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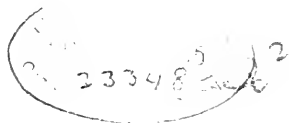
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LIFE  
OF  
ULYSSES SIMPSON GRANT

BY E. E. BROWN  
;  
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Our Union claims,  
From North to South, from sea to sea,  
This Hero's as one of its three  
Immortal names.”



# CONTENTS.

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CHAPTER	PAGE
I. EARLY DAYS . . . . .	11
II. LIFE AT WEST POINT . . . . .	17
III. BEGINNING OF ARMY LIFE—MEXICAN WAR,	23
IV. GRANT AS A PRIVATE CITIZEN . . . . .	29
V. OPENING OF THE CIVIL WAR . . . . .	33
VI. THE CAPTURE OF FORTS HENRY AND DON- ELSON . . . . .	41
VII. THE BATTLE OF SHILOH . . . . .	53
VIII. THE BATTLES OF IUKA AND CORINTH . . . . .	63
IX. BEGINNING OF THE VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN . . . . .	68
X. THE VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN ( <i>continued</i> ) . . . . .	89
XI. INVESTMENT AND SIEGE OF VICKSBURG . . . . .	112
XII. OCCUPATION OF VICKSBURG . . . . .	131
XIII. THE NEGRO QUESTION — TRADE IN THE SOUTHERN STATES — GRANT'S NEW COM- MAND . . . . .	141
XIV. THE CHATTANOOGA CAMPAIGN . . . . .	149
XV. GRANT IS APPOINTED LIEUTENANT-GENERAL,	161

XVI.	THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC—BATTLES OF THE WILDERNESS, SPOTTSYLVANIA COURT HOUSE, AND COLD HARBOR . . . . .	172
XVII.	ARMY OF THE POTOMAC BEFORE PETERS- BURG . . . . .	184
XVIII.	THE SURRENDER OF LEE . . . . .	195
XIX.	CLOSE OF THE WAR—ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN—MEXICAN AFFAIRS,	208
XX.	RECONSTRUCTION . . . . .	218
XXI.	GENERAL GRANT IS ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES . . . . .	229
XXII.	GENERAL GRANT'S TOUR AROUND THE WORLD . . . . .	243
XXIII.	TOUR AROUND THE WORLD ( <i>continued</i> ) . .	261
XXIV.	THE WELCOME HOME . . . . .	272
XXV.	LAST DAYS OF GENERAL GRANT . . . .	288
XXVI.	LAST HONORS TO GENERAL GRANT . . .	307
XXVII.	TRIBUTES TO GENERAL GRANT, ANECDOTES, AND VARIOUS REMINISCENCES . . . .	318

LIFE OF  
ULYSSES SIMPSON GRANT.



# GENERAL ULYSSES S. GRANT.

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## CHAPTER I.

### EARLY DAYS.

**H**IRAM ULYSSES GRANT, the eldest of six children, was born at Point Pleasant, Clermont County, Ohio, on the 27th of April, 1822. Point Pleasant is a post village of the county, and is situated upon the Ohio River, about twenty-five miles above Cincinnati. His parents were of Scotch descent, and his great-grandfather, Noah Grant, was a captain in the early French wars. His grandfather, who bore the same name, was a lieutenant in the battle of Lexington. Before their little son was two years old, his parents changed their residence to Georgetown, in Brown County, Ohio, and it was here that young Grant spent the early part of his life. This latter village is about seven miles from the Ohio River, and in the midst of a rich farming district.

Grant was by no means a brilliant lad at school. He was slow in acquiring knowledge, but so patient and persevering that he would never give up

a task until he had mastered it; and whatever was once impressed on his mind was never forgotten.

At one time, when he was quite a little fellow, he had an unusually difficult lesson to learn. "You can't master that task," remarked one of his school-mates.

"Can't!" returned Grant, "what does that mean?"

"Well, it means just that you *can't*."

Grant had really never heard the word before, and began to hunt it up in his old dictionary. At last he came to his teacher and asked,—

"What is the meaning of 'can't'? The word is not in the dictionary."

The teacher explained its origin, and how it came to be corrupted by abbreviation, and then, to impress an important truth upon the minds of his young pupils, he added,—

"If, in the struggles through life, any person should assert that 'you can't' do anything that you had set your mind upon accomplishing, let your reply be, if the work be a good and lawful one, 'The word "can't" is not in the dictionary.'"

Grant never forgot the incident. He not only conquered his studies, but, in after years, he often replied to those who declared he would fail in attaining his object, that "the word 'can't' is not to be found in any dictionary."





GEN. GRANT'S BIRTHPLACE.



When he was about twelve years old, his father sent him to buy a horse of a farmer named Ralston, who lived some distance in the country. Before starting, the boy was given his errand as follows:—

“Now, remember, Ulysses, when you see Mr. Ralston, tell him I have sent you to buy his horse, and offer him fifty dollars for it. If he will not take that, offer him fifty-five dollars, and, rather than you should come away without the horse, you had better give him sixty dollars.”

Ulysses carefully repeated the instructions, and his father felt assured that he would carry them out with his usual faithfulness and discretion.

The boy, however, was a little thrown off his balance by Mr. Ralston's direct question,—

“Well, Ulysses, how much did your father tell you to give for him?”

Remembering his mother's oft-repeated injunction to tell the truth at all times, he replied,—

“Why, father told me to offer you fifty dollars at first, and, if that would not do, to give you fifty-five dollars; and, rather than come away without the horse, I was to pay sixty dollars.”

It is needless to say that Ralston refused to sell the horse for less than sixty dollars.

“I am sorry for that,” returned Grant; “for, on looking at the horse, I have determined not to give more than fifty dollars for it, although father

said I might give sixty. You may take fifty, if you like, or you may keep the horse."

We are glad to say that Ulysses rode the horse home.

A brother of Grant's father had settled in Canada, and, while there, had become impressed with the strong British antipathy towards the United States Government. His son, John, however, he sent to the same school where young Ulysses was studying, in order that he might be able to gain a better education than he could at that time obtain in Canada.

Of course, John had been brought up with the same feelings as his father, and he did not hesitate to speak in a disparaging manner about American affairs, especially when it redounded to the praise of the "mother-country."

One day, after a long debate on the two forms of government, the love of country, etc., John exclaimed, —

"You may say as much as you like, Ulysses, about Washington, but he was nothing better than a rebel. He fought against his king."

"Now, Jack," returned Grant quickly, "you must stop talking like that, or I'll give you a thrashing. Mother says I must not fight, but must forgive my enemies. You may abuse me as much as you please; but if you abuse Washington, I'll just take off my coat and thrash you, though you

were ten times my cousin, and then mother may whip me afterwards as much as she likes."

Jack, however, was not inclined to retract his words, and the two boys at last came to hard blows.

Ulysses got the best of it, but came home with some suspicious marks upon his face.

"So, young man," exclaimed his mother, "you have been fighting, notwithstanding all I have said to you about it!"

Ulysses, with his usual straightforwardness, told the whole story, but his mother still felt that he ought to be punished for disobeying her. The father, however, appreciating the boy's spirit, interfered.

"I tell thee what it is, wife," he remarked, "the boy does not deserve to be punished. He has only stood up for his country, and he that, as a boy, will stand up and fight in defence of the honor and integrity of the name of Washington, will rise, if God spares his life, to be a man, and a Christian too."

Years after, when the two cousins met in Canada, Jack, then a fine-looking man, exclaimed, —

"I say, U. S., do you remember the thrashing you gave me at school for calling Washington a rebel?"

"Yes," replied Grant with a laugh, "and I would do it again under the same circumstances."

The school where Ulysses and his cousin studied

together was of a very ordinary stamp; but when Grant was fifteen, he was sent to the seminary of Maysville, in Kentucky. His teacher here, Mr. N. W. Richeson, declares that he ranked well in all his studies, and that his deportment was exceptionally good. Several years after leaving the seminary, Grant called upon his former teacher, remarking that he could n't think of passing Maysville without seeing him.

## CHAPTER II.

## LIFE AT WEST POINT.

YOUNG GRANT'S father, having a strong desire that his son should become a soldier, obtained for him admission into the United States Military Academy at West Point, in 1839, through the influence of the late General Thomas L. Hamer, at that time a member of Congress from his native State of Ohio. The name of the young cadet was entered upon the books as Ulysses S. Grant. This mistake probably arose from the fact of his having a younger brother by the name of Simpson, which was also his mother's name before her marriage. His schoolmates at West Point, reading the initials U. S., immediately nicknamed him "Uncle Sam," a cognomen he never lost among his army friends. After several ineffectual attempts to have the mistake rectified, Grant finally kept the new name, and it is as "Ulysses S." — not "Hiram U." — that the world has known him.

The young cadet made praiseworthy progress in his studies, especially mathematics. He was now seventeen years of age, and had passed a favorable

examination, both physical and mental, in the requirements necessary to his training as a soldier. The studies of the fourth class, into which he was admitted, consisted largely of mathematics, but also included etymological and rhetorical exercises, composition, declamation, geography, French, and the use of small arms.

Part of the summer months the cadets are obliged to live in tents, as if on a field; and, as a private of the battalion, young Grant had to submit to all the inconveniences that privates in camp have to suffer.

The next year, 1840, he was promoted to the third class, where he ranked as corporal in the cadet battalion; and his studies consisted of higher mathematics, French, drawing, and the duties of a cavalry soldier. This last study gave him practical instruction for sixteen weeks in horsemanship.

In the second class, which he entered in 1841, he took the rank of sergeant of cadets, and his studies became more and more difficult. He made steady progress, however, in the studies of natural and experimental philosophy, chemistry and drawing, and passed out of this class with much credit.

The next year, as a member of the senior class, he ranked as a commissioned officer of cadets, and was first put into the position where he could learn how to command a section, troop, or company. While holding this position, a trying one for all



cadets, Grant showed the real nobility of his nature. He was no spy upon the actions of those who, for the time being, were his subordinates, nor did he act the part of a petty tyrant. Out of camp he never assumed authority, — was nothing more than a fellow-cadet; but in the camp he always commanded the respect which was due to his position. During this last year at West Point he was engaged in the studies of civil and military engineering, both theoretical and practical, ethics, constitutional, international, and military law. He also perfected himself in horsemanship, and soon gained the reputation of being one of the best riders in the academy. Instruction was likewise received this last year in ordnance, gunnery, and cavalry tactics. Grant graduated from West Point on the 30th of June, 1843, in a class of thirty-eight, — his own standing being number twenty-one, among the "middle" men of his class.

A characteristic anecdote is told of Grant while in his freshman year at West Point. A number of practical jokes had been played upon him, all of which he had endured with great patience and no show of resentment. But at length he grew tired of this persistent bullying, and one day when the cadets were beginning to play some of their old tricks upon him, in one of their mock parades, Grant stepped out of the ranks, threw off his jacket, and said, —

•

"Now, captain, drop your rank for a few minutes and stand up fair and square, and we'll soon see who is the best man."

The challenge was accepted by the captain, who was soon soundly whipped.

"It is now your turn, lieutenant," said Grant, "to revenge the captain, if you can."

He accepted, and received the same fate as his predecessor.

"Who is next?" called out Grant. "I want peace, and I am willing to fight all the company, one by one, to gain that peace. I have no ill will against any one; but I must and will have peace in the future."

Cheer upon cheer followed this demonstration of pluck, and then all the parties came forward and gave Grant a hearty hand-shake.

"You'll do," said the captain, still aching from his late thrashing.

"We won't bother you any more," echoed the whole company, as Grant put on his coat and took his place in the ranks.

This little episode in his life at West Point gave him the sobriquet of "Company Grant," which clung to him for years after.

Among Grant's classmates at West Point was William Benjamin Franklin, who graduated number one, and afterward entered the Topographical Engineer Corps. At the beginning of the civil

war he held the rank of general, and commanded the Nineteenth Army Corps in the Department of the Gulf, under General Banks.

Then there was William F. Reynolds, who graduated fifth in the class, entered the infantry service, and was appointed an aid on the staff of General Fremont, commanding the Mountain Department; Isaac F. Quimby, who entered the artillery service, was professor for a time at West Point, and, when the war broke out, went to the field at the head of a regiment of New York volunteers, and was afterwards made a brigadier-general in the Army of the Potomac; Roswell S. Ripley, who wrote a history of the war with Mexico; John P. Johnstone, the brave artillery lieutenant who lost his life at Contreras, Mexico; Joseph Jones Reynold, who served on the staff of the general commanding the Army of the Cumberland, until Grant assumed command of the united departments of Ohio, Tennessee, and Cumberland; Lieutenant George Stevens, who was drowned in the passage of the Rio Grande; and the gallant General Frederick Steele, who took part in the Vicksburg and Mississippi campaigns as division and corps commander under General Grant, and afterwards commanded the army of Arkansas.

A number of Grant's classmates were dropped from the rolls of the United States army, and entered the rebel service, at the breaking-out of the

civil war; some of them resigned their positions, and retired to private life; and not a few lost their lives in the Mexican war, as we have already stated, among whom Lieutenant Theodore L. Chadbourne deserves especial mention. This latter officer was killed in the battle of Resaca de la Palma, May 9, 1846, after distinguishing himself for his bravery at the head of his command.

Lieutenant Booker died while in service at San Antonio, Tex.; Lieutenant Lewis Neill died at Fort Croghan; Lieutenant Robert Hazlitt lost his life at the storming of Monterey; Lieutenant Edwin Howe died at Fort Leavenworth; and Lieutenant Charles E. James, at Sonoma, Cal.

## CHAPTER III.

## BEGINNING OF ARMY LIFE. MEXICAN WAR.

UPON his graduation, Grant at once entered the United States Regular Army as a brevet second lieutenant of the Fourth Infantry. This company was then stationed on the frontier in Missouri and Missouri Territory, which was at that time an almost untrodden wilderness to the white man, and infested by hostile tribes of Indians.

Young Grant, while in this part of the West, was of great assistance to his military companions, not only in protecting the early settlers along the banks of the great rivers, but in engineering the opening of the country.

He had not been many months in the service, however, before he was ordered with his regiment into Texas, to join General Taylor, who had been appointed to the command of the United States troops in that republic. This was in the year 1845. An imaginary line of boundary between Mexico and the United States lay in the territory of what is now known as the State of Texas. This line was a constant source of dispute between the two coun-

tries ; and, after a series of petty struggles, General Taylor learned that a large force of Mexicans were marching northward with the intention of crossing the Rio Grande into Texas, and driving the Americans from that part of the territory.

Fort Brown, on the Texas shore of the Rio Grande, was the first military post besieged by the Mexicans, and, to relieve the brave American garrison stationed there, General Taylor at once proceeded thither with his troops. This was the first battle-ground of Lieutenant Grant, who took a gallant part in the struggle of Palo Alto, on the 8th of May, 1846.

Corpus Christi, an important port on the Texas shore, had been taken possession of by the Americans as a base of operations, and it was here that Grant was stationed when he received his commission as full second lieutenant of infantry.

This occurred on the 30th day of September, 1845, and was made out for a vacancy in the Seventh Regiment of United States Regular Infantry. Grant had, however, become so attached to the members of the Fourth Regiment, that a request was forwarded to Washington to allow him to be retained with that division ; and in the month of November following, he received a commission which appointed him a full second lieutenant in the Fourth Regiment of United States Regular Infantry.

On the 9th day of May, 1846, the battle of Resaca de la Palma was fought, and Fort Brown was relieved of the besieging Mexicans, who now rushed across the Rio Grande in full retreat.

Young Lieutenant Grant not only distinguished himself in these first contests, but accompanied General Taylor in his brilliant exploits up the Rio Grande and into the Mexican territory at New Leon, over a hundred miles from the mouth of the river.

The storming of Monterey occurred on the 23d of September, 1846, and Grant took part in this daring engagement. The post was very strongly fortified, but General Taylor was determined to drive the Mexicans out of their intrenchments, and finally succeeded.

War had now been regularly declared by Congress, and a systematic plan of attack laid out. The grand movement by way of Vera Cruz threw the northern route into a secondary rank; and the army and navy both, were now to be brought into active use.

After General Scott had accomplished a landing, just above Vera Cruz, a part of the troops on the Rio Grande were ordered down that river to unite their forces with his. Among these companies was the Fourth Infantry; and Lieutenant Grant, accompanying his regiment, was now transferred from General Taylor's command to that under

Winfield Scott. He was therefore a participant in the obstinate siege which finally resulted in the surrender of Vera Cruz, on the 29th of March, 1847.

During the early part of the following month, when the army was preparing to advance into the centre of the Mexican country, Grant was appointed quartermaster of his regiment, — a post of honor, and of great importance to an army in a strange country. His commanding officers had at last perceived that Lieutenant Grant possessed more than ordinary abilities, and this position of quartermaster he held during the remainder of the Mexican campaign.

At the battle of Molino del Rey, on the 8th of September, 1847, Grant showed such remarkable bravery, that he was appointed on the field a first lieutenant, to date from the day of that battle. Congress afterwards offered to confirm the appointment as a mere brevet, but Grant refused to accept it under such circumstances.

On the 13th day of September, 1847, occurred the battle of Chapultepec, in which Lieutenant Grant behaved with the most distinguished gallantry.

In the report of Captain Horace Brooks, Second Artillery, of the battle of Chapultepec, he says, —

“I succeeded in reaching the fort with a few men. Here Lieutenant U. S. Grant, and a few



more men of the Fourth Infantry, found me, and by a joint movement, after an obstinate resistance, a strong field-work was carried, and the enemy's right was completely turned."

Major Francis Lee, commanding the Fourth Infantry at the battle of Chapultepec, says, —

"At the first barrier the enemy was in strong force, which rendered it necessary to advance with caution. This was done, and, when the head of the battalion was within short muske-trange of the barrier, Lieutenant Grant, Fourth Infantry, and Captain Brooks, Second Artillery, with a few men of their respective regiments, by a handsome movement to the left, turned the right flank of the enemy, and the barrier was carried. . . . Second Lieutenant Grant behaved with distinguished gallantry on the 13th and 14th."

The report of Brevet Colonel John Garland, commanding the First Brigade, says of the battle of Chapultepec, —

"The rear of the enemy had made a stand behind a breastwork, from which they were driven by detachments of the Second Artillery under Captain Brooks, and the Fourth Infantry under Lieutenant Grant, supported by other regiments of the division, after a short but sharp conflict. . . . I recognized the command as it came up, mounted a howitzer on the top of a convent, which, under the direction of Lieutenant Grant,

quartermaster of the Fourth Infantry, and Lieutenant Lendrum, Third Artillery, annoyed the enemy considerably. . . . I must not omit to call attention to Lieutenant Grant, Fourth Infantry, who acquitted himself most nobly upon several occasions under my own observation."

General Worth's report, also, of Sept. 16, speaks very highly of the bravery of Lieutenant Grant.

For his gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle of Chapultepec, Lieutenant Grant received the brevet of captain of the regular army, — his rank to date from Sept. 13, 1847, the day of the battle.

The brevet was awarded to him in 1849; the nomination sent to Congress during the session of 1849-50, and confirmed during the next session.

On the 16th day of September, 1847, the gallant second lieutenant was appointed a first lieutenant in the Fourth Regiment of regular infantry, — still holding his brevet rank of captain, dated three days previous.

## CHAPTER IV.

## GRANT AS A PRIVATE CITIZEN.

AT the close of the Mexican war, Grant came home with his regiment, the Fourth Regular Infantry, and disembarked at New York. The troops were divided into different companies, and scattered along the various frontier defences along the borders of Michigan and the State of New York.

In 1850-51 the gold-fever in California had attracted to that region a heterogeneous population, among whom were many desperadoes who set at naught all moral and civil laws. To check their infamous doings, and also to restrain the Indians from murderous assaults upon peaceful and law-abiding citizens, the government ordered troops to that part of the country. Among these military companies, the battalion to which Lieutenant Grant was attached was sent to Fort Dallas in Oregon.

It was while engaged in duty at this post that Grant received his full promotion to captain of infantry, — his commission dating from August, 1853.

The country was now at peace ; and Grant, thinking that he could make more progress in civil than in military life, resigned his connection with the United States army on the 31st day of July, 1854.

In 1848 he had married Julia T. Dent, the eldest daughter of Frederick Dent, a merchant of St. Louis ; and, after resigning his commission in the army, he purchased a small farm at Gravois, a few miles from St. Louis.

Here he was in the habit of cutting the superfluous wood upon his little clearing, drawing it himself to Carondelet, and selling it in the market there.

"Many of his purchasers," writes one who knew him well at this period of his life, "like to call to mind that they had a cord of wood delivered in person by the great General Grant.

"When he came into the wood-market he was usually dressed in an old felt hat, with a blouse coat, and his trousers tucked into the tops of his boots. In truth, he bore the appearance of a sturdy, honest woodman.

"This was his winter's work. In the summer he turned a collector of debts ; but for this he was not qualified. He had a noble and truthful soul : so, when he was told that the debtor had no money, he believed him, and would not trouble the debtor again. This circumstance was mentioned by one of the leading merchants of St. Louis.

"Honest, truthful, and indefatigable, he was always at work upon something; but he did not seem to possess the knack of making money. He was honorable, for he always repaid borrowed money; and his habits of life were hardy, inexpensive, and simple."

During the year 1859, Grant entered into partnership with his father in the leather trade. Their business was located in the city of Galena, Jo Daviess County, Ill., and it was here that Grant now removed his family. This pleasant city is built upon a bluff on the Fevre River, about six miles above the point where it empties into the Mississippi. The streets rise one above the other, often communicating by flights of steps, and it was at the top of one of these picturesque hills that the unpretentious home of Grant was situated. He was now about thirty-nine years of age; and of his four children, the eldest was eleven years old. Galena, being a sort of business centre to the States of Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota, is a place of considerable importance; and this leather-house of Grant & Son soon promised to be a decidedly prosperous concern.

When Grant was at Vicksburg, some fiery politicians from Illinois tried to draw him into a discussion relative to the state of the various political parties of the country. Grant, however, with his usual reticence, refused to express his views. One

of the party thereupon began to use all his persuasive powers to inveigle the general into some expression of his opinions.

The patience of the latter was exasperated, and he suddenly exclaimed, —

“There is no use talking politics to me. I know nothing about them; and, furthermore, I do not know of any person among my acquaintances who does. But,” he continued, “there is one subject with which I am perfectly acquainted: talk of that, and I am your man.”

“Why, what is that?” exclaimed the astonished politician.

“Tanning leather,” was the quiet reply.

It is needless to say that Grant was not troubled with further political discussions by his Illinois friends.

## CHAPTER V.

## OPENING OF THE CIVIL WAR.

WHEN the startling news from Fort Sumter came, on the 13th of April, 1861, Grant, a private citizen, was still living with his family in Galena, Ill. In response to the President's call for troops, two days later, he wrote a letter to the adjutant-general of the army, in which he offered his services to the government in whatever capacity he could be of use. He had already organized and drilled a company of volunteers at Galena, and marched with them to Springfield, the capital of the State. To his letter he received no reply : but about a month after, the governor, Hon. Richard Yates, offered him the Twenty-first Regiment of Illinois. Grant took command of his regiment in June, and marched immediately to Missouri. Here he reported to Brigadier-General Pope, by whom he was stationed at Mexico, some fifty miles north of the Missouri River. Two months later he was commissioned by the President, brigadier-general of volunteers, to date from May 17. This was a genuine surprise to him. His promotion had been

unanimously recommended by the members of Congress from Illinois, although not one of them had any personal acquaintance with him, and his first knowledge of the fact came to him from the newspapers of the day.

It will be remembered that during the civil war the country was divided by the government into military departments, the boundaries of which were repeatedly changed. At this time the State of Illinois, and the States and Territories west of the Mississippi River, and east of the Rocky Mountains, constituted the western department, of which Major-General Fremont was in command. Early in August, Grant was transferred by Fremont to Ironton, Mo., and a fortnight afterwards to Jefferson City, in the same State. The following month, by direction of Fremont, he took command of the district of Southeast Missouri, and made his headquarters at Cairo, at the mouth of the Ohio. This was a most important district, as it included the junction of the four great rivers,—Tennessee, Cumberland, Ohio, and Mississippi.

The first achievement of General Grant was the seizure of Paducah, at the mouth of the Tennessee. The Governor of Kentucky was endeavoring to keep the State in a position of armed neutrality. General Polk, however, who commanded the rebels in that quarter, violated this neutrality by seizing



Columbus and Hickman on the Mississippi, and threatening Paducah, within three days after Grant assumed his new command. All these places were of military importance, especially Paducah, which completely commands the navigation of both the Tennessee and Ohio rivers.

Fremont had already ordered a movement in Missouri under the superintendence of Grant, and also the construction of Fort Holt on the Kentucky shore; but, when Grant heard of the advance of Polk, he at once notified his commanding officer and the Kentucky legislature at Frankfort, telegraphing Fremont at St. Louis: "I am getting ready to go to Paducah. Will start at six and a half o'clock." Later in the day he wrote: "I am now nearly ready for Paducah, should not telegraph arrive, preventing the movement."

As no reply came, Grant started that night about half past ten o'clock, taking with him two regiments, a light battery, and two gunboats. At Mound City he was delayed by an accident to one of his transports, but reached Paducah at half past eight on the following morning. While he was getting ashore, Brigadier-General Tilghman and his staff, of the rebel army, with a company of recruits, were hurrying out of the town by railroad: so Paducah was seized without a gun being fired. Grant's prompt movement had so intimidated the rebels, that he had now full control of the Ohio

River; and the State legislature, although it rebuked General Grant for writing to that august body, at once passed resolutions favorable to the Union, and no more was heard of the neutrality of Kentucky. After leaving a sufficient garrison to hold the town, Grant returned to Cairo, where he received Fremont's permission to take Paducah, "if he felt strong enough."

For the following two months Grant was stationed at the junction of the great rivers, and allowed by his commanding officer to make no movement of any importance. Several times he suggested the possibility of capturing Columbus, an important position on the east bank of the Mississippi, some twenty miles below Cairo, and once wrote to Fremont: "If it was discretionary with me, with a little addition to my present force, I would take Columbus."

No notice, however, was taken of this letter. Just opposite Columbus, on the west bank, was Belmont, a small post fortified only by a sort of *abatis*. The rebels were constantly exchanging troops between these two posts, hindering the navigation of the river, and making this point one of their strongest works on the Mississippi.

A number of weeks after Grant's proposition, during which time the rebels had become greatly strengthened at Columbus, a command was given by Fremont to make a demonstration towards this

post. By so doing, the Confederate troops would be drawn off from Price, whom Fremont himself was confronting.

On the evening of the 6th of November, Grant started down the river with three thousand one hundred and fourteen men on transports, and under convoy of two gunboats. After proceeding about nine miles, he made a feint of landing on the Kentucky shore; and, receiving intelligence about day-break that the rebels had been crossing troops from Columbus to Belmont, he saw that prompt action was now necessary to prevent any further effort of the Confederates to re-enforce Price, or to interrupt the progress of Oglesby. It would not do to remain at Belmont, which is on low ground, and directly under the guns at Columbus. Grant's plan was just to destroy the camps, take the enemy captives or disperse them, and then hurry away before the garrison could be re-enforced by the rebels. Early that morning, therefore, the troops debarked at Hunter's Point on the Missouri side, and marched directly towards Belmont. The country around this post is partially wooded, and in many places swampy, which difficulties were quickly taken advantage of by the rebels. Grant ordered his whole force forward as skirmishers, except one battalion, which was held in reserve near the landing, as a guard to the transports. For nearly four hours there was heavy fighting. Grant

had his own horse shot under him, and McClelland lost three. The bravery of the officers stimulated the raw recruits, some of whom had been in the service only a couple of days; and they fought with such vigor that the rebels were driven, foot by foot, to the bank of the river, where several hundred were taken prisoners. Grant's men then charged through the *abatis*, captured all the artillery and broke up the rebel camp. Elated, however, by their success, they became disorganized, and, instead of pursuing the enemy, began to plunder, and behave like so many school-boys. Grant had already desecrated the rebel transports carrying crowds of troops over from Columbus, and was anxious to get back to his own steamers before the arrival of these re-enforcements. Meanwhile the defeated rebels had re-organized with three fresh regiments, and now barred the way to the river.

"We are surrounded!" was the sudden cry of the stupid recruits.

"Well," said Grant, "if that is so, we must cut our way out as we cut our way in."

The men did not lack bravery, but seemed to think, that, being surrounded, there was nothing to do but surrender.

"We have whipped them once, and I think we can do it again," added Grant, as he led his troops forward. After a feeble resistance, the rebel line dispersed a second time, and fled behind the banks.

Grant now saw the importance of getting his forces on board the transports, and sent a detachment to gather up the wounded. Owing to the inexperience of his officers, he had to superintend the execution of his own orders, and at one time found himself completely outside of his own troops. The rebel line was in a corn-field not fifty yards distant when Grant rode up to save the parties who were still out in search of the wounded. Fortunately he wore a private's overcoat, as it was a damp, chilly morning, and he was not recognized. The following day Grant met, under a flag of truce, an old West Point comrade who had become a rebel. He mentioned having ridden out near the rebel line the day before.

"Why! was that you?" exclaimed the officer. "We saw you, and General Polk called to some of his troops, 'There, men, is a Yankee, if you want to try your aim;' but everyone then was intent on hitting the transports."

The battle of Belmont was of course regarded by the enemy as a rebel victory, yet by their own accounts they had twice as many troops as Grant, and lost a third more.

It has often been said by many who appreciated the military genius of Grant, as shown in subsequent battles, that he ought to be forgiven for the disaster at Belmont; but even here he accomplished more than he was sent to do, and the in-

fluence of the fight upon his undisciplined troops was in every way most beneficial. They acquired in that one battle courage, confidence, and discretion, and the "Belmont men" were known long afterwards as among the bravest soldiers in the Tennessee army.

## CHAPTER VI.

## THE CAPTURE OF FORTS HENRY AND DONELSON.

TWO days after the battle of Belmont, Fremont was superseded by Major-General Henry W. Halleck, who took command of the new department of the Missouri, including Arkansas and that part of Kentucky which lies west of the Cumberland. Grant was confirmed in the command to which he had been assigned by Fremont, but its designation was changed to the district of Cairo, and included Paducah. For the subsequent two months, Grant was employed in organizing and disciplining his troops, although the battle of Belmont had confirmed him in the belief, that, when neither party is well disciplined, there is nothing to be gained by delay.

Early in January, 1862, he received orders to move a force of six thousand men, under McClelland, towards Mayfield and Murray, in West Kentucky, and two brigades from Paducah, under C. F. Smith, to threaten Columbus and the rebel line between that place and Bowling Green.

“The object,” said Halleck, “is to prevent re-

enforcements being sent to Buckner," who was then in command near Bowling Green.

This expedition occupied more than a week ; and, although there was no fighting, the troops suffered not a little from cold, and exposure to a fearful storm of rain and snow. The object of the demonstration, however, was accomplished, and Smith on his return reported the feasibility of the capture of Fort Henry. After several ineffectual attempts to broach the subject with Halleck, Grant telegraphed to St. Louis as follows : —

"With permission, I will take and hold Fort Henry on the Tennessee, and establish and hold a large camp there ;" and on the following day he wrote, —

"In view of the large force now concentrating in this district, and the present feasibility of the plan, I would respectfully suggest the propriety of subduing Fort Henry, near the Kentucky and Tennessee line, and holding the position. If this is not done soon, there is but little doubt that the defences on both the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers will be materially strengthened. From Fort Henry, it will be easy to operate either on the Cumberland (only twelve miles distant), Memphis, or Columbus. It will, besides, have a moral effect upon our troops to advance thence towards the rebel States. The advantages of this move are as perceptible to the general commanding as to my



self: therefore further statements are unnecessary."

On the same day, Commodore Foote, commanding the naval force in this quarter, wrote to Halleck, — "General Grant and myself are of opinion that Fort Henry, on the Tennessee River, can be carried with four ironclad gunboats and troops to permanently occupy. Have we your authority to move for that purpose when ready?"

Halleck gave the desired permission, and, on the 2d of February, Grant started from Cairo with seventeen thousand men on transports. Foote, with seven gunboats, accompanied him; and the debarkation began on the 4th, at Bailey's Ferry, which is on the east bank, three miles below Fort Henry.

Fortifications had been erected by the rebels upon both sides of the river, and the garrison consisted of two thousand seven hundred and thirty-four men, under the command of Brigadier-General Tilghman. On the eastern bank was a strong field-work with bastioned front, defended by seventeen heavy guns; on the land front was an intrenched camp, and outside of this a long line of rifle-pits. The Confederates well knew the importance of Fort Henry on the Tennessee, and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland. Together, they completely barred the navigation of the rivers, and covered the great railroad line of commu-

nication from east to west through the border States. Their possession, in fact, determined the fate of Kentucky and Tennessee.

As soon as the rebels perceived the meaning of Grant's movements, they made immediate preparations to resist him. The overflow of the Tennessee River at this time greatly impeded the movements of both the rebel and the national forces, and Grant was unable to get all his troops ashore until late in the evening of the following day.

A little before noon, on the 6th of February, the gunboats attacked the water batteries at a distance of six hundred yards.

For an hour and a half the storming of the fort was carried on with vigor, no vessel receiving serious damage but the "Essex." At the end of that time every gun was silenced by the naval force, and the fort surrendered at discretion. Tilghman was taken prisoner with his staff, and the sixty men who had been retained to work the guns. The remainder of the garrison had been sent on to Fort Donelson.

Grant at once telegraphed to Halleck, —

"Fort Henry is ours. The gunboats silenced the batteries before the investment was completed. . . . I shall take and destroy Fort Donelson on the 8th, and return to Fort Henry."

The heavy rains, however, and the inundation of the Tennessee, delayed him for a number of days.

"At present," he wrote, "we are perfectly locked in. The banks are higher at the water's edge than farther back, leaving a wide margin of low land to bridge over, before anything can be done inland." On the 8th, he wrote, —

"I contemplated taking Fort Donelson to-day with infantry and cavalry alone; but all my troops may be kept busily engaged in saving what we now have from the rapidly rising water."

General Halleck's orders at this time were wholly of a defensive character. His chief thought was to strengthen Fort Henry; but while he was writing about picks and shovels, Grant, tired of waiting for re-enforcements, wrote to Commodore Foote, —

"I have been waiting very patiently for the return of the gunboats under Commodore Phelps to go around on the Cumberland, whilst I marched my land forces across, to make a simultaneous attack upon Fort Donelson. I feel that there should be no delay in this matter, and yet I do not feel justified in going without some of your gunboats to co-operate. Can you not send two boats from Cairo immediately up the Cumberland?"

"Start as soon as you like," was the reply. "I will be ready to co-operate at any moment."

On the 11th, Foote started with his fleet by the Ohio and Cumberland rivers, and on the same day troops under McClelland moved out a few miles

on the two roads leading to Fort Donelson. Early on the following morning the main column of Grant's men, numbering fifteen thousand, marched from Fort Henry, leaving a garrison there of twenty-five hundred men. The forward brigade was ordered to move by the telegraph road, halting about two miles from the fort, to receive further directions; the other brigades were to move by the Dover road, halting at the same distance, and forming a continuous line with the other wing.

Fort Donelson, which was only twelve miles from Fort Henry, was at that time one of the strongest works held by the Confederates. It was situated on a series of hills, some of which rose abruptly to the height of a hundred feet, and every advantage had been taken of its rugged and inaccessible character. The main fort was about three quarters of a mile from the breastworks, covered a hundred acres of ground, and was defended by fifteen heavy guns and two cannonades. On the hillsides towards the Cumberland, water batteries had been sunk to control the navigation of the river, and the whole amount of rebel artillery was sixty-five pieces. The garrison numbered about twenty-one thousand men.

Soon after mid-day, on the 12th, Grant's men appeared in front of the rebel lines. General Smith had command of the left wing, and McClelland the right, of the national troops. The fol-

lowing day was spent in reconnoitring the ground, waiting for re-enforcements and the arrival of gunboats. That night the thermometer fell to ten degrees below zero, and towards morning the sufferings of the shelterless troops was increased by a severe storm of snow and hail. Many of the soldiers on both sides were frozen to death.

On Friday, the 14th, Commodore Foote arrived with his gunboats; and on the afternoon of that day the ironclads attacked the fort, at a distance of about four hundred yards. As the rebel batteries were elevated some thirty feet above the river, and secured by traverses against an enfilading fire, this attempt to attack them in front was as dangerous as it was difficult. After a hot engagement of an hour and a half, Foote was obliged to withdraw, having received a severe wound himself, and lost some fifty men in killed and wounded. The gunboats, also, were so disabled as to unfit them for any further active service.

About two o'clock the next morning, the commodore sent for Grant, as he was unable himself to come ashore, and reported to him the enfeebled condition of his fleet. While this conference was taking place on board the flag-ship, a large detachment of the rebels came out of their fortifications and made a fierce assault upon McClelland's division. General Lewis Wallace came up to the support from the centre, and a vigorous battle was

fought upon both sides. The Federal troops were becoming greatly disordered when Grant appeared upon the scene of action. Like all raw recruits, they imagined the enemy to be coming down upon them in overpowering numbers, and thought they meant to continue the assault for several days.

"Are their haversacks filled?" was Grant's first inquiry.

Some of the prisoners were examined, and three days' rations found in their haversacks.

"That means that they mean to cut their way out; they have no idea of staying here to fight us," said Grant; then, looking at the panic-stricken men, he added: "whichever party first attacks now, will whip, and the rebels will have to be very quick, if they beat me."

The real object of the Confederates, as afterward seen from their reports, was, as Grant surmised, to destroy the right wing of the national line, rolling it back on the left, and thus opening a way for themselves to Nashville.

Spurring his horse, Grant hurried to the left wing of his army and ordered an immediate assault. At the same time he sent a request to Commodore Foote to have all the gunboats make their appearance to the enemy.

"A terrible conflict," he wrote, "ensued in my absence, which has demoralized a portion of my command, and I think the enemy is much more so.

the gunboats do not appear, it will reassure the army, and still further demoralize our troops. I must order a charge to save appearances. I do not expect the gunboats to go into action."

Foote at once sent up the river two of the fleet that threw a few guns at long range. Smith, who commanded the left wing, was supported by McClelland and Wallace, although the troops of these two officers had already been hotly engaged in the early part of the day. A spirited contest ensued, and the rebels were soon driven inside the fort. Darkness came down upon them before the battle was decided, but inside the fort a strange conference was taking place. The rebel commander, Floyd, had called together his chief officers, not only to propose the surrender of the post, but also to consult them about the propriety of escaping, himself, by flight. Buckner, who acknowledged the necessity of a surrender, added that the desertion of his troops was a question that each man must decide for himself. Pillow, however, declared his determination to follow the example of Floyd, saying that "there were no two men in the confederacy the Yankees would rather capture than themselves."

So, for "personal reasons that controlled them," Floyd transferred the command to Pillow, and the latter officer put everything into Buckner's hands, who was a true soldier in every sense of the word,

and resolved to stand by his troops to the last.

While Floyd and Pillow, with all the cavalry, were making their flight under cover of the darkness, Buckner sent a messenger to Grant, proposing an armistice till twelve o'clock, and the appointment of commissioners to settle terms of capitulation.

Grant was all ready to storm the intrenchments when this message came, and the white flag was hoisted on Fort Donelson. His reply was short and to the point:—

“No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works.”

Buckner's answer was as follows:—

“The disposition of forces under my command, incident to an unexpected change of commanders, and the overwhelming force under your command, compel me, notwithstanding the brilliant success of the Confederate arms yesterday, to accept the ungenerous and unchivalrous terms which you propose.”

Grant immediately mounted his horse, and rode to the headquarters of the rebel commander. He and Buckner had been school friends at West Point, and he now assured that officer that he had no desire to humiliate his prisoners. Horses and all public property must be given up; but the officers would be allowed to keep their side arms, and



all personal baggage would remain untouched. As they were talking over the siege together, Buckner remarked, "If I had been in command at the beginning, you would n't have reached Fort Donelson so easily."

"No," replied Grant, "if you had been in command, I should have waited for re-enforcements, and marched from Fort Henry in greater strength; but I knew that Pillow would not come out of his works to fight, and told my staff so, though I believed he would fight behind his works."

By the surrender of Fort Donelson, sixty-five guns, seventeen thousand six hundred small arms and nearly fifteen thousand troops fell into the hands of the Union forces. The rebels in their official reports declared emphatically that it was the last assault from the left wing of Grant's army which turned the scale; and General Cullum, Halleck's chief of staff, wrote to Grant as follows:—

"I received with the highest gratification your reports and letters from Fort Donelson, so gallantly captured under your brilliant leadership. I, in common with the whole country, warmly congratulate you upon this remarkable achievement."

The Secretary of War at once recommended Grant for a major-generaley of volunteers, and the President nominated him the same day. The nomination was immediately confirmed by the Senate; and Grant was assigned the new military

district of West Tennessee, "with limits not defined."

The capture of Fort Donelson was really the first national success of any importance since the beginning of the war. The great rebel line was now penetrated at the centre, and the whole of Kentucky and Tennessee immediately fell into the possession of the national forces. The Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers were open to navigation, Bowling Green was made untenable, Columbus was soon after evacuated, and the Mississippi River from St. Louis to Arkansas was now under the Union flag.

## CHAPTER VII.

## THE BATTLE OF SHILOH.

AS before stated, the limits of Grant's new command had not been defined, and it was for over-stepping the unknown boundaries of this district that Halleck, never over-partial to Grant, now found cause for his public censure. On the 3d of May, Halleck sent to the general-in-chief at Washington the following dispatch:—

“I have had no communication with General Grant for more than a week. He left his command without my authority, and went to Nashville. His army seems to be as much demoralized by the victory of Fort Donelson as was that of the Potomac by the defeat of Bull Run. It is hard to censure a successful general immediately after a victory, but I think he richly deserves it. I can get no returns, no reports, no information of any kind from him. Satisfied with his victory, he sits down and enjoys it, without any regard to the future. I am worn out and tired by this neglect and inefficiency. C. F. Smith is almost the only officer equal to the emergency.”

Next day, having doubtless received authority from Washington, he telegraphed to Grant as follows:—

“You will place Major-general C. F. Smith in command of expedition, and remain yourself at Fort Henry. Why do you not obey my orders to report strength and position of your command?”

Grant replied:—

“Your dispatch of yesterday is just received. Troops will be sent under command of Major-general Smith, as directed. I had prepared a different plan, intending General Smith to command the forces which should go to Paris and Humboldt, while I would command the expedition upon Eastport, Corinth, and Jackson, in person. . . . I am not aware of ever having disobeyed any order from your headquarters—certainly never intended such a thing. I have reported almost daily the condition of my command, and reported every position occupied. . . . In conclusion, I will say that you may rely on my carrying out your instructions in every particular to the best of my ability.”

On the following day, Halleck telegraphed to Grant:—

“General McClellan directs that you report to me daily the number and position of the forces under your command. Your neglect of repeated orders to report the strength of your command has created great dissatisfaction, and seriously interfered with military plans. Your going to Nashville without authority, and when your presence with your troops was of the utmost importance, was a matter of very serious complaint at Washington, so much so that I was advised to arrest you on your return.”

In reply, Grant telegraphed:—

“I did all I could to get you returns of the strength of my command. Every move I made was reported daily to your

chief of staff, who must have failed to keep you properly posted. I have done my very best to obey orders, and to carry out the interests of the service. If my course is not satisfactory, remove me at once. I do not wish in any way to impede the success of our arms. I have averaged writing more than once a day since leaving Cairo, to keep you informed of my position, and it is no fault of mine if you have not received my letters. My going to Nashville was strictly intended for the good of the service, and not to gratify any desire of my own.

“Believing sincerely that I must have enemies between you and myself, who are trying to impair my usefulness, I respectfully ask to be relieved from further duty in the department.”

Another rebuke followed from Halleck to which Grant replied : —

“You had a better chance of knowing my strength whilst my command was surrounding Fort Donelson than I had. Troops were reporting daily by your order, and were immediately assigned to brigades. There were no orders received from you till the 28th of February to make out returns; and I made every effort to get them in as early as possible. I renew my application to be relieved from duty.”

Two days later Grant wrote again to Halleck : —

“There is such a disposition to find fault with me, that I again ask to be relieved from further duty until I can be placed right in the estimation of those higher in authority.”

In reply, Halleck wrote : —

“You cannot be relieved from your command. There is no good reason for it. I am certain that all which the au-

thorities at Washington ask is that you enforce discipline and punish the disorderly. . . Instead of relieving you, I wish you, as soon as your new army is in the field, to assume the immediate command, and lead it on to new victories."

Grant's answer was as follows:—

"After your letter enclosing copy of an anonymous letter, upon which severe censure was based, I felt as though it would be impossible to me to serve longer without a court of inquiry. Your telegram of yesterday, however, places such a different phase upon my position, that I will again assume command, and give every effort to the success of our cause. Under the worst circumstances, I would do the same."

While the hero of Donelson remained in disgrace at Fort Henry, Smith took command of the expedition, and pushed forward the troops as far as Eastport, on the Tennessee. Grant, however, did all in his power to secure the success of this undertaking, and, on transferring his command to Smith, congratulated him heartily on his "richly merited promotion. No one," he added, "can feel more pleasure than myself."

When Smith was informed afterward that Grant had been reinstated, he wrote in the same noble spirit:—

"I want you to know how glad I am that you are to resume your old command, from which you were so unceremoniously, and, as I think, so unjustly, stricken down."

The relations between Grant and Smith were

always of the pleasantest character. At West Point, Smith was commandant when Grant was a cadet. It was therefore difficult for the latter to give the older officer an order; but Smith, observing this, said with his usual tact and delicacy,—

“I am now a subordinate, and I know a soldier’s duty. I hope you will feel no awkwardness about our new relations.”

Smith always proved himself a gallant soldier, but he never recovered from the exposure of those terrible days and nights at Fort Donelson, and died before another summer.

It was on the 13th of March that Grant was relieved from his disgrace; four days after, he removed his headquarters to Savannah, a point about nine miles lower down than Pittsburg Landing, and on the opposite side of the river. From there he wrote to Sherman, at that time commandant of the District of Cairo:—

“I have just arrived, and, although sick for the last two weeks, begin to feel better at the thought of being again with the troops.”

At this time the rebels seemed to be concentrating their forces in the neighborhood of Corinth, and the number of their troops was estimated by Grant as about sixty-five thousand men, or one hundred and sixty-two regiments and battalions.

Early on the morning of the sixth of April, General Johnston, in command of the rebel forces, opened an attack upon the national lines at Shiloh, a short distance from Corinth. The lay of the country just here is thickly wooded, with a few patches of cultivation, and the battlefield reached back from the bluffs at Pittsburg Landing some three miles. It was enclosed by Snake River on the north and Lick Creek on the south, which run at nearly right angles with the Tennessee. These were the right and left defences of the national line; and, as the enemy came from Corinth, the attack was almost wholly in front. The entire number of national troops on the ground at the time of the assault was thirty-three thousand men. Pittsburg Landing is only nine miles from Savannah by the river, and not more than six in an air line. The heavy firing was, therefore, heard immediately by Grant and his staff, who were taking an early breakfast; and an order was instantly dispatched to General Nelson, commanding division in Buell's army, to move all his forces to the river bank opposite Pittsburg. Grant himself boarded, a transport and sent the following note to Buell.

"Heavy firing is heard up the river, indicating plainly that an attack has been made upon our most advanced position. I have been looking for this, but did not believe the attack could be made



before Monday or Tuesday. This necessitates my joining the forces up the river, instead of meeting you to-day as I had contemplated."

On his way up the river, Grant stopped at Crump's Landing and notified General Lewis Wallace in person, then hurried on to the landing at Pittsburg, and entered at once into the thickest of the fight. The rebels had already begun a furious assault; and the engagement soon spread along the whole line. Prentiss' and then Sherman's divisions were driven back. This was owing largely to the fact that nearly all their men were raw recruits, and many came upon the field without cartridges. An unfortunate panic broke out among them, which gave fresh courage to the enemy, and as the re-enforcements from Buell and Wallace were greatly delayed, matters began to look very dark to the Union troops. All day Grant was on the field, exposed to constant fire; and when Buell, on arriving and seeing the situation of affairs, inquired, —

"What preparations have you made for retreating, General?" Grant immediately replied, —

"I have n't despaired of whipping them yet!"

At the siege of Donelson, Grant had learned that when both armies are nearly exhausted, and it seems impossible for either side to continue the conflict, victory is almost sure to follow the one who dares to renew the fight.

Darkness was now settling down over the battle-field at Shiloh; but early the next morning, in spite of a violent rain, Grant was determined to make the next assault. The rebels still fought with tremendous vigor, ground was repeatedly lost and won, but little by little the national forces began to regain their power. Near the close of the day, Grant met the First Ohio Regiment marching toward the northern part of the field, where another regiment was just preparing to retreat. It was a critical moment, for an important position on the field was about to be relinquished to the foe; Grant saw the emergency, and as soon as the men recognized their leader, the retreating troops turned back; and together the two regiments swept the enemy from the hotly-contested spot.

