, I, 428.
- Overton, M. F., II, 587.
- Owen, Joshua T., I, 323, 326, 342,
343.

Index

- Packard, A. S., I, 31, 33.
Page, Alexander, II, 387.
Palmer, G. S., I, 119, 137, 178, 249,
250, 310.
Palmer, Innis S., I, 229, 341.
Palmer, John M., I, 479, 505, 513,
530, 531, 542, 544, 566, 573, 575,
581, 582, 584, 590, 592, 593, 606,
616, 619; II, 29, 30.
Parker, Thomas J., I, 190, 243.
Patterson, Robert I, 133, 151, 164.
Patterson, Robert F., II, 586.
Payne, D. A., II, 320, 413.
Peach Tree Creek, Battle, I, 608-620.
Peak, Mary S., II, 175.
Pearson, E. P., I, 412, 472.
Peck, John J., I, 233.
Peck, Theodore S., II, 580, 582.
Pender, William D., I, 407.
Pendleton, George H., II, 200.
Pendleton, William N., I, 351, 358,
380, 421.
Peninsular Campaign, I, 166, 199-
212.
Perley, Peleg Sprague, I, 30, 35, 98.
Perry, A. J., I, 70.
Petit, Rufus D., I, 243.
Pettengill, John, I, 26.
Pettigrew, J. J., I, 239, 400, 406,
439.
Phelps, J. W., II, 168.
Phillips, Wendell, II, 254.
Pickett, George E., I, 64, 244, 331,
421, 435, 438, 439; II, 177.
Pickett, Miss Jennie, I, 64.
Pickett's Mill, Battle of, I, 550-570.
Pierce, Ebenezer W., I, 140.
Pine Top, Battle of, I, 563.
Piper, Alexander, II, 548.
Pleasonton, Alfred, I, 76, 272, 279,
280, 282, 285, 302, 312, 318, 350,
352, 356, 374, 379, 383, 384, 388,
389, 398, 445, 449.
Pocataligo, S. C., II, 103.
Polk, Leonidas, I, 502, 509, 518,
528, 533, 534, 539, 542, 543, 551,
563, 564, 578, 604; II, 26.
Pomeroy, S. C., II, 395, 397, 419.
Pomphrey, Mr., I, 209.
Pope, John, I, 256-266, 268, 269;
II, 450.
Porter, Andrew, I, 155, 169.
Porter, A. Toomer, II, 123, 124, 339.
Porter, D. D., II, 154.
Porter, Fitz John, I, 96, 172, 216,
217, 227, 228, 262, 264, 265, 272,
277, 289, 303, 305, 311, 312, 370.
Porter, Horace, II, 567.
Portland, Oregon, II, 468-484.
Posey, Carnot, I, 361, 369.
Potter, Capt., II, 508.
Potts, B. F., II, 9, 138.
Prestman, Stephen W., I, 567.
Prochet, Robert, II, 556.
Quimby, George W., II, 83, 139.
Radford, R. C. W., I, 147.
Rains, G. J., I, 233.
Ramsey, Douglas, I, 158.
Randall, G. B., I, 620.
Rankin, J. E., II, 445.
Ransom, Robert, Jr., I, 318, 331,
337; II, 32-34, 36, 65, 66.
Rawlins, John A., I, 460, 479.
Raynor, Kenneth, II, 391, 393.
Reconstruction, II, 163-445.
Reese, Chauncey B., II, 87.
Reeve, Isaac V. D., I, 103.
Reeves, P. S., II, 381.
Reno, Jesse L., I, 264, 265, 268,
272, 280-282, 311.
Resaca, Battle of, I, 506-527.
Reyburn, Robert, II, 294.
Reynolds, John F., I, 101, 107, 311,
312, 328, 331, 333, 344, 352, 366,
381, 386, 387, 392, 393, 399, 401-
404, 407-414.

