THE BLUE
and
THE GRAY

THE BLUE
and
THE GRAY

By

JANET JENNINGS

Author of
"ABRAHAM LINCOLN, THE GREATEST AMERICAN"

"Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget — lest we forget!"

Cantwell Printing Company,
Madison, Wis.

CONTENTS.

Looking down the mists of forty-five years—then seeing through a glass darkly—now seeing with clear vision, the men who wore the Blue and the men who wore the Gray—with Grant and Lee at Appomattox. To these men, brave under two flags, now loyal to one flag, this little book is dedicated.

PREFACE

To write of the most stupendous Civil War ever waged by a Nation would be above and beyond ordinary aspiration, however patriotic, if it were not for the hope and belief that the aim of this little book—made plain in simplicity and directness—will appeal to the Army Veteran—Union and Confederate—and will inspire in younger generations that spirit of steadfast loyalty, perfect justice, and unexampled magnanimity, which inspired the great leaders of men who saved the Union.

Years pass quickly. On the one hand, there was the waste basket—on the other, always the thought holding back treasured facts and incidents, slowly but surely fading into a memory.

And now, giving permanent form to "odds and ends," no doubt with many faults, it is my sincere desire to give the *best* at the *smallest* cost, to readers who are not likely to have access to more complete works. This is made possible by the courte-

ous and freely given permission in the use of quotations, for which I make grateful acknowledgment.

I am especially grateful to General Frederick D. Grant for the privilege of quoting from his father's "Personal Memoirs," in the assurance, "Whatever is satisfactory to the Century Company will be entirely satisfactory to my family and myself," and adding, "I feel quite sure your book will be very interesting and trust that it will be a great success."

In quoting more fully from the "Personal Memoirs" than at first planned or intended, I have had in mind the forceful interest and historic value given by the use of General Grant's own words—and also, believing that it will hold the reader to a clear and true understanding of the life and character of our greatest soldier.

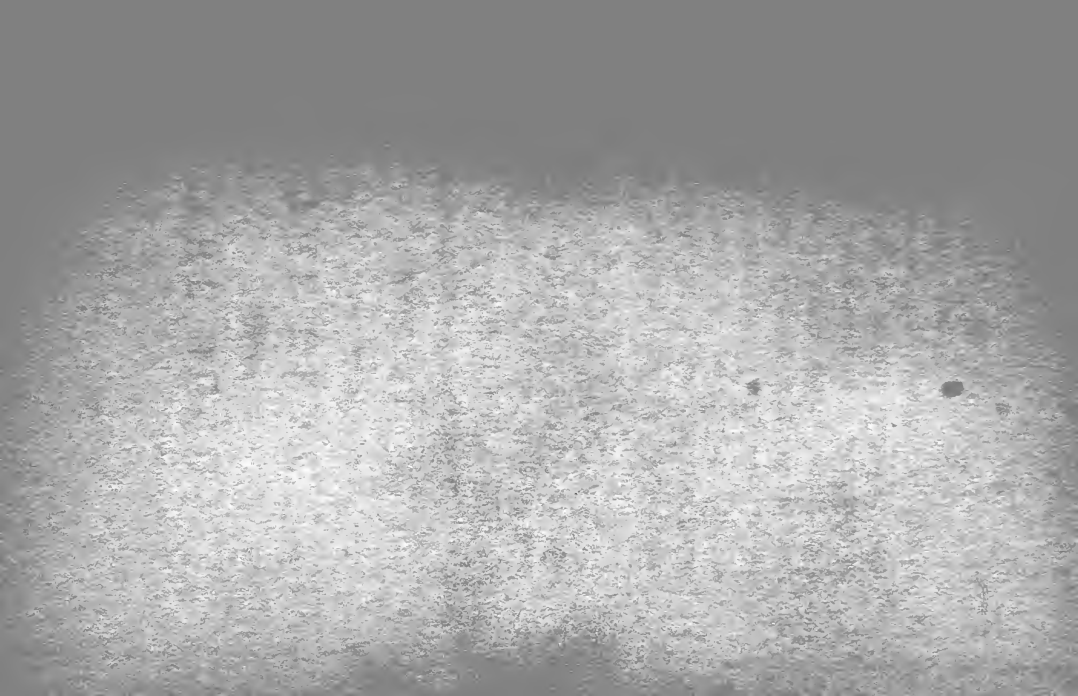
I appreciate, far more than a few words express, the similar favor in the courteous permission of the Century Company to quote from General John M. Schofield's "Forty-Six Years in the Army," selecting

his character study of General Grant, so just and true, that it will be prized as a perfect tribute. With equal courtesy, permission is given by the Young Churchman Company to quote from Colonel Nicholas Smith's "Grant, the Man of Mystery," and the publishers of the "Life of General Philip H. Sheridan," by Colonel Richard J. Hinton and Frank A. Burr.