The battle of Shiloh, one of the fiercest of the whole war, west of the Alleghanies, decided almost nothing for either side. The rebels under Beauregard retreated to their old position at Corinth, having lost in killed, wounded, and missing, ten thousand six hundred and ninety-nine men.

The loss on the national side was still greater, numbering in all, twelve thousand two hundred and seventeen. The ground, however, remained in the hands of Grant; and, as the re-enforcements under Buell were now at the front, the national army, after the battle, was in a far better condition than that of the rebels.

Halleck arrived on the 9th, and, taking command of all the national forces, forbade any further advance except behind breastworks. This had a most depressing effect upon the Union troops, and gave to the country an impression that in the battle of Shiloh the whole Army of the Tennessee had been overwhelmed and disgraced. Grant, though still second in command, was quite ignored in all the proceedings of the following two months. Many of the Western politicians tried to induce the President to remove him from his position, believing that the terrible loss of life at Shiloh was attributable to his leadership; and for many weeks the hero of Fort Donelson was forgotten in the unmerited opprobrium. At this period of the war, Grant's abilities as a military leader were greatly underrated. His simplicity and directness, his patient persistency and unwavering calmness were traits too unassuming to attract popular applause. He was regarded as a plain, good man, whose successes thus far during the war had been merely owing to chance, not to military genius. His opinion, therefore, was seldom consulted by his superiors; and oftentimes his subordinates failed to carry out his orders, thinking their own plans would bring about more brilliant triumphs, and justify their conduct. It takes a diamond to test a diamond, and it is interesting just here to note Bismarck's appreciation of the quiet, earnest man:—

“One thing that struck me forcibly was the clear and concise manner in which Grant talked on the various subjects he discussed. I saw at once that he knew his subject thoroughly, or else that he avoided it completely. . . . As a general, he was skilful, bold, cool, and patient; and all the qualities needed by a great commander seem to have been united in him. He never hesitated to sacrifice 10,000 men for the sake of obtaining an important advantage; but he also preferred to retreat than to spill a drop of blood in order to win a fruitless victory. He was always ready to expose himself to the fire of the enemy, and was astonishingly phlegmatic and modest. He was always generous in recommending his rivals for promotion, and exceedingly delicate and sparing of humiliations toward the conquered. . . . I do not think the idea of taking advantage of his position in order to usurp power ever crossed his mind.”

## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE BATTLES OF IUKA AND CORINTH.

ON the 17th of July Halleck superseded McClellan in the command of all the armies. He went immediately to Washington; and Grant was ordered to establish his headquarters at Corinth. This post the rebels had deserted some weeks before, leaving wooden guns and barren defences to deceive the federal army as long as possible. Grant remained at Corinth about eight weeks, watching the enemy commanded by Van Dorn and Price, and strengthening the fortifications of this extensive post. Coming events rendered these works of great importance, although, at the time, the country's attention was concentrated with painful interest upon the campaign further east. All the troops that could be spared were taken from Grant and sent to Buell, as the north was threatened in Maryland and in Ohio at the same time.

At last Van Dorn prepared to move part of his force under Price, evidently planning to re-enforce Bragg in the Kentucky campaign. On the 9th of

September Grant wrote to his chief as follows : "Should the enemy come, I will be as ready as possible with the means at hand. I do not believe that a force can be brought against us at present that cannot be successfully resisted."

Four days later, Price advanced from the south and seized Iuka, twenty-one miles east of Corinth. Grant immediately telegraphed to Halleck : "If I can, I will attack Price before he crosses Bear Creek. If he can be beaten there, it will prevent the design either to go north, or to unite forces and attack here."

Price was already at Iuka, and Van Dorn four days off to the southwest, threatening Corinth ; Grant's object, therefore, was to destroy Price before the two armies could concentrate, and then to get back to Corinth and protect it against Van Dorn.

Brigadier-general Roscerans was at once ordered to attack Iuka from the south, and Major-general Ord with his troops to make the attack from the north. Their combined forces amounted to seventeen thousand men.

On the afternoon of the 19th Roscerans had arrived within two miles of Iuka, when the head of his column was suddenly attacked by the rebels. He managed to keep his ground until dark, and late that night sent the following despatch to Grant : "We have lost two or three pieces of

artillery. Firing was very heavy. You must attack in the morning, and in force. The ground is horrid, unknown to us, and no room for development. Couldn't use our artillery at all; fired but few shots. Push in on to them until we can have time to do something. We will try to get a position on our right which will take Iuka."

This despatch, owing to the state of the roads, was unfortunately delayed, but as soon as received Grant sent word to Ord to attack as soon as possible, saying, "Unless you can create a diversion in Rosecrans' favor, he may find his hands full."

The rebels finding how nearly they were surrounded by Grant's concentrated forces, held Rosecrans in check on one road, and escaped, under cover of darkness, by the other. This defeated Grant's plan of capturing Price's entire force, as by the battle of Iuka the enemy was not seriously crippled, but only checked in the course they intended to pursue. They still continued to annoy Grant from various quarters, and on the 1st of October he telegraphed to Washington, "My position is precarious, but I hope to get out of it all right." By the removal of Price's cavalry to Ripley, it now seemed probable that Corinth was to be the next place of attack. Grant therefore ordered Rosecrans to concentrate his forces, and Brigadier-general McPherson was

sent from Jackson with a brigade of troops hastily called in from other quarters.

The rebel army, consisting of about thirty-eight thousand, appeared in front of Corinth under the command of Van Dorn, Price, Lovell, Villepigue, and Rust. This was on the 2d of October, and on the following day the fighting began in good earnest. Rosecrans had but nineteen thousand men, and pushed out towards Chewalla; he was soon driven back, however, to his defences on the north side of Corinth, and the work bestowed on these fortifications a month before by Grant was now fully appreciated. Until morning the enemy was checked; then, for a short time, the battle wavered; but before noon Rosecrans, commanding his troops in person, finally repulsed them with a loss of only half as many as the rebels in killed and wounded.

Grant, anticipating this victory at Corinth, directed Rosecrans to push on immediately; for he knew that if Ord's little band of troops encountered the whole rebel army in their flight, the danger would be great. Rosecrans, however, ignored these orders; and, as his troops were fatigued by the two days' battle, he gave directions for them to rest awhile before continuing the pursuit. Fresh orders came from Grant, who was greatly annoyed by the delay, and on the next day Rosecrans started out. He made a mistake



in the road, however, and the rebels attacked Ord before he could reach them. They were repulsed by that general and driven six miles up the river, where they crossed the bridge over the Hatchie, just as Rosecrans arrived with his army. It was now too late to pursue the retreating enemy, and although Rosecrans wished to continue the advance, Grant knew it was wiser to recall the troops.

Although the rebel army in this quarter had escaped complete destruction, these two battles at Iuka and Corinth determined the possession of northern Mississippi and West Tennessee, and somewhat retrieved the disasters at the east.

Grant directed the movements in both of these engagements, though in the former he was some eight miles from the field, and in the latter, nearly forty. He received, however, no credit for his wise management, but Rosecrans was immediately made a major-general of volunteers, and ordered to the command of the Army of the Cumberland.

## CHAPTER IX.

## BEGINNING OF THE VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN.

OF all the rebel defences along the Mississippi River, Vicksburg was by far the most important. Jefferson Davis had called it the Gibraltar of America; and nature seemed, indeed, to combine here with art to make the fortifications impregnable. The ground upon which the city stands is supposed by some to have been originally a plateau, four or five miles long, about two miles wide, and two or three hundred feet above the river. Violent storms have gradually washed away this plateau, until it presents a labyrinth of sharp ridges and deep ravines. The soil is so fine that when cut vertically by the action of the water, it will remain in a perpendicular position for years, making the ascent of the bluffs exceedingly difficult. The ridges are thickly wooded at the sides, and the bottoms of the ravines are never level except when the streams of water that formed them have been unusually large. The Mississippi runs a little west of south, just here, and the streams that empty into it from the east run southwest. The

whole line of the rebel fortifications was between seven and eight miles long, exclusive of four miles of rifle-trench and heavy batteries on the water front. These fortifications were detached from one another on prominent ridges, but a continuous line of rifle-pits made a connection between them. The ravines were the only ditches, except in front of the detached works, but no others were needed, for trees were felled in front of the whole line which formed, in many places, impassable entanglements.

Towards the north, the hills are higher and covered with a thicker growth of timber, so that here the rebels had been able to make their line especially strong and difficult of approach. From the Jackson road to the river, on the south, the slopes are more gentle, the ridges lower, and the country under better cultivation; but what was lacking in natural defences was here supplied by still stronger fortifications.

The battles of Iuka and Corinth had occurred in September and October, and on the 25th of the latter month Grant assumed command of the Department of the Tennessee, which included Cairo, Forts Henry and Donelson, northern Mississippi, and that part of Kentucky and Tennessee that lies west of the Tennessee River.

On the following day Grant wrote to Halleck:—

“You never have suggested to me any plan of operations in this department. . . . As situated now, with no more

troops, I can do nothing but defend my positions, and I do not feel at liberty to abandon any of them without first consulting you. . . . With small re-enforcements at Memphis, I think I would be able to move down the Mississippi Central road, and cause the evacuation of Vicksburg."

To do this, Grant proposed the abandonment of Corinth, the destruction of all the railroads leading out from that place, the re-opening of the road from Humboldt to Memphis, and the concentration of the troops from Corinth and Bolivar. "I am ready, however," he added, "to do with all my might whatever you may direct, without criticism."

Receiving no answer, Grant announced to Halleck on the 2d of November: "I have commenced a movement on Grand Junction with three divisions from Corinth and two from Bolivar. Will leave Jackson to-morrow and take command in person. If found practicable, I will go to Holly Springs, and may be Grenada, completing railroad and telegraph as I go."

When Halleck received this intelligence he telegraphed to Grant, "I approve of your plan of advancing upon the enemy as soon as you are strong enough for that purpose;" but he did not authorize him to abandon any of his positions, so Grant was obliged to hold them all. Two days after, he seized La Grange and Grand Junction, and announced, "My moving force will be about thirty thousand men."

Major-general McClelland meanwhile had gone on to Washington, and petitioned the President and Secretary of War for an independent command at the West. He was a man of energy and courage, but without military knowledge or experience. His desire at this time was to raise troops for an expedition of his own against Vicksburg. The President approved of the plans when submitted to him, and advised McClelland to submit them to the general-in-chief. Halleck, however, replied that he had no time to waste upon such matters, and even if he had the time, he had not the inclination. The President, nevertheless, was a warm friend of McClelland, and indorsed him; and the Secretary of War gave him permission to go West and collect his troops for the desired purpose. Of this little episode Grant had no knowledge until it came to him through the newspapers. Halleck, however, probably had it in mind when on the 5th of November he wrote Grant:—

“Had not troops sent to re-enforce you better go to Memphis hereafter? I hope to give you twenty thousand additional men in a few days.” And again when he informed Grant, “I hope for an active campaign on the Mississippi this fall; a large force will ascend the river from New Orleans.”

On the 9th, Grant telegraphed: “Re-enforcements are arriving very slowly. If they do not

come in more rapidly, I will attack as I am." The next day he was still more restive, and inquired:—

"Am I to understand that I lie here still, while an expedition is fitted out from Memphis; or do you want me to push as far south as possible? Am I to have Sherman subject to my orders, or is he and his force reserved for some special service?"

Halleck promptly replied, "You have command of all troops sent to your department, and have permission to fight the enemy when you please."

On the very next day, Grant's cavalry proceeded to Holly Springs, and drove the enemy south of the Tallahatchie. On the 14th he wrote to Sherman:

"I have now complete control of my department. . . . Move with two divisions of twelve full regiments each, and, if possible, with three divisions, to Oxford, or the Tallahatchie, as soon as possible. I am now ready to move from La Grange any day, and only await your movements. . . . I am exceedingly anxious to do something before the roads get bad, and before the enemy can intrench and re-enforce."

Grant's plan was, as originally contemplated, to advance along the Mississippi Central railroad, until, by approaching near enough to Vicksburg to threaten it, he might compel the evacuation of the fort.

Halleck, who was still importuned by McClelland's political friends, now inquired of Grant how

many men he had in his department, and what force could be sent down the river to Vicksburg.

Grant replied that he had in all seventy-two thousand men, eighteen thousand of whom were at Memphis, and that sixteen thousand of these could be spared for the river expedition. He had, however, already given orders for the advance of his whole force, including Sherman, had written to Steele, in Arkansas, to threaten Grenada, and had asked Admiral Porter to send boats to co-operate at the mouth of the Yazoo.

"Must I countermand the orders for this move?" he inquired.

Halleck, who favored Grant's plan rather than McClelland's, replied at once: "Proposed move approved. Do not go too far."

Grant's cavalry on the 29th crossed the Tallahatchie, and quartered at Holly Springs.

"Our troops will be in Abbeville to-morrow," he telegraphed, "or a battle will be fought."

The movement of troops, meanwhile, from Helena was made under Generals Hovey and Washburne. The rebels almost immediately evacuated their fortifications on the Tallahatchie, and were pursued to Oxford with no fighting, save a few skirmishes. On the 3d of December Grant informed Admiral Porter, —

"Our move has been successful, so far as compelling the evacuation of the Mississippi Central

road as far as Grenada." He now began to think of the difficulty of supplying his army, and on the same day wrote to Halleck from Abbeville: —

"How far south would you like me to go? Would it not be well to hold the enemy south of the Tallabusha, and move a force from Helena and Memphis on Vicksburg? With my present force it would not be prudent to go beyond Grenada, and attempt to hold present line of communication."

On the 5th he again suggested to Halleck, —

"If the Helena troops were at my command, I think it would be practicable to send Sherman to take them and the Memphis forces south of the mouth of the Yazoo River, and thus secure Vicksburg and the State of Mississippi."

This plan, which was finally adopted, seemed to promise double means of success; for, Sherman proceeding down the Mississippi to the mouth of the Yazoo, could present a new base for Grant; or, if this course seemed impracticable, Grant could hold the main body of the enemy at or near Grenada, while Sherman went forward to Vicksburg.

In reply to Grant's suggestions, Halleck directed him not to try to hold the country south of the Tallahatchie, but to collect twenty-five thousand troops at Memphis for the Vicksburg expedition.

In reply to Grant's inquiry, "Do you want me to command the expedition to Vicksburg, or shall I



send Sherman?" Halleck replied, "You may move your troops as you may deem best to accomplish the great object in view. . . . Ask Porter to co-operate. Telegraph what are your present plans."

Grant immediately answered: "General Sherman will command the expedition down the Mississippi. He will have a force of about forty thousand men; will land at Vicksburg, up the Yazoo, if practicable, and cut the Mississippi Central road, and the road running east from Vicksburg, where they cross the Black River. I will co-operate from here, my movements depending on those of the enemy. With the large cavalry force at my command I will be able to have them show themselves at different points on the Tallahatchie and Tallabusha, and, where an opportunity occurs, make a real attack. After cutting the two roads, General Sherman's movements to secure the end desired will necessarily be left to his judgment. I will occupy this road to Colleeville."

Grant and Halleck were both anxious to have Sherman take command of the river expedition, in preference to McClelland, who was so ignorant of military affairs; but on the 18th of the month came the unwelcome order from Washington, —

"It is the wish of the President that General McClelland's corps shall constitute a part of the river expedition, and that he shall have the immediate command under your direction."

Of course there was nothing to be done but to obey, and on the same day Grant wrote McClelland, who was at Springfield, Ill. :—

“I have been directed this moment, by telegraph from the general-in-chief of the army, to divide the forces of this department into four army corps, one of which is to be commanded by yourself, and that to form a part of the expedition on Vicksburg. I have drafted the order, and will forward it to you as soon as printed. . . . Written and verbal instructions have been given to General Sherman, which will be turned over to you on your arrival at Memphis.”

Two days later, the enemy's cavalry, under Van Dorn, made a sudden dash upon Holly Springs while the troops were in their beds. By this catastrophe fifteen hundred prisoners were taken and all the stores, amounting to some four hundred thousand dollars worth of ordnance and quartermasters' supplies. At the same time another rebel raid was made into West Tennessee, and the railroad destroyed between Columbus and Jackson.

For over a week, therefore, Grant had no communication whatever with the North, and for a fortnight no supplies. The Southern women came with exultant faces to his headquarters, and asked him what he would do now that his soldiers had nothing to eat. The General quietly informed

them that his soldiers would find a great plenty in their barns and storehouses.

"But you would not take from non-combatants!" they exclaimed.

It was, indeed, the first time that Grant had ever fed his army exclusively from the country; but absolute necessity compelled him to do so here; and from this experience he learned the possibility of an army of thirty thousand men, without supplies, subsisting for days upon the produce of the surrounding country. Of course the farmers suffered; but the South had avowedly made the war that of the people, and this was but one of the many dire consequences that must follow.

Owing to the break in communication, McClelland did not immediately receive his orders to assume command, and before the line re-opened Sherman had embarked at Memphis with thirty thousand men, and was re-enforced at Helena by twelve thousand more. On the day before Christmas, he arrived at Milliken's Bend, on the Arkansas side, twenty miles above Vicksburg. Here he spent two or three days, endeavoring to cut the Vicksburg and Shreveport railroad, while waiting to hear from Banks, who had been ordered to move up the river from New Orleans and co-operate in the attack upon Vicksburg. This delay gave the enemy time to prepare for the anticipated attack. On the 27th of the month, Sherman landed his

troops on the south side of the river, near the mouth of the Chicawasaw Bayou.

Just above the town of Vicksburg the long line of hills turns off from the Mississippi and for many miles runs parallel to the Yazoo. A strip of country covered with a dense and tangled underbrush lies between this latter river and the bluffs. It is about three miles wide, and protected, not only by the guns on the bluffs, but also by the numerous trenches and rifle-pits along the hills. Moreover, at this season of the year, it is almost covered with water; but in spite of all these difficulties, which made it impossible for Sherman at any time to avail himself of half his forces, he got his army across, and fairly into the rebel lines. He even succeeded in securing a footing on the hard land, just at the base of the bluffs, but was finally driven back, with a loss of one hundred and seventy-five men killed, nine hundred and thirty wounded, and seven hundred and forty-three missing.

Reporting the assault to Grant, he attributed his failure "to the strength of the enemy's position, both natural and artificial." The whole affair, however, had been conducted with great skill and bravery, and the attack was made at the only point where there seemed to be any chance of success.

Sherman relinquished his command on the sec-

ond of January to McClernand, who met him near the mouth of the Yazoo. The rebels were overjoyed at these two successes, but they little knew the indomitable spirit of the leader of the Tennessee army. Delays and difficulties with Grant only increased his determination and obstinate resistance.

McClernand's insubordinate behavior occasioned so much annoyance at this time, that Sherman, McPherson, and Admiral Porter, urged Grant to assume the command in person. He desired that Sherman should take it; but for numerous reasons it seemed necessary to the success of the Vicksburg campaign that Grant, the commander of the department, should direct it in person.

On the 20th of the month, after visiting the transport fleet at the mouth of the Arkansas, he wrote to Halleck, —

“The work of reducing Vicksburg will take time and men, but can be accomplished.”

On the 29th he arrived in person at Young's Point, and on the following day assumed immediate command of the expedition against Vicksburg. The entire force of the Department of the Tennessee now amounted to one hundred and thirty thousand men, and was divided into four army corps under the command of Major-generals McClernand, Sherman, Hurlburt, and McPherson.

The troops detailed for the Vicksburg expedition were at Young's Point and Milliken's Bend, and numbered fifty thousand. All possible precautions were taken to ensure the health and comfort of the troops, but there was no place for the camps save upon swampy ground, and much sickness ensued during the rainy season.

The problem now was to obtain a footing on the highlands of the eastern bank. If Grant could only intrench his army on the crest of the hills, there would be no way open to the rebels but to come out and fight in the field, or submit to have all their communications cut off, and so be fairly starved out. The heavy rains, however, prevented this plan from being carried into operation. If an attempt should be made to get below the town, Vicksburg itself threatened the only line by which supplies could be procured. There were three ways by which this difficulty might be obviated: First, by turning the Mississippi River from its course, cutting a canal across the peninsula in front of Vicksburg, a new channel might be formed, through which the fleet could pass securely. The second plan was to make a circuitous passage from Lake Providence, on the Louisiana side, seventy miles above Vicksburg, through the Red River into the Mississippi, four hundred miles below. The third was to march the whole army along the

western shore, cross the river at some point below the town, combine with Banks to operate against Port Hudson, and then begin a fresh campaign against Vicksburg, from Grand Gulf or Warrenton.

On the day after Grant assumed entire command of the expedition, he gave orders for cutting a way from the Mississippi to Lake Providence. This sheet of water is really a part of the old bed of the river, and lies about a mile west of the present channel. A canal was finally cut between the river and the lake, but much difficulty was encountered in clearing Bayou Baxter — one of the outlets of Lake Providence — of the fallen timber which clogged its passage. Great excitement was caused by this project, as many thought that the mighty river was to be entirely turned out of its course, even into the Atchafalaya; and that New Orleans, becoming thereby an inland town, would forever lose its prominence among the cities of the South.

But Grant had only planned this work to give occupation to his men, and to secure a better opening for active operations<sup>e</sup>; and in March the work was given up, before any steamer had passed through the circuitous passage.

The opening of the Yazoo Pass was next accomplished, under Lieutenant-colonel Wilson. Grant now determined to prosecute his entire campaign,

if possible, in this direction, and hoped to reach the Yazoo River, above Haine's Bluff, with the whole army. In all his various schemes he never lost sight of his principal aim, — to obtain a footing and to secure a base on dry land. Sherman was sent up Steele's Bayou with a division of troops; and Admiral Porter accompanied him with five iron-clads and four mortar-beats. The object was not only to liberate Ross, but to get possession of some point on the east bank from which Vicksburg could be reached by land. Quimby was informed of Sherman's co-operation, and Grant urged him to the support of Ross, saying, —

“Sherman will come in below the enemy you are now contending against, and between the two forces you will find no farther difficulties before reaching the ground I so much desire.”

All these efforts, however, proved ineffectual. Porter was attacked by sharp-shooters, and impeded in his course by fallen trees which the enemy threw into the stream, both in the front and rear of his fleet. Sherman came to his assistance, and but few lives were lost in the frequent skirmishes; but all attempts to reach the Yazoo were blockaded by the enemy, and the admiral was obliged to return without accomplishing any one object of the expedition. Meanwhile, Farragut, with a part of his fleet, had run by the batteries at Port Hudson, and communicated with Grant. The latter now



proposed to send an army corps to co-operate with Banks.

On the 2d of April, Halleck had written :—

“The President seems to be rather impatient about matters on the Mississippi. . . . What is most desired (and your attention is called again to this object) is, that your forces and those of General Banks should be brought into co-operation as early as possible. If he cannot get up to co-operate with you on Vicksburg, cannot you get troops down to help him at Port Hudson, or at least can you not destroy Grand Gulf before it becomes too strong?”

The realization of this plan was prevented, not only by the great distance that lay between the two armies, but also by the two formidable strongholds that blocked the way. But the country could not understand all these difficulties. The government, too, began to grow very impatient, and complaints were loudly made of Grant's slowness. With his great force of sixty or seventy thousand men, nothing, so far as could be seen, had been accomplished for a whole half year. McClelland now used his utmost power to supplant Grant. A congressman who had hitherto been one of Grant's warmest friends went to the President, without being sent for, and declared that the emergencies of the country seemed to demand another commander before Vicksburg. But to him Mr. Lincoln replied, —

“I rather like the man. I think we'll try him a little longer.”

The last plan that Grant submitted to Halleck was as follows:—

“There is a system of bayous running from Milliken's Bend, also from near the river at Young's Point, that are navigable for large and small steamers passing around by Richmond to New Carthage. There is also a good wagon-road from Milliken's Bend to New Carthage. The dredges are now engaged cutting a canal from there into these bayous. I am having all the empty coal-boats and other barges prepared for carrying troops and artillery, and have written to Colonel Allen for some more, and also for six tugs to tow them. With them it would be easy to carry supplies to New Carthage and any point south of that.

“My expectation is, for some of the naval fleet to run the batteries of Vicksburg, whilst the army moves through by this new route. Once there, I will move to Warrenton or Grand Gulf—probably, the latter. From either of these points there are good roads to Jackson and the Black River bridge, without crossing Black River. I will keep my army together, and see to it that I am not cut off from my supplies, or beaten in any other way than a fair fight.”

To Sherman, Mc Pherson, and all the able offi-

cers under Grant's command, this last scheme seemed a most hazardous undertaking. By removing his army below Vicksburg, he would be separated from the North, and from all its supplies. Failure, if it came, would be overwhelming; nothing but a speedy victory could insure his army from complete annihilation. But Grant had made up his mind that this was the right course to pursue, and no amount of persuasion could deter him. By moving his army below Vicksburg, he felt assured that he could supply himself by the roads and bayous in Louisiana, and from there send a part of his force to help Banks in the reduction of Port Hudson. This accomplished, Banks and his whole army were to unite with Grant in the siege against Vicksburg; and, as the Mississippi would then be open from New Orleans, supplies could be sent from that quarter. It was necessary to concentrate his troops immediately; so, in the last week of March, McPherson was recalled from Lake Providence and the Yazoo Pass; Sherman, from Steele's Bayou, and McClermand from Milliken's Bend to New Carthage, some twenty-seven miles below. The inundation of the river was a great hindrance at this time.

"The embarrassment," wrote Grant to Halleck, "I have had to contend against, on account of extreme high water, cannot be appreciated by any

one not present to witness it." It was, indeed, the submerged condition of the Louisiana roads that had prevented Grant from not adopting sooner this last plan. By the 6th of April, however, New Carthage was occupied by the national forces, although the levee of Bayou Vidal, which empties into the Mississippi at this point, was broken in numerous places, and the whole surrounding country submerged in water. The transportation of supplies by land became so difficult that Grant determined to run the risk of sending three steamers and ten barges, loaded with rations and forage, past the batteries. The co-operation of Admiral Porter in this, as in all other undertakings, was both able and prompt.

"I am happy to say," writes Grant on the 26th of April, "that the admiral and myself have never yet disagreed upon any policy."

As quietly as possible, on the night of the 16th, the little fleet proceeded down the river. Seven of Porter's ironclads were to engage the batteries; while the river steamers, protected by wet hay and bales of cotton, and towing the barges, were to run the gauntlet of twenty-eight heavy guns that commanded the river for over fifteen miles. It was a dark night; but the rebels immediately set fire to houses on both sides the river, and when the fleet was opposite Vicksburg the men at the batteries and in the streets could be seen distinctly. Each

vessel now became a target, and the firing continued for nearly three hours. One of the transports, the *Henry Clay*, took fire from the explosion of a shell, and burned to the water's edge; but the crew and all on board were saved. On the gunboats no one was killed, and only eight wounded; all of Porter's vessels, indeed, were ready for service in less than an hour after passing Vicksburg, although the steamers and barges were badly damaged.

Some ten days later, six other transports tried the same ordeal, with twelve barges laden with supplies. In this attempt, five hundred shots were fired, but only one man was killed, and six or eight wounded.

In the early part of the month, Grant had sent orders to McClernand "to get possession of Grand Gulf at the earliest practicable moment." That officer, however, had been exceedingly dilatory in his movements, and Grant, after consulting with Admiral Porter, now determined to attack the works himself. The fortifications at this place, which commands an extended view of the river, consisted of a series of rifle-trenches and two batteries with thirteen heavy guns. The post was selected by the enemy, not as a position for land defence, but for the protection of the mouth of the Big Black, and also as a precautionary measure against the passage of transports.

Grant's plan of attack was for the naval force to bombard and silence the batteries, after which the troops were to land at the foot of the bluff, and carry the works by storm. He had, however, foreseen that it might be necessary to run past the batteries, and in his order to McClelland for the attack on the 27th had remarked:—

“It may be that the enemy will occupy positions back from the city, out of range of the gun-boats, so as to make it desirable to run past Grand Gulf, and land at Rodney . . . or, it may be expedient for the boats to run past, but not the men. In this case, then, the transports would have to be brought back to where the men could land, and move by forced marches to below Grand Gulf, reembark rapidly, and proceed to the latter place.”

This, indeed, is what really occurred, two days afterward, with the exception of the march to Grand Gulf. The rebel batteries were too elevated for Admiral Porter to accomplish anything with his iron-clads; and, with a loss of eighteen killed and fifty-six wounded, he was obliged to withdraw. That night, therefore, by request of Grant, he ran by the batteries with his entire fleet, as a cover to the transports. On the 29th, after passing Grand Gulf, Grant wrote to Halleck, —

“I feel now that the battle is more than half over.”

## CHAPTER X.

THE VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN (*continued*).

IN the battle of Port Gibson, that followed a few days later, the rebel leader, Bowen, was obliged to evacuate the post, and withdraw his forces across the two forks of the Bayou Pierre. Grand Gulf was now of no use to the Confederates, and news came that it was being deserted. Grant immediately determined to place there his base of supplies, and, upon his arrival, found the naval force, under Porter, in possession of the post. Thirteen pieces of artillery had been left behind; for "so great," wrote one of the rebel commanders, "were Grant's facilities for transportation, and so rapid were his movements, that it was found impracticable to withdraw the heavy guns." That night Grant wrote to Sullivan, who commanded the district between Milliken's Bend and Smith's Plantation: —

"You will give special attention to the matter of shortening the line of land transportation from above Vicksburg to the steamers below. As soon as the river has fallen sufficiently, you will have a

road constructed from Young's Point to a landing just below Warrenton, and dispose of your troops accordingly. Everything depends upon the promptitude with which our supplies are forwarded." To Sherman he wrote:—

"I wish you to collect a train of one hundred and twenty wagons at Milliken's Bend and Perkins's Plantation; send them to Grand Gulf, and there load them with rations as follows,—one hundred thousand pounds of bacon, the balance coffee, sugar, salt, and hard bread. For your own use on the march from Grand Gulf, you will draw five days' rations, and see that they last five days. It is unnecessary for me to remind you of the overwhelming importance of celerity. . . . All we want now are men, ammunition, and hard bread; we can subsist our horses on the country, and obtain considerable supplies for our troops."

Up to the time of crossing the Mississippi, Grant's plan had been to collect all his "forces at Grand Gulf, and get on hand a good supply of provisions and ordnance stores, and in the meantime to detach a corps to co-operate with Banks against Port Hudson, and so effect a junction of their forces."

But, by the victory at Port Gibson, Grant was now on the high dry ground, he had been struggling all winter to obtain, and within fifteen miles of Vicksburg. Moreover, a letter received from



Banks at this time declared that he could not reach Port Hudson until the 10th of May, and that even after the reduction of that place he could re-enforce Grant with only twelve thousand men. Meantime, the rebels were endeavoring to consolidate two armies for the anticipated contest at Vicksburg; and, to prevent this, Grant decided at once upon his course of action. He determined "to push between the two armies before they could combine; to drive eastward the weaker one; attack and beat Gregg before Pemberton could come to the rescue; and to seize Jackson, the capital of the State, situated fifty miles in the rear of Vicksburg, and at the junction of the railroads by which Vicksburg is supplied. When once the roads that centre there were destroyed, troops, as well as stores, would be cut off, and Vicksburg with its garrison isolated from the would-be Confederacy."

To accomplish this Herculean task, great rapidity of movement was necessary. To Sherman he at once wrote:—

"Order forward immediately your remaining division, leaving only two regiments (to guard Richmond), as required in previous orders. Have all the men leave the west bank of the river, with three days' rations in haversacks, and make all possible dispatch to Grand Gulf."

To Hurlburt, who was at Memphis, he telegraphed:—

“Send Lauman’s division to Milliken’s Bend, to be forwarded to this army with as little delay as practicable. . . . Let them move by brigades, as fast as transportation can be procured.”

To an officer of his staff, who had been left at Grand Gulf, he wrote :—

“See that the commissary at Grand Gulf loads all the wagons presenting themselves for stores, with great promptness. Issue any order in my name that may be necessary to secure the greatest promptness in this respect. . . . Every day’s delay is worth two thousand men to the enemy.”

Admiral Porter had started with a portion of his fleet for the Red River, to co-operate with Banks, and left Captain Owens in command. To this officer, therefore, Grant sent the following orders :—

“Place a flagship in the mouth of the Black River to watch any movement of the enemy in that direction. Leave Captain Murphy’s vessel in front of Grand Gulf, to guard the stores and to convoy any steamer that may require it. . . . Send the remaining ironclads to the vicinity of Warrenton, to watch the movements of the enemy there, and prevent them from sending troops across the river to interrupt our lines from Milliken’s Bend and Young’s Point.”

As Hurlburt himself was to remain at Memphis, Grant sent the following instructions :—

“ I am ordering to you all the cavalry at Helena except two regiments. You can further strengthen your southern line by bringing troops from the district of Columbus. The completion of the road from Grand Junction to Corinth will enable you to draw off all the troops north of that road. Make such disposition of the troops within your command as you may deem advisable for the best protection of your lines of communication. When the road to Corinth is completed, put in there, as speedily as possible, sixty days’ supply of provisions and forage. . . . Telegraph to General Halleck direct the forces I have drawn from you ; and should re-enforcements be found necessary to hold your district, let him know it. Whilst headquarters are so distant, communicate direct with Washington in all important matters, but keep me advised at the time of what is going on. . . . You will have a large force of cavalry ; use it as much as possible in attracting attention from this direction. Impress upon the cavalry the necessity of keeping out of people’s houses, or taking what is of no use to them in a military point of view. They must, however, live as far as possible off the country through which they pass, and destroy corn, wheat, crops, and everything that can be made use of by the enemy in prolonging the war. Mules and horses are to be taken to supply all our own wants, and, when it does not cause too much

delay, agricultural implements may be destroyed. In other words, cripple in every way, without insulting women and children, or taking their clothes, jewelry, etc."

Since the battle of Shiloh, Grant had given up the idea of saving the resources and the property of the South. He believed that armies must not only be defeated, but destroyed; and that to suppress the rebellion it would first be necessary to annihilate its strength.

Sherman did not as yet understand that Grant intended to march without any base at all, and urged him to "stop all troops till your army is partially supplied with wagons, and then act as quickly as possible. For the road will be jammed as sure as life, if you attempt to supply fifty thousand men by one single road." Grant replied to this:—

"I do not calculate upon the possibility of supplying the army with full rations from Grand Gulf. I know it will be impossible without constructing additional roads. What I do expect, however, is to get up what rations of hard bread, coffee, and salt we can, and make the country furnish the balance. We started from Bruinsburg with an average of about two days' rations, and received no more from our own supplies for some days; abundance was found in the meantime. Some corn-meal, bacon, and vegetables were found, and an

abundance of beef and mutton. A delay would give the enemy time to re-enforce and fortify. If Blair was up now, I believe we could be in Vicksburg in seven days. The command here has an average of about three days' rations, which could be made to last that time. You are in a country where the troops have already lived off of the people for some days, and may find provisions more scarce; but, as we get upon new soil, they are more abundant, particularly in corn and cattle. Bring Blair's two brigades up as soon as possible."

On the 10th of May, Grant heard again from Banks, who desired re-enforcements on the Red River. He at once replied as follows:—

"My advance will occupy to-day, Utica, Auburn, and a point equally advanced toward the Southern Mississippi railroad, between the latter place and the Big Black. It was my intention, on gaining a foothold at Grand Gulf, to have sent a sufficient force to Port Hudson to have insured the fall of that place with your co-operation, or rather to have co-operated with you to secure that end. Meeting the enemy as I did below Port Gibson, however, I followed him to the Big Black, and could not afford to retrace my steps. I also learned, and believed the information to be reliable, that Port Hudson is almost entirely evacuated. This may not be true, but it is the concurrent testimony of deserters and contrabands. Many days

cannot elapse before the battle will begin, which is to decide the fate of Vicksburg; but it is impossible to predict how long it may last. I would urgently request, therefore, that you join me, or send all the force you can spare, to co-operate in the great struggle for opening the Mississippi River."

On the morning of the 12th, Logan's division moved towards Raymond, followed by Crocker. McPherson also ordered two regiments to be deployed on each side of the road, and about noon came upon the enemy five thousand strong, within two miles of Raymond, and under the command of Gregg. The battle opened vigorously about two o'clock that afternoon, on the centre and left centre of the troops. The rebels fought with desperation, but were finally compelled to retreat with the loss of one hundred killed, and three hundred and five wounded, besides four hundred and fifteen prisoners. Two pieces of cannon, also, were disabled; and a quantity of small-arms fell into McPherson's hands. The national troops lost in this engagement, sixty-nine men killed, three hundred and forty-one wounded, and thirty missing. Raymond was entered by McPherson at five o'clock that afternoon, and the rebels retreated to Jackson, where Johnston took command on the following day.

Grant, who was with Sherman at this time, telegraphed at once to McPherson:—

“If you have gained Raymond, throw back forces at once in this direction, until communication is opened with Sherman. Also feel to the north, towards the railroad, and, if possible, destroy it and the telegraph. If the road is opened, I will ride over to see you this evening; but I cannot do so until I know McClelland is secure in his position.” To this latter officer he wrote: —

“Sherman will probably succeed in following out original intentions of going in advance of this place (Fourteen-mile Creek) to the cross-roads. Gain the creek with your command if possible, and hold it, with at least one division thrown across. Reconnoitre the roads in advance, and also in this direction, so as to open communication with General Sherman and myself. If bridges are destroyed, make fords.”

On the evening of the 12th of May, the Army of the Tennessee occupied a line almost parallel with, and seven miles south of the Vicksburg and Jackson railroad. McPherson was on the right, at Raymond; McClelland, four miles to the left, at Montgomery Bridge, on Fourteen-mile Creek, with a detachment guarding Baldwin's Ferry; and Grant was with Sherman seven miles to the west, at Dillon's Plantation.

The next important movement was to make sure of Jackson, so that there might be no hostile force in the rear.

On the 13th of May, therefore, McPherson moved on to Clinton, destroying the railroad and telegraph, and capturing some important dispatches from General Pemberton to General Gregg, who had commanded the day before in the battle of Raymond. Sherman moved to a parallel position on the Mississippi Springs and Jackson road; McClelland moved to a point near Raymond. The rain fell in torrents through the night, making the roads at first slippery and then miry; but in spite of all these difficulties, Sherman and McPherson removed their entire forces towards Jackson on the following day, and met the enemy near that place at about midday.

The following graphic description of the battle that ensued is given by an eye witness:—

“Slowly and cautiously we moved up the hill until we came within range, when all at once, upon the heights to the right, we discovered a puff of white smoke and heard the report of booming cannon, followed by the shrill scream of an exploding shell. One of our batteries was moved to the left of a cotton-gin in the open field, midway between the enemy’s line of battle and the foot of the hill, and played upon the rebel battery with telling effect. The duel was kept up with great spirit on both sides for nearly an hour, when all at once it ceased by the withdrawal of the enemy’s guns. Two brigades were thrown out to the right and left



of this battery, supported by another brigade at proper distance. A strong line of skirmishers had been pushed forward and posted in a ravine just in front, which protected them from rebel fire. After a little delay, they were again advanced out of cover, and for several minutes a desultory fire was kept up between both lines of skirmishers, in which, owing to the topographical nature of the ground, the enemy had the advantage.

“At last General Crocker, who was on the field and had personally inspected the position, saw that, unless the enemy could be driven from his occupation of the crest of the hill, he would be forced to retire. He therefore ordered a charge along the line. With colors flying, and with a step as measured and unbroken as if on dress parade, the movement was executed. Slowly they advanced, crossed the narrow ravine and with fixed bayonets attempted to pass over the crest of the hill in easy range of the rebel line. Here they received a tremendous volley, which caused painful gaps in their ranks. They held their fire until they were within a distance of thirty paces, when they delivered the returning volley with fearful effect, and, without waiting to reload their muskets, with a terrific cry they rushed upon the staggered foe.

“Over the fences, through the brushwood, into the enclosure, they worked their way, and slaugh-

tered right and left without mercy. The enemy, astonished at their impetuosity, wavered and fell back, rallied again, and finally broke in wild confusion. The brave Union soldiers gained the crest of the hill; and the rebels fled in utter terror. Our boys reloaded their muskets and sent the terrible missiles after the fleeing rebels, adding haste to their terrified flight. They cast muskets and blankets to the ground, unslung their knapsacks, and ran like greyhounds, nor stopped to look back until they reached the intrenchments just within the city.

"Meantime, Sherman, who had left Raymond the day before, and taken the road to the right just beyond the town, came up with the left wing of the enemy's forces, and engaged them with artillery. After a feeble resistance they, too, broke and ran.

"A delay of half an hour to enable our wearied soldiers to take breath, and then our column moved forward again.

"We reached the fort and found a magnificent battery of six pieces which the enemy had left behind him, and a hundred new tents awaiting appropriation.

"The hospital flag was flying from the Deaf and Dumb Institute, and this was crowded with sick and wounded soldiers, who, of course, fell into our hands as prisoners of war. Opposite and all around this building were tents enough to encamp

an entire division, and just in front of it, hauled out by the roadside, were two small breech-loading two-pounder rifles, which had been used to pick off officers.

"Further down the street, we found a pile of burning *caissons*, and on the opposite side of the street, directly in front of the Confederate House, the stores, filled with commissary and quartermaster's supplies, were briskly consuming.

"Directly in front of us, the State House loomed up in ample proportions. Two officers, taking possession of the flag of one of the regiments, galloped rapidly forward, and hoisted it from the flag-staff surmounting its broad dome. The beautiful flag was seen in the distance by the advancing column, and greeted with cheers and congratulations.

"We had captured Jackson, the hotbed of the rebellion. Guards were established, a provost-marshal appointed, and the city placed under martial law. The citizens, particularly those who had sustained official relations to the State and rebel governments, had left the city the evening before; but there were many soldiers left behind, and a large number in hospital, who fell into our hands.

"The State treasurer and Governor Pettus were gone, taking the funds and State papers with them. A large amount of government and military property fell into our hands; but private property was altogether unmolested."

General Grant's modest dispatch on the next day to Halleck read as follows :

"Jackson fell into our hands yesterday, after a fight of about three hours. Joe Johnston was in command. The enemy retreated north, evidently with the design of joining the Vicksburg forces."

After taking possession of Jackson, the State capital of Mississippi, Grant obtained some valuable information concerning the plans of the rebel army. It seemed that Johnston, as soon as he had learned that Jackson was to be attacked, had ordered Pemberton to march out from the direction of Vicksburg and attack the United States forces in the rear. Grant, therefore, immediately issued orders to McClelland and Blair, of Sherman's corps, to face their troops towards Bolton, with a view of marching upon Edward's Station.

On the morning of the 15th, a division of the Thirteenth Army Corps occupied Bolton, taking a number of prisoners and driving away the rebel pickets from the post.

Sherman, meanwhile, had been left in Jackson to destroy railroads, bridges, factories, workshops, arsenals, and everything valuable for the support of the enemy.

On the afternoon of the 15th, Grant proceeded as far west as Clinton, and ordered McClelland to move his command early the next morning towards Edward's Depot, marching so as to feel the enemy

if he encountered him, but not to bring on a general engagement unless confident that he was able to defeat the force before him.

Early the next morning, two men who were employed on the Jackson and Vicksburg railroad and had passed through Pemberton's army the night before, were brought to General Grant's headquarters. They stated Pemberton's force to consist of about eighty regiments, with ten batteries of artillery, and that the whole number of troops was estimated by the enemy at about twenty-five thousand men.

The intention of the rebels was to attack the Union forces in the rear ; so Sherman's corps, that was still at Jackson, was immediately ordered to join the main force at Bolton. At the same time a dispatch was sent to Blair to push forward as rapidly as possible in the direction of Edward's Station.

At an early hour, Grant left for the advance, and, on arriving at the crossing of the Vicksburg and Jackson railroad with the road from Raymond to Bolton, found McPherson's advance and his Pioneer Corps engaged in rebuilding a bridge on the former road that had been destroyed by the cavalry of Osterhaus' Division that had gone into Bolton the night before. The train of Hovey's Division was at a halt, and blocked up the road from further advance on the Vicksburg road.

Grant immediately ordered all quartermasters and wagonmasters to draw their teams to one side and make room for the passage of troops. The enemy had taken a very strong position on a narrow ridge, the top of which was covered by a dense forest and undergrowth. The steep hillside to the left of the road was also thickly wooded, while to the right the timber extended a short distance down the hill and then opened into cultivated fields on a gentle slope, and into a valley extending for a considerable distance.

A participant in this battle of Champion's Hill describes it as follows :—

“The enemy's first demonstration was upon our extreme left, which they attempted to turn. This attempt was most gallantly repulsed by General Smith, commanding the left wing. At seven o'clock, the skirmishers were actively engaged; and, as the enemy sought the cover of the forest, our artillery fire was opened, which continued without intermission for two hours. At this time, General Ransom's Brigade marched on the field, and took up a position as reserve, behind General Carr.

“Now the battle raged fearfully along the entire line, the evident intention of the enemy being to mass his forces upon Hovey on the centre. There the fight was most earnest; but General McPherson brought his forces into the field, and after

four hours hard fighting the tide of battle was turned, and the enemy forced to retire.

“Disappointed in their movements upon our right, the rebels turned their attention to the left of Hovey’s division, where Colonel Slack commanded a brigade of Indianians. Massing his forces here, the enemy hurled them against the opposing column with irresistible impetuosity, and forced them to fall back; not, however, until at least one quarter of the troops comprising the brigade were either killed or wounded.

“Taking a new position, and receiving fresh reinforcements, our soldiers again attempted to stem the tide, this time with eminent success. The enemy was beaten back, and compelled to seek the cover of the forest in his rear. Following up their advantage, without waiting to re-form, the soldiers of the Western army fixed their bayonets, and charged into the woods after them. The rebels were seized with an uncontrollable panic, and thought only of escape. In this terrible charge, men were slaughtered without mercy. The ground was literally covered with the dead and dying. The enemy scattered in every direction, and rushed through the fields to reach the column now moving to the west along the Vicksburg road. At three o’clock in the afternoon, the battle was over, and the victory won.

“Of the part taken in this battle by McPherson’s

Corps, it is only necessary to say that it rendered the most efficient and satisfactory assistance. To it belongs the credit of winning the fight on the extreme right.

"The battle ended, the left wing was speedily advanced upon the Vicksburg road, driving the enemy rapidly before them, and picking up as they advanced numbers of prisoners and guns.

"On the left of the road we could see large squads of rebel soldiers and commands cut off from the main column, and whom we engaged at intervals with artillery.

"Thus we pursued the enemy until nearly dark, when we entered the little village known by the name of Edward's Station, just as the enemy was leaving it.

"When within rifle range of the station, we discovered on the left a large building in flames, and on the right a smaller one from which, just then, issued a series of magnificent explosions. The former contained commissary stores, and the latter, shells and ammunition — five carloads — brought down from Vicksburg on the morning of the day of the battle. In their hasty exit from Edward's Station, the rebels could not take this ammunition with them, but consigned it to the flames rather than that it should fall into our hands."

As soon as Grant found that the enemy was in



full retreat, he sent word to Osterhaus to push forward with all haste. Carr was also ordered to pursue with all speed to Black River, and cross it if he could. Some of McPherson's troops were already in advance, but having marched, and engaged the enemy, all day, they were exhausted, and gave the road to Carr, who continued the pursuit until after dark, capturing a train of cars, loaded with commissary and ordnance stores, and other property.

This battle at Champion's Hill was one of the hardest fought of the whole campaign. As McClelland was delayed by the difficulties of the road, Grant directed, in person, Hovey's division of the Thirteenth Corps, which, with McPherson's command, numbered about fifteen thousand men. Four hundred and twenty-six on the Union side were killed, eighteen hundred and forty-two wounded, and one hundred and eighty-nine missing. The loss of the enemy was estimated at between three and four thousand in killed and wounded; and nearly three thousand prisoners were taken on the field, or during the pursuit. The battle-field was christened by the soldiers and long kept the name of the "Hill of Death."

At daylight on the 17th, the pursuit was renewed with McClelland's Corps in the advance. The enemy was discovered six miles to the west, strongly posted on both sides of the Black River.

"So strong was the position," wrote Pemberton, the rebel commander, "that my greatest, almost only apprehension, was a flank movement by Bridgeport, or Baldwin's Ferry, which would have endangered my communications with Vicksburg."

The river, just here, makes a bend somewhat in the shape of a horse-shoe, open towards the east. On the west bank, high bluffs extend to the water's edge. An open cultivated bottom on the eastern shore is nearly a mile wide, and surrounded by a bayou of stagnant water two or three feet in depth, and from ten to twenty feet in width, running from the river above the railroad to the river below. By following the inside line of this bayou, the enemy had constructed rifle-pits, with the bayou to serve as a ditch on the outside and immediately in front of them.