Index

- Reynolds, J. J., II, 343, 450.
Rhett, Thomas S., II, 141.
Rice, Elliot W., II, 38.
Richards, Mr., I, 184, 185.
Richardson, I. B., I, 150, 172, 196,
207, 208, 224, 238, 242, 244, 248,
296, 300-303.
Richardson, W. S., II, 587.
Richmond, Mary, I, 9.
Ricketts, James B., I, 158, 257, 259,
264, 282, 283, 290, 292, 293, 295.
Rigault, Colonel, II, 539.
Robert, Christopher R., II, 272.
Robert, Henry M., I, 92.
Roberts, R. F., I, 143, 144.
Robinson, James S., I, 618.
Robinson, John C., I, 415, 424; II,
285, 286.
Rochambeau, Marquis, II, 540.
Rockface Ridge, Ga., II, 504.
Rodes, R. E., I, 300, 390, 400, 426.
Rodman, Isaac P., I, 190, 280, 303-
305.
Rogers, J. A. R., II, 405.
Rogers, Robert M., I, 419.
Romero, M., II, 556.
Roosevelt, Theodore, II, 574.
Rosecrans, William S., I, 450, 451, 457.
Rosengarten, Joseph G., I, 410.
Rossell, N. B., I, 75.
Rosser, Thomas H., I, 280.
Rousseau, Lovell H., I, 601.
Rowett, Richard, II, 61.
Ruger, Thomas H., I, 427, 430-
433, 618.
Runyon, Theodore, I, 146, 152.
Russell, Henry S., I, 383.
Rustin, Alice G., II, 546.

Sampson, Charles A. L., I, 120, 137.
Sampson, G. W., I, 134.
Sampson, Jacob P., II, 90.
Sampson, Mrs. S. S., I, 437.
Sampson, William T., II, 571.

Sanders, L. W., II, 587.
Sanders, William P., I, 492.
San Francisco, In, II, 545, 546.
Sargent, Frank, I, 89.
Savannah, Ga., II, 86-100.
Sawtelle, Charles G., I, 58.
Saxton, Rufus, II, 95, 98, 99, 178,
191, 215, 217, 234, 238, 283.
Saxton, Mrs. Rufus, II, 99.
Saxton, Sam W., II, 99.
Scammon, E. P., I, 302.
Schenck, Robert C., I, 154, 390.
Schimmelfennig, Alexander, I, 364,
365, 373, 414, 416, 445.
Schofield, J. M., I, 492, 499-501,
503, 505, 507, 510, 511, 523, 528,
529, 532, 539, 542, 547, 550, 552,
554, 560-562, 565, 571, 573, 574,
576, 579-581, 586, 590-592, 595,
603-612; II, 4, 5, 7, 13, 14, 17,
26, 27, 29, 30, 33, 37, 43, 46, 51,
131, 145, 152, 154, 332, 549, 558.
Schoolcraft, Madam, II, 459.
Schurz, Carl, I, 264, 348, 349, 364,
366, 371, 375, 408, 411, 413, 414,
416, 417, 424, 429, 444, 467, 479, 494.
Schuyler, E., II, 513.
Scott, Harvey, II, 463.
Scott, Mrs., I, 143, 162.
Scott, R. K., II, 557.
Scott, Winfield, I, 12, 60, 133, 135,
139, 166, 180.
Sedgwick, John, I, 119, 169, 172
196, 199, 215, 222, 237-240, 242-
244, 267, 278, 291, 296-299, 302,
349, 353, 356-360, 366, 369, 377,
381, 383.
Seeley, F. A., II, 348.
Seligman, A. L., II, 586.
Seminole War, I, 74-89.
Sewall, F. D., I, 178, 187, 215, 251,
298.
Sewall, John S., I, 38.
Seward, W. F., I, 180.