With such helpful encouragement, this little book cannot fail to prove stronger, better, and more worth while—not to extenuate war, but to advocate peace.

JANET JENNINGS.

McKinley Place, Monroe, Wisconsin,



THE BLUE
and
THE GRAY

CHAPTER I.

WINCHESTER—SHENANDOAH.

The battle of Cedar Creek, October 19, 1864, is also known as the battle of Winchester—immortalized by Thomas Buchanan Read in the famous poem, "Sheridan's Ride."

General Sheridan was an abrupt, impulsive, tender hearted man, and a singularly modest man. It was seldom that he would talk of himself, and only when in just the right mood. One morning, several years before his fatal illness, sitting in his office at the War Department in Washington, he looked over to a picture that had been placed on an easel for his approval, and in a tone of dissent said:

"Oh, no. It wasn't half as pretty as that. No artist can ever paint a battle. It can't be done at the time. Then, there is something else to be done, and the soldiers do it. The painters keep out of the way, until it's over, and of course the scene is changed—the action gone. Why, a battle is too horrible to be painted. The men and horses who live through it can be painted. But they can't be placed on canvas as they are in action, on the field. My black horse, Rienzi, was painted a number of times when he was alive, and since he has been up there, in the Museum, on Governor's Island."

After a little pause he told the story of Winchester.

"My headquarters were at Front Royal. The Secretary of War sent for me to come to Washington. Just as I was about to start, I got a dispatch, sent by General Wright in command of the 6th Corps. It had been taken off a Confederate signal flag on Three-Top Mountain. It was this:
To General Early:

Be ready to move as soon as my forces join you and we will crush Sheridan.

LONGSTREET, Lieut-General.

"I thought at first this was a ruse. Early was up to tricks. But to be on the safe side, I sent my Cavalry back to General Wright at Cedar Creek, with instructions how to use the troops in case of attack. Then I left for Washington; got there on the morning of the 17th, saw the Secretary, started back at noon the same day for Winchester, arriving the next night. That was the night of the 18th. The following morning I heard artillery firing, and I mounted my horse, rode out of town a couple of miles, to see what it meant."

The General got up and made several quick strides across the room.

"Well, I saw what it meant, and mighty d——d quick, too. First, it was clouds of dust—then on they came—men, horses, wagons—all fast enough. I took in the situation like a flash. *My Army had been turned the wrong way.*"

Again he left his chair, and walked two

or three times across the room, more rapidly than before. The light on his face revealed intense feeling, as if he felt the very atmosphere of that desperate moment, at Winchester.

"I swore some—probably never swore better in my life. But I didn't lose any time giving orders—first to halt and park the wagon trains. There was one Brigade at Winchester. I stretched that Brigade as quick as lightning across the country, to stop my men's retreat. Then calling to two or three of my Staff to come on, I put the spurs to Rienzi, and rode like the very d——l, for life or death, to the Front. For miles I swung my hat like a madman, and shouted: 'Face the other way, boys! Oh, for God's sake and the old flag, boys, face the other way!' "

He was walking up and down the room as he talked.

"Oh, they knew that black horse, through all the dust. And I can tell you they *did* face the other way. Above the din and roar and dust, there was the shout and the cheers

of thousands, that seemed to reach the very Heavens above, repeating my cry: 'For God's sake and the old flag, boys, face the other way!'"

His eyes were shining, and his voice was far from steady, as he continued:

"On they went to the Front, and on, and on, and faster! And how they did fight! Splendid and brave men, as ever went into battle. They all got there on time, too. Mighty few of them that didn't take a hand in the fight. They were not to blame for the panic. Had my orders been carried out, the thing never could have happened."

When he sat down there was a smile on his face that expressed much satisfaction as he added:

"That was the last of old Early in the Valley. Jubal didn't have much of any occupation after that."

His graphic recital made a finer picture of the battle of Winchester than any artist could ever paint, and as lasting as memory itself. There was a suspicious moisture in my eyes that might have been tears—and in

the few moments of silence—looking at the picture, the General repeated, "Oh, no, not half as pretty as that."

When I was leaving he said, gently:

"Don't use this little story now. Time will soften the bitterness and sorrow of the war. Then it will be all right."

The glory of the Shenandoah was always around Sheridan. Its brightness dimmed the later glory of his achievements in the Virginia campaign, making the last words in the following telegram a prophecy. It was after the battle of Front Royal, and Fisher's Hill, coming close upon Opequan.