Before Vicksburg could be reached, this position must be gained. Carr's division occupied the right in investing this place, and Lawler's Brigade the right of his division.

Lawler discovered, after a few hours' skirmishing, that, by moving a portion of his brigade under cover of the river-bank, he could get a position from which that place could be successfully attacked, and ordered a charge accordingly.

The following account of this struggle at Black River Bridge is given by an eye-witness:—

"The battle of Big Black Bridge was fought on

Sunday, May 17th, the day after the battle of Champion's Hill. After a night's bivouac on the hill overlooking the village of Edward's Station, the column, with McClernand at its head, moved toward Black River Bridge.

"The intervening country loses that hilly and broken character which distinguishes the region farther east, and spreads out into a broad and fertile plain, over which we moved rapidly. There were no commanding hills whence the enemy could pour a deadly fire into our ranks; but there were patches of forest, under the cover and from the edge of which they could easily enfilade the open hills by the roadside. There was such a one a mile east of the intrenchments where the main picket-guard was stationed, and here determined resistance was first made.

"After skirmishing for an hour or so, during which the enemy gave way and sought the cover of his intrenchments, the order was given to the several brigade commanders on the right to advance and charge the enemy's works. The order was received with cheers; and when the word 'Forward' was spoken, steadily and splendidly the brave boys moved up to the assault.

"The enemy crouched down behind the breast-works. A portion of them, stationed in a curtain of the fort, whence they were able to get a cross-fire upon the column, reserved their volley until

we were within easy musket-range of the intrenchments, when they swept the advancing line with their terrible fire. The brave boys lost in that fearful volley one hundred and fifty men ; yet they faltered not nor turned their steps backward. They waded the bayou, delivering their fire as they reached the other bank, and rushed upon the enemy with fixed bayonets. So quickly was all this accomplished, that the enemy had not time to reload their guns, and were forced to surrender.

“The battle was ended, and the fort, with three thousand prisoners, seventeen pieces of artillery, — some of them captured from ourselves, and bearing appropriate inscriptions, — several thousand stand of arms, and a large supply of corn and commissary stores, fell into our hands.

“The enemy had, earlier in the day, out of the hulls of three steamers, constructed a bridge, over which he had passed the main body of his army. As the charge was made, and it became evident that we should capture the position, they burned this bridge, and also the railroad bridge across the river, just above.

“In the afternoon, several attempts were made to cross the river ; but the sharp-shooters lined the bluffs beyond, and entirely prevented it. Later, the main body of sharp-shooters were dispersed by our artillery. It was not, however, safe to stand upon the bank, or cross the open field east

of the bridge until after dark, when the enemy withdrew altogether."

Grant could have gone forward to Vicksburg that very night, if the bridges had not been destroyed. He immediately directed their reconstruction; for at this place the Big Black is deep and wide, and the rebels had secured at least twelve hours' advance, by the destruction of the crossing. During the day he sent word to Sherman:—

"Secure a commanding position on the west bank of Black River as soon as you can. If the information you gain after crossing warrants you in believing you can go immediately into the city, do so. If there is any doubt in this matter, throw out troops to the left, after advancing on a line with the railroad bridge, to open your communications with the troops here. We will then move in three columns, if roads can be found to move on, and either have Vicksburg or Haines' Bluff to-morrow night. The enemy have been so terribly beaten yesterday and to-day that I cannot believe a stand will be made, unless the troops are relying on Johnston's arriving with large re-enforcements; nor that Johnston would attempt to re-enforce with anything at his command, if he was at all aware of the present condition of things."

## CHAPTER XI.

## INVESTMENT AND SIEGE OF VICKSBURG.

THE following graphic account of the advance and assault is given by an army correspondent who accompanied the main army :—

“The army crossed the river early on Monday morning, over the bridge constructed during the night. General Osterhau’s Division first crossed, followed by General A. J. Smith’s, which in turn was followed by McPherson’s Army Corps. Sherman had continued north of the railroad from Jackson, striking Big Black River a little west of Bridgeport. Here he crossed on his pontoon bridge, and moved upon the Vicksburg and Haines’ Bluff and Spring Dale roads. McPherson moved out on the main Vicksburg and Jackson road, while McClelland took possession of the Baldwin’s Ferry road.

“On the summit of the high bank across the river the column moved through the camp whence the night before the enemy made his hasty exit. On the plateau nearest the river, before the hill is reached, numerous tents were left standing just as the occupants had hastily left them. They could

not be destroyed under the heavy fire of our skirmishers posted on the hither bank of the river. When the hill was reached, we found abundant evidence of the demoralization of the enemy. Several piles of gun-barrels, with stocks but half-consumed, were lying by the roadside. Tents, wagons, and gun-carriages were in ashes; corn was burning, and officers' baggage and soldiers' clothing were scattered all over the camp. The column moved to Bovina, where no evidence of the enemy was seen, save a rebel hospital filled with sick and wounded. Here General Grant was joined by General Dwight from Banks' army.

"At Mount Albans, General McClelland turned off on the Baldwin's Ferry road, while McPherson kept along the railroad upon the main Vicksburg road. The approaches to Vicksburg were now all occupied, with the exception of that by way of Warrenton, which was afterwards occupied by McArthur. ☉

"At daylight on the 19th, General Grant proceeded to move upon the enemy's works, a series of redoubts arranged with great skill, and extending from the rear of Haines' Bluff around to the Warrenton road, a distance of from eight to ten miles.

"The ground by which they are approached is singularly broken—a vast plateau upon which a multitude of little hills seem to have been sown

broadcast ; and, of course, the rebel redoubts were so disposed as to sweep every neighboring crest, and entlade every approach.

“The corps of General Sherman moved up on the Haines’ Bluff road, by a sort of poetic justice taking possession of the ground by the rear which he had once vainly attempted to gain from the front.”

As Grant and Sherman rode together up the farthest height, where it looks down on the Yazoo River, the two soldiers gazed silently for a moment on the long-wished-for goal of the campaign—the high, dry ground on the north of Vicksburg, and the base for their supplies.

“Until this moment,” exclaimed Sherman, “I never thought your expedition a success. I never could see the end clearly until now. But this is a campaign ; this is a success, if we never take the town.”

Grant slowly blew a whiff from his cigar, but made no reply. He had believed all along that he should accomplish the end he had in view, and was neither surprised nor elated.

It was just twenty days since the campaign against Vicksburg had begun. In that time Grant had beaten two armies in five several battles, had forced the evacuation of Grand Gulf, seized the capital of the State, captured twenty-seven heavy cannon and sixty-one pieces of field artillery, in-



vested the principal rebel stronghold on the Mississippi River, taken six thousand five hundred prisoners, and killed and wounded at least six thousand rebels more. Moreover, he had separated forces twice as powerful as his own, had beaten first at Port Gibson a portion of Pemberton's army; then at Raymond and Jackson, the troops under Johnston's immediate command; and yet again at Champion's Hill and the Big Black River the whole force that Pemberton dared take outside of the works of Vicksburg.

It now seemed as if the time had come for a successful assault upon Vicksburg. Accordingly, on the 21st, orders were issued for a general attack upon the rebel defences, to be made at ten o'clock the next morning by the whole line; and in order that there should be no mistake or difference in the time of movement, all the corps commanders set their chronometers by General Grant's.

The following account of the assault is given by an eye-witness:—

"The artillery opened a vigorous fire some time before the designated hour of the assault. The firing was excellent, almost every shot striking the crest of the parapet, and nearly all the shells exploding immediately over the inner side of the breastworks. Of course, it is not possible to judge of the enemy's loss, but he certainly must have suffered severely during our heavy fire. Two large

explosions occurred within the works during the engagement, which were thought to be *caissons*. A large building was also destroyed by our shells.

"At a given hour the troops were in motion, moving along the ravines, in which to assume the required formation and make the attack. The charges were most admirably executed. With perfect composure the men moved up the hill, though not under fire, yet under the influence of a dreadful anticipation of a deadly volley at close quarters. When within forty yards of the works, all of a sudden the parapet was alive with armed men, and in an instant more the flash of thousands of muskets hurled death and destruction most appalling into the ranks of our advancing columns. Five hundred men lay dead or bleeding on one part of the field at the first fire. Bravely, against all odds, this command fought until its depleted ranks could no longer stand, when sullenly it withdrew under cover of a hill near by. In addition to the heavy musketry fire which repelled the assault, artillery played with dreadful havoc upon the fading ranks, which, after every effort to win the goal, were obliged to give way, not to numbers, but to impregnability of position.

"Upon the whole, as regards the designs of our movements, we were frustrated, but nothing more."

Grant himself, in giving a detailed account of this assault, says : —

"A portion of the commands of each corps succeeded in planting their flags on the outer slopes of the enemy's bastions, and maintained them there until night. Each corps had many more men than could possibly be used in the assault over such ground as intervened between them and the enemy. More men could only avail in the case of breaking through the enemy's line, or in repelling a sortie. The assault was gallant in the extreme on the part of all the troops; but the enemy's position was too strong, both naturally and artificia'ly, to be taken in that way. At every point assaulted, and at all of them at the same time, the enemy was able to show all the force his works could cover. The assault failed, I regret to say, with much loss on our side in killed and wounded, but without weakening the confidence of the troops in their ability to ultimately succeed.

"No troops succeeded in entering any of the enemy's works, with the exception of Sergeant Griffith, of the Twenty-first Regiment, Iowa Volunteers, and some eleven privates of the same regiment. Of these none returned, except the sergeant and possibly one man. The work entered by him, from its position, could give us no practical advantage, unless others to the right and left of it were carried and held at the same time. . . . The assault of this day proved the quality of

the soldiers of this army. Without entire success, and with a heavy loss, there was no murmuring or complaining, no falling back, nor other evidence of demoralization.

"After the failure of the 22d, I determined upon a regular siege. The troops being now fully awake to the necessity of this, worked diligently and cheerfully."

It had been reported in the rebel army that General Pemberton had "sold" the battlefields of Champion's Hill and Big Black River Bridge. After the repulse of the Union assault upon the fortifications at Vicksburg, Pemberton made the following speech to his command:—

"You have heard that I was incompetent and a traitor, and that it was my intention to sell Vicksburg. Follow me, and you will see the cost at which I will sell Vicksburg. *When the last pound of beef, bacon, and flour, the last grain of corn, the last cow, and hog, and horse, and dog shall have been consumed, and the last man shall have perished in the trenches, then, and only then, will I sell Vicksburg!*"

Grant had already set the sappers and miners at work upon the most available points. Mines were dug, powder planted, and everything made ready to blow up the advanced works, at the shortest notice. By June 25th, 1863, the mines were ready to be sprung, and the following vivid pic-

ture of the firing and explosion is given by an eyewitness : —

“ Everything was finished. The vitalizing spark had quickened the hitherto passive agent, and the now harmless flashes went hurrying to the centre. The troops had been withdrawn. The forlorn hope stood out plainly in view, boldly awaiting the uncertainties of the precarious office. A chilling sensation ran through the frame, as an observer looked upon this devoted band about to hurl itself into the breach — perchance into the jaws of death. Thousands of men in arms flashed on every hill. Everyone was speechless. Even men of tried valor — veterans insensible to the shouts of contending battalions, or nerved to the shrieks of comrades suffering under the torture of painful agonies — stood motionless. It was the seeming torpor which precedes the antagonism of powerful bodies. Five minutes had elapsed. It seemed like an existence. Five minutes more, and yet no signs of the expected exhibition. An indescribable sensation of impatience, blended with a still active anticipation, ran through the assembled spectators. Another few minutes — then the explosion; and upon the horizon could be seen an enormous column of earth, dust, and timbers, and other projectiles lifted into the air at an altitude of at least eighty feet. One entire face of the fort was disembodied and scattered in particles all over

the surrounding surface. The right and left faces were also much damaged, but fortunately enough of them remained to afford an excellent protection on our flanks.

"No sooner had the explosion taken place than the two detachments acting as the forlorn hope ran into the fort and sap, as already mentioned. A brisk musketry fire at once commenced between the two parties, with about equal effect upon either side.

"The explosion of the mine was the signal for the opening of the artillery of the entire line. The left division of General McPherson's Seventeenth or Centre Corps opened first, and discharges were repeated along the left through General Ord's Thirteenth Corps, and Herron's extreme "left division" until the sound struck the ear like the mutterings of distant thunder. General Sherman, on the right, also opened his artillery about the same time and occupied the enemy's attention along his front. Every shell struck the parapet, and, bounding over, exploded in the midst of the enemy's forces beyond. The scene at this time was one of the utmost sublimity. The roar of artillery, rattle of small arms, the cheer of the men, flashes of light, wreaths of pale blue smoke over different parts of the field, the bursting of shell, the fierce whistle of solid shot, the deep boom of the mortars, the broadsides of the ships at war,

and, added to all this, the vigorous replies of the enemy, set up a din which beggars all description. The peculiar configuration of the field afforded an opportunity to witness almost every battery and every rifle-pit within seeing distance, and it is due to all the troops to say that everyone did his duty.

“After the possession of the fort was no longer in doubt, the pioneer corps mounted the work with their shovels, and set to throwing up earth vigorously in order to secure space for artillery. A most fortunate peculiarity in the explosion was the manner in which the earth was thrown out. The appearance of the place was that of a funnel, with heavy sides running up to the very crest of the parapet, affording admirable protection not only for our troops and pioneers, but turned out a ready made fortification in the rough, which, with a slight application of the shovel and pick, was ready to receive the guns to be used at this point.

“Miraculous as it may seem, amid all the fiery ordeal of this afternoon’s engagement, one hundred killed and two hundred wounded is a large estimate of casualties on our side.”

The terse, emphatic style in which General Grant called for vigilance on the part of his troops, is shown in the following order to General Ord: —

“McPherson occupies the crater made by the explosion. He will have guns there by morning.

He has been hard at work running rifle-pits right, and thinks he will hold all gained. Keep Smith's division sleeping under arms to-night ready for an emergency. Their services may be required, particularly about daylight. There should be the greatest vigilance along the whole line."

By the 1st of July, the approaches in many places had reached the enemy's ditch. At ten different points, Grant could put the heads of regiments under cover, within distances of from five to one hundred yards of the rebel works, and the men of the two armies conversed across the lines.

During the bombardment every effort had been made to reduce the rebel works without doing unnecessary damage.

"At no time," wrote one who was present at the siege, "has General Grant sought the destruction of the city. He wishes to spare it for the city itself, and because it contains women and children. As long as the rebel army confines its operations outside its limits, the city will remain intact. If it had been necessary to destroy the city, our guns now in range could have accomplished the work.

"The capture of Vicksburg is a foregone conclusion. We get the evidence of the fact from the rebels themselves. A few days ago a rebel mail was captured coming out from Vicksburg, in which were letters from prominent men in the



rebel army who state that they cannot hold out much longer, and informing their friends that they expect to spend their summer in northern prisons. Better evidence of the condition of things in the rebel army cannot be desired.

“So far as the siege of this place goes, I presume the people at home, in their easy chairs, think it ought to have been finished long since. To such let me say, could they be present here and make a tour of the country in this vicinity, and see the configuration of the country, its broken topography, its high and abrupt hills, deep gullies, gorges, and dilapidated roads, they would then realize the difficulties of the work. Then there is a large army to feed, great *material* to be brought into position, all of which demands large transportation, and the united efforts of thousands of men. General Grant acts independently of the opinions of the public. He fully realizes the responsibility of his position, and in the duty before him he is determined to accomplish his work with as great an economy of human life as possible. He feels now that the prize is within his grasp, and a little patience will achieve all, which, if rashly sought, might cost the lives of the brave army with whom he has gained so many victories.”

Grant had determined to make the final assault on the morning of the 6th of July, but on the 3d he received from Pemberton the following communication :—

"I have the honor to propose to you an armistice for — hours, with a view to arranging terms for the capitulation of Vicksburg. To this end, if agreeable to you, I will appoint three commissioners, to meet a like number named by yourself at such place and point as you may find convenient. I make this proposition to save the further effusion of blood, which must otherwise be shed to a frightful extent, feeling myself fully able to maintain my position for a yet indefinite period. This communication will be handed to you, under a flag of truce, by Major-general John S. Bowen."

Grant's reply read as follows:—

"Your note of this date is just received, proposing an armistice for several hours, for the purpose of arranging terms of capitulation through commissioners, to be appointed, etc. The useless effusion of blood you propose stopping by this course can be ended at any time you may choose by the unconditional surrender of the city and garrison. Men who have shown so much endurance and courage as those now in Vicksburg will always challenge the respect of an adversary, and I can assure you will be treated with all the respect due to prisoners of war. I do not favor the proposition of appointing commissioners to arrange the terms of capitulation, because I have no terms other than those indicated above."

A personal interview was desired by Pemberton,

to which Grant readily acceded; and about three o'clock in the afternoon the two commanders met under the outspreading branches of a gigantic oak, within two hundred feet of the rebel line.

After shaking hands Pemberton remarked: —

“General Grant, I meet you in order to arrange terms for the capitulation of the city of Vicksburg and its garrison. What terms do you demand?”

“Unconditional surrender; the same that I expressed in my letter this morning,” answered Grant.

“Unconditional surrender?” said Pemberton. “Never, so long as I have a man left me! I will fight rather.”

“Very well,” replied Grant, “you can continue the defence. My army has never been in a better condition for the prosecution of the siege.”

General Bowen then proposed that two of the subordinate officers present should retire for consultation. Grant had no objection to this, but would not, of course, consider himself bound by any agreement of his subordinates.

After a long conversation the generals separated, Grant agreeing to send his terms to Pemberton before ten o'clock that evening.

These terms read as follows: —

“In conformity with the agreement of this afternoon, I will submit the following proposition for the surrender of the city of Vicksburg, public stores, etc. On your accept-

ing the terms proposed, I will march in one division, as a guard, and take possession at eight o'clock to-morrow morning. As soon as paroles can be made out and signed by officers and men, you will be allowed to march out of our lines, the officers taking with them their regimental clothing; and staff, field, and cavalry officers, one horse each. The rank and file will be allowed all their clothing, but no other property.

“If these conditions are accepted, any amount of rations you may deem necessary can be taken from the stores you now have, and also the necessary cooking utensils for preparing them; thirty wagons also, counting two two-horse or mule teams as one. You will be allowed to transport such articles as cannot be carried along. The same conditions will be allowed to all sick and wounded officers and privates, as fast as they become able to travel. The paroles for these latter must be signed, however, whilst officers are present, authorized to sign the role of prisoners.”

A little after midnight, the following reply was received from Pemberton:—

“I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of this date, proposing terms of capitulation for this garrison and post. In the main, your terms are accepted; but, in justice both to the honor and spirit of my troops, manifested in the defence of Vicksburg, I have to submit the following amendments, which, if acceded to by you, will perfect the agreement between us. At ten o'clock A. M. tomorrow, I propose to evacuate the works in and around Vicksburg, and to surrender the city and garrison under my command, by marching out with my colors and arms, stacking them in front of my present lines, after which you will take possession. Officers to retain their side-arms and personal property, and the rights and property of citizens to be respected.”

Grant immediately replied:—

“I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 3d of July. The amendment proposed by you cannot be acceded to in full. It will be necessary to furnish every officer and man with a parole signed by himself, which, with the completion of the roll of prisoners, will necessarily take some time. Again, I can make no stipulations with regard to the treatment of citizens and their private property. While I do not propose to cause them any undue annoyance or loss, I cannot consent to leave myself under restraint by stipulations. The property which officers will be allowed to take with them will be as stated in my proposition of last evening: that is, officers will be allowed their private baggage and side-arms, and mounted officers one horse each. If you mean by your proposition for each brigade to march to the front of the lines now occupied by it, and stack arms at ten o'clock A. M., and then return to the inside and there remain as prisoners until properly paroled, I will make no objection to it. Should no notification be received of your acceptance of my terms by nine o'clock A. M., I shall regard them as having been rejected, and shall act accordingly. Should these terms be accepted, white flags should be displayed along your lines to prevent such of my troops as may not have been notified, from firing upon your men.”

After a short consultation with his general officers, Pemberton sent the following reply:—

“I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of this day, and in reply to say that the terms proposed by you are accepted.”

An army correspondent who was at Grant's headquarters that morning said:—

"I found the general more animated in conversation than I had ever known him. He was evidently contented with the manner in which he had acquitted himself of the responsible task which had for more than five months engrossed his mind and his army. The consummation is one of which he may well be proud. From Bruinsburg to Vicksburg, nineteen days, presents one of the most active records of marches, actions, and victories of the war. It is unparalleled, the only campaign of the war which involved such celerity of movement, attack, victory, pursuit, and humiliation of the enemy."

Soon after ten o'clock on the morning of July 4th, the rebel works were surmounted by a large number of white flags along the entire line. The enemy then marched out from Vicksburg, stacked their arms in front of the conquerors, and returned inside the works, prisoners of war, awaiting their parole.

When Pemberton was asked why the 4th of July was selected for the surrender, he answered:—

"I believed that upon that day I should obtain better terms. Well aware of the vanity of our foes, I knew they would attach vast importance to the entrance on the 4th of July into the stronghold of the great river, and that, to gratify their national vanity, they would yield then what could not be extorted from them at any other time."

In Alison's History of Europe, the Ulm campaign, under Napoleon, is described as "unparalleled in modern warfare, and sufficient to have turned the strongest head." On a certain memorable morning, the garrison of Ulm, thirty thousand strong, with sixty pieces of cannon, marched out of the fortress to lay down its arms.

But in this surrender of Vicksburg, thirty-one thousand six hundred men were taken, and one hundred and seventy-two cannon — *the largest capture of men and material ever made in war*

When Grant reported to his chief the final result of the campaign, he received from Halleck the following reply : —

"Your report, dated July 6th, of your campaign in Mississippi ending in the capitulation of Vicksburg, was received last evening. Your narration of the campaign, like the operations themselves, is brief, soldierly, and in every respect creditable and satisfactory. In boldness of plan, rapidity of execution, and brilliancy of routes, these operations will compare most favorably with those of Napoleon about Ulm. You and your army have well deserved the gratitude of your country, and it will be the boast of your children that their fathers were of the heroic army which re-opened the Mississippi River."

President Lincoln sent his congratulations as follows : —

"MY DEAR GENERAL, — I do not remember that you and I ever met personally. I write this now as a grateful acknowledgment for the almost inestimable service you

have done the country. I wish to say a word further. When you first reached the vicinity of Vicksburg, I thought you should do what you finally did,—march the troops across the neck, run the batteries with the transports, and thus go below; and I never had any faith, except a general hope that you knew better than I, that the Yazoo Pass expedition and the like could succeed. When you got below and took Port Gibson, Grand Gulf and vicinity, I thought you should go down the river and join General Banks; and when you turned northward, east of the Big Black, I feared it was a mistake. I now wish to make a personal acknowledgment that you were right and I was wrong.”

The grade of major-general in the regular army was immediately conferred upon Grant, and the country rang with his praise. The victory at Gettysburg, as will be remembered, came upon this same 4th of July; and never, since the opening of the war, had the prospects of the Union cause seemed brighter.



## CHAPTER XII.

## OCCUPATION OF VICKSBURG.

BY one o'clock on this glorious 4th of July, everything was in readiness for the entrance of the city by the national troops. As General Logan's division was one of those which had approached nearest the rebel works, it was given the honor of first entering the town. The Forty-fifth Illinois Infantry, under Colonel Maltby, led the column, in consequence of heroic conduct through the siege, and placed its battle-torn flag on the dome of the Vicksburg Court House. Admiral Porter, with his fleet down the river, caught a glimpse of the "star-spangled banner" as he pointed his field-glass towards Vicksburg; and in due time his vessel steamed down to the city, followed by all the gunboats in the neighborhood, and took possession of the river front.

General Grant rode into Vicksburg with his staff, at the head of Logan's Division. He went directly to one of the rebel headquarters, where Pemberton was sitting with his generals. They saluted him, but no one was courteous enough to offer him a seat. It was a hot, dusty day, and he

asked for a drink of water. They told him that he could find it inside, and by other marks of rudeness showed how little they appreciated the magnanimity of a victor who had allowed them to retain both their arms and their personal property.

Pemberton's first request was that Grant should supply the garrison with rations. To this he immediately consented, and asked how many would be needed.

"I have thirty-two thousand men," was the reply.

This was the first intimation that Grant had of the extent of his victory. He had supposed the garrison to consist of not more than fifteen or twenty thousand men.

A writer whose sympathies were strongly with the South gave the following tribute to Grant, upon hearing of the surrender of Vicksburg:—

"General Grant is a noble fellow, and by the terms of capitulation he accorded to the heroic garrison showed himself as generous as Napoleon was to Wurmser at the surrender of Mantua. His deed will read well in history, and he has secured to himself a name which posterity will pronounce with veneration and gratitude. There is no general in this country or in Europe that has done harder work than General Grant, and none that has better graced his victories by the exercise of humanity and virtue. What we learn of the terms of the capitulation is sufficient to prove General Grant to be a generous soldier and a man. A truly brave man respects bravery in others, and, when

the sword is sheathed, considers himself free to follow the dictates of humanity. General Grant is not a general that makes his progress by proclamations to frighten unarmed men, women, and children; he flatters no one to get himself puffed; but he is terrible in arms and magnanimous after the battle."

As soon as General Gardner, the rebel commander at Port Hudson, heard that Vicksburg had surrendered, he sent a despatch to General Banks, proposing a capitulation; this post was taken without bloodshed, and in the words of Lincoln, "the Father of Waters now rolled unvexed to the sea."

When General Grant learned that Johnston intended to attack him in the rear, he ordered Sherman to resist his advance. The rebel general, on finding the Union troops had been sent in pursuit of his forces, fell back within the defences of Jackson, the Mississippi State capital.

July 12th, Grant wrote as follows to Halleck:—

"General Sherman has Jackson invested from Pearl River on the north, to the river on the south. This has cut off many hundred cars from the Confederacy. Sherman says he has forces enough, and feels no apprehension about the result.

"Finding that Yazoo City was being fortified, I sent General Herron there with his Division. He captured several hundred prisoners and one steamboat. Five pieces of heavy artillery and all the public stores fell into our hands. The enemy burned three steamboats on the approach of the gunboats.

“The De Kalb was blown up and sunk in fifteen feet of water by the explosion of a torpedo.

“Finding that the enemy were crossing cattle for the rebel army at Natchez, and were said to have several thousand there, I have sent steamboats and troops to collect them and destroy all boats and means for making more.”

On the 18th, he wrote : —

“Joe Johnston evacuated Jackson on the night of the 16th instant. He is now in full retreat east. Sherman says most of Johnston’s army must perish from heat, lack of water, and general discouragement. The army paroled here at Vicksburg have to a great extent deserted, and are scattered over the country in every direction.

“Learning that Yazoo City was being fortified, I sent General Herron there. Five guns were captured, many stores, and about three hundred prisoners.

“General Ransom was sent to Natchez to stop the crossing of cattle for the eastern army. On arrival, he found that large numbers had been driven out of the city to be pastured; also, that munitions of war had recently been crossed over to wait for Kirby Smith. He mounted about two hundred of his men, and sent them in both directions. They captured a number of prisoners, and five thousand head of Texas cattle, two thousand head of which were sent to General Banks. The balance have been or will be brought here.

“In Louisiana they captured more prisoners and a number of teams loaded with ammunition. Over two million rounds of ammunition were brought back to Natchez with the teams captured, and two hundred and sixty-eight thousand rounds, besides artillery ammunition, were destroyed.”

During Grant’s occupation of Vicksburg, a major

in the rebel army, who had formerly served in the same regiment of the United States with Grant, was his prisoner. Grant treated him with the utmost kindness and invited him to his private apartment. The rebel major was touched, and said confidentially to his captor, —

“I tell you what it is, Grant, I’m not much of a rebel after all; and when I am paroled, the whole concern may go to the dogs!”

Halleck had feared that the paroling of prisoners at Vicksburg might be construed into an absolute release, and that the men would be immediately placed in the ranks of the enemy; his first despatch to Grant, therefore, after the capitulation, were words of rebuke rather than of commendation.

His countermand, however, came too late. The whole garrison had been paroled not to take up arms against the United States until exchanged by the proper authorities, and had already left Vicksburg. These terms really proved more favorable to the government than an unconditional surrender, as Grant thus saved the expense of feeding thirty thousand prisoners, and also secured his troops and transports for the movement against Johnston.

The army that had been paroled was virtually discharged from the rebel service; thousands crossed the Mississippi and went West, many begged a passage to the North, and not a few ex-

pressed a strong desire to enter the ranks of the Union army.

In the despatch to Halleck on the 18th of July, announcing the second capture of Jackson and the completion of the Vicksburg campaign, Grant said, —

“It seems to me, now, that Mobile should be captured, the expedition starting from Lake Ponchartrain.”

Halleck, however, had other plans, and replied : —

“Before attempting Mobile, I think it will be best to clean up a little. Johnston should be disposed of, also Price and Marmaduke, so as to hold line of the Arkansas River. This will enable us to withdraw troops from Missouri. Vicksburg and Port Hudson should be repaired, so as to be tenable by small garrisons; also, assist Banks in clearing out western Louisiana. When these things are accomplished, there will be a large available force to operate either on Mobile or Texas. Navy is not ready for co-operation; should Sumter fall, then ironclads can be sent to assist at Mobile.”

If Grant's suggestion had been acted on, before the rebels could have time to recover from the Vicksburg campaign, there is little doubt but that Mobile would have at once fallen, and the war shortened by at least a year. On the 24th of

July, Grant renewed his suggestion and wrote to Halleck, "It seems to me that Mobile is the point deserving the most attention."

Again, on the 1st of August, he says: "Mobile can be taken from the Gulf Department, with only one or two gunboats to protect the debarkation. I can send the necessary force. With your leave I would like to visit New Orleans, particularly if the movement against Mobile is authorized."

As Halleck still refused his permission, Grant on the 25th of September again urged him to reconsider the subject: "I am confident that Mobile could now be taken, with comparatively a small force. At least, a demonstration in that direction would either result in the abandonment of the city, or force the enemy to weaken Bragg's army to hold it."

Five days later he adds: "I regret that I have not got a movable force with which to attack Mobile, or the river above. As I am situated, however, I must be contented with guarding territory already taken from the enemy."

While at Vicksburg, Grant sent supplies of medicine and provisions to the rebel sick at Raymond, and told Sherman that when families had been deprived of all their subsistence by Union troops, it was only fair the same articles should be issued in return.

"It should be our policy now," he said, "to

make as favorable an impression upon the people of this State as possible. Impress upon the men the importance of going through the State in an orderly manner, refraining from taking anything not absolutely necessary for their subsistence while travelling. They should try to create as favorable an impression as possible upon the people, and advise them, if it will do any good, to make efforts to have law and order established within the Union."

On the 7th of August, in obedience to orders from Washington, Grant sent Ord's entire command to Banks, and was himself advised to co-operate with that commander, by sending a small force from Natchez into Louisiana. Grant had been informed: —

"General Banks has been left at liberty to select his own objective point in Texas, and may determine to move by sea. If so, your movement will not have his support, and should be conducted with caution. You will confer on this matter freely with General Banks. The government is exceedingly anxious that our troops should occupy some points in Texas with the least possible delay."

Grant started, accordingly, in person for New Orleans upon the 30th of August, notifying Halleck: "General Banks is not yet off, and I am desirous of seeing him before he starts, to learn his plans, and see how I may help him."



As Sherman was next in rank, Grant of course proposed to leave him in command; but that officer preferred to have all orders still issued in Grant's name, with his (Sherman's) advice and concurrence.

"With such men as Sherman and McPherson," said Grant, "commanding corps or armies, there will never be any jealousies or lack of hearty co-operation."

It was one of Grant's most notable traits that he always desired to give honor wherever it was due, and in his official report of the Vicksburg campaign he paid the following fine tribute to Porter:—

"I cannot close this report," he says, "without an expression of thankfulness for my good fortune in being placed in co-operation with an officer of the navy who accords to every move that seems for the interest and success of our arms, his hearty and energetic support. Admiral Porter and the very efficient officers under him have ever shown the greatest readiness in their co-operation, no matter what was to be done, or what risk to be taken, either by their men or their vessels. Without this prompt and cordial support my movements would have been embarrassed, if not wholly defeated."

In honor of the victories gained by General Grant with the Army of the Tennessee, a beautiful sword was presented to him by the officers under his command. The handle represented the carved figure of a young giant crushing the rebel-

lion; and the scabbard was of solid silver with appropriate and exquisite designs.

The President honored the "conquering hero" by appointing him to the vacant major-generalship in the regular army of the United States, with a commission dating from the occupation of Vicksburg, July 4th, 1863.

## CHAPTER XIII.

## THE NEGRO QUESTION—TRADE IN THE SOUTHERN STATES—GRANT'S NEW COMMAND.

THE negroes in the Department having all become free by virtue of President Lincoln's proclamation and the occupation of the country by the United States authorities, Grant issued upon the 10th of August, 1863, the following order:—

“At all military posts in States within the Department of the Tennessee where slavery has been abolished by the proclamation of the President of the United States, camps will be established for such freed people of color as are out of employment.

“Commanders of posts or districts will detail suitable officers from the army as superintendents of such camps. It will be the duty of such superintendents to see that suitable rations are drawn from the Subsistence Department for such people as are confided to their care.

“All such persons will be employed in every practicable way so as to avoid, as far as possible, their becoming a burden upon the Government. They may be hired to planters or other citizens on proper assurance that the negroes so hired will not be run off beyond the military jurisdiction of the United States; they may be employed upon any public works, in gathering crops from abandoned plantations, and generally in any manner local commanders may deem for the best interests of the Government, in compliance with law and the policy of the Administration.

“It will be the duty of the provost marshal at every military post to see that every negro within the jurisdiction of the military authorities is employed by some white person, or is sent to the camp provided for freed people.

“Citizens may make contracts with freed persons of color for their labor, giving wages per month in money, or employ families of them by the year on plantations, etc., feeding, clothing and supporting the infirm as well as able-bodied, and giving a portion, not less than one-twentieth of the commercial part of their crops, in payment for such services.

“Where negroes are employed under this authority, the parties employing will register with the provost marshal their names, occupation, and residence, and the number of negroes so employed. They will enter into such bonds as the provost marshal, with the approval of the local commander, may require for the kind treatment and proper care of those employed, and as security against their being carried beyond the employer’s jurisdiction.

“Nothing of this order is to be construed to embarrass the employment of such colored persons as may be required by the Government.”

At the beginning of the rebellion, Grant was not an abolitionist; the salvation of the Union was to him the paramount question; but when the government determined first to free, and then to arm the negroes, Grant was ready to co-operate.

The rebels at first refused to recognize the black troops as soldiers, and declared that if captured they should be treated as runaway slaves, and their officers as thieves and robbers. Grant, hearing that a white captain and some negro soldiers,

taken prisoners at Milliken's Bend, had been hanged, wrote to General Richard Taylor, then commanding the rebel forces in Louisiana:—

“I feel no inclination to retaliate for the offences of irresponsible persons; but, if it is the policy of any general intrusted with the command of troops to show no quarter, or to punish with death prisoners taken in battle, I will accept the issue. It may be you propose a different line of policy towards black troops, and officers commanding them, to that practised towards white troops. If so, I can assure you that these colored troops are regularly mustered into the service of the United States. The Government, and all officers under the Government, are bound to give the same protection to these troops that they do to any other troops.”

General Taylor replied that he would punish all such acts, “disgraceful alike to humanity and the reputation of soldiers;” but declared that officers of the “Confederate States Army” were required to turn over to the civil authorities, to be dealt with according to the laws of the States wherein such were captured, all negroes captured in arms.

Hon. Salmon P. Chase, the Secretary of the Treasury, strongly favored the question of allowing trade to be carried on in the conquered regions, and wrote Grant:—

“I find that a rigorous line within districts occupied by our military forces, from beyond which no cotton or other produce can be brought, and within which no trade can be carried on, gives rise to serious and to some apparently well-founded complaints.”

He wished to substitute bonds — at least to substitute them partially — to be given by all persons receiving permits, for the rigorous line then established, but Grant wrote in reply : —

“My experience in West Tennessee has convinced me that any trade whatever with the rebellious States is weakening to us of at least thirty-three per cent. of our force. No matter what the restrictions thrown around trade, if any whatever is allowed, it will be made the means of supplying the enemy what they want. Restrictions, if lived up to, make trade unprofitable, and hence none but dishonest men go into it. I will venture to say that no honest man has made money in West Tennessee in the last year, while many fortunes have been made there during the time. The people in the Mississippi Valley are now nearly subjugated. Keep trade out but for a few months, and I doubt not but that the work of subjugation will be so complete that trade can be opened freely with the States of Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi. . . . “*No theory of my own,*” he adds in conclusion, “*will ever stand in the way of my executing in good faith any order I may receive from those in authority over me ;* but my position has given me an opportunity of seeing what could not be known by persons away from the scene of war, and I venture, therefore, great caution in opening trade with rebels.”

Notwithstanding all his arguments, however, a limited trade was opened with the rebels, and the results prophesied by Grant rapidly followed.

Grant arrived at New Orleans on the 2d day of September, and the next day it was announced that the trade of the city of New Orleans with Cairo, St. Louis, and the cities and towns of the

Upper Mississippi, the Missouri and Ohio Rivers, was declared free from any military restriction whatever. At intermediate points within the Department of the Gulf, the trade of the Mississippi was held subject only to such limitations as might prove necessary to prevent the supply of provisions and munitions of war to the Confederates.

On the 4th of September, Grant held at New Orleans a grand review of the Thirteenth Army Corps, which had been under his command at Vicksburg, but afterwards transferred to General Banks. During this review, Grant, being mounted on a strange horse, was suddenly thrown from his seat and severely injured. For twenty days he was confined to one position, and could not return to Vicksburg till the 16th of September. On the 19th he wrote: —

“I am still confined to my bed, being flat on my back. My injuries are severe, but still not dangerous. . . . I will still endeavor to perform my duties, and hope soon to recover, that I may be able to take the field at any time I may be called to do so.”

He was, however, obliged to keep his bed till the 25th, and for two months afterwards could only walk with crutches. On the 19th and 20th of September, Rosecrans suffered a severe repulse on the Chickamauga River, nine miles from Chattanooga; and being obliged to retire to the latter place, he was here nearly surrounded by a superior

rebel army. On the 29th Halleck telegraphed to Grant : —

“The enemy seems to have concentrated on Rosecrans all his available force from every direction. To meet him, it is necessary that all the forces that can be spared in your department be sent to Rosecrans’ assistance. . . . An able commander like Sherman or McPherson should be selected. As soon as your health will permit, I think you should go to Nashville and take the direction of this movement.”

Grant had written on the 28th : “I am now ready for the field, or any duty I may be called upon to perform,” and on the 30th, in reply to Halleck, he said : —

“All, I believe, is now moving according to your wishes. I have ten thousand five hundred men to hold the river from here to Bayou Lara. . . . I regret that there should be an apparent tardiness in complying with your orders; but I assure you that as soon as your wishes were known, troops were forwarded as rapidly as transportation could be procured.”

Halleck replied at once : —

“Although the re-enforcements from your army for General Rosecrans did not move as soon or as rapidly as was expected, no blame whatever attaches to you. I know your promptness too well to think for a moment that this delay was any fault of yours.”

Soon after, the following despatch was received : —

“It is the wish of the Secretary of War that as soon as General Grant is able to take the field, he will come to Cairo and report by telegraph.”



Having arrived at Cairo and informed Halleck of the fact, he received further orders as follows : —

“ You will immediately proceed to the Galt House, Louisville, Ky., where you will meet an officer of the War Department with your orders and instructions. You will take with you your staff, etc., for immediate operations in the field.”

On his way, he was met at Indianapolis by the Secretary of War, Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, who brought with him from Washington an order creating for Grant a new and much larger command. The order read as follows : —

“ By direction of the President of the United States, the Departments of the Ohio, of the Cumberland, and of the Tennessee, will constitute the military division of the Mississippi. Major-general U. S. Grant, United States Army, is placed in command of the military division of the Mississippi, with his headquarters in the field.

“ Major-general W. S. Rosecrans, U. S. Volunteers, is relieved from the command of the Department and Army of the Cumberland. Major-general G. H. Thomas is hereby assigned to that command, by order of the Secretary of War.”

The whole party then proceeded on their journey to Louisville, and found at the Galt House a wondering crowd, eager to catch a glimpse of the hero of Vicksburg. The prevailing impression seemed to be that General Grant must be a sort of giant.

“ Why ! ” exclaimed one of the natives, “ I

thought he was a large man. He would be considered a small chance of a fighter if he lived in Kentucky!"

The new command of General Grant covered a larger area and controlled a greater number of troops than any ever held by a general before the grade of a general-in-chief. He had now under his direction four of the largest armies in the field, commanded by Generals Sherman, Thomas, Burnside, and Hooker, and to these General Foster's column was afterwards added. The country embraced in this new command included the States of Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Northern Alabama, and Northwestern Georgia.

The opposing rebel forces were also of a formidable character. To General Bragg's own troops had been added Longstreet's and Hill's corps from the Virginian army. Besides Johnston's co-operating force of 30,000 men, the Confederate army had been still further strengthened by a brigade of infantry, and a cavalry division of from 5,000 to 6,000 operating between Jackson and the Big Black, under General S. D. Lee.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## THE CHATTANOOGA CAMPAIGN.

WHEN the rebellion first broke out, the important strategic position of Chattanooga was at once perceived by military men. The town lies at the base of a lofty ridge of the Cumberland Mountains, which serve as a sort of natural boundary between the cotton States and the grain-growing plains of Kentucky and Tennessee. The name itself (Chattanooga) means "Eagle's Nest;" but the crest is now called by its English name, "Lookout Mountain," while the southern point is known as Missionary Ridge, because the Indians would not allow the early missionaries to proceed further. The whole region embraces one of the most important avenues for access to the South, and the railroads from Memphis and Charleston and Richmond and Nashville and Atlanta meet here at Chattanooga.

Rosecrans, with his defeated army, had now withdrawn into the town of Chattanooga, and thrown up a formidable line of works, so close that some of the houses were left outside. Bragg had instantly taken possession of Missionary Ridge,

which is about four hundred feet high, three miles from the Tennessee River, and just south and east of Chattanooga. After the unfortunate battle of Chickamauga, the post on Lookout Mountain had been abandoned by the Union troops and instantly occupied by the rebels, who saw at once that it was the key to the whole position. By seizing the railroad just at the base of the mountain, they cut off the supplies of the national troops, and threatened to starve out the whole army entrenched there.

But General Grant was now on the ground and determined to re-open the valley route at all hazards. How this was done is graphically described by a participant in Hooker's column:—

“The early morning of the 28th of October opened with a clear, bright, beautiful moonlight, the scenery on every side traced in dark sombre on the background of the sky. High, towering mountains—the Raccoon Mountain on one side, and the Lookout Mountain on the other—and the valley, diversified by open fields and small clumps of woods, formed a curious picture. On Lookout Mountain bright fires burned, and told us too plainly where to look for the enemy and his signal officers. Our camp-fires burned brightly, and our line lay on a parallel with what was the enemy's on the day previous. Two divisions were encamped on the left or front of our line. Another division, General Geary's, was in bivouac, about one mile and a half from the other two divisions. Between the two sections of the command the enemy held a position on the Chattanooga road proper, as also on the railroad.

“Suddenly the Union troops were aroused by the heavy firing in General Geary’s direction. At once preparation was made for a general engagement. The troops were soon in column, and the trains and ambulances got in readiness for the emergency. As they pressed forward on the road to join General Geary, the enemy opened a heavy fire of musketry from a high hill close to their line of advance. At once our commanding generals comprehended the state of affairs. The enemy had intended their movement to be a surprise; and one with a view to the probable surrounding and possible capture of Geary’s force. From prisoners taken during the fight that ensued, we learned that General Longstreet, on beholding our column move up the Lookout Valley towards Chattanooga, quietly massed two divisions on Lookout Mountain and moved them up to and across Lookout Creek, with a view to the carrying out of the plan of his surprise movement. About eight P. M., he moved his division across the creek. One division passed on to the Chattanooga road and occupied two hills commanding the road on a parallel leading to Brown’s Ferry. The other division passed down the railroad, and from there on to the Chattanooga road, below the fork. The rebels had intrenched themselves on the hill, and from their works had opened fire upon the Union command; but this did not delay the advance of the re-enforcements, which pushed along under fire through an open space or field to the right of the front of the hills.

“While this command was pressing forward, a second division was moved up on the road, and a courier sent to inform General Geary of the near approach of assistance.

“An order was now given to take the hill, and the second division was assigned to the task. The advance was commenced; and the enemy poured down a heavy fire of musketry. Slowly the men went up the hill, the ascent of which was so steep that it was as much as a man could do to get to the top in peaceful times, and with the help of daylight.

This hill was covered with briar bushes, fallen trees and tangling masses of various descriptions, but our boys pressed forward in spite of all obstructions. The whole division at last gave a sudden start forward and gained the crest of the hill. The enemy's line wavered and broke, and the rebels composing it went down the other side of the hill with broken, flying, and disordered ranks. On gaining the crest, our men found that they had not only driven the enemy off, but had taken some tolerably well-constructed earthworks, behind which the rebels had posted themselves. It was then ascertained, too, that the hill had been occupied by about two thousand rebels. The success and the gallantry with which the height was taken elicited general commendation to the skill and bravery of the troops and their commanding officers.

“Soon after this, a detachment from another division took the next hill to the right without much resistance.

“The enemy continued a scattering fire for some time after the hills were taken, but finally ceased troubling us.

“In the meantime General Geary had bravely resisted the rebel attack; and, after two hours' hard fighting, the enemy retreated, without making Geary's line to waver or fall back a foot. Almost every horse in one section of artillery was shot dead. The enemy retired across the railroad, and from there to the other side of the creek.”

The army at Chattanooga were thus relieved of the danger of starvation; and General Grant began to make preparations to attack the enemy in his front.

Longstreet's forces were now before the city of Knoxville. “Just where we want them!” said Grant, when apprised of his attempts to flank the Union position several miles to the eastward of Chattanooga.

An examination of the enemy's line showed clearly the danger to which the rebels had exposed themselves. A large portion of their army they had allowed to go into East Tennessee, and the remainder of their forces they had extended into lines almost as thin as a spider's thread. Upon Mission Ridge, the outer line of defences was nearly seven miles in extent, while the inner line of rifle pits running through the valleys was not less than five miles long. Grant knew that the north end of this ridge was imperfectly guarded; and that the left bank of the Tennessee, from the mouth of South Chickamauga Creek westward to the main rebel line in front of Chattanooga, was watched by a small cavalry picket, only. These facts determined his plan of operations. His main object being to mass all the forces possible against Mission Ridge, converging toward Chickamauga Station, — Bragg's depot of supplies, — Grant finally deemed it best to countermand Hooker's attack on Lookout Mountain, and bring most of the troops intended for that operation to the other end of the line.

To General Thomas, the instructions were given as follows : —

“All preparations should be made for attacking the enemy's position on Missionary Ridge, by Saturday morning, at daylight. . . . The general plan is, for Sherman, with the force brought with him, strengthened by a division

from your command, to effect a crossing of the Tennessee River, just below the mouth of the Chickamauga; his crossing to be protected by artillery from the heights of the north bank of the river, and to secure the heights from the northern extremity to about the railroad tunnel, before the enemy can concentrate against him. You will co-operate with Sherman. The troops in Chattanooga Valley should all be concentrated on your left flank, leaving only the necessary force to defend fortifications on the right and centre, and a movable column of one division, in readiness to move wherever ordered. This division should show itself as threateningly as possible, on the most practicable line for making an attack up the valley. Your effort, then, will be to form a junction with Sherman, making your advance well toward the northern end of Missionary Ridge, and moving as near simultaneously with him as possible. The junction once formed, and the ridge carried, connection will be at once established between the two armies, by roads on the south bank of the river. Further movements will then depend on those of the enemy.

“Lookout Valley, I think, will be easily held by Geary’s division, and what troops you may still have there, of the old Army of the Cumberland. Howard’s corps can then be held in readiness to act, either with you at Chattanooga, or with Sherman. It should be marched, on Friday night, to a position on the north side of the river, not lower down than the first pontoon bridge at Chattanooga; and then held in readiness for such orders as may become necessary. All these troops will be provided with two days’ rations, in haversacks, and one hundred rounds of ammunition on the person of each infantry soldier. . . .”

To Sherman a copy of these instructions was forwarded for his guidance, and he was also informed, “It is particularly desirable that a force



should be got through to the railroad between Cleveland and Dalton, and Longstreet thus cut off from communication with the south; but, being confronted by a large force here, strongly located, it is not easy to tell how this is to be effected, until the result of our first effort is known."

On the 23d of November, a little before noon, General Grant ordered a demonstration against Missionary Ridge, to develop the force holding it.