Index

- Seward, William H., I, 49, 138, 180; II, 155, 277.
- Shafter, Wm. R., II, 548.
- Sharp, Fred D., II, 571.
- Sharra, Abram, I, 442.
- Shepherd, Alexander R., II, 459.
- Sheridan, Phil H., I, 192, 478, 479, 488; II, 45, 287, 332, 429, 447, 494, 549.
- Sherman, Frank T., I, 600.
- Sherman, John, II, 553.
- Sherman, Thomas, II, 553.
- Sherman, T. W., I, 189.
- Sherman, W. T., I, 57, 154, 164, 192, 458, 471-475, 480-483, 488-492, 494, 495, 498, 499, 502, 503, 506-510, 515, 518, 519, 521, 525, 527-529, 531, 532, 535, 536, 538-542, 545, 550, 551, 558, 560, 561, 563, 564, 568-571, 573-577, 579-581, 586, 588-593, 595-597, 600-603, 605-608, 611; II, 3, 5, 8, 9, 13, 14, 16-20, 24, 26-30, 39-53, 55-58, 66, 68-70, 75-80, 83, 85-88, 90, 92-97, 99, 102, 104, 108, 109, 112, 114, 120, 122, 124, 125, 129, 130, 136, 138-144, 149-158, 189-194, 206, 207, 209-212, 237, 240, 267, 281, 361, 429, 450, 452, 482, 484, 494, 549, 553.
- Sherman's March to the Sea, II, 68-100.
- Sherrill, A. F., II, 545.
- Shickle, A. E., II, 187.
- Shields, James, I, 172, 199, 256.
- Shoemaker, Bessie, II, 556.
- Shoemaker, Mrs., II, 556.
- Shoup, Francis A., I, 534, 598.
- Shunk, F. J., I, 63.
- Sibley, C. C., II, 340.
- Sickles, Daniel E., I, 136, 348, 349, 356, 357, 359, 361, 364, 365, 367-369, 376, 379, 399, 418, 419, 423, 425, 426, 435; II, 332, 569, 574.
- Sigel, Franz, I, 257, 258, 260, 264, 311, 312, 348, 349.
- Silvey, William, I, 70.
- Sinclair, Franklin, II, 380.
- Sinclair, Wm. Henry, I, 336.
- Skelly, D. A., I, 412.
- Sladen, Joseph A., I, 514, 552, 569, 570, 572; II, 216, 446, 461, 477, 478, 566.
- Sloan, J. B., II, 302.
- Slocum, Henry W., I, 168, 311, 354-357, 359-363, 365, 367-369, 376, 381, 393, 399, 413, 416, 418, 419, 423, 424, 426, 427, 430, 431, 433, 434, 450, 458, 461, 499; II, 16, 17, 41, 42, 51, 57, 70, 75, 76, 94, 103, 104, 112, 115, 116, 119, 120, 130, 136-138, 140-144, 146-149, 151, 553.
- Smith, C. H., II, 335.
- Smith, E. Kirby, I, 45, 160, 194; II, 309.
- Smith, E. P., I, 486, 535; II, 402, 407.
- Smith, Giles A., II, 103, 104, 108, 138.
- Smith, G. W., I, 225, 234, 236, 237, 240, 241, 578, 598, 604, 608; II, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 72, 73, 95.
- Smith, John A., II, 398-400.
- Smith, John E., II, 46, 103, 104, 109.
- Smith, John Lind, I, 96.
- Smith, Joseph S., I, 119.
- Smith, Morgan L., I, 590, 592; II, 12, 19, 20, 24.
- Smith, Orland, I, 467.
- Smith, W. F., I, 172, 299, 300, 328, 481.
- Smith, William Sooy, I, 49.
- Smyrna Campground, Battle of, I, 589.
- Smyth, T. A., I, 436.
- Smyth, William, I, 31, 33, 39
- Sollers, Mr., I, 179.