City Point, Va., Sept. 23, 1864.
Major General Sheridan:

I have just heard of your second great victory, and ordered one hundred guns in honor of it. Keep on, and your work will cause the fall of Richmond.

U. S. GRANT, Lieut-General.

From the White House there was flashed over the wires another message:
Major General Sheridan:

Have just heard of your great victory. God bless you all—officers and men. Strongly inclined to come up and see you.

A. Lincoln.

One month later and this telegram—so characteristic that it would be recognized without the signature of the writer—was received by the Secretary of War in Washington:

In the Field.

Gaylesville, Ala., Oct. 21, 1864.

We have heard of General Sheridan's great victory at Cedar Creek. We can't afford to burn gun powder, but our men can make it up in yelling, which is just as good.

W. T. Sherman,
Major General Commanding.

The following day, October 22, another message from the White House went over the wires:

With great pleasure I tender to you and your brave Army the thanks of the Nation, and my own personal admiration and grati-

tude, for the month's operations in the Shenandoah Valley, and especially for the splendid work of October 19, 1864.

A. LINCOLN.

The battle of Cedar Creek practically ended the struggle in the Shenandoah Valley. General Grant—who had united the Army of the Potomac and the Army of the James before Petersburg—also telegraphed from his headquarters at City Point to the Secretary of War in Washington:

I had a salute of one hundred guns from our Armies here, fired in honor of Sheridan's last victory. Turning what had bid fair to be disaster, into glorious victory, stamps Sheridan what I have always thought him—one of the ablest of Generals.

U. S. GRANT, Lieut-General.

In his Personal Memoirs, written twenty years after the war, General Grant says: "On the 15th day of September, I started to visit General Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley. My purpose was to have him attack Early and drive him out of the Valley and

destroy that source of supplies for Lee's Army. I knew it was impossible for me to get orders through Washington to Sheridan to make a move, because they would be stopped there, and such orders as Halleck's caution (and that of the Secretary of War) would suggest, would be given instead, and would, no doubt, be contradictory to mine. I, therefore, without stopping at Washington, went directly through to Charlestown, some ten miles above Harper's Ferry, and waited there to see General Sheridan, having sent a courier in advance to inform him where to meet me.

"When Sheridan arrived, I asked him if he had a map showing the positions of his Army and that of the enemy. He at once drew one out of his side pocket, showing all roads and streams and the camps of the two Armies. * * * Before starting I had drawn up a plan of campaign for Sheridan, which I had brought with me; but seeing that he was so clear and so positive in his views and so confident of success, I said noth-

ing about this, and did not take it out of my pocket.

"Sheridan's wagon trains were kept at Harper's Ferry, where all his stores were. * * * Knowing that he, in making preparations to move at a given day, would have to bring up wagon trains from Harper's Ferry, I asked him if he could be ready to get off by the following Tuesday. This was Friday. He said he could be off before daylight on Monday. I told him then to make the attack at that time and according to his own plan; and I immediately started to return to the Army about Richmond. * * * Sheridan moved at the time he had fixed upon. He met Early at the Crossing of Opequon Creek, and won a most decisive victory —one which electrified the country."

Of the battle of Cedar Creek, General Grant says: "This victory pretty much closed the campaigning in the Valley of Virginia. All the Confederate troops were sent back to Richmond, with the exception of one division of Infantry and a little Cavalry. * * * Early had lost more men in killed, wounded

and captured in the Valley, than Sheridan had commanded from first to last."

In the spring of the same year, March, 1864, when General Grant was commissioned Lieutenant General, in command of all the Armies, he looked about for a Cavalry leader. Sheridan was the Colonel of a Cavalry regiment—the 2nd Michigan—but practically unknown to the country. General Grant, however, had already seen "how much there was in him." Of the selection of Sheridan, General Grant says: "In one of my early interviews with the President, I expressed my dissatisfaction with the little that had been accomplished by the Cavalry so far in the war, and the belief that it was capable of accomplishing much more than it had done if under a thorough leader. I said I wanted the very best man in the Army for that command. Halleck was present and spoke up, saying: 'How would Sheridan do?' I replied: 'The very man I want.' The President said I could have anybody I wanted. Sheridan was telegraphed for that day

and on his arrival was assigned to the command of the Cavalry Corps."