General Meigs, who was present during the whole three days' battle, thus describes it:—

"The troops marched out, formed in order, and advanced in line of battle, as if on parade. The rebels watched the formation and movement from their picket lines and rifle-pits, and from the summits of Missionary Ridge, five hundred feet above us, and thought it was a review and drill, so openly and deliberately, so regularly, was it all done.

"The line advanced, preceded by skirmishers, and at two o'clock P. M. reached our picket lines, and opened a rattling volley upon the rebel pickets, who replied, and ran into their advanced line of rifle-pits. After them went our skirmishers, and into them along the centre line of 25,000 troops which General Thomas had so quickly displayed, until we opened fire. Prisoners assert that they thought the whole movement was a review and general drill, and that it was too late to send to their camps for re-enforcements, and that they were overwhelmed by force of numbers. It was a surprise in open daylight.

"At three o'clock P. M. the important advanced position of Orchard Knob and the lines right and left were in our possession, and arrangements were ordered for holding them during the night.

“The next day, at daylight, General Sherman had five thousand men across the Tennessee, and established on its south bank, and commenced the construction of a pontoon bridge about six miles above Chattanooga. The rebel steamer Dunbar was repaired at the right moment, and rendered effective aid in this crossing, carrying over six thousand men.

“By nightfall, General Sherman had seized the extremity of Missionary Ridge nearest the river, and was intrenching himself. General Howard, with a brigade, opened communication with him from Chattanooga on the south side of the river. Skirmishing and cannonading continued all day on the left and centre. General Hooker sealed the slopes of Lookout Mountain, and from the valley of Lookout Creek drove the rebels around the point. He captured some two thousand prisoners, and established himself high up the mountain side, in full view of Chattanooga. This raised the blockade, and now steamers were ordered from Bridgeport to Chattanooga. They had run only to Kelley's Ferry, whence ten miles of hauling over mountain roads and twice across the Tennessee on pontoon bridges brought us our supplies.

“All night the point of Missionary Ridge on the extreme right blazed with the camp-fires of loyal troops.

“The day had been one of dense mists and rains, and much of General Hooker's battle was fought above the clouds, which concealed him from our view, but from which his musketry was heard.

“At nightfall the sky cleared, and the full moon — ‘the traitor's doom’ — shone upon the beautiful scene until 1 A.M., when twinkling sparks upon the mountain-side showed that picket skirmishing was going on. Then it ceased. A brigade sent from Chattanooga crossed the Chattanooga Creek and opened communication with Hooker.

“General Grant's headquarters during the afternoon of the 23d and the day of the 24th were in Wood's Redoubt, except

when in the course of the day he rode along the advance line, visiting the headquarters of the several commanders in Chattanooga Valley.

“At daylight on the 25th the stars and stripes were descried on the peak of Lookout. The rebels had evacuated the mountain.

“Hooker moved to descend the mountain, striking Missionary Ridge at the Rossville Gap, to sweep both sides and its summit.

“The rebel troops were seen, as soon as it was light enough, streaming regiments and brigades along the narrow summit of Missionary Ridge, either concentrating on the right to overwhelm Sherman, or marching for the railroad to raise the siege.

“They had evacuated the valley of Chattanooga. Would they abandon that of Chickamauga?

“The twenty-pounders and four and a quarter inch rifles of Wood's Redoubt opened on Missionary Ridge. Orchard Knob sent its compliments to the Ridge, and from Missionary Ridge to Orchard Knob, and from Wood's Redoubt, over the heads of Generals Grant and Thomas and their staffs, who were with us in this favorable position, from whence the whole battle could be seen as in an amphitheatre. The headquarters were under fire all day long.

“Cannonading and musketry were heard from General Sherman, and General Howard marched the Eleventh Corps to join him.

“General Thomas sent out skirmishers, who drove in the rebel pickets and chased them into their intrenchments, and at the foot of Missionary Ridge Sherman made an assault against Bragg's right, intrenched on a high knob next to that on which Sherman himself lay fortified. The assault was gallantly made.

“Sherman reached the edge of the crest, and held his ground for (it seemed to me) an hour, but was bloodily repulsed by reserves.

“A general advance was ordered, and a strong line of skirmishers followed by a deployed line of battle some two miles in length. At the signal of leaden shots from headquarters on Orchard Knob, the line moved rapidly and orderly forward. The rebel pickets discharged their muskets and ran into their rifle-pits. Our skirmishers followed on their heels.

“The line of battle was not far behind; and we saw the gray rebels swarm out of the ledge line of rifle-pits and over the base of the hill in numbers which surprised us. A few turned and fired their pieces; but the greater number collected into the many roads which cross obliquely up its steep face, and went on to the top.

“Some regiments pressed on, and swarmed up the steep sides of the ridge; and here and there a color was advanced beyond the lines. The attempt appeared most dangerous; but the advance was supported, and the whole line was ordered to storm the heights, upon which not less than forty pieces of artillery, and no one knew how many muskets, stood ready to slaughter the assailants. With cheers answering to cheers the men swarmed upward. They gathered to the points least difficult of ascent, and the line was broken. Color after color was planted on the summit, while musket and cannon vomited their thunder upon them.

“A well-directed shot from Orchard Knob exploded a rebel *caisson* on the summit, and the gun was seen speedily taken to the right, its driver lashing his horses. A party of our soldiers intercepted them; and the gun was captured with cheers.

“A fierce musketry broke out to the left, where, between Thomas and Sherman, a mile or two of the ridge was still occupied by the rebels.

“Bragg left the house in which he had held his headquarters, and rode to the rear as our troops crowded the hill on either side of him.

“General Grant proceeded to the summit, and then only did we know its height.

“Some of the captured artillery was put into position. Artillerists were sent for to work the guns, and caissons were searched for ammunition.

“The rebel log breastworks were torn to pieces and carried to the other side of the ridge, and used in forming barricades across. A strong line of infantry was formed in the rear of Baird’s line, and engaged in a musketry contest with the rebels to the left, and a secure lodgment was soon effected.

“The other assault to the right of our centre gained the summit, and the rebels threw down their arms and fled. Hooker, coming into favorable position, swept the right of the ridge, and captured many prisoners.

“Bragg’s remaining troops left early in the night; and the battle of Chattanooga, after days of manœuvring and fighting, was won. The strength of the rebellion in the centre is broken. Burnside is relieved from danger in East Tennessee. Kentucky and Tennessee are rescued. Georgia and Southeast are threatened in the rear, and *another victory is added to the chapter of ‘Unconditional Surrender Grant.’*”

This battle of Chattanooga was the grandest ever fought west of the Alleghanies. It covered an area of thirteen miles, and Grant had over sixty thousand men engaged. The rebel army numbered forty-five thousand men, but they had the advantage of position on every part of the field. As at Vicksburg it had been the strategy, at Chattanooga it was the manœuvring in the presence of the enemy that secured the victory. No battle during the Civil War was carried out so com-

pletely according to the programme. The instructions of Grant in advance serve almost as a complete history of the engagement.

The way was now thrown open to Atlanta ; and Chattanooga, the great bulwark of the would-be Confederacy, had become a sally-port for the national armies.

## CHAPTER XV.

## GRANT IS APPOINTED LIEUTENANT-GENERAL.

ALTHOUGH Chattanooga was now secure, Burnside was still surrounded by the enemy, and the capture of Knoxville threatened. On the 29th of November, the rebel general Longstreet made an assault upon Fort Sanders and other works around Knoxville. It was, however, unsuccessful, and on the 4th of December he raised the siege and retreated eastward toward Virginia.

When the good news reached Washington, President Lincoln sent the following despatch to Grant : —

“Understanding that your lodgment at Chattanooga and Knoxville is now secure, I wish to tender you, and all under your command, my more than thanks — my profoundest gratitude — for the skill, courage, and perseverance with which you and they, over so great difficulties, have effected that important object. God bless you all !”

General Grant at once had the despatch embodied in an order, so that it should be read to every regiment in his command, and congratulated them himself as follows : —

“The general commanding takes this opportunity of returning his sincere thanks and congratulations to the brave armies of the Cumberland, the Ohio, the Tennessee, and their comrades from the Potomac, for the recent splendid and decisive successes achieved over the enemy. In a short time you have recovered from him the control of the Tennessee River from Bridgeport to Knoxville. You dislodged him from his great stronghold upon Lookout Mountain, drove him from Chattanooga Valley, wrested from his determined grasp the possession of Missionary Ridge, repelled with heavy loss to him his repeated assaults upon Knoxville, forcing him to raise the siege there, driving him at all points, utterly routed and discomfited, beyond the limits of the State. By your noble heroism and determined courage, you have most effectually defeated the plans of the enemy for regaining possession of the States of Kentucky and Tennessee. You have secured positions from which no rebellious power can drive or dislodge you. For all this the general commanding thanks you collectively and individually. The loyal people of the United States thank and bless you. Their hopes and prayers for your success against this unholy rebellion are with you daily. Their faith in you will not be in vain. Their hopes will not be blasted. Their prayers to Almighty God will be answered. You will yet



go to other fields of strife ; and with the invincible bravery and unflinching loyalty to justice and right which have characterized you in the past, you will prove that no enemy can withstand you, and that no defence, however formidable, can check your onward march."

The active part that General Grant himself took at the battle of Chattanooga, may be gathered from the following words of Colonel Ely S. Parker : —

"It has been a matter of universal wonder in this army that General Grant himself was not killed, and that no more accidents occurred to his staff, for the general was always in the front (his staff with him, of course), and perfectly heedless of the storm of hissing bullets and screaming shell flying around him. His apparent want of sensibility does not arise from heedlessness, heartlessness, or vain military affectation, but from a sense of the responsibility resting upon him when in battle. When at Ringgold, we rode for half a mile in the face of the enemy, under an incessant fire of cannon and musketry, nor did we ride fast, but upon an ordinary trot, and not once do I believe did it enter the general's mind that he was in danger. I was by his side and watched him closely. In riding that distance we were going to the front, and I could see that he was studying the position of the two armies, and, of course, planning how to defeat

the enemy, who was here making a most desperate stand, and was slaughtering our men fearfully. After defeating and driving the enemy here, we returned to Chattanooga.

“Another feature in General Grant’s personal movements is, that he requires no escort beyond his staff, so regardless of danger is he. Roads are almost useless to him, for he takes short cuts through fields and woods, and will swim his horse through almost any stream that obstructs his way. Nor does it make any difference to him whether he has daylight for his movements, for he will ride from breakfast until two o’clock in the morning, and that too without eating. The next day he will repeat the dose, until he finishes his work.”

On the 15th of January, Grant wrote to Halleck : —

“Sherman has gone down the Mississippi to collect at Vicksburg all the force that can be spared for a separate movement from the Mississippi. He will probably have ready by the 24th of this month a force of twenty thousand men. . . . I shall direct Sherman, therefore, to move out to Meridian, with his spare force, the cavalry going from Corinth, and destroy the roads east and south of there so effectually that the enemy will not attempt to rebuild them during the rebellion. He will then return, unless opportunity of going into Mobile with the force he has appears perfectly plain. Owing to the large number of veterans furloughed, I will not be able to do more at Chattanooga than to threaten an advance, and try to detain the force now in Thomas’s front. Sherman will be instructed, whilst left

with these large discretionary powers, to take no extra hazard of losing his army, or of getting it crippled too much for efficient service in the spring. . . . I look upon the next line for me to secure to be that from Chattanooga to Mobile; Montgomery and Atlanta being the important intermediate points. To do this, large supplies must be secured on the Tennessee River, so as to be independent of the railroad from Nashville to the Tennessee for a considerable length of time. Mobile would be a second base. The destruction which Sherman will do to the roads around Meridian will be of material importance to us in preventing the enemy from drawing supplies from Mississippi, and in clearing that section of all large bodies of rebel troops. . . . I do not look upon any points, except Mobile in the south, and the Tennessee River in the north, as presenting practicable starting points, to be all under one command, from the fact that the time it will take to communicate from one to the other will be so great. But Sherman or McPherson, either one of whom could be intrusted with the distant command, are officers of such experience and reliability, that the objections on this score, except that of enabling the two armies to act as a unit, would be removed."

Sherman left Vicksburg on the 3d of February; he entered Meridian on the 14th, a railroad centre between Vicksburg and Montgomery, and for the next five days ten thousand men were employed in destroying the railroads that centred here. On the 28th he returned to Vicksburg, having maintained his army during the time almost entirely from the enemy's country. He brought away four hundred prisoners, five thousand negroes, about a thousand white refugees, and three thousand animals. His

loss was twenty-one killed, sixty-eight wounded, and eighty-one missing. Moreover, he had terrified the country. Never before had an army penetrated the enemy's country so far without a base.

On the 3d of March, Grant received the following despatch : —

“The Secretary of War directs that you report in person to the War Department as early as practicable, considering the condition of your command. If necessary, you will keep up telegraphic communication with your command while en route for Washington.”

Grant started next day for the East, directing Sherman before he left to use the negro troops as far as possible in guarding the Mississippi, and to assemble the remainder of his command at Memphis in order to have them in readiness to join his column in the spring campaign.

At the session of Congress during the winter of 1863-64, Mr. Washburne, the representative of Illinois from Galena, had introduced a bill to “revive the grade of lieutenant-general of the army.” This grade, it will be remembered, was created in 1798, for Washington, and in 1855 it was bestowed by brevet upon General Scott.

In the debate brought up in the House in connection with this bill, Mr. Washburne said : —

“I am not here to speak for General Grant. No man with his consent has ever mentioned his name in connection with any position. I say what I

know to be true when I allege that every promotion he has received since he first entered the service to put down this rebellion, was moved without his knowledge or consent; and in regard to this very matter of lieutenant-general, after the bill was introduced and his name mentioned in connection therewith, he wrote me, and admonished me that he had been highly honored already by the Government, and did not ask or deserve anything more in the shape of honors or promotion; and that a success over the enemy was what he craved above everything else; that he only desired to hold such an influence over those under his command as to use them to the best advantage to secure that end. Such is the language of this patriotic and single-minded soldier, ambitious only of serving his country and doing his whole duty. Sir, whatever this House may do, the country will do justice to General Grant."

The following letters that passed between Grant and Sherman at this time speak volumes.

"The bill," writes Grant, "reviving the grade of lieutenant-general in the army has become a law, and my name has been sent to the Senate for the place. I now receive orders to report to Washington immediately, in person, which indicates a confirmation, or a likelihood of confirmation. I start in the morning to comply with the order.

"Whilst I have been eminently successful in this

war, in at least gaining the confidence of the public, no one feels more than I how much of this success is due to the energy, skill, and the harmonious putting forth of that energy and skill, of those whom it has been my good fortune to have occupying subordinate positions under me. There are many officers to whom these remarks are applicable to a greater or less degree, proportionate to their ability as soldiers; but what I want is to express my thanks to you and McPherson, as the men to whom, above all others, I feel indebted for whatever I have had of success.

“How far your advice and assistance have been of help to me, you know. How far your execution of whatever has been given to you to do, entitles you to the reward I am receiving, you cannot know as well as I.

“I feel all the gratitude this letter would express, giving it the most flattering construction.

“The word *you* I use in the plural, intending it for McPherson also. I should write to him, and will some day; but, starting in the morning, I do not know that I will find time just now.”

To this letter Sherman immediately replied:—

DEAR GENERAL: I have your more than kind and characteristic letter of the 4th instant. I will send a copy to General McPherson at once.

You do yourself injustice, and us too much honor, in assigning to us too large a share of the merits which have led

to your high advancement. I know you approve the friendship I have ever professed to you, and will permit me to continue, as heretofore, to manifest it on all proper occasions.

You are now Washington's legitimate successor, and occupy a position of almost dangerous elevation; but if you can continue, as heretofore, to be yourself, — simple, honest, and unpretending, — you will enjoy through life the respect and love of friends and the homage of millions of human beings that will award you a large share in securing to them and their descendants a government of law and stability.

I repeat, you do General McPherson and myself too much honor. At Belmont you manifested your traits — neither of us being near. At Donelson, also, you illustrated your whole character. I was not near, and General McPherson in too subordinate a capacity to influence you.

Until you had won Donelson, I confess I was almost cowed by the terrible array of anarchical elements that presented themselves at every point; but that admitted a ray of light I have followed since. I believe you are as brave, patriotic, and just as the great prototype Washington — as unselfish, kind-hearted, and honest as a man should be; but the chief characteristic is the simple faith in success you have always manifested, which I can liken to nothing else than the faith a Christian has in the Saviour.

This faith gave you victory at Shiloh and Vicksburg. Also, when you have completed your best preparations, you go into battle without hesitation, as at Chattanooga — no doubts, no reserves; and I tell you it was this that made us act with confidence. I knew, wherever I was, that you thought of me, and if I got in a tight place you would help me out, if alive.

My only point of doubt was in your knowledge of grand strategy, and of books of science and history; but I confess your common sense seems to have supplied all these.

Now, as to the future. Don't stay in Washington. Come West; take to yourself the whole Mississippi Valley. Let us make it dead sure — and I tell you the Atlantic slopes and Pacific shores will follow its destiny, as sure as the limbs of a tree live or die with the main trunk. We have done much, but still much remains. Time and time's influences are with us. We could almost afford to sit still and let those influences work.

Here lies the seat of the coming empire; and from the West, when our task is done, we will make short work of Charleston, and Richmond, and the impoverished coast of the Atlantic.

Your sincere friend,

W. T. SHERMAN.

Grant made the journey to Washington as rapidly and quietly as possible, but wherever his presence was known the people gathered in eager crowds to welcome the "hero of Vicksburg." On reaching Washington, he was presented to President Lincoln who had never seen him before. He was received with great cordiality, and attended that evening a reception at the White House, concerning which he afterwards remarked, "it was my warmest campaign during the whole war."

On the next day, the 9th of March, 1864, he was received by the President in his Cabinet chamber, and presented formally with his commission as Lieutenant-General, in the following words: —

GENERAL GRANT,—The nation's appreciation of what you have done, and its reliance upon you for what still remains to be accomplished in the existing great struggle, are now pre-



sented with this commission, constituting you lieutenant-general in the army of the United States. With this high honor devolves upon you, also, a corresponding responsibility. As the country herein trusts you, so, under God, it will sustain you. I scarcely need to add that with what I here speak for the nation goes my own hearty personal concurrence.

Grant, in reply, read the following :—

MR. PRESIDENT,—I accept the commission with gratitude for the high honor conferred. With the aid of the noble armies that have fought on so many fields for our common country, it will be my earnest endeavor not to disappoint your expectations. I feel the full weight of the responsibilities now devolving on me, and I know that if they are met, it will be due to those armies, and above all, to the favor of that Providence which leads both nations and men."

On the following day, Grant, in company with General Meade, the commander of the Army of the Potomac, made a visit to that army, and then started at once for the West.

## CHAPTER XVI.

THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC — BATTLES OF THE WILDERNESS, SPOTTSYLVANIA COURT HOUSE, AND COLD HARBOR.

WE had in the Union army at this time about eight hundred thousand men. The Mississippi River was now opened from its source to its mouth, and garrisons of negro troops were stationed at various points. General Banks had his headquarters at New Orleans, with a portion of his force in Texas. The department of Missouri was under General Rosecrans, and the army in Arkansas was under the command of General Steele. Sherman was preparing for his March to the Sea. Thomas was in command of the Army of the Cumberland, Mc Pherson of the Army of the Tennessee, and Schofield was at Knoxville. In Virginia, the Army of the Potomac was under the command of General Meade, and along the coast the navy was maintaining an almost complete blockade. West of the Mississippi, and in front of Chattanooga, lay an army of Confederates under the command of Johnston, numbering about eighty thousand; while in Vir-

ginia Lee held command of an army which was estimated at over a hundred thousand. We had the outside of the circle — the rebels had the advantage of the inside, and the main question of the war now was the overthrow of the military power of the Confederacy, or, in other words, the overthrow of Lee and Johnston.

On the 23d of March, Grant returned to Washington and reorganized the Army of the Potomac; the corps were consolidated and reduced to three — the Second, Fifth and Sixth. Hancock had command of the Second, Warren the Fifth, and Sedgwick the Sixth, while Meade had still the control of all three. To Sheridan was given the command of the cavalry. The army was re-enforced by the Ninth Corps, under Burnside, from East Tennessee, so that the entire Army of the Potomac now numbered about one hundred and forty thousand men.

“Commanding all the armies as I did,” said Grant, “I tried, as far as possible, to leave General Meade in independent command of the Army of the Potomac. My instructions for that army were all through him, and were general in their nature, leaving all the details and execution to him. The campaigns that followed proved him to be the right man in the right place. His commanding always in the presence of an officer superior to him in rank, has drawn from him

much of that public attention which his zeal and ability entitled him to, and which he would otherwise have received."

Just before the opening of the spring campaign, Grant received the following letter from President Lincoln : —

"Not expecting to see you before the spring campaign opens, I wish to express, in this way, my entire satisfaction with what you have done up to this time, so far as I understand it. The particulars of your plans I neither know nor seek to know.

"You are vigilant and self-reliant; and, pleased with this, I wish not to obtrude any restraints or constraints upon you. While I am very anxious that any great disaster or capture of our men in great numbers shall be avoided, I know that these points are less likely to escape your attention than they would be mine. If there be anything wanting which is within my power to give, do not fail to let me know it. And now, with a brave army and a just cause, may God sustain you."

To this General Grant replied : —

"Your very kind letter of yesterday is just received. The confidence you express for the future, and satisfaction for the past, in my military administration, is acknowledged with pride. It shall be my earnest endeavor that you and the country shall not be disappointed. From my first entrance into the voluntary service of the country to the present day, I have never had cause, have never expressed or implied a complaint against the administration or the Secretary of War, for throwing any embarrassment in the way of my vigorously prosecuting what appeared to be my duty. Indeed, since the promotion which placed me in command of

all the armies, and in view of the great responsibility and importance of success, I have been astonished at the readiness with which everything asked for has been yielded, without even an explanation being asked.

“Should my success be less than I desire and expect, the least I can say is, the fault is not with you.”

The Army of the Potomac occupied at this time a position along the north bank of the Rapidan, while Lee's army was upon the southern bank of the river — its left flank covered by the river, its right by intrenchments, and its front strongly protected by field works.

The question now arose as to which was the best route to take in the advance upon Richmond. There was the overland route over the peninsula, and the other, south of the James, that had been repeatedly tried, but thus far without success. The distance to Richmond from either the Rappahannock or the Rapidan, is between sixty and seventy miles, through an intervening country of peculiar difficulties. Its great advantage, however, was that by this route the attacking army, while pressing towards Richmond, still served as a protection to Washington. If the approach should be made down the coast from the south of the James, although the difficulties of passing through a hostile country were removed, Washington would be left unprotected. The only remaining way seemed to be to have two armies in the field,

— one to take the route over the peninsula, and thus protect Washington, and the other to proceed south of the James.

At one time, Grant favored the route from below the James. On taking command of the Army of the Potomac, however, he thought best to abandon this plan, and, while the main army followed the overland route, to send an independent force to operate south of the James. This force was under the command of General Butler, who, with about thirty thousand men, was to start from Fortress Monroe, go up the James River, and, intrenching himself near City Point, operate against Richmond from the south; or, coming down from the north, join the main Army of the Potomac. Richmond was also to be threatened by two other forces,—one from the west, under General Cook, and another from the Shenandoah Valley, under General Sigel.

On the 3d of May, the army moved at midnight and crossed the Rapidan in two columns. Warren's and Sedgwick's corps crossed at the Germania Ford, and Hancock's some six miles below, at Ely's Ford. "This crossing of the Rapidan," says Grant in his report, "I regarded as a great success, and it removed from my mind the most serious apprehensions I had entertained—that of crossing the river in the face of an active, large, well-appointed army, and how so large a train was to be carried through a hostile country and protected."

South and west from the Rapidan is an extent of country known as the Wilderness. It is a mining district, and, the forests having been cut away, it was at that time covered with a dense undergrowth of scrub oaks and stunted pines — a most difficult spot for any kind of military operations.

When Grant and Meade reached the Old Wilderness Tavern, on the morning of the 5th, they found Warren's corps already there, and Sedgwick's corps close by. Information was also received that the enemy was contemplating an assault upon them by the turnpike. A severe battle immediately ensued, which resembled Indian warfare more than anything else, being fought, as it was, in narrow roads and through the dense underbrush. When night came, neither side had gained any decided advantage, and on the next morning the contest was renewed. The Union line extended about five miles, facing westward, with Sedgwick on the right, next Warren, and Burnside and Hancock on the left. The Confederate army held the same ground as the day before, Hill on the right, covering the plank road, and Ewell on the left, covering the turnpike, while Longstreet's corps added a fresh re-enforcement. Another day of terrible fighting ensued, without deciding the victory. Says the historian of the Army of the Potomac : —

“The battle of the Wilderness is scarcely to be judged as an ordinary battle. It will happen in the course, as in the

beginning of every war, that there occur actions in which ulterior purposes and the combinations of a military programme play very little part, but which are simply trials of strength. The battle of the Wilderness was such a mortal combat—a combat in which the adversaries aimed each, respectively, at a result that should be decisive—Lee to crush the campaign in its inception, by driving the Army of the Potomac across the Rapidan; Grant to destroy Lee.

“Out of this fierce determination came a close and deadly grapple of the two armies—a battle terrible and indescribable in those gloomy woods. There is something horrible, yet fascinating, in the mystery shrouding this strangest of battles ever fought—a battle which no man could see, and whose progress could only be followed by the ear, as the sharp and crackling volleys of musketry, and the alternate Union cheer and Confederate yell, told how the fight surged and swelled. The battle continued two days; yet such was the mettle of each combatant, that it decided nothing. It was in every respect a drawn battle; and its only result appeared in the tens of thousands of dead and wounded in blue and gray that lay in the thick woods. The Union loss exceeded fifteen thousand, and the Confederate loss was about eight thousand.”

On Saturday, the 7th of May, Grant determined to move from the Wilderness and station himself at Spottsylvania Court House, some fifteen miles southeast. The march was to begin at night, but the Confederates, hearing the noise, started under Longstreet for the same spot.

The two armies met, early on the next morning, and that day and the next were spent in getting into position. On the 10th an attack upon the enemy was ordered along the line, to carry his in-



trenchments, but it was unsuccessful. The next day was spent in preparations for the assault, by Hancock's division, upon the enemy's right centre. At early dawn it took place, and a point was gained in the first line of intrenchments which was held that day in spite of the deadly contest that followed. Sometimes the rival standards were placed on opposite sides of the breastworks, and a tree eighteen inches in diameter was actually cut in halves by the flying bullets.

Grant sent his first despatch to Washington, since the advance, on the 11th. It read as follows : —

“ We have now ended the sixth day of very heavy fighting.

“ The result to this time is very much in our favor.

“ Our losses have been heavy, as well as those of the enemy. I think the loss of the enemy must be greater.

“ We have taken over five thousand prisoners by battle, while he has taken from us but few, except stragglers.

“ *I propose to fight it out on this line, if it takes all summer.*”

On the next day, he adds : —

“ The eighth day of battle closes, leaving between three and four thousand prisoners in our hands for the day's work, including two general officers, and over thirty pieces of artillery.

“ The enemy is obstinate, and seems to have found the last ditch. We have lost no organization, not even a company, while we have destroyed and captured one division, one brigade, and one regiment entire of the enemy.”

Lee had now retired to his inner line of works, and the next week was spent in trying to find some spot in which his lines could be pierced. One of the minor episodes of the fearful struggle at Spottsylvania, and one which throws much light on the military character of Grant, as well as it reveals the working of his mind under such tremendous pressure, was his action, on the dismal morning of the 12th of May, when Burnside reported that he had lost connection with Hancock : —

“Push the enemy,” was Grant’s response ; “that’s the best way to connect.”

The design of having the co-operating armies aid the Army of the Potomac by distracting the attention, cutting the communications, and preventing re-enforcements from reaching the army covering Richmond, had been unsuccessful. It also seemed an impossibility to carry the enemy’s position at Spottsylvania ; so Grant determined to flank the position, and, by a similar movement to that performed in the Wilderness, to place the Union army between Richmond and Lee’s army. On the night of the 20th the move was made, and not more than a half hour later Lee set his troops in motion. Having the advantage of moving on the chord of the arc, while Grant was obliged to use the arc itself, Lee had reached and posted himself upon the south bank of the South Anna River when our forces came up to the opposite bank. This position

was one of especial importance to him, since it covered the Virginia Central Railroad, by which he was receiving re-enforcements from the Shenandoah Valley.

"Finding," says Grant, "the enemy's position stronger than any of his previous ones, I withdrew on the night of the 26th, to the north bank of the North Anna." On the 23d Sheridan and his cavalry expedition had reached White House, and two days later rejoined the Army of the Potomac. That same night he was sent down the Pamunkey (a river formed by the union of the North and South Anna), and by noon on the 27th had seized the ferry crossing at Hanover town, fifteen miles from Richmond, and thrown a pontoon bridge across.

On Sunday, the 29th, the Union army was across the river and three miles beyond it. The next day the advance was continued, with Hancock in the centre, Warren on the left, and Wright on the right. Early in the afternoon, our cavalry pickets on the left, which were advancing on the Cold Harbor road, were driven in, and Warren was attacked in force about five.

An attack was at once ordered along the line, but the main position of the enemy was too strong to be carried. In order to cover the Chickahominy, and prevent our advance upon Richmond, Lee had taken up a position parallel to our front

and extending on his left from Hanover Court-House to Bottom's Bridge, on his right. As it was very evident that to attempt to force a passage directly in front would be attended with severe loss of life, Grant determined to attempt a passage by his left, at Cold Harbor. This spot, the point of convergence for the roads leading both to Richmond and to White House — our base of supplies — was as important for us to secure, as it was necessary for the enemy to defend. The result of the contest here was quite severe, costing us the loss of some two thousand men, but the place was finally secured by Sheridan and his force of cavalry, aided by the Sixth Corps.

As Butler's force had proved useless at Bermuda Hundred, Grant had ordered him to send all the troops he could spare to join the Army of the Potomac. Accordingly, on the 29th of May, a column of sixteen thousand men embarked on transports, and, passing down the James, ascended the York and the Pamunkey Rivers. By the 1st of June these troops had reached Cold Harbor and taken their position on the right of the Sixth Corps. The Union line now extended about six miles, Hancock occupying the left, Warren and Burnside the right, while the Sixth Corps and Smith's command held the centre.

At half-past four in the morning the assault was made, and the disastrous battle of Cold Harbor

ensued, in which we suffered much more than the enemy, losing about seven thousand five hundred men.

Again Grant determined to flank the position, and, by passing round Lee's right wing, lay siege to the southern defences of Richmond. Gradually withdrawing the right, and extending his left flank, the Union army was brought within easy distance of the lower crossings of the Chickahominy. Warren's Corps, preceded by a division of cavalry, took the lead, and by crossing the Chickahominy at Long Bridge, threatened an advance on Richmond, and covered the movement of the army.

The distance across the peninsula, which was here about fifty-five miles, was marched by the army in two days.

During this movement, Smith's command had returned to Bermuda Hundred, and upon their landing, the troops were sent by Butler to take Petersburg. This city is situated on the south bank of the Appomattox, about twenty-two miles from Richmond. It is the third city of Virginia, and as an outpost of Richmond was at this time of great strategic value, and strongly fortified by the enemy.

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## CHAPTER XVII.

## ARMY OF THE POTOMAC BEFORE PETERSBURG.

AFTER several ineffectual attempts to take possession of Petersburg, a spot in front of General Burnside's lines, where a hollow occurred, just behind a deep cut in the City Point Railroad, was selected for a mine. The work was begun on the 25th of June, and was completed in about a month. It extended five hundred and ten feet, ending under the parapet of one of the enemy's redoubts, and if a crest just behind it could be carried, Petersburg might be secured. The plan was to explode the mine early on the morning of July 30th, and then, through the breach thus made, to begin the assault. The idea of the mine originated with Lieutenant-colonel Pleasant, of the Forty-eighth Pennsylvania Volunteers, a practical miner; but it proved a failure, as after the explosion the crater became a horrible charnel-house, into which the enemy hurled every kind of deadly missile. To advance was impossible; to remain, certain death, and to retreat was no less dangerous. Over four thousand men were killed or captured in this "miserable affair," as Grant termed it.

The failure was probably owing to the fact that the charge was led by white instead of black troops, and that the assaulting column was directed to push at once for the crest of Cemetery Hill, instead of first clearing the enemy's lines to the right and left of the mine.

Early in July, as soon as he had heard that the enemy intended to threaten the Capital, Grant sent troops from the Army of the Potomac to protect Washington. One of the main objects of the Confederates had been to force Grant to transfer his army from the James to the defence of Washington, but to do this would have been to give up all that had been gained by the previous campaign. A man with less firmness and persistence might have yielded, but Grant, taking a comprehensive military view of the whole situation, knew that it was of the utmost importance to keep his army just where it was, and this one thing he was determined to do.

It was necessary, however, to prevent the enemy from proceeding farther, and on the 4th of August Grant sent for Sheridan to come up to Harper's Ferry and take command of the Middle Military Division, in which were united the departments of Western Virginia, Washington and the Susquehanna, and two cavalry divisions from the Army of the Potomac.

On the 19th Sheridan advanced, met the enemy

at Winchester, and drove them through the town. The Confederate General, Early, retreated to Fisher's Hill, some thirty miles south of Winchester; but Sheridan, still pushing, drove him back to the passes of the Blue Ridge, and pushed his pursuit as far as Staunton, where he destroyed the Virginia Central Railroad, and laid the country waste on every side.

The next month while Sheridan still occupied a position on the north bank of Cedar Creek, Early, having received re-enforcements from Lee's army, moved forward on the night of the 18th of October to surprise the Union force. Under the cover of a fog they crossed the north fork of the Shenandoah and attacked our forces while Sheridan was absent at Winchester. A severe disaster was threatened, but the Sixth Corps stood firm and protected the retreat, until Sheridan himself, hearing the guns at Winchester, rode down at post haste, and, infusing new spirit into his men, led them back and completely routed the enemy. This finished the war in the Shenandoah Valley, so that most of Sheridan's troops returned to the Army of the Potomac; and Early's scattered forces to the main Confederate army under Lee.

During the summer and autumn months of 1864, the Army of the Potomac had remained in its position before Petersburg, but constant attempts had been made either to cut the enemy's lines of com-



munication, or else, by diversions upon the north side of the James, to threaten Richmond directly. The position of affairs at the opening of the spring campaign was as follows: Sherman had arrived at Goldsboro, and Johnston's army, which opposed him, being made up of various small detachments, was unable to resist his further advance. Thomas had sent out one cavalry expedition into northern Alabama, and another into eastern Tennessee, while Pope was taking care of the west of the Mississippi. Hancock was in the valley of the Shenandoah, at Winchester, and ready to cooperate with Grant's army in a march against Richmond.

The chief difficulty now was to prevent Lee from forming a junction with Johnston's army, and, thus re-enforced, to prolong the war by retreating to the mountainous portions of West Virginia and East Tennessee.

On the 24th, General Grant issued the following order:—

“On the 29th instant the armies operating against Richmond will be moved by our left, for the double purpose of turning the enemy out of his present position around Petersburg, and to insure the success of the cavalry under General Sheridan, which will start at the same time, in its efforts to reach and destroy the Southside and Danville railroads. Two corps of the Army of the Potomac will be moved, at first, in two columns, taking the two roads crossing Hatcher's Run nearest where the present line held by us

strikes that stream, both moving towards Dinwiddie Court-House.

“The cavalry under General Sheridan, joined by the division now under General Davies, will move at the same time, by the Weldon road and the Jerusalem plank road, turning west from the latter before crossing the Nottoway, and west with the whole column reaching Stony Creek. General Sheridan will then move independently under other instructions which will be given him. All dismounted cavalry belonging to the Army of the Potomac, and the dismounted cavalry from the Middle Military Division not required for guarding property belonging to their arm of service, will report to Brigadier-general Benhag, to be added to the defences of City Point. Major-General Parke will be left in command of all the army left for holding the lines about Petersburg and City Point, subject, of course, to orders from the commander of the Army of the Potomac. The Ninth Army Corps will be left intact to hold the present line of works so long as the whole line now occupied by us is held. If, however, the troops to the left of the Ninth corps are withdrawn, then the left of the corps may be thrown back so as to occupy the position held by the army prior to the capture of the Weldon road. All troops to the left of the Ninth corps will be held in readiness to move at the shortest notice by such route as may be designated when the order is given.

“General Ord will detach three divisions, two white and one colored, or so much of them as he can, and hold his present lines, and march for the present left of the Army of the Potomac. In the absence of further orders, or until further orders are given, the white divisions will follow the left column of the Army of the Potomac, and the colored division the right column. During the movement Major-General Weitzel will be left in command of all the forces remaining behind from the Army of the James.

“The movement of the troops from the Army of the

James will commence on the night of the 27th instant. General Ord will leave behind the minimum number of cavalry necessary for picket duty in the absence of the main army. A cavalry expedition from General Ord's command will also be started from Suffolk, to leave there on Saturday, the 1st of April, under Colonel Sumner, for the purpose of cutting the railroad about Hicksford. This, if accomplished, will have to be a surprise, and, therefore, from three to five hundred men will be sufficient. They should, however, be supported by all the infantry that can be spared from Norfolk and Portsmouth, as far out as to where the cavalry crosses the Blackwater. The crossing should probably be at Uniten. Should Colonel Sumner succeed in reaching the Weldon road, he will be instructed to do all the damage possible to the triangle of roads between Hicksford, Weldon, and Gaston. The railroad bridge at Weldon being fitted up for the passage of carriages, it might be practicable to destroy any accumulation of supplies the enemy may have collected south of the Roanoke. All the troops will move with four days' rations in haversacks, and eight days' in wagons. To avoid as much hauling as possible, and to give the Army of the James the same number of days' supplies with the Army of the Potomac, General Ord will direct his commissary and quartermaster to have sufficient supplies delivered at the terminus of the road to fill up in passing. Sixty rounds of ammunition per man will be taken in wagons, and as much grain as the transportation on hand will carry, after taking the specified amount of other supplies. The densely wooded country in which the army has to operate, making the use of much artillery impracticable, the amount taken with the army will be reduced to six or eight guns to each division, at the option of the army commanders.

“All necessary preparations for carrying these directions into operation may be commenced at once. The reserves of the Ninth corps should be massed as much as possible.

Whilst I would not now order an unconditional attack on the enemy's lines by them, they should be ready and should make the attack, if the enemy weakens his line in their front, without waiting for orders. In case they carry the line, then the whole of the Ninth corps could follow up so as to join or co-operate with the balance of the army. To prepare for this, the Ninth corps will have rations issued to them the same as the balance of the army. General Weitzel will keep vigilant watch upon his front, and if found at all practical to break through at any point, he will do so. A success north of the James should be followed up with great promptness. An attack will not be feasible unless it is found that the enemy has detached largely. In that case, it may be regarded as evident that the enemy are relying upon their local reserves principally for the defence of Richmond. Preparations may be made for abandoning all the line north of the James, except enclosed works; only to be abandoned, however, after a break is made in the lines of the enemy.

“By these instructions, a large part of the armies operating against Richmond is left behind. The enemy, knowing this, may, as an only chance, strip their lines to the merest skeleton, in the hope of advantage not being taken of it, whilst they hurl everything against the moving column, and return. It cannot be impressed too strongly upon commanders of troops left in the trenches not to allow this to occur without taking advantage of it. The very fact of the enemy coming out to attack, if he does so, might be regarded as conclusive evidence of such a weakening of his lines. I would have it particularly enjoined upon corps commanders, that in case of an attack from the enemy, those not attacked are not to wait for orders from the commanding officer of the army to which they belong, but that they will move promptly, and notify the commander of their action. I wish, also, to enjoin the same action on the part of division commanders, when other parts of their corps are engaged. In

like manner, I would urge the importance of following up a repulse of the enemy."

Lee had resolved to make an attack upon the right flank of the Union army to force the weakening of the left flank to support the right, and thus open a road for his retreat to the south bank of the Appomattox. On the morning of the 25th of March, a column of his troops assaulted Fort Stedman, and took as prisoners the majority of the garrison. Having possession of the fort, they immediately turned the guns upon other adjacent points of the Union line, and three batteries were one after another abandoned. The success of the rebels' plan, however, was short-lived, for the assaulting column was not sufficiently supported, and, holding the fort isolated from the main army, they were caged and forced to surrender.

On the 28th, Grant gave the following instructions to Sheridan: —

"Move your cavalry at as early an hour as you can, and without being confined to any particular road or roads. You may go out by the nearest roads in rear of the Fifth Corps, pass by its left, and, passing near to or through Dinwiddie, reach the right and rear of the enemy as soon as you can. It is not the intention to attack the enemy in his intrenched position, but to force him out if possible. Should he come out and attack us, or get himself where he can be attacked, move in with your entire force in your own way, and with the full reliance that the army will engage or follow as circumstances will dictate. I shall be

on the field and will probably be able to communicate with you. Should I not do so, and you find that the enemy keeps within his main intrenched line, you may cut loose and push for the Danville road. If you find it practicable, I would like you to cross the Southside road, between Petersburg and Burkesville, and destroy it to some extent. I would not advise much detention, however, until you reach the Danville road, which I would like you to strike as near to the Appomattox as possible. Make your destruction on that road as complete as possible. You can then pass on to the Southside road, west of Burkesville, and destroy that in like manner.

“After having accomplished the destruction of the two railroads, which are now the only avenues of supply to Lee’s army, you may return to this army, selecting your road farther south; or you may go on into North Carolina, and join General Sherman. Should you select the latter course, get the information to me as early as possible, so that I may send orders to meet you at Goldsboro.”

On the afternoon of the 29th, Sheridan, with his force of about nine thousand men, was at Dinwiddie Court-House, thus forming the extreme left of the Union line. Grant, who was now with the advance at Gravelly Run, wrote him from there : —

“Our line is now unbroken from the Appomattox to Dinwiddie. We are all ready, however, to give up all from the Jerusalem plank road to Hatcher’s Run, whenever the forces can be used advantageously. After getting into line south of Hatcher’s, we pushed forward to find the enemy’s position. General Griffin was attacked near where the Quaker road intersects the Boydton road, but repulsed it easily, capturing about one hundred men. Humphreys reached Dabney’s Mill, and was pushing on when last heard from.

“I now feel like ending the matter, if it is possible to do so, before going back. I do not want you, therefore, to cut loose and go after the enemy's roads at present. In the morning, push round the enemy if you can, and get on to his right rear. The movement of the enemy's cavalry may, of course, modify your action. We will all act together as one army here, until it is seen what can be done with the enemy.”

On the morning of the 30th a severe rain-storm, which had begun the night before, and continued steadily all that day, prevented any active operations, on account of the condition of the roads. Warren's corps advanced a little to the left, on the following day, and touched the extreme right of the Confederate position on the White Oak road. Lee immediately took the initiative step, and made an attack upon Warren. At first it promised success to the Confederate arms, but the Union Corps soon rallied from the sudden assault, and forced the enemy back to their old line on the White Oak road.

On the 1st of April, Sheridan advanced against Five Forks, which position had been wrested from him by Lee; and here, after a brilliant engagement, he finally succeeded in entirely routing the enemy and capturing over five thousand prisoners, besides numerous guns and standards. This victory broke the line of defence against the advance of the Army of the Potomac, and the enemy, fleeing west, was hotly pursued by the cavalry. The

guns along the entire line were now opened upon the enemy's defences, and the bombardment was kept up all night.

Lee now made a last and desperate stand in the chain of works immediately about Petersburg, so that he might prepare to evacuate the town as soon as possible. Grant, expecting this retreat, took measures to prevent it, but that night the Confederate army quietly withdrew through the town, over to the north bank of the Appomattox. Turning from there to Chesterfield Court-House, it received re-enforcements from Bermuda Hundred and Richmond, and then started westward.

April 3, at eleven o'clock in the morning, General Weitzel telegraphed as follows : —

“We took Richmond at 8:15 this morning. I captured many guns. The enemy left in great haste.

“The city is on fire in one place. We are making every effort to put it out.

“The people received us with enthusiastic expressions of joy.

“General Grant started early this morning, with the army, towards the Danville road, to cut off Lee's retreating army, if possible.

“President Lincoln has gone to the front.”



## CHAPTER XVIII.

## THE SURRENDER OF LEE.

WHILE the whole country was filled with rejoicing and celebration of the victory, Grant lost no time in organizing a vigorous pursuit of the retreating army. On the 4th he telegraphed to Washington: —

“The army is pushing forward in the hope of overtaking or dispersing the remainder of Lee’s army.

“Sheridan, with his cavalry and the Fifth Corps, is between this (Wilson’s Station) and the Appomattox, General Meade, with the Second and Sixth, following; General Ord following the line of the Southside Railroad. All of the enemy that retain anything like organization have gone north of the Appomattox, and are apparently heading for Lynchburg, their losses having been very heavy.

“The houses through the country are nearly all used as hospitals for wounded men. In every direction I hear of rebel soldiers pushing for home, some in large and some in small squads, and generally without arms. The cavalry have pursued so closely that the enemy have been forced to destroy probably the greater part of their transportation, caissons, and munitions of war.

“The number of prisoners captured yesterday will exceed two thousand. From the 28th of March to the present time, our loss, in killed, wounded, and captured, will probably not reach seven thousand, of whom from fifteen hun-

dred to two thousand are captured, and many but slightly wounded.

“ I shall continue the pursuit as long as there appears to be any use in it.”

Meanwhile Lee, with the remains of his army, had withdrawn to the north bank of the Appomattox; the retreat had been commenced with but one day's rations, and as an accident had deprived them of the supplies forwarded to Amelia Court House, they were forced to depend upon the already exhausted country for food. The sufferings of the soldiers were intense; many of them could find nothing to eat save the young twigs of trees, and hundreds dropped to the ground from exhaustion, while thousands had not strength enough to carry their muskets.

President Lincoln's last order to Grant read as follows:—

“ General Sheridan says: ‘ If the thing is pressed, I think that Lee will surrender.’ Let the thing be pressed.”

Already the Confederate officers were thinking seriously of a concession, although Lee was determined to hold out as long as there was a shadow of hope. On the 7th of April, Grant sent the following note to the rebel commander:—

APRIL 7, 1865.

GENERAL R. E. LEE, *Commander C. S. A.*

GENERAL,—The result of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the

Army of Northern Virginia in this struggle. I feel that it is so, and regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood, by asking of you the surrender of that portion of the Confederate States known as the Army of Northern Virginia.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT, *Lieutenant-General,*  
*Commanding Armies of the United States.*

Lee replied as follows : —

APRIL 7, 1865.

GENERAL,—I have received your note of this date. Though not entertaining the opinion you express on the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia, I reciprocate your desire to avoid useless effusion of blood, and, therefore, before considering your proposition, ask the terms you will offer, on condition of its surrender.

R. E. LEE, *General.*

TO LIEUTENANT-GENERAL U. S. GRANT,  
*Commanding Armies of the United States.*

That night Lee again retreated, but Grant, on the next morning, wrote him as follows : —

APRIL 8, 1865.

TO GENERAL R. E. LEE,  
*Commanding Confederate States Army :*

GENERAL,—Your note of last evening in reply to mine of same date, asking the conditions on which I will accept the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, is just received.

In reply, I would say that, peace being my first desire, there is but one condition that I insist upon, namely,—

That the men and officers surrendered shall be disqualified for taking up arms again against the Government of the

United States until properly exchanged. I will meet you, or will designate officers to meet any officers you may name for the same purpose, at any point agreeable to you, for the purpose of arranging definitely the terms upon which the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia will be received.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT, *Lieutenant-General,*  
*Commanding the Armies of the United States.*

On the 8th the pursuit was renewed, and about midnight of that date, General Grant, who was with Meade's column, received the following from General Lee :—

APRIL 8.

GENERAL,—I received at a late hour your note of to-day in answer to mine of yesterday.

I did not intend to propose the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, but to ask the terms of your proposition. To be frank, I do not think the emergency has arisen to call for the surrender. But as the restoration of peace should be the sole object of all, I desire to know whether your proposals would tend to that end.

I cannot, therefore, meet you with a view to surrender the Army of Northern Virginia, but so far as your proposition may affect the Confederate States forces under my command, and lead to the restoration of peace, I should be pleased to meet you at ten A. M. to-morrow, on the old stage-road to Richmond, between the picket-lines of the two armies.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. E. LEE,  
*General Confederate States Armies.*

TO LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT,  
*Commanding Armies of the United States.*

Grant, in his official report says: "Early on the morning of the ninth, I returned him an answer as follows, and immediately started to join the column south of the Appomattox.

APRIL 9.

GENERAL R. E. LEE. *Commanding C. S. A.*

GENERAL,—Your note of yesterday is received. As I have no authority to treat on the subject of peace, the meeting proposed at ten A. M., to-day could lead to no good. I will state, however, General, that I am equally anxious for peace with yourself; and the whole North entertain the same feeling. The terms upon which peace can be had are well understood. By the South laying down their arms they will hasten that most desirable event, save thousands of human lives, and hundreds of millions of property not yet destroyed.