Index

- Soulé, Mr., II, 128.
South Mountain, Battle of, I, 271-285.
Spanish War, II, 566-573.
Sparling, Fred. W., I, 460.
Spaulding, Ira, I, 318, 319.
Spence, J. F., II, 586.
Sprague, J. T., II, 336.
Sprague, J. W., II, 7, 13, 14, 215, 218, 250, 251, 290, 335.
Sprague, William, I, 138.
Spurgeon, Chas. H., II, 542.
Spurgin, W. F., II, 488.
Stanchfield, Thomas, I, 13.
Standish, Miles, I, 7.
Stanley, David S., I, 478, 500, 504, 506, 514, 521, 555, 568, 581, 582, 584, 591, 594, 596, 597, 606-611; II, 16, 43, 51.
Stannard, George J., I, 438; II, 580-583.
Stanton, Edwin M., I, 201, 256, 313, 379, 389; II, 181, 189-191, 205, 207-209, 214, 221, 227, 236, 240, 241, 257, 258, 263, 284, 390.
Staples, Henry G., I, 120, 143.
Starke, W. E., I, 293.
Stearns, D. H., II, 473.
Steedman, James B., I, 601; II, 296, 297.
Steele, Chaplain, II, 571.
Steele, James, II, 468.
Steele, J. W., I, 327.
Steinwehr, von, A., I, 350, 357, 363, 364, 368, 372, 408, 413, 417, 424, 467, 479, 494; II, 537.
Stetson, Mrs., I, 253.
Stevens, Consul, II, 507.
Stevens, Isaac I., I, 268, 269.
Stevenson, Carter L., I, 598, 610, 611; II, 111, 141.
Stewart, Alexander P., I, 521, 604, 618; II, 12, 21, 22, 25, 26, 28, 57, 141.
Stewart, Thomas J., II, 569.
Stinson, Alonzo, I, 160.
Stinson, Harry M., I, 327, 344, 383, 386, 446, 472, 537, 552; II, 35, 36, 216.
Stoever, Professor, I, 443.
Stone, Charles P., I, 174.
Stone, George A., II, 120, 121.
Stoneman, George, I, 219-221, 348, 350, 379, 507-509, 532, 542, 561, 579, 592, 595, 596, 605, 606; II, 27, 28, 328.
Stooksbury, W. L., II, 583.
Streight, A. D., II, 55.
Strong, William E., II, 8, 23, 24, 125, 138, 143, 216.
Stuart, J. E. B., I, 53, 147, 156, 173, 196, 198, 216, 259-261, 266, 267, 274, 279, 293, 305, 318, 331, 334, 337, 352, 358, 367, 380-384, 388, 389, 401, 434.
Stuart, Owen, II, 82.
Sturgis, Samuel D., I, 280, 302-305.
Sturgis, William B., II, 387.
Sully, Alfred, I, 238, 269, 326, 342.
Sumner, Charles, II, 198, 200.
Sumner, E. V., I, 172, 180-185, 190, 194-199, 207, 215, 220, 221, 227-229, 237, 238, 240, 242, 266, 267, 269, 272, 277, 279, 290, 291, 295-298, 301, 302, 305, 311, 316, 317, 322, 325, 326, 329, 333, 337, 338, 344, 347.
Sumner, Sam S., I, 183, 186.
Sunderland, Byron, I, 175.
Swayne, Noah, II, 218, 345.
Swayne, Wager, II, 107, 217, 218, 249, 253, 254, 287, 333-335, 353, 411, 413.
Sweeny, Thomas W., I, 519, 520; II, 4, 5, 6.
Sykes, George, I, 298, 303, 359-362.
Sylvey, Jerome, II, 46.
Sylvey, Spurgeon, II, 46.