Sincerely hoping that all our difficulties may be settled without the loss of another life, I subscribe myself,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT,

*Lieutenant-General U. S. A.*

"On the morning of the ninth," continues General Grant, "General Ord's command and the Fifth Corps reached Appomattox Station just as the enemy was making a desperate effort to break through our cavalry. The infantry was at once thrown in. Soon after a white flag was received requesting a suspension of hostilities pending negotiations for a surrender.

Before reaching General Sheridan's headquarters, I received the following from General Lee:—

APRIL 9, 1865.

GENERAL,—I received your note of this morning on the picket-line, whither I had come to meet you and ascertain definitely what terms were embraced in your proposition of yesterday with reference to the surrender of this army.

I now request an interview in accordance with the offer contained in your letter of yesterday for that purpose.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. E. LEE, *General*.

To Lieutenant-General GRANT,

*Commanding United States Armies.*

To this communication the following answer was returned:—

APRIL 9.

GENERAL R. E. LEE,

*Commanding Confederate States Armies:*

Your note of this date is but this moment (11.50 A. M.) received.

In consequence of my having passed from the Richmond and Lynchburg road to the Farmville and Lynchburg road, I am at this writing about four miles west of Walter's Church, and will push forward to the front for the purpose of meeting you.

Notice sent to me on this road where you wish the interview to take place will meet me.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT, *Lieutenant-General*.

The interview was held at Appomattox Court-House, the result of which is given in the following correspondence:—

APPOMATTOX COURT-HOUSE, VA.,

APRIL 9, 1865.

GENERAL R. E. LEE, *Commanding C. S. A.*

In accordance with the substance of my letter to you of

the 8th instant, I propose to receive the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, on the following terms, to wit:

Rolls of all the officers and men to be made in duplicate, one copy to be given to an officer designated by me, the other to be detained by such officers as you may designate.

The officers to give their individual paroles not to take arms against the United States until properly exchanged, and each company or regimental commander sign a like parole for the men of their commands.

The arms, artillery, and public property to be packed and stacked, and turned over to the officers appointed by me to receive them. This will not embrace the side-arms of the officers, nor their private horses or baggage.

This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to their homes, not to be disturbed by United States authority so long as they observe their parole and the laws in force where they may reside.

Very respectfully,

U. S. GRANT, *Lieutenant-General.*

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA,  
APRIL 9, 1865.

GENERAL.—I received your letter of this date containing the terms of the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia as proposed by you. As they are substantially the same as those expressed in your letter of the 8th instant, they are accepted. I will proceed to designate the proper officers to carry the stipulations into effect.

R. E. LEE, *General.*

Lieutenant-General U. S. GRANT.

After the signatures had been affixed, Lee said that he had forgotten one thing. Many of the cavalry and artillery horses in his army belonged

to the men in charge of them, but, of course, it was too late then to speak of that.

Grant immediately replied, "I will instruct my paroling officers that all the enlisted men of your cavalry and artillery who own horses are to retain them, just as the officers do theirs. They will need them for their spring ploughing and other farm work."

Lee, with great earnestness, responded, "There is nothing, General, you could have done to accomplish more good, either for them or for the government."

Grant also acquiesced in Lee's request that each of his soldiers might be furnished with a parole to protect him from Confederate conscription officers.

At a dinner party, not long after, Grant spoke of the interview as follows:—

"I felt some embarrassment in the prospect of meeting General Lee. I had not seen him since he was General Scott's chief of staff in Mexico. And in addition to the respect I entertained for him, the duty which I had to perform was a disagreeable one, and I wished to get through it as soon as possible.

"When I reached Appomattox Court-House, I had ridden that morning thirty-seven miles. I was in my campaign clothes, covered with dust and mud. I had no sword. I was not even well-mounted. . . . I found General Lee in a fresh



suit of Confederate gray, with all the insignia of his rank, and at his side the splendid dress-sword which had been given to him by the State of Virginia.

. . . "When I disclaimed any desire to have any parade, but said I should be contented with the delivery of arms to my officers, and with the proper signature and authentication of paroles, he seemed to be greatly pleased. When I yielded the other point, that the officers should retain their side-arms and private baggage and horses, his emotions of satisfaction were plainly visible. . . . We parted with the same courtesies with which we had met. It seemed to me that General Lee evinced a feeling of satisfaction and relief when the business was finished."

After this interview in the Appomattox Court-House, Grant rode to his headquarters and sent a modest despatch to Washington, which "set the whole North ablaze."

Secretary Stanton immediately ordered that salutes of two hundred guns should be fired at the headquarters of every army and department, and at every post and arsenal in the United States, in commemoration of the great victory. The glad news seemed too good to be true. As one writer happily expressed it, "The storm of war, which had rocked the country for four long years, was now rolling away, and the sunlight of peace fell

athwart the national horizon. The country for which Washington fought and Warren fell, was once more safe from Treason's hands, and Liberty was again the heritage of the people."

The Confederate General Lee was received in his camp with the wildest cheers. The soldiers pressed forward in a dense mass to shake hands with him, and Lee, as little inclined to show emotion as Grant, was affected to tears, as he said in a broken voice, —

"Men, we have fought through the war together. I have done the best I could for you."

It was a relief to both armies that no more lives were to be sacrificed; and that very night twenty thousand Union rations afforded the hungry Confederates such a feast as they had not enjoyed for months.

Three days after the surrender, the Confederate Army formed for the last time, and delivered up their arms. "I loved the cause," said one of the officers, "but we are thoroughly beaten; now the stars and stripes are my flag, and I will be as true to it as you."

"This is bitterly humiliating to me," remarked Gordon, "but I console myself by thinking that the whole country rejoices at this day's work."

On the morning after the surrender, Grant received a card, bearing the name of a West Virginia cousin whom he had not seen since he was a boy.

"Are you one of Aunt Rachel's sons?" inquired the general.

"Yes — Charley."

"But what are you doing here?"

"I have been fighting in Lee's army."

"Bad business, Charley. What do you want to do now?"

"I want to go home!"

"Have you got a horse?"

"No, mine was killed under me, day before yesterday."

"Have you any money?"

"No."

Grant immediately furnished the "reconstructed" cousin with fifty dollars, a horse, and a pass.

To Gibbon, left in charge of the paroling, Grant gave the following directions:—

"On completion of the duties assigned you at this place, you will proceed to Lynchburg, Va. It is desirable that there shall be as little destruction of private property as possible. . . . On reaching the vicinity of Lynchburg, send a summons to the city to surrender. If it does so, respect all private property, and parole officers and men garrisoning the place, same as has been done here. If resistance is made, you will be governed by your own judgment about the best course to pursue. If the city is surrendered, as it will in

all probability be, take possession of all public stores. Such as may be of use to your command, appropriate to their use. *The balance distribute among the poor of the city.* Save all the rolling stock of the railroads, and if you find it practicable to do so, bring it to Farmville and destroy a bridge to the rear of it. Destroy no other portion of the road. All the warlike material you find, destroy or carry away with you."

Grant's sense of justice, and his magnanimous treatment of the conquered army, won the admiration of both the North and the South.

"It has been my fortune," he says in his official report, "to see the armies of both the West and the East fight battles, and from what I have seen I know there is no difference in their fighting qualities. All that it was possible for men to do in battle they have done. The Western armies commenced their battles in the Mississippi Valley, and received the final surrender of the remnant of the principal army opposed to them in North Carolina. The armies of the East commenced their battles on the river from which the Army of the Potomac derived its name, and received the final surrender of their old antagonist at Appomattox Court-House, Va. The splendid achievements of each have nationalized our victories, removed all sectional jealousies (of which we have, unfortunately, experienced too much), and the cause of

crimination and recrimination that might have followed had either section failed in its duty.

"All have a proud record, and all sections can well congratulate themselves and each other for having done their full share in restoring the supremacy of law over every foot of territory belonging to the United States. *Let them hope for perpetual peace and harmony with that enemy whose manhood, however mistaken the cause, drew forth such herculean deeds of valor.*"

## CHAPTER XIX.

## CLOSE OF THE WAR — ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN — MEXICAN AFFAIRS.

GENERAL GRANT reached Washington on the morning of the 13th, and before night an order had been issued from the War Department directing government agents to stop all drafting and recruiting, and all purchasing of ammunition, arms, and provisions. That evening a grand illumination, surpassing any ever beheld before in Washington, expressed the joy of the people at the glad tidings of Lee's surrender. The next day, the 14th of April, and the fourth anniversary of the capture of Fort Sumter by the rebels, was destined to be one most sadly memorable in American history. At eleven o'clock that morning a Cabinet meeting was held, at which General Grant was present by special invitation. Plans were discussed for the early restoration of the South, and Stanton made an elaborate argument to show that ample powers of reconstruction lay in the executive, without the aid of Congress.

Turning to Grant, President Lincoln asked: "Have you heard from Sherman?"

"No," replied Grant, "but I am expecting hourly a despatch announcing Johnston's surrender."

"I am sure you will get important news soon."

To Grant's look of inquiry the President explained that often before any exciting occurrence, as Bull Run, Antietam, and Gettysburg, he had had the same singular dream.

"I had it again last night," he continued, "and (turning to the Secretary of the Navy) it is in your line, too. I see a ship sailing very rapidly, and it always precedes some important event."

After the meeting adjourned, Grant returned to his office to complete some writing; his children were then in school at Burlington, N. J., and, refusing an invitation from the President to accompany him to the theatre that evening, the general and his wife took the late train for Burlington. It was afterwards remembered that Wilkes Booth galloped beside the carriage as it drove to the station, and glanced in at the windows.

Upon reaching Philadelphia at midnight, a despatch was received from Stanton announcing the terrible tragedy at Ford's Theatre. Grant returned to Washington by a special train, and was informed that arrangements had been perfected for assassinating him also, but his unexpected departure from the city with Mrs. Grant had frustrated these demoniacal plans.

The country, still in the midst of its rejoicings at the dawn of peace, was now plunged into the depths of profound sorrow. Abraham Lincoln had won the hearts of all the people, and high and low mourned for him as for a dear and personal friend.

The cruel assassination of our beloved President was by no means an expression of the dominant feeling at the South — it was only an outcome of the frenzied rage of a few hot-headed rebels — but it aroused the animosity of the whole North. The demand of the moment seemed to be that some, at least, of the rebel leaders ought to be hanged at once, "as an example to posterity." Lincoln, however, had always favored a lenient policy towards the Confederates, and Grant had given very liberal terms at Appomattox. If the rebels were now willing to lay down their arms, obey the laws, and become good citizens, it seemed unworthy of a great people to degrade or humiliate them. The South had already been fearfully punished — why should there be further bloodshed and suffering? With the national authority restored, and those who had helped to restore it fully protected from their late foes, was it not better to leave the rest to the softening influences of time?

Sherman, then in North Carolina, received on the 14th of April a note from Johnston, concerning a surrender. Remembering President



Lincoln's leniency, he granted an armistice, and agreed to articles of capitulation that he thought would be approved by the Government. President Johnson, however, immediately rejected Sherman's treaty, and Stanton set forth the reasons in a public order, in terms that were needlessly offensive.

Grant, sent forward by the Government to inform Sherman that his terms were countermanded, reached that officer's headquarters on the 24th of April, and delivered the ungracious message in his own happy manner.

Sherman promptly acquiesced, and demanded the surrender of Johnston's army on the same terms as those accorded to Lee. This new treaty was acceded to without further parley.

Grant now established his headquarters in Washington, and from here he wrote to Halleck on the 6th of May:—

"Although it would meet with opposition in the North to allow Lee the benefit of amnesty, I think it would have the best possible effect toward restoring good feeling and peace in the South to have him come in. All the people, except a few political leaders in the South, will accept whatever he does as right, and will be guided to a great extent by his example."

Afterwards, when Lee was indicted for treason by a Virginia grand jury, General Grant said:—

“ In my opinion, the officers and men paroled at Appomattox Court-House, and since, upon the same terms given to Lee, can not be tried for treason so long as they observe the terms of their parole. This is my understanding. Good faith, as well as true policy, dictates that we should observe the conditions of that convention. Bad faith on the part of the Government, or a construction of that convention subjecting the officers to trial for treason, would produce a feeling of insecurity in the minds of all the paroled officers and men. If so disposed, they might even regard such an infraction of terms by the Government as an entire release from all obligations on their part.”

The last gun in the war of the rebellion was fired in a little skirmish near the Rio Grande, on the 13th of May. Three days later, the Government paroled and liberated all prisoners of war — sixty-three thousand. Those who surrendered with the various rebel commands numbered about one hundred thousand. Our army rolls showed one million of men, of whom six hundred thousand were bearing muskets. Four months afterwards, nearly five-sixths had been mustered out and sent back to their northern homes. Before the Union army disbanded, a grand review was held at Washington, and, on the 2d of June, General Grant issued this final order to his brave soldiers : —

*Soldiers of the Army of the United States,—*

By your patriotic devotion to your country in the hour of danger and alarm, your magnificent fighting, bravery, and endurance, you have maintained the supremacy of the Union and the Constitution, overthrown all armed opposition to the enforcement of the laws, and of the proclamations forever abolishing slavery (the cause and pretext of the rebellion), and opened the way to the rightful authorities to restore order, and inaugurate peace on a permanent and enduring basis on every foot of American soil.

Your marches, sieges, and battles, in distance, duration, resolution and brilliancy of results, dim the lustre of the world's past military achievements, and will be the patriot's precedent in defence of liberty and right in all time to come.

In obedience to your country's call, you left your homes and families, and volunteered in its defence. Victory has crowned your valor and secured the purpose of your patriotic hearts; and with the gratitude of your countrymen, and the highest honors a great and free nation can accord, you will soon be permitted to return to your homes and families, conscious of having discharged the highest duty of American citizens.

To achieve the glorious triumphs, and secure to yourselves, your fellow-countrymen and posterity the blessings of free institutions, tens of thousands of your gallant comrades have fallen and sealed the priceless legacy with their lives. The graves of these a grateful nation bedews with tears, honors their memories, and will ever cherish and support their stricken families.

Several leaders of the late Confederacy now migrated to Mexico and tried to take many followers; and through the Pacific States a war to expel the troops of Louis Napoleon, who had in-

vaded Mexico to establish an imperial government, would have been universally popular.

The following letter, written by Grant to the President, gives, in a clear, terse manner, his own excellent views upon the subject: —

The great interest which I feel in securing an honorable and permanent peace, whilst we still have in service a force sufficient to insure it, and the danger and disgrace which, in my judgment, threaten us, unless positive and early measures are taken to avert them, induce me to lay my views before you in an official form.

In the first place, I regard the act of attempting to establish a monarchical government on this continent, in Mexico, by foreign bayonets, as an act of hostility against the Government of the United States. If allowed to go on until such a government is established, I see nothing before us but a long, expensive, and bloody war; one in which the enemies of this country will be joined by tens of thousands of disciplined soldiers, embittered against their government by the experience of the last four years.

As a justification for open resistance to the establishment of Maximilian's government in Mexico, I would give the following reasons: —

First—The act of attempting to establish a monarchy on this continent was an act of known hostility to the Government of the United States; was protested against at the time, and would not have been undertaken but for the great war which was raging, and which it was supposed by all the great powers of Europe, except, possibly, Russia, would result in the dismemberment of the country, and the overthrow of republican institutions.

Second—Every act of the empire of Maximilian has been hostile to the Government of the United States. Matamoras, and the whole Rio Grande under his control, has

been an open port to those in rebellion against this Government. It is notorious that every article held by the rebels for export was permitted to cross the Rio Grande, and from there go unmolested to all parts of the world, and they in return to receive in pay all articles, arms, munitions of war, etc., they desired. Rebels in arms have been allowed to take refuge on Mexican soil, protected by French bayonets. French soldiers have fired on our men from the south side of the river, in aid of the rebellion. Officers acting under the authority of the would-be empire have received arms, munitions, and other public property from the rebels, after the same had become the property of the United States. It is now reported, and I think there is no doubt of the truth of the report, that large organized and armed bodies of rebels have gone to Mexico to join the imperialists. It is further reported, and too late we will find the report confirmed, that a contract or agreement has been entered into with Dr. Gwinn, a traitor to his country, to invite into Mexico armed immigrants for the purpose of wrenching from the rightful government of that country states never controlled by the imperialists.

It will not do to remain quiet, and theorize that by showing a strict neutrality all foreign force will be compelled to leave Mexican soil. Rebel immigrants to Mexico will go with arms in their hands. They will not be a burden upon the States, but, on the contrary, will become producers, always ready, when emergency arises, to take up their arms in defence of the cause they espouse. That their leaders will espouse the cause of the empire, purely out of hostility to this Government, I feel there is no doubt. There is a hope that the rank and file may take the opposite side, if any influence is allowed to work upon their reason. But if a neutrality is to be observed which allows armed rebels to go to Mexico, and which keeps out all other immigrants, and which also denies to the liberals of Mexico belligerent rights, the right to buy arms and munitions in foreign

markets, and to transport them through friendly territory to their homes, I see no chance for such influence to be brought to bear.

What I would propose would be a solemn protest against the establishment of a monarchical government in Mexico by the aid of foreign bayonets. If the French have a just claim against Mexico, I would regard them as having triumphed, and would guarantee them suitable award for their grievances. Mexico would no doubt admit their claim, if it did not affect their territory or rights as a free people.

The United States could take such pledges as would secure her against loss. How all this could be done without bringing on an armed conflict, others who have studied such matters could tell better than I.

If this course cannot be agreed upon, then I would recognize equal belligerent rights to both parties. I would interpose no obstacle to the passage into Mexico of emigrants to that country. I would allow either party to buy arms, or anything we have to sell, and interpose no obstacle to their transit.

These views have been hastily drawn up, and contain but little of what might be said on the subject treated of. If, however, they serve to bring the matter under discussion, they will have accomplished all that is desired.

Some weeks later, he writes from Galena, Ill., to the President upon the same subject: —

Seven weeks' absence from Washington, and free intercourse with all parties and classes of people, have convinced me that there is but one opinion as to the duty of the United States toward Mexico, or rather the usurpers in that country. All agree that, besides a yielding of the long-proclaimed Monroe doctrine, non-intervention in Mexican affairs will lead to an expensive and bloody war hereafter, or a yielding of territory now possessed by us. To let the empire of

Maximilian be established on our frontier, is to permit an enemy to establish himself who will require a large standing army to watch. Military stations will be at points remote from supplies, and therefore expensive to keep. The trade of an empire will be lost to our commerce, and Americans, instead of being the most favored people of the world throughout the length and breadth of this continent, will be scoffed and laughed at by their adjoining neighbors, both north and south — the people of the British provinces and of Mexico.

Previous communications have given my views on our duty in the matter here spoken of, so that it is not necessary that I should treat the subject at any length now. Conversations with you have convinced me that you think about it as I do; otherwise I should never have taken the liberty of writing in this manner. I have had the opportunity of mingling more intimately with all classes of the community than the executive can possibly have, and my object is to give you the benefit of what I have heard expressed.

I would have no hesitation in recommending that notice be given the French that foreign troops must be withdrawn from the continent and the people left free to govern themselves in their own way. I would openly sell on credit to the government of Mexico all the ammunition and clothing they want, and aid them with officers to command troops. In fine, I would take such measures as would secure the supremacy of republican government in Mexico.

I hope you will excuse me for the free manner in which I address you. I but speak my honest convictions, and then with the full belief that a terrible strife in this country is to be averted by prompt action in this matter with Mexico.

## CHAPTER XX.

## RECONSTRUCTION.

IN November of that year, General Grant started on a journey through the Southern States; visiting Raleigh, Charleston, Savannah, Augusta, and other of the larger cities, scrutinizing the military forces, the Freedmen's Bureau, and mingling freely with all classes of citizens. Upon his return he made the following report, at the request of the President: —

I am satisfied that the mass of thinking men of the South accept the present situation of affairs in good faith. The questions which have hitherto divided the sentiments of the people of the two sections — slavery and State rights, or the right of a State to secede from the Union — they regard as having been settled forever by the highest tribunal — arms — that man can resort to. I was pleased to learn from the leading men whom I met, that they not only accepted the decision arrived at as final, but, now that the smoke of battle has cleared away, and time has been given for reflection, that this decision has been a fortunate one for the whole country, they receiving the like benefits from it with those who opposed them in the field and in the council. . . . I did not meet any one — either those holding places under the Government, or citizens of Southern States — who thought it practicable to withdraw the military from the



South at present. The white and black mutually require the protection of the general government.

There is such universal acquiescence in the authority of the general government throughout the portions of the country visited by me, that the mere presence of a military force, without regard to numbers, is sufficient to maintain order. The good of the country requires that a force be kept in the interior, where there are many freedmen. Elsewhere in the Southern States than at ports upon the sea-coast, no force is necessary. The troops should all be white troops. The reasons for this are obvious. Without mentioning many of them, the presence of black troops, lately slaves, demoralizes labor, both by their advice and furnishing in their camps a resort for the freedmen for long distances around. White troops generally excite no opposition, and therefore a smaller number of them can maintain order in a given district.

Colored troops must be kept in bodies sufficient to defend themselves. It is not the thinking man who would do violence toward any class of troops sent among them by the general government, but the ignorant in some places might; and the late slave, too, who might be imbued with the idea that the property of his late master should by right belong to him, at least should have no protection from the colored soldier.

. . . My observations lead me to the conclusion that the citizens of the Southern States are anxious to return to self-government within the Union as soon as possible; that while reconstructing they want and require protection from the Government; that they are in earnest in wishing to do what they think is required by the Government, not humiliating to them as citizens, and that if such a course was pointed out they would pursue it in good faith. It is to be regretted that there cannot be a greater commingling at this time between the citizens of the two sections, and particularly with those intrusted with the lawmaking power.

I did not give the operation of the Freedmen's Bureau that attention I would have done if more time had been at my disposal. Conversations, however, on the subject, with officers connected with the bureau, led me to think that in some of the States its affairs have not been conducted with good judgment or economy, and that the belief, widely spread among the freedmen of the Southern States, that the lands of their former owners will, at least in part, be divided among them, has come from agents of the bureau. . . . In some form the Freedmen's Bureau is an absolute necessity until the civil law is established and enforced, securing to freedmen their rights and full protection. . . . Everywhere General Howard, the able head of the bureau, has made friends by the just and fair instructions and advice he gave. . . . The effect of the belief in the distribution of the lands is idleness and accumulation in camps, towns, and cities.

About this time a bill was revived in the House of Representatives for creating the grade of "General of the Army of the United States." This had never been held by any American except Washington, and was now intended, not as a permanent rank, but only for Grant, its terms providing:—

Whenever any general shall have been appointed and commissioned under the provisions of this act, if thereafter the office shall become vacant, *this act shall thereupon expire and remain no longer in force.*

After numerous tributes to General Grant from members of both parties, and one vehement protest against our emulating "the effete monarchies of Europe" in hero-worship, the bill passed the

House, one hundred and sixteen yeas to eleven nays. The Senate concurred almost unanimously, Grant was appointed general, and Sherman promoted to the lieutenant-generalship thus made vacant.

President Johnson now requested the Secretary of War to have Grant accompany our new minister to Mexico, which was about to be evacuated by the French, in order "to give him the aid of his advice," and "as evidence of the earnest desire felt by the United States for the proper adjustment of the questions involved."

Grant, however, replied to Stanton in a letter marked "private," and dated October 21: "It is a diplomatic service for which I am not fitted, either by education or taste. It has necessarily to be conducted under the State Department, with which my duties do not connect me. Again, then, I most respectfully but urgently repeat my request to be excused from the performance of a duty entirely out of my sphere, and one, too, which can be so much better performed by others."

To the President, who reiterated his request, Grant replied: "I now again beg most respectfully to decline the proposed mission, for the following additional reasons, to wit, — Now, whilst the army is being reorganized and troops distributed as fast as organized, my duties require me to keep within telegraphic communication of all the

department commanders, and of this city, from which orders must emanate. Almost the entire frontier between the United States and Mexico is embraced in the departments commanded by Generals Sheridan and Hancock, the command of the latter being embraced in the military division under Lieutenant-General Sherman, three officers in whom the entire country has unbounded confidence. Either of these general officers can be instructed to accompany the American minister to the Mexican frontier, or the one through whose command the minister may propose to pass in reaching his destination.

“If it is desirable that our minister should communicate with me, he can do so through the officer who may accompany him, with but very little delay beyond what would be experienced if I were to accompany him myself. I might add that I would not dare counsel the minister in any matter beyond stationing of troops on the United States soil, without the concurrence of the administration. That concurrence could be more speedily had with me here than if I were upon the frontier. The stationing of troops would be as fully within the control of the accompanying officer as it would be of mine.”

In speaking of the issues of the day, Grant said to a friend: “I never could have believed that I should favor giving negroes the right to vote;

but that seems to me the only solution of our difficulties."

To the ex-rebel General Taylor, a son of President Taylor, and an old acquaintance, he wrote: "The day after you left here the President sent for me, as I expected he would, after conversation with his attorney-general. I told him my views candidly about the course I thought he should take, in view of the verdict of the late elections. It elicited nothing satisfactory from him, but did not bring out the strong opposition he sometimes shows to views not agreeing with his own. I was followed by General Sickles, who expressed about the same opinions I did. Since that I have talked with several members of Congress who are classed with the radicals — Schenek and Boutwell, for instance. They express the most generous views as to what would be done if the constitutional amendments proposed by Congress were adopted by the Southern States. What was done in the case of Tennessee was an earnest of what would be done in all cases.

"Even the disqualification to hold office imposed on certain classes by one article of the amendment would, no doubt, be removed at once, except it might be in the cases of the very highest offenders, such, for instance, as those who went abroad to aid in the Rebellion, those who left seats in Congress, etc. All, or very nearly all, would soon

be restored; and so far as security to property and liberty are concerned, all would be restored at once. I would like exceedingly to see one Southern State, excluded State, ratify the amendment, to enable us to see the exact course that would be pursued. I believe it would much modify the demands that may be made if there is delay."

To Orr of South Carolina, Brown and Walker of Georgia, and other late secessionists, Grant gave the following advice: "Go to the Union Republicans in Congress, and to them alone. Have nothing whatever to do with Northerners who opposed the war. They will never again be intrusted with power. The more you consort with them, the more exacting the Republicans will be, and ought to be. When you get home urge your people to accept negro suffrage. If you had promptly adopted the constitutional amendment abolishing slavery, or the one making negroes citizens, and guaranteeing the public debt, Congress would undoubtedly have admitted you ere this. Now it will add impartial suffrage. The sooner you accept that, the better for all concerned."

The first reconstruction act, a military bill, "for the more efficient government of the late rebel States," which passed March 2d, 1867, was framed chiefly by General Grant. He also urged the holding of the extra session, three weeks later,

when a supplementary act was passed so that the legislative power might be ready to frustrate any effort of the President to violate the laws.

Knowing Johnson's determination to be rid of Stanton and Sheridan, Grant wrote him on the 1st of August the following earnest letter, marked "private." Had it been made public at the time, much unjust criticism of Grant would have been averted:—

I take the liberty of addressing you privately on the subject of the conversation we had this morning, feeling as I do the great danger to the welfare of the country should you carry out the designs then expressed.

First—On the subject of the displacement of the Secretary of War. His removal cannot be effected against his will without the consent of the Senate. It is but a short time since the United States Senate was in session, and why not then have asked for his removal if it was desired? It certainly was the intention of the legislative branch of government to place cabinet ministers beyond the power of executive removal, and it is pretty well understood that, so far as cabinet ministers are affected by the Tenure of Office Bill, it was intended specially to protect the Secretary of War, whom the country felt great confidence in. The meaning of the law may be explained away by an astute lawyer, but common sense and the views of loyal people will give to it the effect intended by its framers.

On the subject of the removal of the very able commander of the Fifth Military District, let me ask you to consider the effect it would have upon the public. He is universally and deservedly beloved by the people who sustained this Government through its trials, and feared by those who would still be enemies of the Government. It

fell to the lot of but few men to do as much against an armed enemy as General Sheridan did during the Rebellion, and it is within the scope of the ability of but few in this or any other country to do what he has. His civil administration has given equal satisfaction. He has had difficulties to contend with which no other district commander has encountered. Almost, if not quite, from the day he was appointed district commander to the present time, the press has given out that he was to be removed; that the administration was dissatisfied with him, etc. This has emboldened the opponents to the laws of Congress within his command to oppose him in every way in their power, and has rendered necessary measures which otherwise may never have been necessary. In conclusion, allow me to say, as a friend desiring peace and quiet, the welfare of the whole country, North and South, that it is, in my opinion, more than the loyal people of this country (I mean those who supported the Government during the great Rebellion) will quietly submit to, to see the very men of all others whom they have expressed confidence in removed.

I would not have taken the liberty of addressing the Executive of the United States thus but for the conversation alluded to in this letter, and from a sense of duty, feeling that I know I am right in this matter.

The President, however, suspended Stanton and made Grant Secretary of War, *ad interim*, on the 12th of August.

Dreading above all things a direct conflict between the Executive and Congress, Grant wrote to Stanton that same day, "In notifying you of my acceptance, I cannot let the opportunity pass without expressing to you my appreciation of the



zeal, patriotism, firmness, and ability with which you have ever discharged the duties of Secretary of War."

The Senate refused to sanction the suspension of Stanton, and Grant, upon receiving official notice of the action of the Senate, at once surrendered the office to Stanton.

The President was very much incensed, and asserted in a letter to Grant, "You promised you would either return the War Office to my possession in time to enable me to appoint a successor before final action by the Senate on Mr. Stanton's suspension, or would remain at its head, awaiting a decision of the question by judicial proceedings."

To this Grant replied on the 3d of February:—  
"Performance of the promises alleged to have been made by me would have involved a resistance of the law, and an inconsistency with the whole history of my connection with the suspension of Mr. Stanton. From our conversation and my written protest of August 1, 1867, against the removal of Mr. Stanton, you must have known that my greatest objection to his removal was the fear that some one would be appointed in his stead who would, by opposition to the laws relating to the restoration of the Southern States to their proper relation to the Government, embarrass the army in the performance of the duties especially

imposed upon it by the laws, and that it was to prevent such an appointment that I accepted the appointment of Secretary of War, *ad interim*, and not for the purpose of enabling you to get rid of Mr. Stanton. The course you have understood I agreed to pursue was in violation of law, and that without orders from you; while the course I did pursue, and which I never doubted you fully understood, was in accordance with law, and not in disobedience to any orders of my superior. And now, Mr. President, when my honor as a soldier and integrity as a man have been so violently assailed, pardon me for saying that I can but regard this whole matter, from beginning to end, as an attempt to involve me in the resistance of law for which you hesitated to assume the responsibility, in order thus to destroy my character before the country. I am in a measure confirmed in this conclusion by your recent orders, directing me to disobey orders from the Secretary of War, my superior and your subordinate, without having countermanded his authority."

During the five months, *ad interim*, that Grant held the office of Secretary of War, he curtailed the monthly expenditures of that department \$100,000, which would have made an annual saving of more than \$1,200,000.

## CHAPTER XXI.

## GENERAL GRANT IS ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE Republican National Convention met at Chicago on the 20th day of May, 1868. On the second day after the adoption of the platform, General John A. Logan arose and said:—

“In the name of the loyal citizens, soldiers and sailors of this great republic, the United States of America; in the name of loyalty, of liberty, of humanity, of justice; in the name of the National Union Republican party, I nominate as candidate for the chief magistrate of this nation, Ulysses S. Grant.” The States were called, and 650 votes were cast for Grant—not one against him. On the fifth ballot Schuyler Colfax was nominated for the second place on the ticket. The platform on which Grant and Colfax were placed was comparatively short. It was almost entirely devoted to issues arising from the war and reconstruction, and the course of President Johnson, the impeachment proceedings against whom were just drawing to a close. Some of Grant’s intimate friends advised him not to accept the nomination, because

of his inexperience in civil affairs. But to all such he replied: "All you say is plain to me. I am aware of the difficulties awaiting any man who takes that position with its present complications. I have no ambition for the place. My profession is suited to my tastes and habits. I have arrived at its height, and been honored with a position to continue for life, with a generous compensation, and satisfactory to the highest aspirations of a soldier. It will be the greatest sacrifice I ever made to give this up for the turmoil of the presidential office. But if the people ask it, I must yield. For some years, the people of America have trusted their sons and brothers and fathers to me, and every step taken with them, in the period from Belmont to Appomattox, has been tracked in the best blood of this country. If now they need me to finish the work, I must accept the duty, if in doing so I lay down the realization of my most ambitious hopes."

In his letter of acceptance, dated at Washington, May 29, 1868, Grant wrote to the Committee:— "In formally accepting the nomination of the National Union Republican Convention of the twenty-first of May inst., it seems proper that some statement of views beyond the mere acceptance of the nomination should be expressed. The proceedings of the convention were marked with wisdom, moderation and patriotism, and, I believe,

express the feelings of the great mass of those who sustained the country through its recent trials. I indorse the resolutions.

“If elected to the office of President of the United States, it will be my endeavor to administer all the laws in good faith, with economy, and with the view of giving peace, quiet and protection everywhere. In times like the present, it is impossible, or at least eminently improper, to lay down a policy to be adhered to, right or wrong, through an administration of four years. New political issues, not foreseen, are constantly arising; the views of the public on old ones are constantly changing, and a purely administrative officer should be left free to execute the will of the people. I always have respected that will, and always shall. Peace, and universal prosperity — its sequence — with economy of administration, will lighten the burden of taxation, while it constantly reduces the national debt. *Let us have peace.*”

Six weeks later the Democratic Convention nominated Horatio Seymour, and filled out its ticket with the name of Gen. Frank P. Blair. So small had been General Grant's interest in party politics hitherto, that his name had often been associated with the Democratic candidacy.

Upon November 3d, General Grant was elected President, having received the electoral votes of

twenty-six states. New York, New Jersey and Oregon were the only northern states to vote for Seymour; Grant carried six of the former slave states, and Mississippi, Virginia and Texas did not vote at all. Grant would not inform the public whom he proposed to invite to places in the cabinet, as he did not desire to be importuned to change his selections. They were as follows:—

Secretary of State, E. B. WASHBURNE, of Illinois.

Secretary of the Treasury, A. T. STEWART, of New York.

Secretary of War, JOHN M. SCHOFIELD, of Illinois.

Secretary of the Navy, A. E. BORIE, of Pennsylvania.

Secretary of the Interior, J. D. COX, of Ohio.

Postmaster-General, J. A. J. CRESSWELL, of Maryland.

Attorney-General, E. R. HOAR, of Massachusetts.

They were at once confirmed, but the following day it was discovered that Mr. Stewart's appointment was illegal, under a law preventing the holding of the office by a man engaged in trade or commerce. The President asked Congress to exempt the great dry-goods merchant from the operation of the statute. Mr. Sumner objected to hasty action, and three days later the President withdrew his request. Mr. Stewart resigned, and George S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, was appointed to succeed him. As Mr. Washburne resigned at the same time, to accept the French mission, his place was filled by Hamilton Fish, of New York. General Schofield was succeeded in

the war department by General John A. Rawlins, who died in less than six months, and whose place was filled by General W. W. Belknap. Mr. Borie stayed in the navy department but four months, when he was succeeded by George M. Robeson.

The first of President Grant's proclamations was issued May 19, 1869, and directed that Congress having passed a law declaring eight hours a day's work for all laborers, mechanics and workmen in the employ of the Government, no reduction should be made in the wages paid by the Government by the day to the laboring men in its employ on account of such reduction of the hours of labor.

In a message to Congress on the subject of public education, he wrote: "The adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution completes the greatest civil change and constitutes the most important event that has ever occurred since the nation came into life. The change will be beneficial in proportion to the heed that is given to the urgent recommendations of the 'Father of his Country,' to 'promote, as a matter of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge.' If these recommendations were important then, with a population of but a few millions, how much more important now!

"I therefore call upon Congress to take all the

means within their constitutional powers to promote and encourage popular education through the country; and upon the people everywhere to see to it that all who possess and exercise political rights shall have the opportunity to acquire the knowledge which shall make their share in government a blessing and not a danger. By such means only can the benefits contemplated by this amendment to the Constitution be secured."

In regard to the pernicious system of political assessments, Grant wrote: "The utmost fidelity and diligence will be expected of all officers in every branch of the public service. Political assessments, as they are called, have been forbidden within the various departments; and while the right of all persons in official positions to take part in politics is acknowledged, and the elective franchise is recognized as a high trust to be discharged by all entitled to its exercise, whether in the employment of the Government or in private life, honesty and efficiency, not political activity, will determine the tenure of office."

It was during Grant's first term as President that the Pacific Railroad, connecting California with the Mississippi Valley, was completed. This road is one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six miles in length, and was laid in the short space of three years.

One of the highest honors of Grant's first ad-



ministration was the settling, by peaceful negotiation with Great Britain, of a long-standing international dispute over what were known as the "Alabama Claims." This was the demand for indemnification made by the American nation for the injuries done the American merchant marine by Confederate cruisers built and fitted out in England. Negotiations upon the subject with the British Minister at Washington resulted in an agreement to refer the questions in dispute to a joint commission, which met in Washington on the 27th of February, 1871, and on the 8th of May following signed a treaty expressing the regret of the British Government at the escape and the depredations of the rebel cruisers, and referring the Alabama Claims to a tribunal of five arbitrators, to be appointed respectively by the President, the Queen of Great Britain, the Emperor of Brazil, the King of Italy and the President of the Swiss Confederation. The arbitrators held their deliberations at Geneva during the summer of 1872, and made a final award of about sixteen millions of dollars damages to America.

The success of this negotiation was hailed by the whole world as one of the highest triumphs of peace and international law, and as an example to all nations—heralding the glad day when peaceful arbitration should settle all disputes, and wars be only a relic of the past.

Of the part which Grant took in bringing about this grand result, Hon. Mr. Boutwell stated that when the unwritten history of the treaty came to be known, it would be learned that its success was largely owing to the personal tact, skill, and wisdom of our Soldier-President.

Special legislation was also given to the investigation of the Ku-klux conspiracy, which resulted in the conviction and punishment of a large number of persons in North Carolina, and the suppression of a conspiracy which, if neglected, might have resulted in a new rebellion.

The President and Congress were in harmony on the measures taken for the reconstruction of the southern states ; but a scheme which the former favored for acquisition of the island of St. Domingo, was disapproved by the Senate.

General Grant was very sensitive to assaults upon his sense of fairness. We recall his indignation in respect to charges made that his criticism and action caused the death of Minister Motley. Concerning him the great general said : " Mr. Motley was certainly a very able, very honest gentleman, fit to hold any official position, but he knew long, long before he went out that he would have to go. When I was making the appointments, Mr. Sumner came to me and asked me to appoint Mr. Motley as minister to the Court of St. James. I told him I would, and did. Soon

after, Mr. Sumner made that violent speech about the Alabama Claims, and the British Government was greatly offended. Sumner was at the time chairman of the committee on foreign affairs. Mr. Motley had to be instructed. The instructions were prepared very carefully ; and after Governor Fish and I had gone over them for the last time I wrote charging him that above all things he should handle the subject of the Alabama Claims with the greatest delicacy. Mr. Motley, instead of obeying his explicit instructions, deliberately fell in line with Mr. Sumner, and thus added insult to the previous injury. As soon as I heard of it, I went over to the State Department and told Governor Fish to dismiss Motley at once. Mr. Fish advised delay, because of Sumner's position in the Senate and attitude on the treaty question. We did not want to stir him up again just then. We despatched a note of severe censure to Motley at once, and ordered him to abstain from any further connection with that question. Thereupon commenced negotiations with the British Minister in Washington, and the result was the joint high commission and the Geneva Award. I supposed Mr. Motley would be manly enough to resign after that, but he kept on till he was removed. Mr. Sumner promised that he would vote for the treaty ; but when it was first before the Senate, he did all he could to beat it.

"I had nothing to do with his dismissal from the chairmanship of the foreign relations committee, but I was glad when I heard that he was put off, because he stood in the way of even routine business, like ordinary treaties with small countries. I may be blamed for my opposition to Mr. Sumner's tactics, but I was not guided so much by reason of his personal hatred of myself, as by a desire to protect our national interests in diplomatic affairs. It was a sad sight to find a Senate with a large majority of its members in sympathy with the Administration, and with its chairman of the foreign committee in direct opposition to the foreign policy of the Administration, in theory and detail. So I was glad when I heard of his successor's nomination. I shall never change my mind as to the wisdom of the policy that brought about the Washington Treaty with Great Britain. No matter how much the friends of Sumner and Motley may defend them, we never could have procured the agreement of the British commissioners or people to such a thing."

"I have no disposition," continued the general, "for controversy, and particularly would I abstain from anything that seemed like unfavorable reflections upon the dead, but something is due to truth in history, and my object in making my statement to Mr. Copeland was to correct grossly unjust and untrue statements in regard to facts and state-

ments which reflect upon the living. I had no ill-will towards Mr. Motley. Mr. Copeland will no doubt recollect that in the conversation I had with him, I said I regarded Mr. Motley as a gentleman of culture and ability, and in every way qualified to fill any position within the gift of the President or the people. I said that the best people, even men as accomplished and estimable as Mr. Motley, made mistakes, and that Mr. Motley had made a mistake which made him an improper person to hold office. I was then, and I am now, absolutely without any unkindness of feeling towards Mr. Motley. I was sorry for the necessity which compelled me to replace him, and if called upon to speak of him I should pay a high tribute to his character and qualifications."

"It is possible," said the general, "that but for Mr. Sumner's opposition to the St. Domingo treaty, he would never have been removed from the chairmanship of the committee on foreign relations. But if that opposition had anything to do with the estrangement of Mr. Sumner and myself, the fault was his, and not mine. I made no question with senators who opposed St. Domingo. I recognized on that question, as I did always, that a senator had his independent duty and responsibility, the same as an executive. Some senators, like Mr. Edmunds, whom I rank among my best friends, and for whom I have never ceased to feel the

highest admiration and respect, opposed the St. Domingo treaty as vehemently but not as abusively as Mr. Sumner. It is one thing to oppose the measures of an executive, and another to express that opposition in terms of contumely, and attributing the basest motives, as were attributed to me in the St. Domingo business. My relations with Mr. Edmunds and his colleagues, with Mr. Wilson, and numerous other senators who opposed the St. Domingo treaty, and whose names can be found in the Congressional Record, were never disturbed for a moment."

General Grant then said, with some earnestness: "There is another misapprehension. It is said that I made my visit to Mr. Sumner about January 1, 1870, to try and induce him to support the St. Domingo treaty. I never thought of such a thing. I had no idea that the treaty would meet with opposition from him or any one else. I called simply out of respect to the position Mr. Sumner held as the head of the committee on foreign relations, and to explain why the fact of such a treaty being negotiated should have been kept from the public and from Congress until that time; and to explain to him also the reports brought back by the agents of the Government who had visited the island, as to the resources of St. Domingo, its soil, the character of the people, their wishes in regard to annexation, and other

points. The question as to whether or not he would support the treaty was asked by Colonel Forney, who happened to be present."

At the national convention which met in Philadelphia June 5, 1872, Grant was nominated for a second term. His opponent was Horace Greeley, who secured the Democratic nomination, but Grant was re-elected by a popular majority of 762,991.

In his second inaugural address he said: "From my candidacy for my present office in 1868, to the close of the last presidential campaign, I have been the subject of abuse and slander, scarcely ever equalled in political history, which to-day I feel I can afford to disregard, in view of your verdict, which I gratefully accept as my vindication."

During Grant's second administration the reconstruction of the South went on successfully. Serious troubles arose during this time in Louisiana, where two governments, each claiming to be rightfully elected, sought to possess the governing power of the state, but the President proved himself equal to the emergency, and succeeded in keeping order there as elsewhere in the South.

His most important act during this second term was the veto of a bill to increase the currency. Adherents of the policy of inflation had been steadily increasing, but this action of the President checked the advance of an idea with which, as

subsequent events showed, the majority of the people were not in sympathy.

In the Autumn of 1873, the business of the entire country received a severe shock from a financial panic. It began with the failure of Jay Cooke & Company, who had become deeply involved in the building of the Northern Pacific Railroad, and the panic soon spread through all channels of business, till mercantile credit seemed well-nigh ruined. Excessive production and over-speculation were the chief causes of the crisis.

As President of the United States, General Grant inaugurated the ceremonies of the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia; and on the 4th of March, 1877, he resigned his position to his successor, Rutherford B. Hayes.



## CHAPTER XXII.

## GENERAL GRANT'S TOUR AROUND THE WORLD.

AFTER sixteen years of incessant public service, General Grant gladly availed himself of an opportunity for rest and recreation. He could now carry out his long-cherished idea to see foreign countries, but declining the proffer of a man-of-war offered him by the government, he determined to take passage on the *Indiana*, which was to sail from Philadelphia on the 17th of May, 1877.

On the morning of the departure, Mrs. Grant and her son Jesse, who was to accompany them, were taken to the steamer by the revenue cutter *Hamilton*, while the general was escorted by a large and distinguished company on board the steamer *Twilight*. General Sherman, at the farewell breakfast, said: "General Grant leaves here to-day with the highest regards of his fellow-citizens, and on his arrival at the other side there is no doubt he will be welcomed by friends with as willing hands and warm hearts as those he leaves behind. Ex-President Grant — General Grant — while you,

his fellow-citizens, speak of him and regard him as ex-President Grant, I cannot but think of the times of the war, of General Grant — President of the United States for eight years, yet I cannot but think of him as the General Grant of Fort Donelson. I think of him as the man who, when the country was in the hour of its peril, restored its hopes when he marched triumphant into Fort Donelson. After that, none of us felt the least doubt as to the future of our country, and therefore, if the name of Washington is allied with the birth of our country, that of Grant is forever identified with its preservation, its perpetuation. It is not here alone, on the shores of the Delaware, that the people love and respect you, but in Chicago and St. Paul, and in far-off San Francisco, the prayers go up to-day that your voyage may be prosperous and pleasant. God bless you, and grant you a pleasant journey and a safe return to your native land."

General Grant was much affected, and responded: "I feel much overcome by what I have heard. When the first toast was offered, I supposed the last words here for me had been spoken, and I feel overcome by sentiments to which I have listened, and which I feel I am altogether inadequate to respond to. I don't think that the compliments ought all to be paid to me or any one man in either of the positions which I was called

upon to fill. That which I accomplished — which I was able to accomplish — I owe to the assistance of able lieutenants. I was so fortunate as to be called to the first position in the army of the nation, and I had the good fortune to select lieutenants who could have filled (here the general turned to Sherman), had it been necessary, my place better than I did. I do not, therefore, regard myself as entitled to all the praise. I believe that my friend Sherman could have taken my place as a soldier as well as I could, and the same will apply to Sheridan. And I believe, finally, that if our country ever comes into trial again, young men will spring up equal to the occasion; and if one fails, there will be another to take his place — just as there would have been if I had failed.”

Hon. William M. Evarts, who was then Secretary of State, sent out the following official communication to the diplomatic and consular officers of the United States:—

GENTLEMEN, — Ulysses S. Grant, the late President of the United States, sailed from Philadelphia on the 17th inst. for Liverpool.

The route and extent of his travels, as well as the duration of his sojourn abroad, were alike undetermined at the time of his departure, the object of his journey being to secure a few months of rest and recreation after sixteen years of unremitting and devoted labor in the military and civil service of his country.

The enthusiastic manifestations of popular regard and esteem for General Grant shown by the people in all parts of the country that he has visited since his retirement from official life, and attending his every appearance in public from the day of that retirement up to the moment of his departure for Europe, indicate beyond question the high place he holds in the grateful affections of his countrymen.

Sharing in the largest measure this general public sentiment, and at the same time expressing the wishes of the President, I desire to invite the aid of the diplomatic and consular officers of the Government to make his journey a pleasant one should he visit their posts. I feel already assured that you will find patriotic pleasure in anticipating the wishes of the department by showing him that attention and consideration which are due from every officer of the Government to a citizen of the Republic so signally distinguished both in official service and personal renown.

Upon landing at Liverpool, General Grant was met by a large delegation, headed by the Mayor of the city, who, in a brief and happy address, gave him a most hearty welcome to the shores of Old England. At London, the freedom of the city was conferred upon him, which is the highest honor that can be given by the municipal authorities.

At a banquet given by the Trinity Corporation in their hall at Tower Hill, the Prince of Wales presided, and welcomed General Grant in the following words: "It is a matter of peculiar gratification to us Englishmen to receive as our guest General Grant. I can assure him for myself and for all loyal subjects of the queen, that it has given

me the greatest pleasure to see him as a guest in this country." A few days later, the general received the following invitation: "The lord steward of her majesty's household is commanded by the queen to invite Mr. and Mrs. Grant to dinner at Windsor Castle, on Wednesday, the 27th inst., and to remain until the following day, the 28th of June, 1877." To this dinner, which was served in the famous Oak Room, the American minister, Mr. Pierrepont, and his wife, Mr. Jesse R. Grant and General Adam Badeau were also invited.

On the 3d of July, General Grant received a deputation of workmen, who presented him with an address of welcome in the name of their comrades throughout the United Kingdom. No honor, royal or civic, that he received during the whole three years' tour, so touched the general's heart, and he responded to it as follows: —

GENTLEMEN, — In the name of my country, I thank you for the address you have just presented to me. I feel it a great compliment paid to my government, to the former government, and one to me personally.

Since my arrival on British soil, I have received great attentions, and, as I feel, intended in the same way for my country. I have received attentions, and have had ovations, free handshakings, and presentations from different classes, and from the government, and from the controlling authorities of cities, and have been received in the cities by the populace.

But there is no reception I am prouder of than this one to-day. I recognize the fact that whatever there is of

greatness in the United States, or indeed in any other country, is due to the labor performed. The laborer is the author of all greatness and wealth. Without labor there would be no government, or no leading class, or nothing to preserve. With us labor is regarded as highly respectable. When it is not so regarded, it is that man dishonors labor.

We recognize that labor dishonors no man; and no matter what a man's occupation is, he is eligible to fill any post in the gift of the people. His occupation is not considered in the selection of him, whether as a lawmaker, or an executor of the law. Now, gentlemen, in conclusion, all I can do is to renew my thanks to you for the address, and to repeat what I have said before, that I have received nothing from any class since my arrival on this soil which has given me more pleasure.

After a flying trip to the Continent, where he was received with the highest honors, General Grant made his promised visit to Scotland. The freedom of Edinburgh was tendered him in the Free Assembly Hall, by the lord provost, in the presence of two thousand people; and from thence the general went to Dunrobin as the guest of the Duke of Sutherland. At Elgin and Glasgow he was presented with the freedom of each city, to which honors he responded in his usual happy manner — striving always to make still closer the union of the two great English-speaking nations in the bonds of fraternity and amity. At Inverary Castle he was the guest of the Duke of Argyle, a nobleman who was a great friend of the North during the civil war.

At Newcastle, Sheffield and Birmingham he was received with unusual honors, and after staying a couple of weeks at Brighton, the Saratoga of England, he went to Paris.

The struggle between the republicans, under Gambetta, and the adherents of the Count de Chambord, under the Duc de Broglie, was just then at an end. General Grant's course through the Franco-German war, when he had expressed his sympathy for the German cause, had occasioned much bitter comment throughout France. The French people could not understand that Grant's enmity was entirely directed against Louis Napoleon and his family — not against the French nation. He believed that the triumph of Germany over the Napoleonic dynasty would prove a blessing to the country.

In spite of these misunderstandings, however, the general was everywhere received in France with marked courtesy, and through the mediation of the American artist, Mr. Healy, he had the pleasure of a personal interview with Gambetta.

Our Government having placed the man-of-war *Vandalia* at General Grant's disposal, the whole party embarked on the 13th of December, 1877, for Italy, Egypt, and the Holy Land. After visiting Herculaneum and Pompeii, and ascending Vesuvius, the party proceeded to Palermo, and from thence to Alexandria. At Cairo, the Khe-

dive gave a large reception in honor of the general, and placed a palace at his disposal. After visiting various cities and towns along the Nile, the party left for Constantinople, where they were cordially received by the Sultan. From thence they proceeded to the shores of Greece, and from that historic land they returned to Italy, where the general was received at Rome by the Pope, Leo XIII., and by King Humbert.

At Paris the general was present and took part in the ceremonies of the opening of the exhibition; and then after a short visit in Holland he went to Berlin. The important event of this trip was the meeting of Prince Bismarck. The hotel where the general made his headquarters was only a short distance from Bismarck's palace, and Grant proceeded there on foot, in his usual democratic manner.

Arriving at the entrance gate, he was ushered into a spacious marble hall, and was very soon joined by Prince Bismarck, who clasped both his hands and cordially exclaimed:—

“Welcome to Germany, general.”

“There is no incident in my German tour,” the general replied, “more interesting to me than this meeting with you, prince.”

“You look remarkably young,” said Prince Bismarck; “you must be at least twenty years younger than I am?”



"Not at all," the general replied, "only seven."

"That" returned the prince, "shows the value of a military life, for here you have the frame of a young man, while I feel like an old one."

All this took place in the chancellor's study, and after the general was seated, the prince inquired about General Sheridan.

"The general and I," said Bismarck, "were fellow-campaigners in France, and we became great friends."

"I have had letters from Sheridan recently," the general replied, "and he writes me that he is feeling quite well."

"Sheridan," said the prince, "seems to be a man of great ability."

"Yes," replied the general. "I regard Sheridan as not only one of the great soldiers of our war, but one of the great soldiers of the world,—as a man who is fit for the highest commands. No better general ever lived than Sheridan."

"I observed," said the prince, "that he had a wonderfully quick eye. On one occasion I remember, the emperor and his staff took up a position to observe a battle. The emperor himself was never near enough to the front, was always impatient to be as near the fighting as possible. 'Well,' said Sheridan to me as we rode along, 'we shall never stay here; the enemy will in a short time make this so untenable, that we shall all be

leaving in a hurry. Then while the men are advancing, they will see us retreating.' Sure enough, in an hour or so the cannon-shot began to plunge this way and that way, and we saw we must leave. It was difficult to remove the emperor, though; but we all had to go," and, said the prince, with a hearty laugh, "we went rapidly. Sheridan had seen it from the beginning. I wish I had so quick an eye."

The Congress of Berlin being then in session, the general said he hoped there would be a peaceful result.

"That is my hope and belief," said the prince. "That is all our interest in the matter. We have no business with the congress whatever, and are attending to the business of others by calling a congress. But Germany wants peace, and Europe wants peace, and all our labors are to that end. In the settlement of the questions arising out of the San Stefano treaty, Germany has no interest of a selfish character. I suppose," said the prince, "the whole situation may be summed up in this phrase: in making the treaty, Russia ate more than she could digest, and the main business of the congress is to relieve her. The war has been severe upon Russia, and of course she wants peace."

"How long do you think the congress will sit?" asked the general.

"I believe," replied the prince, "there will be seven or eight more sittings. I wish it were over," he added, "for Berlin is so warm, and I want to leave it. Besides, it keeps me so busy that I am unable to take you around and show Berlin to you."

The emperor having been shot at and wounded while General Grant was in Berlin, he was unable to see the warrior-king. Alluding to this fact, Prince Bismarck said:—

"His majesty has been expecting you, and evinces the greatest interest in your achievements, in the distinguished part you have played in the history of your country, and in your visit to Germany. He commands me to say that nothing but his doctor's orders that he shall see no one prevents his seeing you."

"I am sorry that I cannot have that honor," replied the general, "but I am far more sorry for the cause, and hope that the emperor is recovering."

"All the indications are of the best," answered the prince, "for the emperor has a fine constitution and great courage and endurance, but you know he is a very old man."

"That," said the general, "adds to the horror one feels for the crime."

"It is so strange, so strange and so sad," answered the prince, feelingly. "Here is an old

man—one of the kindest old gentlemen in the world—and yet they must try and shoot him! There never was a more simple, more genuine, more—what shall I say?—more humane character than the emperor's. He is totally unlike men who come into the world in his rank; born princes are apt to think themselves of another race and another world. They are apt to take small account of the wishes and feelings of others. All their education tends to deaden the human side. But this emperor is so much of a man in all things! He never did anyone a wrong in his life. He never wounded anyone's feelings; never imposed a hardship! He is the most genial and winning of men—thinking always, anxious always for the comfort and welfare of his people—of those around him. You cannot conceive of a finer type of the noble, courteous, charitable old gentleman, with every high quality of a prince, as well as every virtue of a man. I should have supposed that the emperor could have walked alone all over the empire without harm, and yet they must try and shoot him. In some respects," added the prince after a pause, "the emperor resembles his ancestor, Frederick William, the father of Frederick the Great. The difference between the two is that the old king would be severe and harsh at times to those around him, while the emperor is never harsh to anyone. But the old king had so much simplic-

ity of character, lived an austere life ; had all the republican qualities. So with this king ; he is so republican in all things that even the most extreme republican, if he did his character justice, would admire him."

"The influence," said General Grant, "which aimed at the emperor's life, was an influence that would destroy all government, all order, all society, republics and empires. In America, some of our people are, as I see from the papers, anxious about it. There is only one way to deal with it, and that is by the severest methods. I don't see why a man who commits a crime like this, a crime that not only aims at an old man's life, a ruler's life, but shocks the world, should not meet with the severest punishment. In fact," the general continued, "although at home there is a strong sentiment against the death penalty, and it is a sentiment which one naturally respects, I am not sure but it should be made more severe rather than less severe. Something is due to the offended as well as the offender, especially when the offended is slain."

"That," said the prince, "is entirely my view. My convictions are so strong that I resigned the government of Alsace because I was required to commute sentences of a capital nature. I could not do it in justice to my conscience. You see, this kind old gentleman, the emperor whom these

very people have tried to kill, is so gentle that he will never confirm a death sentence. Can you think of anything so strange as that a sovereign whose tenderness of heart has practically abolished the death punishment should be the victim of assassination, or attempted assassination? That is the fact. Well, I have never agreed with the emperor on this point, and in Alsace, when I found that as chancellor I had to approve all commutations of the death sentence, I resigned. In Prussia that is the work of the minister of justice; in Alsace it devolved upon me. I felt, as the French say, that something was due to justice, and if crimes like these are rampant, they must be severely punished."

"All you can do with such people," said the general, "is to kill them."

"Precisely so," replied the prince.

After chatting on various other topics, the prince said that the emperor regretted very much his inability to show General Grant a review in person, and that the crown prince would give him one. "But," said the prince, "the old gentleman is so much of a soldier, and so fond of his army, that nothing would give him more pleasure than to display it to so great a soldier as yourself."

"The truth is," said the general, smiling, "I am more of a farmer than a soldier. I take little or no interest in military affairs, and although I

entered the army thirty-five years ago, and have been in two wars, in Mexico as a young lieutenant, and later in our civil war, I never went into the army without regret, and never retired without pleasure."

"You are so happily placed," replied the prince, "in America, that you need fear no wars. What always seemed so sad to me about your last great war was that you were fighting your own people. That is always so terrible in wars, so very hard."

"But it had to be done," said the general.

"Yes," said the prince, "you had to save the Union, just as we had to save Germany."

"Not only save the Union, but destroy slavery."

"I suppose, however, the Union was the real sentiment, the dominant sentiment," said the prince.

"In the beginning, yes," said the general; "but as soon as slavery fired upon the flag, it was felt, we all felt, even those who did not object to slaves, that slavery must be destroyed. We felt that it was a stain upon the Union that men should be bought and sold like cattle."

"I had an old and good friend, an American, in Motley," said the prince, "who used to write me now and then. Well, when your war broke out, he wrote me. He said, 'I will make a prophecy, and please take this letter and put it in a tree or a box for ten years, then open it and see if I am not

a prophet. I prophesy that when this war ends the Union will be established and we shall not lose a village or a hamlet.' This was Motley's prophecy," said the prince, "and it was true."

"Yes," said the general, "it was true."

"I suppose if you had had a large army at the beginning of the war, it would have ended in a much shorter time?"

"We might have had no war at all," said the general; "but we cannot tell. Our war had many strange features — there were many things which seemed odd enough at the time, but which now seem providential. If we had had a large regular army, as it was then constituted, it might have gone with the South. In fact, the Southern feeling in the army, among high officers, was so strong that when the war broke out the army dissolved. We had no army then — we had to organize one. A great commander, like Sherman or Sheridan, even then might have organized an army and put down the rebellion in six months, or a year, or at the furthest, two years. But that would have saved slavery, perhaps, and slavery meant the germs of new rebellion. There had to be an end of slavery. Then we were fighting an enemy with whom we could not make peace. We had to destroy him. No consideration, no treaty was possible."

"It was a long war," said the prince, "and a



great work well done — and I suppose it means a long peace.”

“I believe so,” said the general.

This ended the conversation between the two great men. General Grant arose and said: —

“Prince, I beg to renew the expression of my pleasure at having seen a man who is so well known and so highly esteemed in America.”

“General,” replied the prince, “the pleasure and the honor are mine. Germany and America have always been in such friendly relationship that nothing delights us more than to meet Americans, and especially an American who has done so much for his country, and whose name is so much honored in Germany as your own.”

The prince and the general thereupon shook hands, and the general left, pleased with the reception he had received, and greatly impressed with the ability of his host.

The following day the review took place, and the soldierly bearing of the troops was freely remarked upon by the general.

The general was attended by Major Igel, and in a discussion he had with that officer on the use of the bayonet and sabre in modern warfare, the general said: —

“What I mean is this: anything that adds to the burdens carried by the soldier is a weakness to the army. Every ounce he carries should tell in

his efficiency. The bayonet is heavy, and if it were removed, or if its weight in food or ammunition were added in its place, the army would be stronger. As for the bayonet as a weapon, if soldiers come near enough to use it, they can do as much good with the club-end of their muskets. The same is true as to sabres. I would take away the bayonet, and give the soldiers pistols in the place of sabres; a sabre is always an awkward thing to carry."

## CHAPTER XXIII.

## TOUR AROUND THE WORLD, CONTINUED.

AFTER leaving Berlin, General Grant visited Hamburg, where a large banquet was given in his honor by American residents. In response to the consul's toast, he made the following characteristic reply: —

MR. CONSUL AND FRIENDS: I am much obliged to you for the kind manner in which you drink my health. I share with you in all the pleasure and gratitude which Americans so far from home should feel on this anniversary. But I must dissent from one remark of our consul, to the effect that I saved the country during the recent war. If our country could be saved or ruined by the efforts of any one man, we should not have a country, and we should not be now celebrating our Fourth of July.

There are many men who would have done far better than I did under the circumstances in which I found myself during the war. If I had never held command; if I had fallen; if all our generals had fallen, there were ten thousand behind us who would have done our work just as well, who would have followed the contest to the end, and never surrendered the Union. Therefore it is a mistake and a reflection upon the people to attribute to me, or to any number of us who held high commands, the salvation of the Union. We did our work as well as we could, and so did hundreds of thousands of others.

We deserve no credit for it, for we should have been unworthy of our country and of the American name if we had not made every sacrifice to save the Union. What saved the Union was the coming forward of the young men of the nation. They came from their homes and fields, as they did in the time of the Revolution, giving everything to the country. To their devotion we owe the salvation of the Union. The humblest soldier who carried a musket is entitled to as much credit for the results of the war as those who were in command. So long as our young men are animated by this spirit, there will be no fear for the Union.

A few days were then spent in Copenhagen, Stockholm and St. Petersburg. At the latter city General Grant met the unfortunate Emperor Alexander II., and, at the close of the interview, the emperor said: "Since the foundation of your government, the relations between Russia and America have been of the friendliest character, and as long as I live nothing shall be spared to continue this friendship."

"Although the two governments," replied the general, "are very opposite in their character, the great majority of the American people are in sympathy with Russia, which good feeling I trust will long continue."

A call was also received at St. Petersburg from the Grand Duke Alexis, who alluded with much pleasure to the reception he had received when in America. From St. Petersburg General Grant went to Moscow, and, passing through Poland,

reached Vienna on the 18th of August. Here he had an audience with the Emperor Francis Joseph, and also met Count Andrassy, the Chancellor of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

After remaining a few days at the Austrian capital, the party left for Munich, and passed through the south of France during the vintage season. From thence the general went to Spain, where he met King Alphonso, the Duke of Montpensier, and the distinguished republican orator, Emilio Castelar.

Returning to England, the party then made a pleasant tour through Ireland, and on the 24th of January, 1878, set sail from Marseilles for India, on board the *Labourdonnais*. Bombay was reached on the 13th of February, and the Government House on Malabar Point was placed at the disposal of General Grant. From thence he went to Alahabad, and his journey from that city to Agra was made upon elephants. All the Oriental splendors of the place were shown to the travellers by the maharajah, and at Delhi, Lucknow and Calcutta the native population, as well as the English residents, gave to General Grant a welcome of the most flattering nature.

From Calcutta the party left for Burmah on board the *Simla*, and, passing through the Straits of Malacca, came to Singapore. Here the general received an urgent invitation from the King of Siam to occupy Suranrom, one of the beautiful

palaces at Bangkok, and nearly a week was spent in visiting the various temples of this interesting and curious city. While here General Grant paid his respects to the king at his own palace, and on the next day the king returned the visit by coming in state to the palace of Suranrom, which is regarded in Siam as the highest honor the king can bestow. A dinner was given the next day to the guests, at the king's own palace, and to the address of welcome General Grant replied : —

YOUR MAJESTY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I am very much obliged to your majesty for the kind and complimentary manner in which you have welcomed me to Siam. I am glad that it has been my good fortune to visit this country and to thank your majesty in person for your letters inviting me to Siam, and to see with my own eyes your country and your people.

I feel that it would have been a misfortune if the programme of my journey had not included Siam. I have now been absent from home nearly two years, and during that time I have seen every capital and nearly every large city in Europe, as well as the principal cities in India, Burmah and the Malay Peninsula. I have seen nothing that has interested me more than Siam, and every hour of my visit here has been agreeable and instructive.

For the welcome I have received from your majesty, the princes, and members of the Siamese Government, and the people generally, I am very grateful. I accept it not as personal to myself alone, but as a mark of the friendship felt for my country by your majesty and the people of Siam. I am glad to see that feeling, because I believe that the best interests of the two countries can be benefited by nothing so much as the establishment of the most cordial relations between them.

On my return to America I shall do what I can to cement these relations. I hope that in America we shall see more of the Siamese, that we shall have embassies and diplomatic relations, that our commerce and manufactures will increase with Siam, and that your young men will visit our country and attend our colleges as they now go to colleges in Germany and England. I can assure them all a kind reception, and I feel that the visits would be interesting and advantageous.

I again thank your majesty for the splendid hospitality which has been shown to myself and my party, and I trust that your reign will be happy and prosperous, and that Siam will continue to advance in the arts of civilization.

I hope you will allow me to ask you to drink to the health of his majesty the King of Siam. I am honored by the opportunity of proposing that toast in his own capital, in his own palace, and of saying how much I have been impressed with his enlightened rule. I now ask you to drink the health of his majesty the king, and prosperity and peace to the people of Siam.

Leaving Singapore on the 23d of April, the party started four days later, in the steamer *Irrawaddy*, for Hong Kong, China. The first person to greet General Grant at this city was the guerrilla chief, Colonel John S. Mosby, who during the war had stoutly upheld the Confederate cause, but was now enjoying the position of American Consul at this port. The two men, however, shook hands as cordially as if they had never been enemies — the past, for the time being, was both forgiven and forgotten. Having received marked honors from both the English

officials and the native population, General Grant left Hong Kong for Canton. He was now beyond British rule in China, and the Emperor had given orders to receive the illustrious guest with honors due to his rank. The viceroy of the province had issued proclamations to the people, of which the following is a translation : —

We have just heard that the King of America, being on friendly terms with China, will leave America early in the third month, bringing with him a suite of officers, etc., all complete, on board the ship. It is said that he is bringing a large number of rare presents with him, and that he will be here in Canton about the 6th or 9th of May.

He will land at the Fintay Ferry, and will proceed to the viceroy's palace by way of the South Gate, the Fantai's Ugamun and the Waning Street. Viceroy Kun has arranged that all the mandarins shall be there to meet him, and a full court will be held.

After a little friendly conversation, he will leave the viceroy's palace and visit the various objects of interest within and without the walls. He will then proceed to the Roman Catholic Cathedral, to converse and pass the night. It is not stated what will then take place, but notice will be given.

The reception indicated by the viceroy in this proclamation took place on the day after the general's arrival. The party were carried in sedan chairs to the palace, where the viceroy was seen standing at the door. After welcoming them in true Oriental fashion, the viceroy showed them all the wonders and beauties of his home, and



offered them a cup of tea. From Canton the party sailed for the Portuguese settlement of Macao, where they visited the famous grotto of Camoens. Returning to Hong Kong, they embarked on board the government vessel Ashuelot for a cruise along the coast of China. At Siraton, Amoy, and Tientsin, the general was received with great honor, and little Prince Kung (who was then only seven years old, but regent and uncle of the emperor) welcomed him in person at Peking.

As the Ashuelot was to remain in Chinese waters, the party was transferred to the United States man-of-war Richmond, and early in June they landed in Japan, at the town of Nagasaki, where they were received by Prince Dati, Mr. Yoshida (who was the Japanese minister to our country during Grant's administration), and the governor. While here the general was informed that the town intended to erect a monument in the park, commemorating his visit, and would like him to write an inscription that would be engraved upon the stone in English and Japanese characters. In compliance with this request, he wrote the following:—

NAGASAKI, JAPAN, June 22, 1879.

At the request of the governor, Utsumi Togatsu, Mrs. Grant and I have each planted a tree in the Nagasaki Park. I hope that both trees may prosper, grow large, live long, and in their growth, prosperity and long life be emblematic of the future of Japan.

U. S. GRANT.

After a brief visit at Hiogo, the party proceeded to Yokohama, and from thence to Tokio, the capital of Japan. Here the general was escorted to the emperor's summer palace, Euriokam, and on the afternoon of the 4th of July he had an interview with the mikado.

In reply to an address from one of his highness' ministers, General Grant said: —

YOUR MAJESTY, — I am very grateful for the welcome you accord me here to-day, and for the great kindness with which I have been received ever since I came to Japan, by your government and your people. I recognize in this a feeling of friendship towards my country. I can assure you that this feeling is reciprocated by the United States; that our people, without regard to party, take the deepest interest in all that concerns Japan, and have the warmest wishes for her welfare. I am happy to be able to express that sentiment. America is your next neighbor, and will always give Japan sympathy and support in her efforts to advance. I again thank your majesty for your hospitality, and wish you a long and happy reign, and for your people prosperity and independence.

The national holiday was celebrated by the American residents at Tokio, by a magnificent display of fireworks and illuminations in one of the summer gardens. On the 7th of July, the Japanese troops were reviewed by General Grant. The armament and equipment of the native soldiers were modelled after the best European and American patterns, and great surprise and admiration were expressed by the general for the marvellous

advance already made by Japan in military tactics. After the review, the whole party were entertained by the mikado, at the Shila palace.

On taking leave of the mikado, some weeks later, General Grant said:—

YOUR MAJESTY,—I come to take my leave, and to thank you, the officers of your government, and the people of Japan, for the great hospitality and kindness I have received at the hands of all during my most pleasant visit to this country. I have now been two months in Tokio and the surrounding neighborhood, and two previous weeks in the more southerly part of the country.

It affords me great satisfaction to say that during all this stay and all my visiting I have not witnessed one discourtesy to myself, nor a single unpleasant sight. Everywhere there seems to be the greatest contentment among the people, and, while no signs of great industrial wealth exist, no absolute poverty is visible. This is in striking and pleasing contrast with almost every country I have visited.

I leave Japan greatly impressed with the possibilities and probabilities of her future. She has a fertile soil, one half of it not yet cultivated to man's use; great undeveloped mineral resources, numerous and fine harbors, an extensive seacoast, the surrounding waters abounding in fish of an almost endless variety, and, above all, an industrious, ingenious, contented, and frugal population.

With all these, nothing is wanted to insure great progress, except wise direction by the government, peace at home and abroad, non-interference in the internal and domestic affairs of the country by outside nations. It is the sincere desire of your guests to see Japan realize all possible strength and greatness, to see her as independent of foreign rule or dictation as any western nation now is, and to see

affairs so directed by her as to command the respect of the civilized world.

In saying this, I believe I reflect the sentiments of the great majority of my countrymen. I now take my leave, without expectation of ever again having the opportunity of visiting Japan, but with the assurance that pleasant recollections of my present visit will not vanish while my life lasts. That your majesty may long reign over a prosperous and contented people, and enjoy every blessing, is my sincere prayer.

To this the mikado replied : —

Your visit has given us so much satisfaction and pleasure that we can only lament that the time for your departure has come. We regret also that the heat of the season has prevented several of your proposed visits to different places. In the meantime, however, we have greatly enjoyed the pleasure of frequent interviews with you, and the cordial expressions which you have just addressed to us in taking your leave have given us a great additional satisfaction.

America and Japan, being near neighbors, separated by an ocean only, will become more and more closely connected with each other as time goes on. It is gratifying to feel assured that your visit to our empire, which enabled us to form very pleasant personal acquaintance with each other, will facilitate and strengthen the friendly relations that have heretofore happily existed between the two countries.

And now we cordially wish you a safe and pleasant voyage home, and that you will on your return find your nation in peace and prosperity, and that you and your family may enjoy long life and happiness.

On the 2d of September, General Grant and his party started for home in the Pacific mail steamer *City of Tokio*. The voyage was made in

eighteen days, and impatient crowds covered the hilltops of San Francisco, as the vessel glided into the harbor. An enthusiastic reception was given to him by the citizens, and the bands played "Home Again," as General Grant stepped once more upon American soil.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

## THE WELCOME HOME.

THE reception of General Grant in California, and on the whole Pacific coast, was something phenomenal in the history of the American people. In the latter part of October he left for the East, by way of Virginia City, and reached Chicago on the 12th of November, where a reception was held by the Army of the Tennessee, at the Palmer House. At this banquet, Generals Sherman, Sheridan and Gresham, Governor Culom and many other warm personal friends of Grant were present. The general's speech upon this occasion was one of the longest and most brilliant he ever made. It was as follows:—

After an absence of several years from the gatherings of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, it affords me heartfelt pleasure to be again with you—my earliest comrades in arms in the great conflict for the nationality and union of all the States under one free and always to be maintained government. In my long absence from the country, I have had a most favorable opportunity for comparing in my own mind our institutions with those of all European countries, and most of those of Asia; comparing our resources, developed and dormant, the capacity and en-

ergy of our people for upholding the government and developing its resources, with most of the civilized peoples of the world.

Everywhere, from England to Japan, from Russia to Spain and Portugal, we are understood, our resources highly appreciated, and the skill, energy and intelligence of the citizens recognized. My receptions have been your receptions. They have been everywhere kind, and an acknowledgment that the United States is a nation, a strong, independent and free nation, composed of strong, brave and intelligent people capable of judging of their rights, and ready to maintain them at all hazards.

This is a non-partisan association, but composed of men who are united in a determination that no foe, domestic or foreign, shall interfere between us and the maintenance of our grand, free and enlightened institutions and the unity of all the states. The area of our country, its fertility, the energy and resources of our population compared to the area, postpone the day, for generations to come, when our descendants will have to consider the question of how the soil is to support them, how the most can be produced to support human life, without reference to the tastes or desires of the people, and when but few can exercise the privilege of the plain luxury of selecting the articles of food they will eat, and the quantity and quality of clothing they wear. But it will remain the abundant home of all who possess energy and strength, and make good use of them.

Such a country is one to be proud of. I am proud of it, proud that I am an American citizen. Every citizen—North, South, East and West—enjoys a common heritage, and should feel an equal pride. I am glad these society meetings keep up so long after the events which in a sense they commemorate have passed away.

They do not serve to keep up sectional feeling or bitterness towards our late foe, but they do keep up the feeling

that we are a nation and that it must be preserved, one and indivisible. We feel and maintain that those who fought, and fought bravely, on the opposite side from us have equal claim with ourselves in all the blessings of our great and common country.

We claim for them the right to travel all over this broad land and select where they please to settle, become citizens and enjoy their political and religious convictions free from molestation or ostracism, either on account of them or connection with the past. We ask nothing more for ourselves, and would rejoice to see them become powerful rivals in the development of our great resources, in the acquisition of all that should be desirable in this life, and in patriotism and in love of country.

His journey to Philadelphia was a continued series of ovations. On the third day of his stay in the latter city, an imposing reception was given him by the Grand Army of the Republic, at the Academy of Music. On the rear of the stage was a mimic forest with a camp scene, and at the right was a fac-simile of General Grant's headquarters at City Point. Fifty comrades, each carrying a tattered battle-flag, escorted the general to the Academy; and in response to the address of welcome, he said:—

GOVERNOR HOYT AND COMRADES OF THE GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC.—It is a matter of very deep regret with me that I did not provide something to say to you respecting the welcome I received at your hands this evening, but really since I arrived here I have not had time, and before that I had not given it a thought. I can say to you all that during the two years and seven months since I left your



city to circuit the globe, I have visited every capital in Europe and most of the Eastern nations.

There has not been a country that I visited in that circuit where I did not find some of our numbers. In crossing our own land, from the Pacific to the Atlantic, scarcely a settlement, scarcely a cattle-ranch, scarcely a collection of pioneers did I see that was not composed almost entirely of veterans of the late war. It called to my mind the fact that while wars are to be deplored, and unjust wars are always to be avoided, they are not always attended with unmixed evil.

The boy who is brought up in his country home, or in his city home, without any exciting cause to quicken his wits, is apt to remain there, following the pursuits of his parents, and never getting beyond them, in many cases never getting up to them. But when carried away by a great struggle in which so much principle is involved, as was the case in our late conflict, it brings to him a wider view than that of his home, and though his affections belong to the home which he has left behind him, he finds only disappointment on his return, and strikes out for new fields, and develops and prepares new domains for us and for thousands who will follow us.

Our ex-soldiers are not only becoming the pioneers of this land, but they are extending its commerce and the knowledge of their country in other lands; and when a brighter day shall dawn for those countries in the East, America will step in and share in their commerce. And all this is being brought about by the exertions of the veteran soldiers, I might say of the veterans of the Grand Army of the Republic.

Comrades, having been compelled as often as I have since my arrival in San Francisco to utter a few words, not only to ex-soldiers, but to other classes, always speaking without preparation, I was of necessity forced to repeat, not the same words, perhaps, but the same ideas. What I

want to impress upon you is, that you have a country to be proud of, a country to fight for, and a country to die for if need be.

While many of the countries in Europe give practical protection and freedom to their citizens, yet no European country compares in the liberty which it affords to particular individuals with our own. In no country is the young and energetic man given such a chance by industry and frugality to acquire a competence for himself and his family as in America. Abroad it is often difficult for the poor man to make his way at all. All that is necessary is to know this in order that we may become better citizens.

Comrades, I thank you for your welcome, and regret that I am not better prepared to say what I would like to say.

During the year 1880, General Grant made a tour through the Southern States, which did much to conciliate that part of the country, and cement the growing union between the North and South. His journey the following year to Cuba and Mexico was also helpful in bringing about certain commercial treaties advantageous to our country.

"My first personal acquaintance with General Grant," said Mr. Thomas J. Gargan, "was in the spring of 1881. I left New Orleans for Mexico April 1, 1881, on the steamer Whitney. General Grant, Mr. Romero, Mexican minister, Senator Chaffee, General Grant's son and Mrs. Grant came on board at Galveston as passengers. I had a letter of introduction to the general, but before I presented it I was introduced by a mutual friend. We arrived at Vera Cruz Wednesday, April 6,

and General Grant very kindly invited my wife and myself to take seats in a special train, which had been provided for himself and his party. We stopped at Orizaba over night, and the next day arrived in the City of Mexico. At the Hotel Iturbide in the city we had adjoining rooms, and I saw much of the general from that time until the first of the following June. As there were not many English-speaking people at the hotel, I met him almost every day at the restaurant where we had our meals, and we often chatted together after breakfast. Some days he would be very silent and smoke his cigar, though always polite and affable if spoken to. At other times he would be very communicative.

“One morning in the early part of May, 1881, we were sitting in the courtyard of the hotel, when he suggested a drive to Chapultepec. We drove out until we came to the battlefield of Molino del Rey (King's Mill), when he stopped the driver and we got out of the carriage. We went over the battlefield, and he pointed out to me the spot where he was wounded when a young lieutenant, and he gave me some very interesting reminiscences of the day's fight, and told me how proud he felt, as a young man, of the brevet he received for his conduct in that battle.

“A few mornings afterward, we were smoking after breakfast, and the general was in a more than

usually communicative mood. He talked at length of incidents of the late war. He spoke of Stanton and General Halleck. He said that when the war broke out he did not think at first of applying for a commission as colonel, and when offered the command of a regiment he hesitated about accepting, but when he saw some of the men already in command of regiments he thought that if those fellows could command a regiment he could, and said he considered Halleck the greater man of the two, intellectually. He said his first memory of Halleck was that Halleck was just graduating from West Point, in the engineer corps, when he entered, a raw country boy from the West, having made the journey from his father's house on horseback to the Ohio River, and by steamboat up the Ohio as far as navigation permitted, and by stage to Baltimore, and thence by water to New York. He said he envied Halleck as he pictured him already an officer in the United States army.

“‘In the Mexican war,’ said General Grant, ‘I became a captain before Halleck. Halleck was in the engineer corps, however, and I was in the infantry. But yet I was his senior in rank in the regular army. I always had a great respect for Halleck’s intellectual abilities. But he lacked the qualifications necessary to command men or to handle an army in the field. When Halleck was assigned by the War Department to the command of the

Western army, superseding Fremont, I was very much pleased, as was every West Point man, as we had no confidence in General Fremont as a military commander. When Halleck arrived in St. Louis and assumed command, I telegraphed for permission to call and pay my respects, and received the curt reply: "Remain where you are." My next attempt to have communication with Halleck was in relation to the advance on Forts Henry and Donelson. Halleck warned me that if I came to St. Louis to see him and had no business with the commanding general of the department, I would be severely dealt with. I did not consider the reply very encouraging, but yet felt it to be my duty to go to see Halleck. On arriving at his headquarters in St. Louis, I found him in a large room, with only the desk and chair occupied by himself. No other article of furniture was in the room. He never rose to receive me, although I was second in command, but said severely: —

" "You see I have but one chair here. This office is for business. Communicate what you have to say quickly." He treated me as if I were an orderly, dismissed me curtly, entirely disapproving of my plan of action, and informed me that I must be out of St. Louis that night before six o'clock. I returned to my command very much discomfited, and it was only through Commodore

Foote, commanding our gunboats, that I received a courteous reply to a telegram in which I again urged the importance of advancing on Fort Donelson. Halleck declined to allow me to advance at that time, but about a month afterwards I received a sealed packet from Halleck, containing instructions, as though the idea had been original with himself, advising me to move cautiously and intrench myself; but before Halleck was aware of it, I had captured Forts Henry and Donelson, and opened the way to Nashville, Tenn. I telegraphed Halleck that the way was open, and, if I heard nothing to the contrary, I should run up to Nashville and take a look at the situation.'

"'To this despatch Halleck replied refusing me permission. That despatch I never received.'

It seemed that the telegraph operator, while pretending to be friendly to the Union, was in full sympathy with the Confederate cause, and while Grant's despatches to Halleck were duly forwarded, Halleck's replies to Grant were never delivered.

"Continuing, General Grant said: 'On my return from Nashville, I was surprised to receive a note from Halleck ordering me under arrest for disobedience of orders. I asked for an investigation, which was granted. I was fully exonerated, but I sent a request to be relieved from further service under Halleck.'

"The talk at this point was interrupted by a gentleman who had a special appointment for that hour with General Grant.

"A few days later, after luncheon, General Grant spoke of the different generals commanding under him. He talked of Sherman for a long time; spoke of his great ability and his reliability, and of his bluntness of speech. I then asked him about General Sheridan, and I spoke of him as a brilliant, dashing executive officer. Grant removed his cigar for a moment, and said, with great earnestness:—

"That is where you, in common with a great many other men, make a mistake about General Sheridan. He is much more than a brilliant executive officer; he is a great general, and when he assumes command of the army the country will appreciate his great ability. He has great reserve power, and the country owes much to him for the success of the movement on Richmond, and especially the battle of Five Forks, where his fertile mind saw the emergency, dismounted his cavalry and utilized them as infantry. I leaned more on Sheridan than on any other man in the army. I repeat, he is much more than an executive officer; he is a scientific fighter and a great strategist."

"After a few moments' silence, he said: 'It is strange what slight circumstances change a man's whole career. I have no doubt that many

commanders during the war have been most unjustly dealt with. I have now in mind General Fitz John Porter,' he said. 'The country will yet do General Porter justice. I mean to do all in my power to see him vindicated.'

"We then went into the fonda, or restaurant, had a cup of coffee, and General Grant, much to my surprise, talked for some time about books and authors; he spoke of Bulwer Lytton and his style; of Prescott and Washington Irving, expressing his admiration for Washington Irving, but criticising Prescott at much length, as not being accurate in his descriptions in his works on Cortez and Mexico. He said he admired his style; the story was fascinating, but he thought it was more of a romance than a truthful history.

"General Grant, while in Mexico, was an early riser, affable, and courteous to all whom he met, approachable by the humblest person, and none could be long in his company without feeling that he was an extraordinary man."

Says a certain English writer: "The four greatest generals produced by the great civil war, on the national side, were Grant, McPherson, Sherman and Sheridan. One of the most pleasant memories of American history is, and will forever be, the fact that between these great commanders there was never the shadow of jealousy or envy. It is the highest honor that Grant ever received



from men's judgment or admiration that these three able captains all willingly always looked up to him as their superior officer. McPherson fell in battle, before the splendor of his abilities could attract the world's attention, but in his death Grant, as he declared, lost one of the greatest — perhaps, the very greatest — of his lieutenants. Sheridan, as in right of his Irish blood, had the fiercest spirit in battle; Sherman the greatest invention in council; while McPherson could fight with the one and plan with the other, but they all admitted, because they knew and felt it, that 'the silent gray-eyed man' was greater than they.

“ ‘Why,’ I asked General Sherman once, ‘did you and Sheridan always acknowledge Grant to be your leader?’ ‘Because,’ he responded, in his quick, idiomatic manner, ‘while I could map out a dozen plans for a campaign, every one of which Sheridan would swear he could fight out to victory, neither he nor I could tell which of the plans was the best one; but Grant, who simply sat and listened and smoked while we had been talking over the maps, would at the end of our talking tell us which was the best plan, and in a dozen or two words the reason of his decision, and then it would all be so clear to us that he was right, that Sheridan and I would look at each other and wonder why we had n't seen the advantage of it ourselves.’

“ ‘I tell you,’ he continued, after a moment’s pause, ‘Grant is not appreciated yet. The military critics of Europe are too ignorant of American geography to appreciate the conditions of his campaigns. What is it to march an army from Berlin to Paris? Look at the shortness of the distance. Look at the multitude of roads. Look at the facilities of transportation. Consider how many times the same ground has been fought over by successive commanders. Is not every point of vantage known? What commander can blunder where all the conditions lie open to his eye? But I have seen Grant plan campaigns for half a million of troops, along a front line twenty-five hundred miles in length, and send them marching to their objective points, through sections where the surveyor’s chain was never drawn, and where the commissariat necessities alone would have broken down any transportation system of Europe; and three months later I have seen those armies standing where he said they should be, and what he planned accomplished; and I give it as my military opinion that General Grant is the greatest commander of modern times, and with him only three others can stand—Napoleon, Wellington and Moltke.’ ”

At the National Republican Convention held at Chicago in June, 1886, 306 of the delegates cast their votes for Grant, and even when the decisive

ballot was drawn, and General Garfield nominated, they still exclaimed: "The old guard dies, but never surrenders."

A third term in the presidential chair was declared by Washington to be inimical to the best interests of the Republic, and it is doubtful if Grant would have accepted the nomination, even if the honor had been thrust upon him.

On the 17th of January, 1881, General Grant visited Albany, and received here an enthusiastic ovation, as in fact he did everywhere he went. He was the guest of Governor Cornell while here, and also received at the Fort Orange Club. What surprised those most who then met him for the first time was his unpretentious, natural modesty. Some men are so aggressive in the assumption of a modest demeanor as to produce a disagreeable impression. General Grant was just simple and natural. A party of gentlemen had been introduced to the general, and were enjoying a quiet smoke in one of the rooms of the Fort Orange Club. Several spoke in a delicate way of the wonderful demonstrations which had greeted the general during his tour abroad, and of how proud all felt that such honors had been paid to an American. Nothing could have exceeded the good taste with which General Grant received these flattering allusions. Some one happened to mention the fact that he knew intimately Professor P., a classmate of

Grant's at West Point. The general's face lighted up with a pleasant smile of reminiscence. "Yes," said he, "there is P. I remember him well. He always knew a great deal more than I did, and was an abler man. It just illustrates how circumstances alter the prospects of men. Now there is P., who was really more deserving of great success than I was, and yet I suppose there are a thousand men who know who I am to one who knows him. Yes, he was a splendid fellow, and, after all, he is lucky to have won real success without all the bother belonging to what the world calls greatness."

A trait of General Grant's character mentioned by Mr. Dana in his personal description of the man deserves peculiar emphasis — we refer to the purity of his conversation. An intimate friend of his has said that Grant never uttered a word he would have wished his wife not to hear, and old comrades in the war will testify that he had no tolerance for questionable stories, but has often interfered to stop their telling, when it took as much courage to do so as it would to fight a battle.

On his return from Mexico, General Grant made New York city his permanent residence. A brownstone mansion on Sixty-sixth Street, near Fifth Avenue, was purchased by his friends and presented to his wife. It was valued at \$100,000, but there was a mortgage on it of \$60,000. The full amount was raised, and \$40,000 paid down on

the delivery of the deed, while the remainder was placed to Mrs. Grant's credit in the bank. Repeated efforts were made to raise the encumbrance, but as it had a long term of years to run, the holder of the mortgage would not discharge it. When the firm of Grant & Ward was started, Mrs. Grant transferred her account to the house, and with it the \$60,000 to pay off the mortgage.

Senator Logan, of Illinois, introduced a bill in the Senate, on January 11, 1881, to place General Grant on the retired list, with the rank and full pay of a general of the army. For certain political reasons, however, the bill did not pass at that session, and personal friends of the general voluntarily raised a fund of \$250,000, the interest of which, amounting to \$15,000 per annum, he was to have during his life; the capital he could dispose of by will.

## CHAPTER XXV.

## LAST DAYS OF GENERAL GRANT.

IN the summer of 1880, the sons of General Grant became partners of Mr. Ferdinand Ward in the banking and brokerage business. Mr. James D. Fish, of the Marine National Bank, also became a partner, and shortly after General Grant himself became a member of the firm. Having little experience in financial affairs, the general and his sons trusted too much to the honor and integrity of Fish and Ward.

It now appears that the two latter carried on a number of dishonest speculations without the knowledge of the other members of the firm, and appropriated for this purpose the money and credit of the firm, and also of the Marine National Bank. \$14,000,000 was swept away in the crash of May 6, 1884, and with it the whole of Grant's fortune. A few days previous, the general had borrowed \$150,000 of Mr. Vanderbilt, and he now insisted that a levy should be placed on his personal property, including the valuable gifts received during his tour around the world, and also the medals presented to him. To satisfy General

Grant, Mr. Vanderbilt did this, and then offered to present them to Mrs. Grant. The general, however, would not allow his wife to receive them, but a compromise was afterwards made, by which she was to remain in possession of them until her husband's death, when they were to be presented to the nation, and preserved in the Smithsonian Institute, at Washington.

One of the last official acts of President Arthur was to sign the bill that retired General Grant with the rank and pay of general for life. In signing it, Mr. Arthur remarked that never since he had become President had it given him greater pleasure to affix his sign-manual to any act than to this bill.

A slight throat trouble, which had attacked General Grant from time to time, now began to assume a serious phase. On the last day of February, 1885, a microscopic examination revealed the presence of ulceration in the soft tissues of the roof of the mouth, and induration of the base of the tongue. On the 29th of March a crisis occurred, and it was believed that the end was at hand. He rallied, however, bearing his sufferings with great fortitude, and during April and May he encountered all the ups and downs of the steadily progressing disease, now pronounced to be cancer. During all this time, when his sickness would allow, General Grant was preparing the memoirs

of his life, hoping that the sale of the volumes would bring a competence to his family. The arrival of his daughter Nellie (Mrs. Sartoris) from England, at this time, was a source of great pleasure to the general, but early in June the attending physicians observed symptoms which caused them to recommend the removal of the patient to the clear air of Mt. MacGregor, some eleven miles from Saratoga. This mountain rises to the height of a thousand feet, and near the summit is a pretty Queen Anne cottage, surrounded by trees, which Mr. Drexel, the owner, offered to General Grant and his family for the summer months. This offer was accepted, and on the 16th of June the general was removed thither, standing the long journey by rail much better than was expected from his reduced condition.

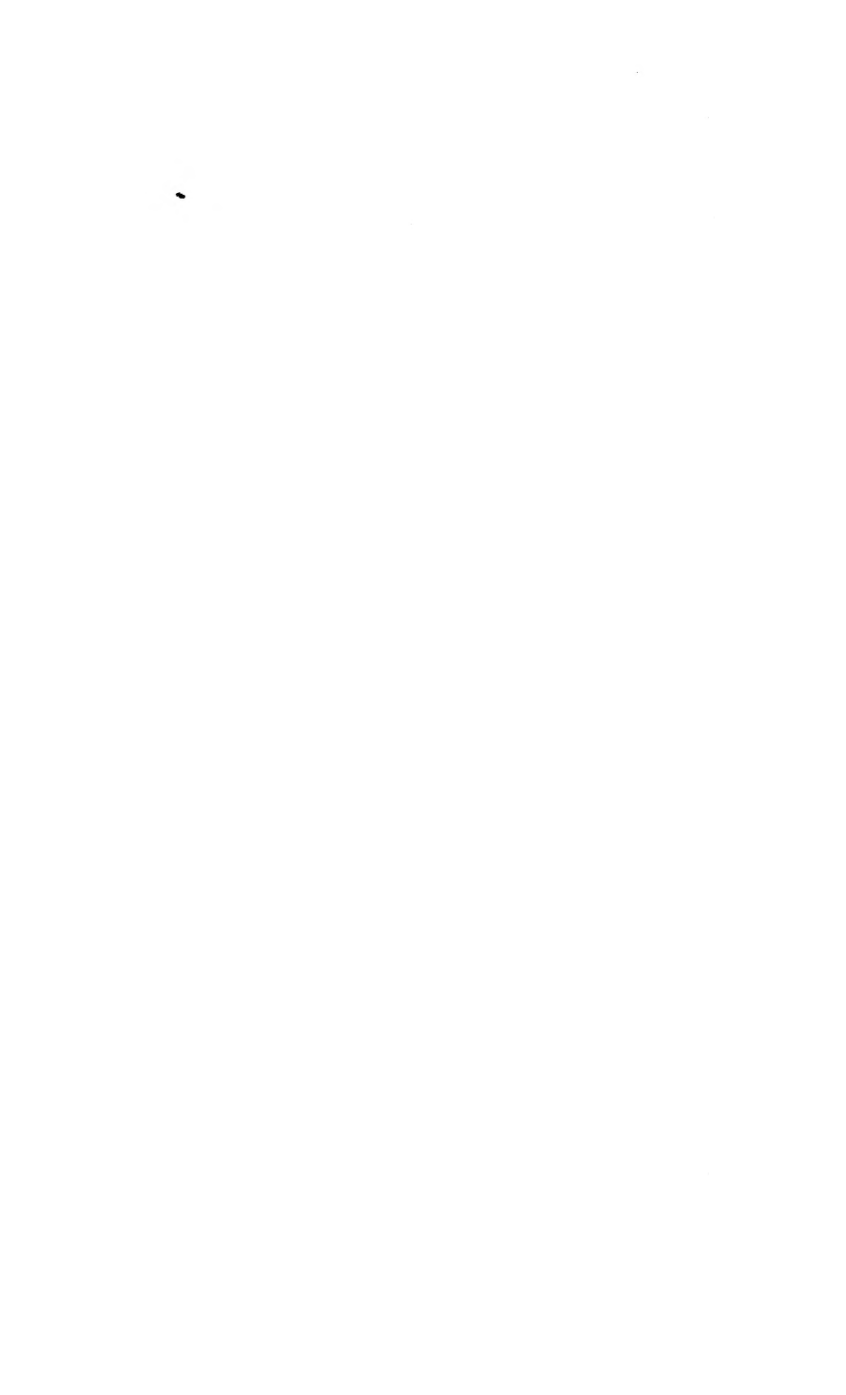
The cocaine which deadened the pain in the throat, seemed to increase the paralysis of the vocal organs, but during all these critical days the sufferer jotted down on his memoranda pathetic messages for his family.

Upon the completion of his book, General Grant remarked that his work was done: and days of depression were followed by others of extreme restlessness, when the sufferer desired fresh employment for his busy brain. But the insatiable disease was slowly sapping the sick man's strength.





THE GRANT FAMILY AT MT. McGEHEE.



Of the life at Mt. MacGregor, a friend wrote as follows: "When the general was in his easy chair he liked to see his family and his friends about him, unless he felt very miserable. His daughter was his chief delight. He loved the music of her voice, and her caresses. Scarcely a day passed when they were not left for an hour or so together, that she might read to him the news, and chat with him. At such times he lay back in his chair, with closed eyes, commenting occasionally on what she read, and enjoying every minute of her company. It was his usual custom of late to keep his eyes closed when sitting up, though there were whole days at times when he was as wide awake as a person in health. His desire for the company of his daughter was strong also during his hours of suffering. He seemed to want her always near him when the slightest danger threatened. She could comfort and cheer him more quickly than any one else. This devotion was fully reciprocated, for her thoughts were all with him, and often when he slept she glided into his room to see if anything could be done for him.