Index

- Symington, Carrie, I, 64.
Symington, John, I, 62, 64.
Symington, Mrs. John, I, 63, 64, 71.
Symington, Mary, I, 72.
- Taggart, Samuel L., II, 87, 216.
Taliaferro, Wm. B., I, 264, 332.
Tallman, James H., I, 120.
Taney, Roger B., II, 278.
Tanner, James, II, 569.
Tappan, Lewis, II, 174, 328.
Taylor, J. H., I, 186, 267.
Taylor, Nelson, I, 336.
Taylor, William, I, 329, 331; II, 552.
Taylor, Wm. N., II, 105, 106.
Terry, A. H., II, 88, 135, 145, 284.
Thomas, George H., I, 192, 281, 402, 456, 458, 459, 466, 470, 471, 475, 477, 482-490, 493-495, 499, 500, 502, 503, 507, 510, 520, 522, 529, 533, 542, 544, 558, 561, 564, 565, 569, 571, 573, 574, 576, 579-581, 590, 592, 593, 595, 597, 600, 601, 603, 606, 607, 619; II, 4, 7, 16-18, 27, 30, 33, 37, 39, 40, 43, 45, 46, 51, 131, 332.
Thomas, Lorenzo, I, 106, 135, 200; II, 186, 188.
Thomas, Samuel, II, 215, 217, 242, 243, 283, 301.
Thompson, D. B., II, 463.
Thorn, Mrs. Peter, I, 419.
Tillson, Davis, II, 217, 249, 255, 286, 300, 301, 340.
Toombs, Robert, I, 294, 302-304.
Torgler, Ernst, II, 23.
Tourtelotte, John E., II, 58, 61, 63.
Towne, Laura E., II, 98.
Townsend, E. D., II, 210.
Treadwell, Thomas J., I, 49.
Treat, Charles G., II, 558, 559, 565.
Trimble, Isaac R., I, 261.
True, N. T., I, 22.
- Trumbull, Lyman, II, 280, 282, 322.
Tucker, Isaac N., I, 118, 120.
Tucker, R. S., II, 159.
Tucker, Mrs. R. S., II, 159.
Tunnel Hill, Ga., II, 504.
Tupper, H. M., II, 412.
Turner, B. S., II, 334.
Twiggs, David E., I, 103, 182.
Tyler, Daniel, I, 146, 150-154, 391-393.
Tyler, Warren, II, 387.
Tyndale, Hector, I, 468.
- Underwood, Adeline B., I, 469.
United States Military Academy, I, 42, 45, 55, 59, 70, 88, 89, 98.
 Bible Class, I, 52.
 Cadet at the, I, 44-58.
 Graduation, I, 59-73.
 Instructor, I, 90, 111.
 Superintendent of the, II, 485-490.
Upham, Elizabeth K., II, 556.
Upham, Francis W., II, 556.
Upham, Thomas C., I, 31, 33.
Upton, Emery, I, 92.
- Vandever, William, II, 58.
Van Dorn, Earl, I, 103.
Van Duzer, John C., I, 525, 580.
Vefik, Achmet, II, 511, 512.
Vicars, Hedley, I, 81.
Victoria, Queen, II, 543.
Villard, Henry, I, 452.
Vincent, Thomas M., II, 449.
- Wadhams, William, II, 468, 470, 472.
Wadsworth, James S., I, 172, 203, 256, 352, 407, 408, 412, 415, 417, 418, 445.
Wagner, George D., I, 500, 583, 584.