"His sufferings were thus lightened by cheerful and loving companionship. Some one of the family was always with him. His little grandchildren opened the day for him with sweet greetings, and through the daylight hours Mrs. Grant and the young people of the household were never far from

him. At evening the entire family, and whoever else might be present, gathered for prayer and quiet and affectionate intercourse, and then, after the doctor's visit, the night-watch began, with the colonel and the general's body-servant as the regular sick-room attendants. The general enjoyed these evenings. No suggestion of gloom ever marred them, although he knew that they would soon be impossible.

"The devotion of Mrs. Grant was touching. As careful as any one not to tax him when he needed only rest, she was never beyond easy call, and had no thought, apparently, but for his comfort. Her greeting was the first to cheer him in the morning, after the doctor's treatment. It was her chair that was drawn close to his on the porch. Whenever he wanted company she was part of it, and many hours in his last days were spent with her alone. Often they could be seen together when not a word was spoken, mere companionship satisfying them. Visitors seeing them thus were wont to remark that it was as though nothing so well suited them as that their last days should be as were their first, sufficient for each in the company of the other."

"It is most fitting he should pass away  
As he is passing now, without a word—  
This man of many battles, whom Dismay  
Dismayed not, whose stout heart was seldom stirred.

Master of his emotions — not too keen,  
Of simple, primitive tastes, his wants were few  
Believer only in things known and seen,  
Stubborn and blunt, begotten to subdue,  
Not his the blood in Sidney's veins which ran,  
Nor his who fell at Roncevalles of old;  
But there is something in this silent Man,  
Something heroic in his rugged mould.  
Of this our Soldier dying, Time will be  
A kinder, sterner, juster judge than we."

On the second day of July, General Grant wrote, in the presence of Dr. Douglas, the following message : —

I ask you not to show this to any one, unless to the physicians you consult with, until the end. Particularly, I want it kept from my family. If known to one man, the papers will get it, and they (the family) will get it. It would only distress them almost beyond endurance to know it, and, by reflex, would distress me. I have not changed my mind materially since I wrote you before in the same strain. Now, however, I know that I gain strength some days, but when I do go back it is beyond where I started to improve. I think the chances are very decidedly in favor of your being able to keep me alive until the change of weather towards winter. Of course, there are contingencies that might arise at any time that would carry me off very suddenly. The most probable of these is choking. Under the circumstances, life is not worth the living. I am very thankful [for thankful, glad was written, but scratched out, and thankful substituted] to have been spared thus long, because it has enabled me to practically complete the work in which I take so much interest. I cannot stir up strength enough to review it, and make additions and subtractions that would suggest themselves to me, and are not likely to

suggest themselves to any one else. Under the above circumstances, I shall be the happiest the most pain I can avoid. If there is to be an extraordinary cure, such as some people believe there is to be, it will develop itself. I would say, therefore, to you and your colleagues, to make me as comfortable as you can. If it is within God's providence that I should go now, I am ready to obey his call without a murmur. I should prefer going now to enduring my present suffering, for a single day, without any hope of recovery. As I have stated, I am thankful for the providential extension of my time to enable me to continue my work. I am further thankful—and in a much greater degree thankful—because it has enabled me to see for myself the happy harmony which so suddenly sprang up between those engaged but a few short years ago in deadly conflict. It has been an inestimable blessing to me to hear the kind expressions toward me in person from all parts of our country, from people of all nationalities, of all religions and of no religion, of Confederate and of national troops alike, of soldiers' organizations, of mechanical, scientific, religious and other societies, embracing almost every citizen of the land. They have brought joy to my heart, if they have not effected a cure. So to you and your colleagues I acknowledge my indebtedness for having brought me through the valley of the shadow of death to enable me to witness these things.

U. S. GRANT.

To General Buckner he wrote :—

I have witnessed since my sickness just what I have wished to see ever since the war—harmony and good feeling between the sections. I have always contended that if there had been nobody left but the soldiers we should have had peace in a year. We have some on our side who failed to accomplish as much as they wished, or who did not get warmed up to the fight until it was over, who have not quite full satisfaction. The great ma-

jority, too, of those who did not go into the war have long since grown tired of the long controversy. We may now well look forward to a perpetual peace at home, and a national strength that will screen us against any foreign complication. I believe myself that the war was worth all it cost us, fearful as that was.

The following characteristic and touching message to his wife is dated Mt. MacGregor, July 9th, 1885.

Look after our dear children and direct them in the paths of rectitude. It would distress me far more to think that one of them could depart from an honorable, upright, and virtuous life than it would to know they were prostrated on a bed of sickness from which they were never to rise alive. They have never given us any cause for alarm on their account, and I earnestly pray they never will. With these few injunctions, and the knowledge I have of your love and affection, I bid you a final farewell, until we meet in another and, I trust, a better world. You will find this on my person after my demise.

On the 22d of July, the doctors became convinced that death was rapidly approaching. To his physicians the general expressed himself as feeling that he could endure his condition of weakness but a short time longer, and begged for hypodermic injections of morphine. Dr. Douglas, however, preferred that the patient should take food and stimulants, rather than opiates, and brandy was repeatedly entered beneath the skin of the general's arm. This treatment doubtless prolonged his life a few hours, and eased his last moments. On the

following day, the 23d of July, he passed away peacefully, and without evident pain, at about eight o'clock in the morning.

The lowering of the flag on the White House was the first intimation that the citizens of Washington had of the death of the distinguished man, although they had been anticipating it throughout the night.

A few minutes after the White House flag was placed at half-mast, the flags on the public buildings and on many private ones were placed in like position. The bells of the city were tolled, and citizens who heard them readily recognized their meaning. Business men immediately began draping their houses with mourning, and residents showed in a similar manner their esteem for the deceased.

While the bells tolled, President Cleveland sent the following despatch to Mrs. Grant at Mount MacGregor : —

Accept this expression of my heartfelt sympathy in this hour of your great affliction. The people of the nation mourn with you, and would reach, if they could, with kindly comfort, the depths of the sorrow which is yours alone, and which only the pity of God can heal.

The following proclamation was issued by the President : —

The President of the United States has just received the sad tidings of the death of that illustrious citizen and ex-



President of the United States, General Ulysses S. Grant, at Mount MacGregor, in the State of New York, to which place he had latterly been removed in the endeavor to prolong his life. In making this announcement to the people of the United States, the President is impressed with the magnitude of the public loss of a great military leader, who was in the hour of victory magnanimous; amid disaster, serene and self-sustained; who in every station, whether as a soldier or as a chief magistrate twice called to power by his fellow-countrymen, trod unswervingly the pathway of duty, undeterred by doubts, single-minded and straight-forward.

The entire country has witnessed with deep emotion his prolonged and patient struggle with painful disease, and watched by his couch of suffering with tearful sympathy. The destined end has come at last, and his spirit has returned to the Creator who sent it forth. The great heart of the nation that followed him when living with love and pride, bows now in sorrow above him dead, tenderly mindful of his virtues, his great patriotic services, and of the loss occasioned by his death.

In testimony of respect to the memory of General Grant, it is ordered that the Executive Mansion and the several departments at Washington be draped in mourning for a period of thirty days, and that all public business shall on the day of the funeral be suspended; and the Secretaries of War and the Navy will cause orders to be issued for appropriate military and naval honors to be rendered on that day.

In witness whereof, I have herenunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this twenty-third day of July, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and eighty-five, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and tenth.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

By the President,

T. F. BAYARD, Secretary of State.

The whole country mourned for the great soldier as for a dear and personal friend. The North and the South vied with one another in expressions of sorrow, and all party feeling was forgotten in the universal grief.

"Few men," wrote a southern journal, "have suffered as General Grant did. The peculiarity of his affliction, its slowly wasting features, and its long duration, excited for the sufferer the pity of the nation. And in the South the animosity born of the war, and fanned by his later subservience to political opinions and practices adverse to Southern sentiment, was obliterated by the flood-tide of sympathy which went forth to him in his late trials on earth. The bitterest partisan forgot his spleen, and added his sympathy to that of other Southern hearts. He made as great a struggle for life as he ever made for victory on the battlefield, and it is remarkable that his affliction, emaciating and weakening as it was, failed to prostrate him. His great intellect was clear and bright even in the closing hours of a career as brilliant and illustrious as that of any other American. With his death there passed away one of the greatest captains of modern times,—not as great a general as either Lee or Jackson, but yet a great soldier. Military critics may differ as to his character and rank as a military commander; but, in the face of his achievements, any attempt to belittle his military capacity

is idle. Judged by this standard, he held a place in the hearts of the people of the North which was equalled by none except Lincoln. He won the admiration of the North by his record as a leader of the Federal army against the South, and because of this the North regards his undying name as the proudest chapter in American history. But the South also admired him and appreciated his worth, both as a man and a soldier. No better evidence of this is needed than is shown by the action of the General Assembly of this State upon the receipt of the intelligence of his death this morning. He had consideration for the South, and he has shown it on occasions when it was needed and most appreciated."

Ex-Governor Bullock said: "General Grant was the great central figure in American history since Washington. He was a man of unquestioned principle, and the South grieves over his death."

Judge Hopkins, a prominent Georgian, said: "General Grant was pre-eminently a man of iron will and strong sagacity, and will live in history with Washington."

Benjamin H. Hill, son of ex-Senator Ben Hill, said: "I regard General Grant as a great man. His long sickness has toned down all Southern animosity, and this entire section mourns his loss with America and the world."

General Longstreet characterized General Grant

as the noblest man that ever lived, and recalled the following reminiscences : —

“Ever since 1839,” said he, “I have been on terms of the closest intimacy with Grant. I well remember the fragile form which answered to his name in that year. His distinguishing trait as a cadet was a girlish modesty; a hesitancy in presenting his own claims; a taciturnity born of his modesty; but a thoroughness in the accomplishment of whatever task was assigned him. As I was of large and robust physique, I was at the head of most larks and games. But in these young Grant never joined, because of his delicate frame. In horsemanship, however, he was noted as the most proficient in the academy. In fact, rider and horse held together like the fabled Centaur. In 1842 I was attached to the Fourth Infantry, as second lieutenant. A year later Grant joined the same regiment, stationed in that year at Fort Jefferson, 12 miles from St. Louis. The ties thus formed have never been broken; but there was a charm which held us together of which the world has never heard. My kinsman, Mr. Frederick Dent, was a substantial farmer living near Fort Jefferson. He had a liking for army officers, due to the fact that his son Fred was a pupil at West Point. One day I received an invitation to visit his house in order to meet young Fred, who had just returned, and I asked Grant to go with me. This

he did, and of course was introduced to the family, the last one to come in being Miss Julia Dent, the charming daughter of our host. It is needless to say that we saw but little of Grant during the rest of our visit. He paid court, in fact, with such assiduity as to give rise to the hope that he had forever gotten over his diffidence. Five years later, in 1848, after the usual uncertainties of a soldier's courtship, Grant returned and claimed Miss Dent as his bride. I had been married just six months at that time, and my wife and I were guests at the wedding.

"In 1844 the Fourth Regiment was ordered to Louisiana to form part of the army of observation. Still later we formed part of the army of occupation in Corpus Christi, Texas. Here, removed from all society, without books or papers, we had an excellent opportunity of studying each other. I and every one else always found Grant resolute and doing his duty in a simple manner. His honor was never suspected, his friendships were true, his hatred of guile was pronounced, and his detestation of talebearers was, I may say, absolute. The soul of honor himself, he never even suspected others, either then or years afterward. He could not bring himself to look upon the rascally side of human nature. While we remained in Corpus Christi, an incident illustrating Grant's skill and fearlessness as a horseman occurred. The

Mexicans were in the habit of bringing in wild horses, which they would sell for two or three dollars. These horses came near costing more than one officer his life. One day a particularly furious animal was brought in. Every officer in the camp had declined to purchase the animal, except Grant, who declared that he would either break the horse's neck or his own. He had the horse blindfolded, bridled and saddled, and when firmly in the saddle he threw off the blind, sunk his spurs into the horse's flanks, and was soon out of sight. For three hours he rode the animal over all kinds of ground, through field and stream, and when horse and rider returned to camp the horse was thoroughly tamed. For years afterwards the story of Grant's ride was related at every camp-fire in the country.

"During the Mexican War we were separated, Grant having been made quartermaster of the Fourth Regiment, while I was assigned to duty as adjutant of the Eighth. At the battle of Molino del Rey, however, I had occasion to notice his superb courage and coolness under fire. So noticeable was his bearing that his gallantry was alluded to in the official reports.

"During the war my immediate command had engaged the troops of Grant but once — at the battle of the Wilderness. We came into no sort of personal relations, however. In the spring of

1865, one day, while awaiting a letter from General Grant, General Lee said to me, 'There is nothing ahead of us but to surrender.' It was as one of the commissioners appointed to arrange the terms of peace that I met General Grant at Appomattox. His whole greeting and conduct towards us were as though nothing had ever happened to mar our pleasant relations. In 1866 I had occasion to visit Washington on business, and while there made a call of courtesy on General Grant at his office. As I arose to leave he followed me out into the hallway, and asked me to spend an evening with his family. I thanked him, promising compliance, and passed a most enjoyable evening. When leaving, Grant again accompanied me into the hallway and said, 'General, would you like to have an amnesty?' Wholly unprepared for this, I replied that I would like to have it, but had no hope of getting it. He told me to write out my application and to call at his office at noon the next day, and in the meantime he would see President Johnson and Secretary of War Stanton on my behalf. When I called he had already seen these men, and assured me that there was not an obstacle in the way. He indorsed my application by asking that it be granted as a special personal favor to himself. In the January before he was inaugurated President for the first time, I paid him a passing friendly visit. He then said to me :

'Longstreet, I want you to come and see me after I am inaugurated, and let me know what you want.' After the inauguration I was walking up the avenue one day to see him, when I met a friend who informed me that the President had sent in my name for confirmation as surveyor of the port of New Orleans. For several weeks the nomination hung in the Senate, when I went to Grant and begged him to withdraw the nomination, as I did not want his personal friendship for me to embarrass his administration. 'Give yourself no uneasiness about that,' he said; 'the senators have as many favors to ask of me as I have of them, and I will see that you are confirmed.'

"From what I have already told you," said General Longstreet, in conclusion, "it will be seen that Grant was a modest man, a simple man, a man believing in the honesty of his fellows, true to his friends, faithful to traditions, and of great personal honor. When the United States district court in Richmond was about to indict General Lee and myself for treason, General Grant interposed and said: 'I have pledged my word for their safety.' This stopped the wholesale indictments of ex-Confederate officers which would have followed. He was thoroughly magnanimous, was above all petty things and small ideas, and, after Washington, was the highest type of manhood America has produced."



Ex-Mayor James W. English said: "I fought four years against Grant. Georgia and the South mourn his death. I was in a position at Petersburg to shoot Grant, but turned my head away, preferring to let him live. I regard his place in American history as among the greatest men in the world. There was something else besides the force of circumstances to make him great."

Messages of condolence were received from Queen Victoria, the Prince and Princess of Wales, and many of the crowned heads of Europe and Asia. The London Standard wrote: "Though his death was expected, the event is not the less to be deplored. We can only share with his mourning countrymen the sense of the loss of one whose career was so notable, so honorable to himself, so useful to his native land. His popularity rose, if possible, when the nation saw how he faced poverty and ruin. He was of a simple and modest nature, never cast down by reverses nor elated by prosperity. As a general he was never a great strategist. He knew only one course—namely, to fight. To-day, from Cape Cod to the Alaskan Isles, the land will once more be stirred by saddening memories of the war."

The London News gave the following tribute:—

"There have been few braver men. England will sincerely regret his death. It is as a soldier

that he will be remembered, and his fame will rest chiefly upon his eminent military services. After the death of Lincoln, General Grant was decidedly the most popular man in the United States, and his standing as such was not injured by his quarrel with President Johnson. He was essentially a man of action and not of speech. His name must ever be associated with the memory of that struggle of which Lincoln was the brain and heart and Grant the arm and weapon."

## CHAPTER XXVI.

## LAST HONORS TO GENERAL GRANT.

IN offering Riverside Park for the final resting-place of General Grant, Mayor Grace of New York wrote to Colonel Fred. Grant that the site was chosen because of the peculiar beauty of the place in its location on the river, and the fact that a monument on it would be visible far and wide. The entire park would become sacred and devoted to the memory of the great soldier, and the character of its development would be largely determined by this fact. There was, however, great disappointment in Washington that the burial was not to take place at the Soldiers' Home; and the general feeling throughout the country was that the body of the nation's hero should rest in the nation's capital.

After the process of embalming, General Grant's features assumed the firmness of outline which had been taken away by his long sickness; and as he lay wrapped in the stars and stripes in the cottage at Mt. MacGregor, his little grandchildren, anxious to do something for "Grandpa," stitched together some oak leaves in the form of a rude

crown and laid them tenderly upon the casket. This simple, touching gift of the children remained in its place among all the floral offerings until the last rites were performed. August 8 was appointed as the day for the public ceremonies at New York, and the memorial services throughout the country; but before the funeral cortége left Mt. MacGregor, a solemn, impressive service was held in the parlors of the little cottage, at which only the members of the family were present. Thousands of people came to take a last look at the beloved form as it lay in state at Mt. MacGregor, and tens of thousands more when the funeral party reached Albany and the dead general was placed in the grand central court of the Capitol.

From Wednesday, August 5, until Saturday, the 8th, the body lay in state at the City Hall in New York. As the afternoon of the first day wore on, the line of people gradually extended, until one could almost imagine that as they passed out of the rear door of the City Hall, they joined the line once more, and thus kept up a continuous circuit. The sun wandered away to the west, and still the crowds increased, and the foot of the line soon extended far past Chambers street and away up Centre. It was a remarkable gathering, in that all feelings of selfishness seemed to have been buried for the time, and good-naturedly, without any fretting or pushing, each person moved along

in the line, awaiting his turn to enter the building. No loud language was heard, each one seeming to feel that it would be out of place on such an occasion. It was estimated that on an average 100 people passed the guards every minute, and at 3 o'clock, nine hours after the opening of the gates, and about the same time before they would be closed, 55,000 persons had viewed the remains. At sunrise on Saturday morning, August 8, minute guns were fired from Maine to California, to announce the final preparations for the greatest funeral this country has ever seen. The tolling of church bells, and the Sunday quiet in the streets, were a fitting beginning of the day. The human tide began to set from all directions towards the line selected for the procession. The people poured into the city in converging streams from Brooklyn, from New Jersey, from Staten Island, from Westchester County and from Connecticut, to say nothing of the strangers who journeyed from more distant parts. The dwellers on the east of the city flocked to the west, those in the extreme west marched to the east until they faced each other in unbroken ranks to await the final passing of the famous commander. This influx of the populace in the early hours was a wonderful and curious thing to see. Over the bridge, on foot and in cars, by ferries and trains, they flocked steadily towards the centre of interest. It seemed

down town as if everybody was going north, and as if all business districts below the City Hall must be drained of all inhabitants. All the ordinary everyday currents of city life were reversed. Nearly all business ceased.

Although the people disposed themselves early along the route of the procession, the City Hall remained a centre of interest as long as Grant's body lay in it. General Hancock and his staff, in full-dress uniform, rode up in front of the building just before nine o'clock. At this time one hundred and twenty members of the Liederkrantz Society filed up to the steps, and, led by six instrumentalists, sang, with impressive effect, the "Chorus of the Spirits from Over the Water," by Schubert, and the "Chorus of the Pilgrims," from "Tannhäuser." The two selections were well rendered, in German. At the conclusion of the singing, the choristers looked through the barred gates at the black catafalque and the casket of royal purple. Soon after that, the original G. A. R. guard which served on Mt. MacGregor filed in. Mayor Grace, dressed in black broadcloth, arrived at his office about this time. He found President Sanger, of the board of aldermen, and the city officers, awaiting him. The church bells began their tolling, and all was in readiness for the transfer of the casket on the funeral car.

The Governor's Island band, which had already

taken up its position on the green in front of the City Hall, commenced to play a military dirge, with admirable softness and precision. General Hancock returned and took up his position at the head of the column. General Fitz Hugh Lee rode on horseback, wearing civilian's dress, with a mourning sash across the breast. On the grass on the southern side of this open space a few soldiers of the regulars were stationed at intervals, and all along the approaches to the broad stone platform before the building were policemen who kept back the spectators.

The funeral car, drawn by twenty-four jet-black horses in black trappings, each led by a negro, halted on the plaza directly in front of the City Hall steps. Inside the corridor, Commander Johnson was waiting. "Columns in position, right and left," was his command. "Lift the remains," he said, in clear, but low tones. The twelve men stooped to the silver rails, with gloved hands. "March," was the next word, and the coffin was borne down the steps, with measured tread, across the open space to the steps of the black funeral car.

Then the pall-bearers, with their broad white scarfs reaching to the ground, made their appearance in a cluster at the head of the steps. General Sherman, in his full uniform, linked arms with General Buckner of Kentucky, and General Sheri-

dan stood with General Joseph E. Johnston. The iron gates went back, and they entered. Then there was a pause, and each man held his breath, and tears involuntarily sprang to the eyes of many, for all knew what was coming. The white-scarfed pall-bearers came out from City Hall, and with them were the men of the Grand Army of the Republic. Then the band sounded a funeral dirge, the pall-bearers descended with slow, sad steps the marble stairs, and the guard of honor of the U. S. Grant Post of Brooklyn were seen supporting the casket with its covering of amaranth velvet and its bars of polished silver. There were six on each side. Slowly they descended the stairs, and walked, preceded by the pall-bearers, across the road to the catafalque, and slowly they paced up the movable steps and deposited their burden of the black bier beneath the canopy with its wealth of nodding plumes.

A little before one o'clock the head of the long procession arrived at One Hundred and Twenty-Second Street, and turned into Riverside Park. One writer happily describes the scene as follows:—

The street was transformed into one magnificent, far-reaching mass of blended colors, like a colored floral offering, ever varying its hues as it undulated under the bright sunlight, steadily moving on and on, as if borne by unseen giant genii toward the tomb of the great man, there to be laid about the burial spot in honor of the dead. Here was



one even stretch of white helmets so disposed to the eye by the slope of the hill as to closely resemble a great bank of immortelles. Then a mass of artillery red plumes gave color to the fancy that the avenue was an oriental garden of "General Grant geraniums." The yellow-trimmed marines, the white and blue capped sailors, the gray of several infantry organizations, the frequently recurring black helmets, the kaleidoscopic changes of blue and white, black and red, gray and yellow, naturally enough led to the poetic notion that the famous thoroughfare of the great metropolis was a monster parterre blossoming by some enchantment in funeral progress and rhythm, block by block, toward the last resting-place of America's greatest general. A remarkable and at the same time significant thing about the multitude who watched this superb spectacle was the fact that very few persons allowed themselves to forget the occasion which brought it forth. Several times there was a faint attempt at hand-clapping, as some popular military organization or famous man was passing, but it was invariably quickly silenced by a subdued "Hush, hush," from a hundred lips.

At precisely 3:35 o'clock, the sad strains of music gave notice of the approach of the catafalque, and the waiting soldiers came to order. In a few minutes a number of carriages came into view and shortly drew up in front of the tomb. From them alighted first Rev. J. P. Newman and Bishop Harris. Following them were Generals Sheridan and Buckner, Sherman and Johnston, General John A. Logan, and George W. Boutwell. Then came the funeral car, preceded by the band, and surrounded by the members of

George G. Meade Post, of Philadelphia, of which the dead general was a member. Behind them, and coming slowly down between the ranks of soldiers at a present arms, were the family and mourners. Among them were President Cleveland, Vice-President Hendricks, ex-Presidents Arthur and Hayes, and Senator John Sherman.

As the car reached its place before the door of the tomb, the Governor's Island band, stationed on the knoll to the north, started to play, and all down the ranks muffled drums beat a sad tattoo.

When the casket had been placed in the cedar lead-lined box, the members of Meade Post stepped forward, and, as was their right, began the last services over the body of their dead comrade.

At the close of Chaplain Wright's prayer, a grizzled bugler came out of the throng, and, standing directly over the body, sounded "Taps."

Post Commander Alexander Reed then said: —  
"One by one, as the years roll on, we are called together to fulfil the last sad rites of respect to our comrades of the war. The present, full of the cares and pleasures of civil life, fades away, and we look back to the time when, shoulder to shoulder on many battlefields or around the guns of our men-of-war, we fought for our dear old flag. We may indulge the hope that the spirit with which, on land and sea, hardship, privation and danger were encountered by our dead heroes

may never be blotted out from the history or memory of the generations to come — a spirit uncomplaining, obedient to the behest of duty ; whereby to-day our national honor is secure, and our loved ones rest in peace under the protection of the dear old flag. May the illustrious life of him whom we lay in the tomb to-day prove a glorious incentive to the youth of our country. As the years roll on, we, too, shall have fought our battles through, and be laid at rest, our souls following the long column to the realms above, as grim death, hour by hour, shall mark its victims. Let us so live that when that time shall come those we leave behind may say above our graves : ' Here lies the body of a true-hearted, brave and earnest defender of the republic.' ”

Then Bishop Harris came forward and began the beautiful burial service which commences, " I am the resurrection and the life." When he had concluded, he read from Corinthians xv. 41 and following verses : " There is one glory of the sun and another of the moon, and another glory of the stars, for one star differeth from another in glory," etc. Then Comrade Lewis E. Moore laid a wreath of evergreens upon the casket, saying : " In behalf of the post, I give this tribute as a symbol of undying love for comrades of the war." Comrade John A. Weidersheim laid flowers upon the coffin, and named them symbols of purity.

Another wreath, of laurel, was laid upon the casket by Comrade J. A. Sellers, as a last token of affection from comrades-in-arms.

Rev. Dr. Newman read the balance of the burial service. Then came an address by Rev. J. W. Sayres, chaplain-in-chief of the department of Pennsylvania, G. A. R., in which he spoke, according to the formula prescribed for such occasions, of another comrade's march being over, whose virtues all should cherish, whose example all should emulate.

Again came the grizzled bugler to the front. In his eyes were tears, and his lips quivered. With trembling arm he lifted the instrument to his lips, and there broke upon the still air the beautiful and sad notes of the soldiers' long farewell, called by them "Rest." With the last quavering notes of the soldiers' "Good-Night," a gun from the Alliance, in the river below, boomed out. But one gun was fired; and as its echo died away in the Jersey hills, the casket was placed in the steel case and taken to the tomb.

Throughout the whole country, East, West, North and South, that August day, impressive memorial services were held, and eloquent tributes paid to the great soldier.

" Blessed are Pain, the smiter,  
And Sorrow, the uniter!  
For one afflicted lies —

A symbolled sacrifice —  
 And all our rancor dies!

“No North, no South! O stern-faced Chief,  
 One weeping ours, one cowlèd Grief —  
 Thy country — bowed in prayer and tear —  
 For North and South — above thy bier!

“For North and South! O Soldier grim,  
 The broken ones to weep for him  
 Who broke them! He whose terrors blazed  
 In smoking harvests, cities razed;  
 Whose fate-like glance sent fear and chill;  
 Whose wordless lips spoke deathless will —  
 Till all was shattered, all was lost —  
 All hands dropped down — all War’s red cost  
 Laid there in ashes — Hope and Hate  
 And Shame and Glory!

“Death and Fate,  
 Fall back! Another touch is thine:  
 He drank not of thy poisoned wine,  
 Nor blindly met thy blind thrown lance,  
 Nor died for sightless time ór chance —  
 But waited, suffered, bowed and tried,  
 Till all the dross was purified;  
 Till every well of hate was dried;  
 And North and South, sad sisters, cried,  
 And then — at God’s own calling — died!”

JOHN BOYLE O’REILLY.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

TRIBUTES TO GENERAL GRANT, ANECDOTES, AND  
VARIOUS REMINISCENCES.

SAID Senator Hoar in his eulogy, delivered at Worcester: —

I do not think I am indulging the exaggeration so often imputed to Americans on occasions like this, when I say that for the last twenty years of his life, if you measure General Grant by what it was his fortune to accomplish, or by the honors which have been voluntarily paid him by mankind, he was

The foremost living man of all the world.

He had commanded armies larger than were ever handled by any general before or since. Under his command those armies saved the life of his country. He was called to the chief executive power in a time of unexampled difficulty. With that power he preserved his country's honor. But he achieved conquests more difficult than these. He subdued to affection and reverence the hatred born of a great civil war, and the Old World's prejudices of rank and birth.

As his body left Mt. MacGregor for its last resting-place, a throng of princes and nobles and warriors and statesmen gathered in Westminster Abbey to do him honor. It is, as you all know, in English eyes, the holiest spot of the proudest empire of the Old World. There for a thousand years England has garnered up the sacred dust of her royalty and chivalry, her poets and her sages. One of her most famous preachers told that august assembly that "this man rose by

the upward gravitation of natural fitness;" that the lessons taught by this great life were "the vanity of feudalism," "the dignity of labor," that "men should be honored simply as men, not according to the accident of birth," that "the people have a sovereign insight into intrinsic force," and that "every true man derives a patent of nobleness direct from God." Surely we may indulge our love and pride for that great and simple character, which, by its native excellence, carries the ideas which lie at the foundation of American life victorious into the very stronghold of English feudalism, as he bore the banner of his country victorious into the ranks of rebellion. If we needed it, or cared for it, we could find ample support and justification for the high estimate which his countrymen have placed on him, when we see how generally foreign critics compare him with Washington and Wellington.

You do not expect of any person who shall speak to you here an attempt to discourse at length on the life or the character of General Grant. To give the history of those great campaigns, where the greatest armies ever mustered, occupying the greatest spaces ever covered by any nation with its troops, officered by illustrious generals contending for as great a stake as was ever in issue in human history, directed, moved as one man, were marshalled to victory by his genius, would require a lifetime of preparation and research from the ablest military historian. To narrate fitly the story of those eight eventful years of his presidency, with its great problems of administration, of pacification, of reconstruction, of finance, of foreign policy, will be among the high ambitions of the literary genius of future times. We cannot even speak with any justice to ourselves or to him of the great personal qualities of the man, the action faithful, the honor clear, the integrity without a stain, the courage never-failing, the unconquerable will,

As constant as the Northern Star,  
Of whose true fixed and resting quality  
There is no fellow in the firmament,

the great, gentle, tender, loving heart, the simple speech, the moderation in triumph, the strong, genuine American feeling that the flattery of a world could not disturb, the Christian faith that conquered the great conqueror Death, and to which God gave the victory.

He was the one man in America whom the people knew by heart. Since his first great victory at Fort Donelson, his name has been blended with every great event that spoke of hope, of joy, of loyalty, of union, of pride to Americans. The thrill that passed through all loyal hearts at the news of Henry, of Donelson, of Vicksburg, Appomattox, pulses again as we name his name.

But yet, we shall do him injustice, not honor, we shall offend that mighty shade, if we fail to draw from his life the lesson he most desired it should teach. We are paying him no mere personal honor. It is to Grant as the representative American soldier, to Grant the example and inspiration of the virtues which his comrades likewise shared, to Grant stirred as they were stirred by American history, American quality, American faith, that we pay our respect to-day. As we bury him in that proud metropolis, by the bank of the historic river, with martial music, and stately procession; as America bows her head in grief, as she remembers her loss, and lifts it again, smiling and in triumph, as she remembers his glory, the humblest soldier, on country farm or in city street — aye, in hospital or in home — may take to himself that honor, may say: "I shared in those sacrifices, I helped to that victory, I partake of that renown. This is mine, this is mine also."

The story of General Grant's life, says General Horace Porter, savors more of romance than reality; it is more like fable of ancient days than the history of an American citizen of the nineteenth century. As light and shade produce the



most attractive effects in a picture, so the contrasts in the career of the lamented general, the strange vicissitudes of his eventful life, surround him with an interest which attaches to few characters in history.

His rise from the obscure lieutenant to the commander of the veteran armies of the great republic, his transition from a frontier post of the untrodden West to the executive mansion of the nation; his sitting at one time in a little store in Galena, not even known to the congressman from his district; at another time striding through the palaces of the Old World, with the descendants of a line of kings rising and standing uncovered in his presence; his humble birth in an Ohio town scarcely known to the geographer; his distressing illness and courageous death in the bosom of the nation he had saved—these are the features of his marvellous career which appeal to the imagination, excite men's wonder, and fascinate the minds of all who make a study of his life.

Many of the motives which actuated him, and the real sources of strength employed in the putting forth of his singular powers, will never be fully understood, for added to a habit of communing much with himself was a modesty which always seemed to make him shrink from speaking of a matter so personal to him as an analysis of his own mental powers, and those who knew him best

sometimes understood him the least. His most intimate associates often had to judge the man by the results accomplished, without comprehending the causes which produced them. In his intercourse he did not study to be reticent about himself; he seemed rather to be unconscious of self. When visiting St. Louis with him while he was President, he made a characteristic remark, showing how little his thoughts dwelt upon those events of his life which made such a deep impression upon others.

Upon his arrival, a horse and buggy were ordered, and a drive was taken to his farm, about eight miles distant. He stopped on the high ground overlooking the city, and stood for a time by the side of the little log house which he had built, partly with his own hands, in the days of his poverty and early struggles. Upon being asked whether the events of the past fifteen years of his life did not seem to him like a tale of the *Arabian Nights*, especially in coming from the White House to visit the little farm-house of early days, he simply replied, "Well, I never thought about it in that light."

Captain John R. Steere, now an inmate of the Soldiers' Home, tells a good story, showing how he, when but sixteen years of age, made General Grant obey his own orders.

The occurrence took place in the early stages

of the war, shortly after Grant had received his commission as brigadier-general, and was placed in command of the military district of Missouri, with headquarters at Cairo. John Steere, then a boy of a little over sixteen years of age, enlisted and was ordered, with others, to report at Cairo, which they did. Five days after enlisting, they were drilled in marching and manœuvring without uniform or arms. This was continued for a few days, when the new recruits were given uniforms and old Harper's Ferry muskets, one of those old affairs that every time the gun was discharged the shooter had to go hunting for the hammer of his gun.

The morning after young Steere was given his gun he was stationed at General Grant's headquarters as guard. The headquarters was located on the levee fronting the Ohio River, near the junction of the Mississippi River. It was in November, and the day was a cold and blustering one. Steere's military experience was very limited indeed, and the inclement weather did not exactly suit him. His orders were to let no one except an officer or one on official business enter the building. He stood at his post of duty until chilled through and through, when he set his musket up in one corner of the door, leaning against the sill, and himself close up against the building, with the cape of his overcoat pulled up over his ears to keep warm.

As every person who came near the place seemed to be an officer, he molested no one, devoting all his time and attention to keeping himself warm and comfortable. Morpheus courted him, and he was on the verge of taking a pleasant snooze when some one coming down the stairway aroused him. Looking up, he saw an officer buckling on an elegant sword. After passing through the door, the officer came to a halt, and, looking at the guard indignantly, asked :

“What are you doing there?”

“I’m the guard,” replied Steere.

“An excellent guard, indeed. Do you know whose headquarters this is?”

“Yes, sir; General Grant’s.”

The officer looked at the guard a moment in silence, and then thundered :

“Stand up there, sir, and bring your gun to a shoulder!”

Young Steere did as requested, bringing his gun to his shoulder like a squirrel-hunter. The officer took the gun from him, and went through the manual of arms for him. He remained with him for fifteen or twenty minutes until he taught him how to handle his gun, when he asked :

“How long have you been in the service?”

“Several days.”

“Do you know who I am?”

“No, sir; never saw you before.”

"I am General Grant. You have deserted your post of duty, sir, which is a very serious breach of discipline. I will not punish you this time, but, young man, be very careful it does not occur again. Orders must be strictly and promptly obeyed always."

With this the general walked away. The occurrence was soon known to many of the soldiers, and is said to have been of advantage to them all in the way of rudiments for military discipline. Several days after this, young Steere was put on guard on a steamboat which was being loaded with provisions and ammunition, with orders to allow no one with a lighted pipe or cigar to come within a given distance—about fifty feet. He had not been at his post of duty more than an hour when General Grant approached with a lighted cigar between his teeth. He seemed to be deep in thought, but the moment he came near the gangplank his musings were interrupted.

"Halt!" cried the young guard, bringing his gun to his shoulder.

The general was taken completely by surprise. He looked at the young guard, who had him covered with his gun, amazed; and then his countenance showed traces of arising anger. But he did not budge an inch.

"I have been taught to obey orders strictly and promptly," explained Steere, quoting the general;

“and as my orders are to allow no one to approach this boat with a lighted cigar, you will please throw yours away.”

Grant smiled, threw his cigar into the river, and crossed the gangplank on to the boat.

In conversation, General Grant once said: “I never liked service in the army. I did not wish to go to West Point. My father had to use his authority to make me go. I never went into a battle willingly or with enthusiasm. I never want to command another army. It was only after Donelson that I began to see how important was the work that Providence devolved upon me. I did not want to be made lieutenant-general. I did not want the presidency, and have never quite forgiven myself for resigning the command of the army to accept it.”

The following letter, however, written while at West Point, to his cousin, McKingstry Griffith, shows that his life there was not wholly distasteful to the young cadet:—

MILITARY ACADEMY, WEST POINT, N. Y.

September, 22, 1839.

DEAR COZ.—I was just thinking that you would be right glad to hear from one of your relations who is so far away as I am. So I have put away my algebra and French, and am going to tell you a long story about this prettiest of places, West Point. So far as it regards natural attractions, it is decidedly the most beautiful place that I have ever seen. Here are hills and dales, rocks and river; all pleas-

ant to look upon. From the window near I can see the Hudson, that far-famed, that beautiful river, with its bosom studded with hundreds of snowy sails.

Again, if I look another way, I can see Fort Pitt, now frowning far above, a stern monument of a sterner age, which seems placed there on purpose to tell us of the glorious deeds of our fathers, and to bid us to remember their sufferings — to follow their example.

In short, this is the best of places, the place of all places for an institution like this. I have not told you half its attractions. Here is the house Washington used to live in — there Kosciusko used to walk and think of his country and ours. Over the river we are shown the dwelling-house of Arnold, that base and heartless traitor to his country and his God. I do love the place; it seems as though I could live here forever, if my friends would only come too. You might search the wide world over, and then not find a better. Now, all this sounds nice, very nice; what a happy fellow you are; but I am not one to show false colors, or the brightest side of the picture, so I will tell you about some of the drawbacks: First, I slept for two months upon one single pair of blankets — now this sounds romantic, and you may think it very easy, but I tell you what, coz, it is tremendous hard.

Suppose you try it by way of experiment for a night or two. I am pretty sure that you would be perfectly satisfied that it is no easy matter, but glad am I these things are over. We are now in our quarters. I have a splendid bed, and get along very well. Our pay is nominally about twenty-eight dollars a month, but we never see a cent of it. If we wish anything, from a shoestring to a coat, we must go to the commandant of the post and get an order for it, or we cannot have it. We have tremendous long and hard lessons to get in both French and algebra. I study hard, and hope to get along so as to pass the examination in January. This examination is a hard one, they say, but I am

not frightened yet. If I am successful here, you will not see me for two long years. It seems a long while to me, but time passes off very fast. It seems but a few days since I came here. It is because every hour has its duty which must be performed. On the whole, I like the place very much — so much that I would not go away on any account. The fact is, if a man graduates here he is safe for life, let him go where he will. There is much to dislike, but more to like. I mean to study hard and stay, if it be possible; if I cannot, very well — the world is wide. I have now been here about four months and have not seen a single familiar face or spoken to a single lady, I wish some of the pretty girls of Bethel were here, just so I might look at them. But fudge; confound the girls. I have seen great men, plenty of them; let us see — General Scott, Mr. Van Buren, secretaries of war and navy, Washington Irving, and lots of other big bugs. If I were to come home now, the way you would laugh at my appearance would be curious. My pants set as tight to my skin as the bark to a tree, and if I do not walk military — that is, if I bend over quickly or run — they are very apt to crack, with a report as loud as a pistol. My coat must always be buttoned up tight to the skin. It is made of sheep's gray cloth, all covered with big round buttons. It makes one look very singular. If you were to see me at a distance, the first question you would ask would be, "Is that a fish or an animal?" You must give my very best love and respects to all my friends, particularly your brothers, Uncles Ross and Samuel Simpson. You must also write me a long letter in reply to this, and tell me about everything and everybody, including yourself. If you happen to see any of my folks, just tell them that I am happy, alive and well. I am truly your cousin and obedient servant,

U. H. GRANT.

McKINGSTRY GRIFFITH.

N. B. In coming I stopped five days in Philadelphia with our friends. They are all well. Tell Grandmother



Simpson that they have always expected to see her before, but have almost given up the idea now. They hope to hear from her often.

U. H. GRANT.

I came near forgetting to tell you about our demerit or "black marks." They give a man one of these "black marks" for almost nothing, and if he gets two hundred a year they dismiss him. To show how easy one can get these, a man by the name of Grant, of this state, got eight of these "marks" for not going to church to-day. He was also put under arrest, so he cannot leave his room, perhaps for a month — all this for not going to church. We are not only obliged to go to church, but must march there by companies. This is not republican. It is an Episcopal church. Contrary to the expectations of you and the rest of my Bethel friends, I have not been the least homesick. I would not go home on any account whatever. When I come home, in two years (if I live), the way I shall astonish you natives will be curious. I hope you will not take me for a baboon.

My best respects to Grandmother Simpson. I often think of her. I put this on the margin so you may remember it better. I want you to show her this letter and all others I may write to you, to her. I am going to write to some of my friends in Philadelphia soon. When they answer, I shall write you again to tell you all about them, etc.

Remember and write me very soon, for I want to hear much.

"I knew him as a boy at school," said Mr. Markland, who was at the head of the mail service of Grant's army. "My home was at Maysville, Ky., and young Grant came there a boy of twelve or thirteen to attend the academy. He lived with his aunt in Maysville, and was a very quiet, retir-

ing and studious boy. As I remember him, he was a little chubby fellow with a round, freckled face, and sandy hair. He was a good-natured boy and went by the name of 'Lyss.' Shortly after he left school, he went to West Point, and from that time I did not meet him again until in the fall of 1861 I was sent West in connection with the Postoffice Department. In attending to my business I was thrown in with General Grant at Cairo at about the time he took command. Here I got my first glimpse of him as a man. As an instance of his remarkable memory of features, though he could not have known I was coming to Cairo, he recognized me at once one day when I was passing the window of his headquarters. I did not recognize him. It did not take us long to revive our old schoolfellowship, and we became great friends. I remained about Cairo in my connection with the Postoffice Department until about the time of the movement on Fort Henry. At this time General Grant asked me if I did not want to see a fight, and invited me to go to Fort Henry with him. On the way to Fort Henry, on the headquarters steamer "New Uncle Sam," knowing that I was an officer of the Postoffice Department, he suggested to me, or rather inquired if it were not possible to keep the mail up to the army, and not to take the soldiers' letters home. On my answering that I thought this could be done, he gave me that branch

of the service, and from that beginning sprang the great army mail service of the war, and to General Grant the credit of originating that service belongs. The army mail service developed the fact that the mails could be distributed in railway cars and on the top of railway cars going at the rate of thirty miles an hour. In wagons, ambulances, and even on horseback, mails were frequently distributed and delivered under the murderous fire of the enemy, and it may be said that the perfect railway mail service of to-day is the outgrowth of the army mail service."

In recalling the religious training and experiences of General Grant, Dr. Newman said: "He was brought up in the Methodist Episcopal Church. His father's house was the home of Methodist preachers for over forty years. The general's earliest recollections were associated with the clergy. He had to care for their horses. He remembered that the horses were good ones, and that their owners always insisted on their having plenty of oats. Many a time he was sent out by his father to take off the saddle-bags and put up the horses. Once a preacher was to move from the neighborhood in which the Grants lived. He was to take his family and furniture in a wagon for two hundred miles, and wanted some one to drive for him. Applying to the general's father for a driver, the old gentleman detailed Ulysses, then a

lad, for that work. Afterwards the preacher reported to the boy's father that never in his life had he had such a good and silent driver.

"The general's father was a farmer at that time. In later years he lived at Covington, Ky. He was a churchgoer always, serving in the Methodist church as trustee, steward and class leader. Wherever he went he was a ruling spirit in church affairs. He was a man of sterling character, strong will, high purposes, and at times arbitrary. His mother was modest, intelligent and sunny in spirit. The general inherited her nature. All of his sisters were devout Methodists. One of them, Mrs. Cramer, married a Methodist preacher, now the minister of the government at Berne, Switzerland.

"The general was thus indoctrinated in the faith of the church. He held to those great principles of Christianity all his life. Accepting the Bible as the word of God to man, he regarded Christianity as divine. But his mind tended to the sunny side of Christianity. The beneficent results of the Gospel promised to him the glory of the Messiah, the universal triumph of Christianity."

Chaplain J. L. Crane of Grant's regiment writes of his camp life at Cairo, before going to the front : "Grant is about five feet ten inches in height, and will weigh one hundred forty or one hundred forty-five pounds. He has a countenance indicative of reserve, and an indomitable will and persistent

purpose. In dress he is indifferent or careless, making no pretensions to style or fashionable military display. Had he continued a colonel till now, I think his uniform would have lasted till this day; for he never used it except on dress parade, and then seemed to regard it a good deal as David did Saul's armor. 'His body is a vial of intense existence;' and yet when a stranger would see him in a crowd he would never think of asking his name. He is no dissembler. He is a sincere, thinking, real man. He is always cheerful. No toil, cold, heat, hunger, fatigue, or want of money depresses him. He does his work at the time, and he requires all under his command to be equally prompt. This promptness is one of Grant's characteristics, and it is one of the secrets of his success. On one of our marches, in passing through one of those small towns where the grocery is the principal establishment, some of the lovers of intoxication had broken away from our lines and filled their canteens with whiskey, and were soon reeling and ungovernable under its influence. While apparently stopping the regiment for rest, Grant passed quietly along and took each canteen, and, wherever he detected the fatal odor, emptied the liquor on the ground, with as much nonchalance as he would empty his pipe. On this point his orders were imperative; no whiskey or intoxicating beverage was allowed in his camp. Grant belongs

to no church, yet he entertains and expresses the highest esteem for all the enterprises that tend to promote religion. When at home he generally attended the Methodist church. While he was colonel of the Twenty-first Regiment, he gave every encouragement and facility for securing a prompt and uniform observance of religious services, and was generally found in the audience listening to the preaching. Shortly after I came into the regiment, our mess were one day taking their usual seats around the dinner-table when he remarked: 'Chaplain, when I was at home and ministers were stopping at my house, I always invited them to ask a blessing at the table. I suppose a blessing is as much needed here as at home, and, if it is agreeable with your views, I should be glad to have you ask a blessing every time we sit down to eat.'

Grant gave the world his creed in his second inaugural address. "Rather do I believe," he said, "that our great Maker is preparing the world, in his own good time, to become one nation, speaking one language, and when armies and navies will no longer be required."

In the same address, referring to his war record, he said: "I performed a conscientious duty, without asking promotion or command, and without a revengeful feeling towards any section or any individual."

To the Centennial number of the *Sunday-School Times* he sent the following memorial message:—

WASHINGTON, June 6, 1876.

To the Editor of the "Sunday-School Times," Philadelphia:

Your favor of yesterday, asking a message from me to the children and youths of the United States, to accompany your Centennial number, is received. My advice to Sunday-schools, no matter what their denomination, is: Hold fast to the Bible as the sheet-anchor of your liberties; write its precepts in your hearts, and PRACTISE THEM IN YOUR LIVES [underseoring this]. To the influence of this book we are indebted for all the progress made in true civilization, and to this we must look as our guide in the future: "Righteousness exalteth a nation; but sin is a reproach to any people."

Yours, respectfully,

U. S. GRANT.

General McLaws, of the Confederate army, tells the following stories of General Grant: "An officer who once served on General Grant's staff once told me an incident which illustrated the quick decision of General Grant. It was just after the battle of Shiloh. The officers were grouped around a campfire, when General John A. McClelland rode up to General Grant, and handed him an autograph letter from President Lincoln directing Grant to turn his command over to General McClelland. General Grant read the letter carefully, and then, tearing it up into small pieces and throwing them into the fire, said:—

"'I decline to receive or obey orders which do not come through the proper channel.'

“Pausing a moment, he turned to General McClelland and said:—

“‘Your division is under orders to leave this department in the morning, and I advise you to go with it.’ McClelland went, and that was the last that was ever heard of the order, for the culmination of events showed that Grant was right, and no President dared to remove him, for a change of commanders just after the battle of Shiloh would have led to very different results for the federals.

“The dogged determination to do or die, which was so characteristic of Grant, was what gave backbone to the federal army. He would never acknowledge defeat. General Zachary Taylor once told me an anecdote of Grant, which occurred during the Mexican war. Lieutenant Grant was in charge of a party of men detailed to clear the way for the advance of boats laden with troops from Aransas Bay to Corpus Christi, by removing the oyster-beds and other obstructions. Failing either by words or signs to make those under him understand him, Lieutenant Grant jumped into the water, which was up to his waist, and worked with his men. Some dandy officers began making fun of him for his zeal, when General Taylor came upon the scene, and rebuked it by saying:—

“‘I wish I had more officers like Grant, who



would stand ready to set personal example when needed.'

"He was the most original man I ever knew," said Admiral Porter, "not only in his methods but in personal ideas. With him war meant battle and peace, the perfection and the protection of individual liberty. He never hesitated to draw his sword at the call of his country, or to sheathe it when the dust of conflict had drifted away. The South ought to feel his loss more than the North, for he was first to yield to a conquered and impoverished foe the inheritance of civic liberty. When Vicksburg fell, he adopted every method of relieving the distress of his unfortunate adversaries, and many a woman and orphan will remember his generous magnanimity in distributing the victorious army. When General Lee surrendered, he said to the Confederate soldiers: 'Keep your horses, and take them home with you to the plough. You are a brave people; you have fought a brave fight. Go back to your farms and workshops, and follow as bravely the pursuits of peace.' General Grant was a military enigma. He overreached public opinion. He went far beyond expectations or the hopes of his admirers. He agreeably disappointed his friends. He accomplished everything that he undertook without any prior profession of merit. He was a man with no degree of egotism, but, with a charming and coura-

geous modesty; he forced opportunities and worked out success from the most intricate combinations of circumstances."

Much has been written, and more will hereafter be written, of the remarkable modesty of General Grant, but the most striking evidence of his indifference to fame which has yet been recorded appears in this statement of General Badeau:—

"On Sunday afternoon, the 9th of April, 1865, as General Grant was riding to his headquarters from the farmhouse in which he had received the surrender of Lee, it occurred to him that he had made no report of the event to the government. He halted at once and dismounted, with his staff, in a rough field within the national lines. Sitting on a stone, he asked for paper. I happened to be near, and offered him my memorandum book, such as staff officers often carry for orders or reports in the field. He laid the book on his knee and wrote the despatch in pencil; he handed it to me, and told me to send it to the telegraph operator. I asked him if I might copy the despatch for the operator, and retain the original. He assented, and I rewrote the paper, the original of which is in the keeping of *The Century Magazine*."

Said General Sherman at the eighteenth reunion of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee held at Chicago, September 9, 1885: "Though twenty eventful years have transpired since the close of

the war, I need not repeat to you the trite expression that our ranks are growing thinner, and our hair whiter, and that the eyes which look up to me, and which once kindled and flashed at the trumpet's sound, now seem sad, as though burying the fate of those five young fellows whose gay and gallant spirits took their flight in the glorious day the memories of which we have come together to celebrate. Though in war death makes the battlefield his harvest, yet in peace he insidiously invades the most sacred premises, taking here the innocent babe, there the gentle, loving wife, again the youth in lusty manhood, and the king on his throne. During our last vacation he has stricken from our list of members the very head and front — Gen. U. S. Grant — the same who in the cold winter of 1861-62 gathered together at Cairo, Ill., the fragments of an army, and led them up the Tennessee River. The creator and father of the army of the Tennessee took his final leave of earth at 8.08 on the morning of July 23, 1885, from Mt. MacGregor, a spur of the Alleghanies, in plain view of the historic battlefield of Saratoga. He had finished his life's work, and had bequeathed to the world his example. The lightning's flash carried the sad tidings to all parts of the civilized earth, and I doubt whether, since the beginning, there ever arose so spontaneous a wail of grief to bear testimony before high heaven that mankind had

lost a kindred spirit, and his countrymen a leader. We, his first war comrades, concede to the family their superior rights, but claim the next place in the grand procession of mourners. We were with him in his days of adversity as well as prosperity, and were as true to him as the needle to the pole. We shared with him the trials and tribulations as well as the labors and battles of Henry, Donelson, Shiloh, Corinth and Vicksburg, when that transcendent and most valuable of all victories turned the universal gaze of our bewildered countrymen to the 'new star' in the West, which plainly foretold the man who had dispelled the cloud which lowered o'er our house, and was to lead us to the triumphal victories of 1865, and to the staple, enduring prosperity of 1885. Hundreds, yea thousands, of busy brains and pens are now trying to comprehend and describe this man, who did so much in so short a time, to trace the mysterious course of his most wonderful career, and to account for known results. They look to us, who were his daily associates in that critical epoch, to aid them in their commendable work, and as your president I must on this occasion contribute a share. In the year 1839 I was a first-class man in the United States Military Academy at West Point, a position of exaltation never reached since, though reasonably successful in life, and there appeared on the walls of the hall in the old north barracks a

list of new cadets, among which was U. S. Grant. A crowd of lookers-on read United States Grant, Uncle Sam Grant, Sam Grant, and Sam Grant he is to-day in the traditions of the old Fourth United States Infantry. It afterwards transpired that his name was actually Ulysses Hiram Grant, and the mistake had been made by Gen. Hamer, the member of Congress who nominated him as the cadet from his district. Cadet Grant tried to correct this mistake at the beginning and end of his cadet life, without success; and to history his name must ever be U. S. Grant.

"I remember his personal appearance at the time, but the gulf of separation between a first-class man and a pleb. at West Point was, and is still, deeper and wider than that between a general-in-chief and a private in the army, so that I hardly noticed him. His reputation in the Fourth Infantry, in which he served through the Mexican war and until he resigned his commission of captain in Oregon, July 31, 1854, was of a good, willing officer, always ready for duty, extremely social and friendly with his fellows, but in no sense conspicuous, brilliant, or manifesting the wonderful qualities afterwards developed in him. I recall an instance when I met him in St. Louis in 1857, when he was a farmer in the country, and I, too, was out of the military service. The only impression left on my memory is, that I then concluded that West Point

and the regular army were not good schools for farmers, bankers, merchants and mechanics. I did not meet him again till the civil war had broken out, when chaos seemed let loose and the gates of hell were wide open in every direction. Then came the news of General Grant's attack on the enemy's camp at Belmont on November 7, 1861, soon followed by the events of Columbus, Paducah, Henry and Donelson, all so simple, so direct, so comprehensible, that the effect on my mind was magical. They raised the dark curtain which before had almost hidden out all hopes for the future, and displayed the policy and course of action necessary only to be followed with persistence to achieve ultimate success. Great as were his after achievements, I shall ever rate those of Henry and Donelson among the best. Yet, by one of those accidents so common in war, he had incurred the displeasure of his superior, General Halleck, whom I then esteemed as the master-mind ruling and directing the several armies subject to his orders from his headquarters in St. Louis, so that when, in March, 1862, I was permitted to take the field from Paducah with a new division, I found General Grant at Fort Henry under order from General Halleck to remain there, and to turn over the command of his army, then flushed with victory, to Gen. C. F. Smith, his next in rank. It so happened that General Smith had been adjutant

and commandant when Grant and I were cadets at West Point, and he was universally esteemed as the model soldier of his day. He had also acquired large fame in the Utah expedition, and in the then recent capture of Fort Donelson, so that General Grant actually looked up to him as the older if not the better soldier, though he was at that time the senior by commission. Not one word of complaint came from him, only a general expression of regret that he had been wrongly and unjustly represented to General Halleck, and he advised me to give General Smith my most loyal support.

“General Smith conducted the expedition up the Tennessee River to Savannah, Eastport, and Pittsburg Landing, gave all the orders and instructions up to within a few days of the battle of Shiloh, when his health, shattered by the merest accident, compelled him to relinquish the command again to General Grant, who quietly resumed it where Smith had left off — ‘accepted the situation.’ He made few or no changes, and fought, on the ground which had been selected by General Smith, the bloody battle of Shiloh. During this fiercely contested battle he displayed the coolness, the personal courage, forethought, and deliberation which afterwards made him famous among men. Yet was he traduced, slandered, wronged, not only by the press universally, but by those who were in positions of authority over him. You, however, who

were at the battle's front, stood by him, being true and loyal always, and to his dying day he loved the Army of the Tennessee above all others, by reason of their loyalty to him in these the darkest days of his eventful life.

"Nor was the end yet. After this great battle, three armies were assembled on that bloody field — Buell's, Pope's, and Grant's — and General Halleck came in person from St. Louis to command the whole, with the declared purpose to assume the bold offensive. These armies were reorganized. Buell's army became the centre, Pope's the left, and Grant's was broken up. One part, under General George H. Thomas, was styled the right, while the other, under General McClelland, composed the reserve. General Grant was absolutely left out in the cold, with a title, 'second in command,' unknown to American law or history. All moved forth to Corinth, consuming the whole month of May, and during that month became cemented the personal friendship between us which lasted to the end. Not one word of complaint came from him, no criticism on the acts of his superiors or the government, yet the trembling eyelid, the silent tear, and averted head told that his big heart was troubled. He knew that every officer and soldier who had followed him with such noble courage and simple faith at Belmont, Henry, Donelson and



Shiloh felt for him, respected him, and understood the load of neglect, if not of positive insult, he was carrying. He knew and felt that he was in the way of the commanding general — as it were, a fifth wheel to a coach — with no real authority, no command, no positive right to order, or even advise, his former subordinates, but I am sure he knew that he was ever welcome to our bivouacs, and that we understood and appreciated the entire situation. Then occurred the most questionable 'strategy' of the whole war. That magnificent army of nearly one hundred thousand of the best men on this continent, who could, if united, have marched to Vicksburg or to Mobile, was deliberately scattered. General Buell, with the Army of the Cumberland, which Thomas had rejoined, was sent eastward toward Chattanooga, and the others were scattered defensively from Eastport to Memphis. General Grant was sent to command the district of Memphis, and General Halleck himself, being summoned to Washington, cast about for a new commander for the Army of the Tennessee. He offered the post to a most worthy quartermaster, who had the good sense to decline, and himself being compelled to leave, the command at the West devolved on General Grant, not by selection, but by virtue of his superior commission.

"Henceforward his career was ever onward and

upward, and when, on the fourth day of July, 1863, Vicksburg surrendered to him, and the mighty Mississippi 'went unvexed to the sea,' the whole country arose and recognized in him the agent who was destined to guide and lead us all to final victory and triumph. These circumstances were all known to you at the time, were little appreciated, and were, in truth, the fires designed by Providence to test the ability, courage, and endurance of him on whom a whole epoch in history was destined to hinge. General Grant knew little and cared less about 'strategy.' So with 'tactics.' He never — so far as I can recall — expressed a preference for Hardee over Scott, Casey or Morriss. Still, he loved to see order and system, and wanted his corps, divisions, brigades, and regiments handy and well instructed when called for.

"He aimed to achieve results, caring little for the manner by which they were accomplished. He possessed and always asserted the most perfect faith in the justice of our cause, and always claimed that, sooner or later, it must prevail, because the interest of all mankind demanded the existence of just such a republic as we had inherited. He believed in deeds, not words — in a war of aggression, not of manœuvre; and from Belmont to Appomattox his strategy and tactics were the same — ever straight to the mark till all armed

resistance had ceased, and absolute submission to lawful authority was promised. Fortunate was it for us, and for all mankind, that two such men as Lincoln and Grant were on duty during the critical year 1863, each the full complement to the other; the one to think, the other to do, forming the solid arch in which our glorious Union could safely repose in the then earthquake of passion and folly. I will not yield to the temptation to trace the wonderful career of our comrade through his later life, which, in its phases, surpasses any of which history, ancient or modern, records. Surely Plutarch gives no parallel. To compare Grant with Alexander, Hannibal, Cæsar, Napoleon, or Wellington, seems to me folly, for he was not similar to any one of them any more than the period of time in which they existed resembled ours. Each epoch creates its own agents, and General Grant more nearly impersonated the American character of 1861-65 than any other living man. Therefore he will stand as the typical hero of the great civil war in America of the nineteenth century."

The following interesting reminiscences of Gen. Grant are given by George W. Childs, of the Philadelphia *Ledger*: "While living in Long Branch there was hardly a Confederate officer that came to the place without visiting the general. He was always glad to see them, and with those men he

invariably talked over the war. The general had a very high opinion of General Joe Johnston, and always spoke of him as being one of the very best of Southern generals; and at one of my dinners I had the pleasure of getting Johnston, Grant and Sherman together.

“In regard to election matters General Grant was a very close observer, and had a wonderful judgment in regard to results. One particular case may be cited: During the canvass of his second term (towards the latter part) there began to be doubts throughout the country about the election. Senator Wilson, who was then running on the ticket as Vice-President, who was a man of the people and had a good deal of experience in election matters for forty years, made an extensive tour through the country, and he came to my house just after the tour very blue. He went over the ground, and showed that the matter was in a good deal of doubt. I went to see General Grant, and I told him about this feeling, particularly as coming from Senator Wilson. The general said nothing, but he sent for a map of the United States. He laid the map down on the table, went over it with a pencil, and said, ‘We will carry this State, that State and that State,’ until he covered nearly the whole United States. It occurred to me that he might as well put them all in, and I ventured the remonstrance: ‘I think it would not be policy to talk

that way; the election now is pretty near approaching.' When the election came, the result of it was that he carried every State that he had predicted, and that prediction was in the face of the feeling throughout the country that the Republican cause was growing weaker, and in spite of the fact that the Vice-President, who was deeply interested in the election, had visited various parts of the country, South and West, and had come back blue and dispirited.

"He was staying with me in Philadelphia during the canvass of the election between Tilden and Hayes, and on the morning of the momentous day after the election, when the returns gave Tilden a majority of all the electors, he accompanied me to my office. In a few moments an eminent Republican senator and one or two other leading Republicans walked in, and they went over the returns. These leaders, notwithstanding the returns, said, 'Hayes is elected,' an opinion in which the others coincided. General Grant listened to them, but said nothing. After they had settled the matter in their own minds, he said, 'Gentlemen, it looks to me as if Mr. Tilden were elected.' He afterwards sent for me in Washington and said, 'This matter is very complicated, and the people will not be satisfied unless something is done in regard to it which will look like justice. Now,' he continued, 'I have spoken of an Electoral Commission,

and the leaders of the party are opposed to it, which I am sorry to see. They say that if an Electoral Commission is appointed you might as well count in Mr. Tilden. I would sooner have Tilden than that the Republicans should have a President who could be stigmatized as a fraud. If I were Mr. Hayes, I would not have it unless it was settled in some way outside of the Senate. This matter is opposed by the leading Republicans in the House and Senate and throughout the country.'

"President Grant invited the leading Republican senators to dine with him, to meet me that day, and to get their sentiment. He said to me, 'You see the feeling here. I find them almost universally opposed to anything like an Electoral Commission.' I named a leading Democrat in the House, who was, perhaps, one of the most prominent men in the country, a man of great influence and of great integrity of character, whom it would be well for General Grant to see in the matter, and the suggestion was acted on. I sent for this gentleman to come to the White House, and put the dilemma to him in President Grant's name as follows: 'It is very hard for the President, and very embarrassing as to men on his own side, that this matter does not seem to find favor with them as well as to have Democratic opposition. Republicans think you might as well count Tilden in, but

as the feeling throughout the country demands as honest a count of the thing as possible, this Electoral Commission ought to be appointed.'

"The answer at once was that the Democrats would favor it, and it was through that gentleman and General Grant that the matter was carried through. Grant was the originator of the plan. He sent for Mr. Conkling and said, with deep earnestness, 'This matter is a serious one, and the people feel it very deeply. I think this Electoral Commission ought to be appointed.' Conkling answered, 'Mr. President, Senator Morton (who was then the acknowledged leader of the Senate) is opposed to it and opposed to your efforts; but if you wish the commission carried, I can do it.' He said, 'I wish it done.' Mr. Conkling took hold of the matter and put it through. The leading Democrat I have spoken of took the initiative in the House and Mr. Conkling in the Senate. General Patterson of Philadelphia, who was an intimate friend of General Jackson, and a lifelong Democrat, was also sent for. He had large estates in the South, and a great deal of influence with the Democrats, and particularly with Southern Democrats. General Patterson then was upwards of eighty, but he came down there and remained one or two weeks with General Grant, working hard to accomplish the purpose in view. After the bill had passed and was waiting for sig-

nature, General Grant went to a State fair in Maryland the day it should have been signed, and there was much perturbation about it.

"I was telegraphed by those interested that General Grant was absent, and they were anxious about the signing. I replied that they might consider the matter as good as signed, and the general came back at night and put his name to the document. Just before General Grant started on his journey around the world, he was spending some days with me, and at dinner with Mr. A. J. Drexel, Colonel A. K. McClure and myself, General Grant reviewed the contest for the creation of the Electoral Commission, and the contest before and in the commission, very fully and with rare candor, and the chief significance of his view was in the fact, as he stated it, that he expected from the beginning until the final judgment that the electoral vote of Louisiana would be awarded to Tilden. He spoke of South Carolina and Oregon as justly belonging to Hayes, of Florida as reasonably doubtful, and of Louisiana as for Tilden.

"General Grant acted in good faith throughout the whole business. It has been said that the changing of the complexion of the court threw the matter into Hayes's hands, and if the court had remained as it was, Tilden would have been declared President. General Grant was the soul of honor



in this matter, and no one ever accused him, or ever hinted that he was untruthful in any way. I, for one, don't believe that he could possibly tell a lie or act deceitfully. There is another point of politics not generally known. During Garfield's canvass, Garfield became very much demoralized. He said that he not only did think that they would not carry Indiana, but he was doubtful if they would carry Ohio. During that emergency strong appeals were made to General Grant, and he at once threw himself into the breach. He saw his strong personal friends, and told them they must help. There was one very strong man, a senator, whom General Grant sent for, and told him that he must turn in, and, though he at first declined, at General Grant's urgent solicitation he entered the field, and contributed handsomely to the victory. General Grant went into the canvass with might and main. The tide was turned, and it was through General Grant's personal efforts, seconded by his strong personal friends, who did not feel any particular interest in Garfield's election, that he was elected.

"As to General Grant's third term, he never by word or by any letter suggested to any one that he would like to be nominated for a third term. Neither Mr. Conkling, General Logan nor Senator Cameron had any assurance from him in any way that he would like the nomination, and they pro-

ceeded in that fight without any authority from him whatever. His heart was not on a third term at all. He had had enough of it. After his second term he told me, 'I feel like a boy out of school.' At first Grant intended to decline. In his conversation with me he said, 'It is very difficult to decline a thing that has never been offered;' and when he left the country for the West Indies I said, 'General, you leave this in the hands of your friends.' He knew I was opposed to a third term; and his political friends were in favor of it, not merely as friends, but because they thought he was the only man who could be elected. There is not a line of his in existence where he has ever expressed any desire to have that nomination. Towards the last, when the canvass became very hot, I suppose his natural feeling was that he would like to win. That was natural. But he never laid any plans. He had never encouraged or abetted anything towards a third-term movement.

"He was very magnanimous towards those who differed from him; and when I asked him what distressed him most in his political life, he said, 'To be deceived by those I trusted.' He had a good many distresses.

"Apropos of his power of thinking and of expressing his thoughts, he wrote with great facility and clearness. His Centennial Address, at the opening of the exhibition in 1876, was hastily pre-

pared at my house, and there were only one or two corrections in the whole matter. When he went to England he wrote me a letter of fourteen pages, giving me an account of his reception in England. The same post that brought that letter contained a letter from Mr. John Walter, proprietor of the *London Times*, saying that he had seen our mutual friend, General Grant, on several occasions, and wondered how he was pleased with his reception in England. The letter which I had received was so apropos that I telegraphed it over that very day to the *London Times*; fourteen pages of manuscript, without one word being altered; and the *London Times* next morning published this letter with an editorial. It happened that the cablegram arrived in London the very night the general was going through the *London Times* office to see the establishment. In the letter he said he thought the English people admirable, and was deeply sensible of the unexpected attention and kindness shown him; the letter was written to a friend, not supposing that it would ever be put in print, and not one word had to be altered. I cite this to show General Grant's facility in writing.

"In illustration of his perception of financial matters I remember an instance. On one of the great financial questions before Congress he was consulting with Mr. A. J. Drexel, of Philadelphia, whom he regarded as one of his strongest personal friends,

and the general expressed certain views, saying that he had contemplated writing a message. Mr. Drexel combated his views, and the general reconsidered the matter and wrote a veto, showing that he was open to conviction. There was a matter he had considered, he thought, fully, and when this new light was given to him by Mr. Drexel, he at once changed, and wrote a veto instead of favoring it. A great many people had an idea that General Grant was very much set in his opinions; but while he had his opinions, at the same time he was always open to conviction. Very often in talking with him he wouldn't make an observation, and when you had got through it would be difficult to tell exactly whether he had grasped the subject or not, but in a very short time, if you alluded to that matter again, you would find that he had grasped it thoroughly. His power of observation and mental assimilation was remarkable. There was no nonsense about him. He was always neat in his dress, but not fastidious. He said he got cured of his pride in regimentals when he came home from West Point.

"Speaking on one or two occasions of the burial of soldiers, he observed that his old chief, General Scott, was buried at West Point, and that he would like to be buried there also. This was several years ago, and mentioned merely in casual conversation. That was a number of years ago,

and I think once or twice afterwards; it might have been alluded to incidentally since.

"There was a paragraph in the newspapers recently referring to the speech of Hon. Chauncey Depew, that Grant had saved the country twice. I don't know what could have been meant by that paragraph. In the Electoral Commission he saved a great deal of trouble, but whether he saved the country or not is another question. I don't know whether or not that could be the implication. What I have said about the Electoral Commission I have said of my own knowledge.

"The man who was, perhaps, nearer to him than any one in his cabinet was Hamilton Fish. He had the greatest regard for the latter's judgment. It was more than friendship, it was genuine affection between them, and General Grant always appreciated Mr. Fish's staying in his cabinet. Mr. Fish, if he had been governed by his own feelings, would have left the cabinet.

"Apropos of the Indian matter he told me that, as a young lieutenant, he had been thrown among the Indians, and had seen the unjust treatment they had received at the hands of the white men. He then made up his mind if he ever had any influence or power it should be exercised to try to ameliorate their condition, and the Indian Commission was his idea. He wished to appoint the very best men in the United States. He selected Wil-

liam Welsh, William E. Dodge, Felix Brunot, of Pittsburg, Colonel Robert Campbell, of St. Louis, and George H. Stuart, of Philadelphia. They were a portion of the Indian Commission which he always endeavored to establish, and they always could count upon him in aiding them in every possible way. He took the greatest interest always, and never lost that interest. Even to his last moments he watched the progress of the matter, but it was a very difficult matter to handle at any time, and then especially, as there was a great Indian ring to break up.

"He was of a very kindly nature, generous to a fault. I would often remonstrate with him, and say, 'General, you can't afford to do this,' and I would try to keep people away from him. In the case of one subscription, when they wanted him to contribute to a certain matter which I did not think he was able to do, I would n't let them go near him. Some injudicious person went there and he subscribed a thousand dollars.

"General Grant always felt that he was badly treated by Halleck, but he rarely spoke unkindly of any one. In fact, I could hardly say he spoke unkindly, but he did feel that he was not fairly treated by Halleck. During one of my last visits to him he showed me his army orders, which he had kept in books. He had a copy of everything he ever did or said in regard to army matters.

He was very careful about that, as he had written all the orders with his own hand. He pointed to one of this large series of books, and said that it was fortunate that he had kept these things, because several of the orders could not be found on any record of the War Department. But during my long friendship I never heard him more than two or three times speak unkindly of Halleck, although he was very unjustly treated by him — a fact which I think will be borne out by the records. I told him of something that occurred to me in connection with one of the parties in charge of records at Washington. He had been a strong friend of Halleck, and prejudiced against General Grant, in the office, where all these things passed through his hands. But, after twenty years of examination, he said that there was not a line relating to Grant that did not elevate him in the minds of thinking people.

“As to Fitz John Porter, I spoke to him during the early stages of it, at a time when his mind had been prejudiced by some around him, and when he was very busy. Afterwards, when he looked into the matter, he said he was only sorry that he had so long delayed going at the examination as he ought to have done. He felt that if ever a man had been treated badly Porter was. He had examined the case most carefully, gone over every detail, and he was perfectly well satisfied that

Porter was right. He wanted to do everything in his power to have him righted, and his only regret was that he should have neglected so long and have allowed him to rest under injustice.

"There are few men who would take a back track as General Grant did so publicly, so determinedly and so consistently right through. I had several talks with him, and he was continually reiterating his regrets that he had not done justice to Porter when he had the opportunity. He never ceased to the day of his death from his right to speak and write in favor of Porter. He ran counter to a great many of his political friends in this matter, but his mind was absolutely clear. Not one man in a thousand would go back on his record in such a matter, especially when he was not in accord with the Grand Army or his strong political friends. Grant went into the matter most carefully, and his publications show how thoroughly he examined the subject, but he never wavered after his mind was fixed. Then he set to work to repair the injury done Porter. If Grant had had time to examine it while he was President, he would have carried it through. That was his great regret. He felt that while he had the power he could have passed it, and ought to have done so. When Grant took pains and time to look into the matter, no amount of personal feeling or friendship for others would keep him from doing



the right thing. He could not be swerved from the right.

"Another great trait of his character was his purity in every way. I never heard him express or make an indelicate allusion in any manner or shape. There is nothing I ever heard General Grant say that could not be repeated in the presence of women. If a man was brought up for an appointment, and it was shown that he was an immoral man, he would not appoint him, no matter how great the pressure brought to bear upon him.

"General Grant would sit in my library with four or five others, talking freely, and doing, perhaps, two-thirds of the talking. Let a stranger enter whom he did not know, and he would say nothing more during that evening. That was one peculiarity of his. He wouldn't talk to people unless he understood them. At a dinner-party with a certain set that he knew all well he would lead in the conversation, but any alien or novel element would seal his tongue. This great shyness or reticence sometimes, perhaps, made him misunderstood."

One of General Grant's Galena friends says that Grant went to Springfield alone, and without the knowledge of any person outside of his own family. Reaching his destination, he first called upon ex-Senator B. H. McClellan, of Galena,

whom he knew slightly, and who at the time was a member of the Illinois Assembly. He told McClellan the object of his visit, and the latter, being greatly interested in Grant, not only because he was his fellow-townsmen, but because he was skilled in military matters, accompanied him to the office of the Governor, and introduced him to Yates.

It had been ascertained by the interception of letters, that a plan was brewing to cut off the southern part of the State of Illinois and attach it to the Confederacy; rebel sympathizers thronged the very capital, and besides this the military affairs of the State were in a perfect chaos, and the services of experienced, cool and perfectly loyal men were needed to take the supervision of things and reduce order out of what was then abject disorder. Mr. McClellan knew that Grant was the man for the emergency, and strongly urged the Governor to avail himself of his valuable services. He received slight encouragement at the first interview, but on the following day, when the two called again on the Governor, the latter claimed to have nothing for Grant to do, and could not promise anything for him in the future. Disappointed and not a little disgusted with the aspect of things at Springfield, Grant resolved to go to Ohio and proffer his services to the Governor of that State. Mr. McClellan told him he must

not leave Springfield; that notwithstanding the indifference of Yates to his military experience, the latter would soon be forced to call his (Grant's) services into requisition, as troops were rapidly pouring into the capital, and there was no one to muster them and assign them to regiments.

On the third day, when Grant had fully resolved to leave, despite the expostulation of Mr. McClellan, Congressman Washburne arrived in Springfield, having been called thither to assist A. L. Chetlain, captain of Company A, Twelfth Illinois Infantry, in his candidacy for the position of colonel of the regiment, in which contest he was strenuously opposed by Congressman Lovejoy, of Princeton, who had strong military aspirations. Chetlain was the choice of the regiment, and it did not take Washburne long to arrange matters for him. Having secured Chetlain's commission as colonel, Mr. Washburne's mission was concluded, and he was about to start back to Galena, when Assemblyman McClellan called on him in behalf of Grant, of whose presence in Springfield up to that time Mr. Washburne had had no knowledge. He at once saw the importance of securing Grant's services, and with characteristic promptness and energy he went to Governor Yates, and told him he must assign the captain to duty. The Governor thought over the matter awhile, and finally said: "To tell the truth, Washburne, I have forty ap-

plications for every army position at my disposal, but I will create a new place for your friend. I'll make him my military adviser."

It was in this capacity, and ultimately through the influence of Mr. Washburne, that Grant was employed in the military service of the State. His first labors were in Adjutant-General Fuller's department, where matters were soon put in proper shape. The day following Grant's appointment as "military adviser" to the Governor, Mr. McClellan was passing through the State House, when he met the captain in the rotunda, with his arms full of old muskets, which he was carrying to the adjutant-general's office. Nodding to his fellow-townsmen, Grant said: "It's all right, McClellan. You see I am at work."

The following reminiscences are given by General Morris Schaff: The day General Grant came down from Washington to take command of the Army of the Potomac it was generally known at Meade's headquarters the time his train was due, and quite a number of staff-officers and soldiers gathered about the station. There was great curiosity to see the hero of Donelson, Vicksburg and Chattanooga. One after another of the members of his staff came out of the car, and then came Grant in undress uniform. He was about 43 years old and in perfect health. Before coming down the steps, he looked off around the crowd,

with an entire absence of any self-consciousness, which has been one of his strongest characteristics, and which trait no one writing his civil history while President, or since, can afford to overlook, for it accounts for the occasion of all the adverse criticism that he has received.

During the battle of the Wilderness his headquarters were in a little clump of pines, and I was there off and on throughout the battle, and very well remember how perfectly calm he was. While aides were coming and going, giving the progress of the engagement, his manner was in marked contrast to that of his friend Washburne, of Illinois, who, with Assistant Secretary of War Dana, was present, and could not keep still, his anxiety being so great for Grant's success.

On the afternoon of the second day of the battle of the Wilderness I started with his first despatches and an operator to telegraph them to Washington. He wrote his despatch while sitting at the foot of a pine tree. We reached Rappahannock station about sundown, and while the operator was trying to call up Washington I opened and read his despatch to the secretary of war. While I cannot recall the exact language, I remember I was struck with the simplicity and courage, for to an ordinary observer things looked black enough at the front. The occasion of sending these despatches was a misapprehension as to the amount of ammunition

on hand in the army, and also to make arrangements for the trains that brought the supplies to take back wounded. While resting the escort before going back to Manassas, the circuit having been broken, a spy came through with orders to return with the despatches.

I saw Grant under fire the night before General Sedgwick was killed; he was perfectly self-controlled. Men who were in the battle well remember the desperate assault made by Sedgwick that night. I remember, while the assault was going on, Sedgwick coming on foot to Grant. I don't know what he said, but heard Grant say in quiet tones; "Put your men in, General Sedgwick." The fire at this time was heavy all round. We were then between our lines of battle, and as he sat on his tall bay horse "Egypt" (which had been given him by friends in Egypt, Ill.), with his composed resoluteness, I am sure he must have inspired all the men with courage who saw him.

When we got to City Point, as some of his staff were old West Point friends, I used to go over to headquarters very often, in fact almost every day, and join the group under the tent-fly in front of Grant's tent. When he was present he joined in the talk, and the conversation was perfectly free and natural, and this I mention as he was the only commander of the Army of the Potomac, and the only man of high military rank I have ever seen,

who did not make one conscious, more or less unpleasantly, of his rank.

While he frequently talked of his Western campaigns, I only remember to have heard him make one reference to pending military matters. This was when Early was threatening Washington. During a lull in the talk he said, quietly: "I wish I was in the rear of old Early to-day with twenty-five hundred or three thousand good men. I would relieve Washington mighty quickly."

He has been represented as a stolid and indifferent man to the fortunes and feelings of others; but the night after the ordnance depot I had in charge at City Point was exploded by a Confederate torpedo (the report of the men who brought it down from Richmond was found there after the evacuation, and is now in Washington), and I was feeling badly at the loss of a great many of my men, and worse over criticism of carelessness that had been made, he spoke to me in the kindest manner, and told me not to mind it as I could in no way be held responsible for what had happened; that a similar explosion had occurred with him at Vicksburg. This is a small affair to mention, but coming at the time it did and under the circumstances, for I was not on his staff, and was but a boy, it made a deep impression.

The following story gives a striking illustration of Grant's prompt action and stern imperturbability.

The war was over. General Lee and his half-starved Confederates had returned to their desolated homes on their parole of honor. The victorious Northern and Western armies, under command of Grant and Sherman, were encamped in and around Washington city. Jefferson Davis was an inmate of a casemate in Fortress Monroe, and Edwin M. Stanton was the power behind the throne, who ran the Government while Secretary of War.

Generals Grant and Rawlins were playing a game of billiards in the National Hotel. A major in the regular army entered the room in a hurry and whispered to General Grant. The latter laid his cue on the table, saying, "Rawlins, don't disturb the balls until I return," and hurried out. One of the two civilians said to the other, "Pay for the game and hurry out. There is something up."

General Grant had reached the street, where, in front of the hotel, stood a mounted sentinel. Grant ordered the soldier to dismount; and, springing into the saddle, put spurs to the horse, and rode up the avenue so fast as to attract the attention of pedestrians.

Colonel Barroll, of the Second Regular Infantry, was disbursing officer in the quartermaster's department, and to the colonel one of the civilians went for information. Asking him if he knew the



reason of General Grant's hasty action, Colonel Barroll answered, "Yes, and as you are aware of the coming of General Grant I will tell you all about it." Colonel Barroll then said: "Secretary Stanton sent for me in reference to the execution of certain orders, and while listening to his instructions General Grant came in. The secretary greeted the general with a pleasant 'Good morning,' which the latter returned, and in continuation said, 'Mr. Secretary, I understand that you have issued orders for the arrest of General Lee and others, and desire to know if such orders have been placed in the hands of any officer for execution.'

"'I have issued writs for the arrest of all the prominent rebels, and officers will be despatched on the mission pretty soon,' replied the Secretary.

"General Grant appeared cool, though laboring under mental excitement, and quickly said: —

"'Mr. Secretary, when General Lee surrendered to me at Appomattox Court-House, I gave him my word of honor that neither he nor any of his followers would be disturbed so long as they obeyed their parole of honor. I have learned nothing to cause me to believe that any of my late adversaries have broken their promises, and have come here to make you aware of that fact, and would also suggest that those orders be cancelled.'

"Secretary Stanton became terribly angry at

being spoken to in such a manner by his inferior officer, and said: —

“‘General Grant, are you aware whom you are talking to? I am the Secretary of War.’

“Quick as a flash Grant answered back, ‘And I am General Grant. Issue those orders at your peril.’ Then turning on his heel General Grant walked out of the room as unconcerned as if nothing had happened.

“It is needless to say that neither General Lee nor any of his soldiers were arrested. I was dismissed from the presence of the secretary with the remark that my services in connection with the arrest of the leading rebels would be dispensed with until he took time to consider, and I now wait the result of his decision.” Like some cases in law, that decision of the great War Secretary was reserved for all time.

Nathan Paige, a well-known lawyer of Washington, declares that Grant was one of the most honest and upright of men, as he had seen his most acute sense of honor rigidly tested. When Grant was President, one of his nearest friends, who is now dead, came to Mr. Paige to make a loan of \$3000. This friend said he had an affair in the War Department that would net him \$50,000, which would certainly go through if Grant would approve it. This gentleman counted upon Grant's approval as absolute. Paige told him: “I will

let you have the money, but you may be sure that he will not approve it unless it is right." No more was said about the matter. Time passed on. The note given for the loan was promptly met. Paige, meeting the borrower upon the street soon after, said to him, "I see your War Department matter got through all right, as the note was very promptly met." The debtor shook his head. "How did you pay then?" was asked. "I will tell you in confidence," was the reply. "After I obtained the money from you, I went directly to the President. I said to him, 'You know I am poor. With a stroke of your pen you can make me rich. I am related to you by the closest ties of blood and association. You cannot refuse me.' I then explained the matter. Grant said he could not do it. It would not be right. Seeing me very much cast down, he asked me if I was in debt. I explained that I was in debt \$3000 — your note — and could not meet it. He at once wrote me his check for that amount, without a word. It was that check which took up your note." Mr. Paige afterwards investigated his story carefully, and, having confidential relations with the cashier of the bank where the note was paid, was able to verify its truth.

The following eulogy was delivered by Hon. James G. Blaine: "The public sensibility and personal sorrow over the death of General Grant

are not confined to one continent. Profound admiration for great qualities, and still more profound gratitude for great services, have touched the hearts of the people with true sympathy, increased even to tender emotion by the agony of his closing days and the undaunted heroism with which he morally conquered a last cruel fate. The world, in its hero-worship, is discriminating and practical, if not, indeed, selfish. Eminent qualities and rare achievements do not always insure lasting fame. A brilliant orator attracts and enchains his hearers with his inspired and inspiring gift; but if his speech be not successfully used to some great, public, worthy end, he passes soon from popular recollection, his only reward being in the fitful applause of his forgetting audience. A victorious general in a war of mere ambition receives the cheers of the multitude and the ceremonial honors of his government; but if he bring no boon to his country, his fame will find no abiding place in the centuries that follow. The hero for the ages is he who has been chief and foremost in his day in contributing to the moral or material progress, to the grandeur and glory, of the succeeding generations. Washington secured the freedom of the colonies and founded a new nation. Lincoln was the prophet who warned the people of the evils that were undermining our free government, and the statesman who was called to leadership in the work

of their extirpation. Grant was the soldier who, by victory in the field, gave vitality and force to the policies and philanthropic measures which Lincoln devised in the cabinet for the regeneration and security of the republic.

"The monopoly of fame by the few in this world comes from an instinct, perhaps from a deep-seated necessity of human nature. Heroes cannot be multiplied. The gods of mythology lost their sacredness and their power by their numbers. The millions pass into oblivion, the units only survive. Who aided the great leader of Israel to conduct the chosen people over the sands of the desert and through the waters of the sea into the Promised Land? Who marched with Alexander from the Bosphorus to India? Who commanded the legions under Cæsar in the conquest of Gaul? Who crossed the Atlantic with Columbus? Who ventured through the winter passes of the Alps with the conqueror of Italy? Who fought with Wellington at Waterloo? Alas! How soon it may be asked who passed with Sherman from the mountains to the sea? Who stood with Meade on the victorious field of Gettysburg? Who shared with Thomas in the glories of Nashville? Who went with Sheridan through the trials and the triumphs of the blood-stained valley?

"General Grant's name will survive through the centuries, because it is indissolubly connected with

the greatest military and moral triumph in the history of the United States. If the armies of the Union had ultimately failed, the vast and beneficent designs of Lincoln would have been frustrated, and he would have been known in history as a statesman and philanthropist who, in the cause of humanity, cherished great aims which he could not realize, and conceived great ends which he could not attain — as an unsuccessful ruler whose policies distracted and dissevered his country; while General Grant would have taken his place with that long and always increasing array of great men who are found wanting in the supreme hour of trial.

“But a higher power controlled the result. God in his gracious mercy had not raised up those men for works which should come to naught. In the reverent expression of Mr. Lincoln, ‘No human council devised, nor did any mortal hand work out, those great things.’ In their accomplishment those human agents were sustained by more than human power, and through them great salvation was wrought for the land. As long, therefore, as the American union shall abide, with its blessings of law and liberty, Grant’s name shall be remembered with honor. As long as the slavery of human beings shall be abhorred, and the freedom of man assured, Grant’s name shall be recalled with gratitude. And in the cycles of the future

the story of Lincoln's life can never be told without associating Grant in the enduring splendor of his own great name.

“General Grant's military supremacy was honestly earned without factious praise, without extraneous help. He had no influence to urge his promotion except such as was attracted by his own achievements; he had no potential friends except those whom his victories won to his support. He rose more rapidly than any military leader in history. In two and a half years he was advanced from the command of a single regiment to the supreme direction of a million men, divided into many great armies, and operating over an area as large as the empires of Germany and Austria combined. He exhibited extraordinary qualities in the field. Bravery among American officers is a rule which has happily had few exceptions, but, as an eminent general said, Grant possessed a quality above bravery — he had an insensibility to danger, apparently an unconsciousness of fear. Besides that, he possessed an evenness of judgment to be depended upon in sunshine and in storm. Napoleon said: ‘The rarest attribute among generals is two o'clock in the morning courage. I mean,’ he added, ‘unprepared courage — that which is necessary on an unexpected occasion, and which, in spite of the most unforeseen events, leaves full freedom of judgment and promptness of deci-

sion.' No better description could be given of the type of courage which distinguished General Grant. His constant readiness to fight was another quality which, according to the same great authority, established his rank as a commander. 'Generals,' said the exile at St. Helena, 'are rarely found eager to give battle. They choose their positions, consider their combinations, and then indecision begins. Nothing,' added this greatest warrior of modern times, 'nothing is so difficult as to decide.' General Grant in his services in the field never once exhibited indecision, and it was this quality which gave him his crowning characteristic as a military leader. He inspired his men with a sense of their invincibility, and they were thenceforth invincible.

"The career of General Grant when he passed from military to civil administration was marked by his strong qualities. His presidency of eight years was filled with events of magnitude, in which, if his judgment was sometimes questioned, his patriotism was always conceded. He entered upon his office after the angry disturbance caused by the singular conduct of Mr. Lincoln's successor, and quietly enforced a policy which had been for four years the cause of embittered disputation. His election to the presidency proved, in one important aspect, a landmark in the history of the country. For nearly fifty years preceding that



event there had been few presidential elections in which the fate of the Union had not in some degree been agitated, either by the threats of political malcontents or in the apprehensions of timid patriots. That day and that danger had passed. The Union was saved by the victory of the army commanded by General Grant. No menace of its destruction has ever been heard since General Grant's victory before the people.

"Death always holds a flag of truce over its own. Under that flag friend and foe sit peacefully together, passions are stilled, benevolence is restored, wrongs are repaired, justice is done. It was impossible that a career so long, so prominent, so positive, as that of General Grant, should not have provoked strife and engendered enmity. For more than twenty years — from the death of Mr. Lincoln to the close of his own life, General Grant was the most conspicuous man in America, one to whom leaders looked for leadership, upon whom partisans built their hopes of victory, to whom personal friends by tens of thousands offered the incense of sincere devotion. It was according to the weakness and the strength of human nature that counter movements should ensue, that General Grant's primacy should be challenged, that his party should be resisted, that his devoted friends should be confronted by jealous men in his own ranks, and by bitter enemies in the ranks of his

opponents. But all these passions and all these resentments are buried in the grave which to-day receives his remains. Contention respecting his rank as a commander ceases, as Unionist and Confederate alike testify to his prowess in battle and his magnanimity in peace; controversy over his civil administration closes, as Democrat and Republican unite in pronouncing him to have been in every act and in every aspiration an American patriot."

Said General Devens in his eloquent address: It is twenty years since the only name worthy to be mentioned with that of General Grant has passed into history. It seems like a caprice of fortune that while the great soldier of the war of the rebellion went almost unscathed through a hundred fights, its great statesman should die by the assassin's hand. How like a wondrous romance it reads that, in less than three years, from a simple captain, whose offer of his services to the War Department was thought of so little consequence that the letter, although since carefully searched for, cannot be found, Grant had risen from rank to rank until he became the lieutenant-general who was to unite all the military springs of action in a single hand, to govern them by a single will, to see (to use his own expression) that the armies of the Union pulled no longer "like a balky team," but were moved and animated by a

single purpose. Yet his way had not been one of uninterrupted success, and there had been no success that had not been won by his own wisdom and courage. He had seized and controlled the Ohio, and held Kentucky in the Union; he had opened the Tennessee and the Cumberland by the victories of Forts Henry and Donelson, but the much misunderstood battle of Shiloh had reduced him, uncomplaining always, to a subordinate command under General Halleck, whose own failure at Corinth finally gave to him at last the command of all forces operating to open the Mississippi. Again and again during the often repeated repulses from Vicksburg there had been attempts to remove him, mainly at the instance of those who did not comprehend the vastness of the problem with which he had to deal. Mr. Lincoln had stood by him, saying in his peculiar way, "I rather like that man; I guess I will try him a little longer," until at last Vicksburg was taken, by a movement marked with the audacity of a master in the art of war, who dares to violate established rules and make exceptions when great emergencies demand that great risks shall be run. The 4th of July, 1863, was the proudest day the armies of the Union up to that time had ever known, for the thunders of the cannon that announced in the East the great victory of Gettysburg were answered from the West by those that told that the Mississippi in all its mighty length ran unvexed to the sea.

His victory at Chattanooga followed the placing of the armies of the West under his sole control, and the time had come when he was to direct the armies of the whole Union. His place was thereafter with the Army of the Potomac as the most decisive point of struggle, although its immediate command remained with General Meade. It was only thus and through its vicinity to the Capital that he could direct every military operation. As he entered upon the great campaign of 1864, Mr. Lincoln said: "If there is anything wanting which is within my power to give, do not fail to let me know it. And now, with a brave army and a just cause, may God sustain you." And General Grant had answered, "Should my success be less than I desire or expect, the least I can say is the fault is not with you." Side by side they stood together thus through all the desperate days that ensued, until in April, 1865, the terrific and protracted struggle was ended between the two great armies of the East; the long tried, always faithful Army of the Potomac held its great rival, the Army of North Virginia, in the iron embrace of its gleaming wall of bayonets, and the sword of Lee was laid (figuratively at least) in the conquering hand of Grant. Side by side Lincoln and Grant will stand forever in the Pantheon of history, and somewhere in the eternal plan we would willingly believe those great spirits shall yet guard and shield the land they loved and served so well.

Whatever General Grant's errors or his weaknesses — and he was mortal — like the spots on the sun, they but show the brightness of the surrounding surface, and we readily forget them as we remember the vast debt we owe. Whether without him we could have achieved success, it is certain that only through him we did achieve success. He was thoroughly patriotic, and his patriotism sprang from his faith in the American Union. He had been educated to the service of the government; he had looked to this rather than to the parties that exist under it, whose zeal sometimes leads men to forget that there can be no party success worth having that is not for the benefit of all. His political affiliations were slight enough, perhaps, but they had not been with the party that elected Mr. Lincoln. He knew well, however, that this frame of government once destroyed could never be reconstructed. He had no faith in any theory which made the United States powerless to protect itself. He comprehended fully the real reason why the slave States, dissatisfied with just and necessary restraint, sought to extricate themselves from the Union, and he knew that a war commencing for its integrity would broaden and widen until it became one for the liberty of all men, and there was neither master nor slave in the land. His letter to his brother-in-law, lately published, although written during the first week of

the war, his written remark to General Buckner in their interesting interview just before he died, "that the war had been worth all that it had cost," show how strongly he felt that, purified by the fires of the rebellion, the Union had risen grander and more august among nations. Who shall say he was not right? Who shall say that if all the noble lives so freely offered could be restored, but with them must return the once discordant Union with its system of slavery, they who gave would consent to have them purchased at such a price?

General Grant was not of those who supposed that the conflict with the South was to be any summer's day campaign; he knew the position of the South, its resources, its military capacity, and the fact that, acting on the defensive, it would move its armies on interior lines. He recognized the difficulty in dealing with so vast an extent of territory, and that in a war with a hostile people, rather than a hostile army only, we could often hold but the tracts of territory immediately under our campfires; yet he never doubted of ultimate success. He never believed that this country was to be rent asunder by factions, or dragged to its doom by traitors. He said to General Badeau once, who had asked him if the prospect never appalled him, that he always felt perfectly certain of success. Thus, though to him many days were dark and disastrous, none were despondent. "The

simple faith in success you have always manifested," said Sherman to him, "I can liken to nothing else than the faith a Christian has in the Saviour." His remarkable persistence has caused him sometimes to be looked on as a mere dogged fighter. No suggestion could be more preposterous. He felt sure of his plan before he commenced; then temporary obstructions and difficulties did not dismay him, and, whatever were the checks, he went on with resolution to the end.

If stern and unyielding in the hour of conflict, in the hour of victory no man was ever more generous and magnanimous. He felt always that those with whom we warred were our erring countrymen; and that when they submitted to the inevitable changes that war had made, strife was at an end. But he never proposed to yield or tamper with what had been won for liberty and humanity in that strife.

He has passed beyond our mortal sight — sustained and soothed by the devotion of friends and comrades, by the love of a people, by the affectionate respect and regard of many once in arms against him. In that home where he was almost worshipped, "he has wrapped the drapery of his couch around him, as one that lies down to pleasant dreams." Front to front on many a field he had met the grim destroyer where the death-dealing missiles rained thick and fast from the rattling

rifles and the crashing cannon. He neither quailed nor blanched, although death came at last with a summons that could not be denied, when all that makes life dear was around him. He could not but know he was to live still in memory as long as the great flag around which his fighting legions rallied should wave above a united people. To most men the call of death is terrible,

“But to the hero, when his sword has won  
The battle of the free,  
That voice sounds like a prophet's word,  
And in its hollow tones are heard  
The thanks of millions yet to be.”









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