Index

- Waite, Alexander B., I, 39, 40.
Waite, Mrs. A. B., I, 66.
Waite, Elizabeth Ann, I, 35, 36, 40,
41, 66.
Wakefield, Mr., II, 469.
Walcutt, C. C., II, 71, 72, 74.
Walker, Henry H., I, 48.
Walker, J. G., I, 276, 293.
Walker, W. H. T., I, 337, 559, 560,
612, 615, 619; II, 15, 575.
Wallace, Lew, II, 510.
Walthall, Edward C., I, 618.
Wangelin, Hugo, II, 5, 8, 10.
Ward, J. H. H., I, 244, 245, 248.
Ward, W. T., I, 494, 496, 517, 615,
616, 619.
Ware, E. A., II, 403.
Warner, Willard, II, 48.
Warren, Gouverneur K., I, 106.
Washburn, Israel, I, 106, 114-116,
255.
Washburn, J. H., II, 587.
Washington, Booker T., II, 415,
416.
Washington, D. C., Camping in, I,
133-145.
Washington, D. C., Life in, II, 459-
467.
Washington, James B., I, 232.
Watkins, Mr., I, 185, 195.
Wauhatchie, Battle of, I, 465-470.
Wayne, H. C., II, 78, 80, 82.
Webb, A. S., I, 430, 436, 439,
444.
Webb, E. B., I, 70; II, 97.
Weber, Max, I, 300.
Weir, Robert, I, 91.
Weir, Mrs. Robert, I, 96.
Weiss, Charley, I, 215, 437.
Weld, Allan H., I, 25.
Welles, Gideon, I, 139.
Wellington, Duke of, I, 612; II, 24,
495, 496.
Wells, Spencer, I, 27.
Wessells, Henry W., I, 229.
Wever, Clark R., II, 64.
Whaley, William, II, 238.
Wheeler, Joseph, I, 541, 542, 579,
601, 602, 605, 606, 608, 609; II,
7, 14, 28, 30, 47, 74, 78, 80.
Whipple, A. W., I, 157, 333.
White, Julius, I, 273, 275, 276.
Whiting, Henry, I, 143.
Whiting, W. H. C., I, 225, 226, 239,
241.
Whiting, William, II, 438.
Whittaker, J. C., II, 485, 486.
Whittier, John Greenleaf, II, 414.
Whittle, D. W., II, 62, 570, 571.
Whittlesey, Eliphalet, I, 187, 298,
309, 310, 327, 366; II, 215, 217,
233, 279, 283, 352, 353, 398-400
430, 446.
Wiedrich, Michael, I, 364, 476.
Wiggin, Sullivan D., I, 254.
Wilcox, John, I, 22.
Wilder, Charles B., II, 175.
Wilkinson, M. C., II, 461, 464, 468,
470, 566.
Willard, John, I, 426, 436.
Willcox, O. B., I, 149, 154, 280, 303,
304, 311, 312, 338, 344, 345.
Willerod, Captain, II, 560.
Williams, A. S., I, 172, 199, 294,
432, 515, 577, 616-618; II, 51,
113.
Williams, Daniel and Mrs., II, 469.
Williams, George, II, 543.
Williams, Miss, II, 511.
Williams, Robert, I, 281.
Williams, Seth, I, 46, 51, 69, 311,
450, 583.
Williams, Thomas, II, 167.
Williamsburgh, Battle of, I, 213-
226.
Williamson, Captain, II, 91.
Williamson, James A., II, 81, 82.
Willich, August, I, 518.

Index

- Wilson, Henry, I, 175, 446; II, 198, 322, 323, 353, 354, 386, 395, 397.
Wilson, James H., II, 158.
Wisser, John P., II, 539, 543.
Wood, Fernando, II, 436, 437, 442.
Wood, H. Clay, II, 463.
Wood, James, I, 615.
Wood, T. J., I, 478, 479, 500, 504, 511, 513, 514, 521, 537, 551-555, 568, 569, 582, 591, 604, 606-609; II, 288, 301, 340.
Woodbury, Daniel P., I, 319, 323.
Woodford, Stewart L., I, 126; II, 587.
Woodman, E. W., II, 45.
Woods, Charles R., II, 13, 14, 19, 21, 24, 66, 70, 72-74, 122, 135, 148.
Woods, George W., I, 25, 27.
Woods, Leonard, I, 31, 32, 42.
Wool, John E., II, 175.
Woolworth, Jeanie, II, 493.
Woolworth, J. M., II, 493.
Wotherspoon, Wm. W., II, 565.
Wright, A. R., I, 361, 369.
Wright, James S., II, 81.
Wright, R. R., II, 414.
Wright, W. W., I, 524.
Yarmouth Academy, I, 17, 24, 25.
Yorke, L. E., II, 125.
Yorktown, Siege of, I, 210.
Young, B. F., II, 587.
Young, D., II, 556.
Young, S. B. M., II, 62.
Zeitung, General, II, 534.
Zook, Samuel K., I, 187, 341.