On the 27th of February, 1865, General Sheridan and his Cavalry left Winchester, marched up the Valley of the Shenandoah to Staunton, destroying the railroad from that place to Charlottesville and Gordonsville, within sixteen miles of Lynchburg. He also destroyed the railroad connecting Richmond with Lynchburg, and disabled the James River Canal, cutting off the Confederate supplies from that quarter. It was on this march that General Custer's division made a brilliant attack near Waynesboro and gave the finish to General Early's Army, then in an intrenched position, resulting in the capture of eleven pieces of artillery, horses and caissons complete, two hundred teams with subsistence, seventeen battle flags, and sixteen hundred officers and enlisted men. Custer's attack was so sudden and made with such magnificent daring, that the Confederate soldiers actually cheered when they threw down their arms and surrendered.

General Early barely escaped capture by flight into the town. So much of his artillery had been taken by Sheridan that some of the last captured guns were marked: "To General Sheridan, Care of General Early," as if the irony of fate had destined them for Sheridan anyhow.

The almost impassable condition of the roads from heavy rains compelled a delay of two days at Charlottesville. While thus delayed, General Sheridan learned that large forces of the Confederates were concentrating at Lynchburg, including Pickett's Infantry and Fitzhugh Lee's Cavalry from Richmond. He then decided to join the Army of the Potomac before Petersburg. With this in view, Sheridan first sent his prisoners back to Winchester, replaced his worn out mules with horses taken from Early, and pushed rapidly on toward Richmond, making the destruction of the railroad communication between the Confederate Capital and Lynchburg more complete and extending the destruction of the Canal within a short distance of Richmond. Con-

tinuing his march round on the North to the Pamunkey River, Sheridan crossed at White House and found the supplies awaiting him, which had been sent there by General Grant.

At Frederick's Hall Station, some distance above Hanover Court House, General Custer's division made a dash for the telegraph office, capturing dispatches which told of General Early's whereabouts and of his intention to move up with his Cavalry on Sheridan. Custer at once sent a regiment after Early, captured the most of his force, including his Staff and Orderlies, and the second time on this march Early himself barely escaped capture, now seeking safety in flight to Richmond. His campaign in the Shenandoah was ended, with the loss of his entire Army.

General Sheridan's march was made against great odds, in the nature of incessant rains, swollen streams, swamps and bad roads. All along the way hundreds of negroes or "contrabands," as they were called, followed and willingly worked their way for

food and freedom. On the 26th of March, only a month after leaving Winchester, Sheridan had reached and crossed the James River and formed a junction with the Army of the Potomac, under General Grant, before Petersburg. On this, one of the most remarkable marches in military history, fighting the enemy and contending with the elements for a month, Sheridan's loss was not over one hundred men, and some of these were left by the way because unable to bear the fatigue of travel. It was a fitting sequel to Sheridan's Shenandoah campaign, which, for rapid, effective work, in a series of brilliant victories, is without a parallel in any war.

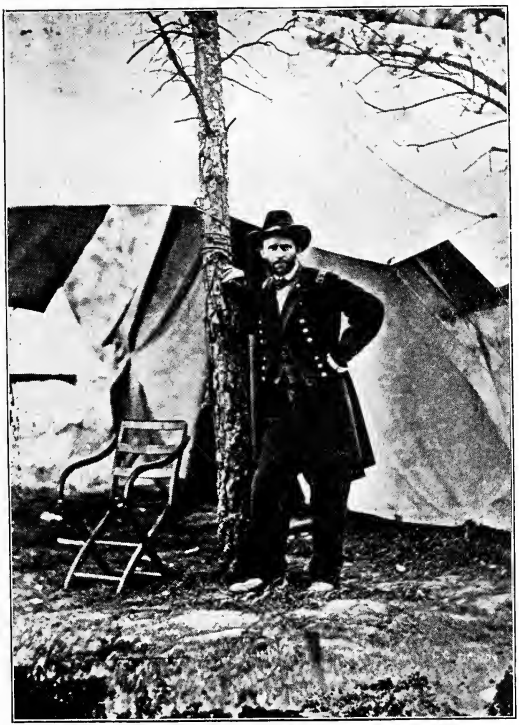
While General Sheridan himself felt that his work in the Shenandoah might "cause the fall of Richmond," his march and uniting with General Grant's Army proved that he had "builded better than he knew."

CHAPTER II.

President—Lieutenant-General.

It was on the 9th of March, 1864, that General Grant went to Washington and received from the hand of the President, in the presence of the Cabinet, the Commission of Lieutenant-General. He was accompanied by his Staff and his eldest son, Frederick D. Grant, a lad of fifteen, who was with his father most of the time during the war, learning even then to be a soldier—now Major-General in the United States Army. When the President presented the commission he said:

"General Grant, the nation's appreciation of what you have done, and its reliance upon you for what remains to be done in the existing great struggle, are now presented 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



Gen. Grant, at Headquarters, City Point, 1865

that, with what I here speak for the Nation, goes my own hearty personal concurrence."

General Grant replied:

"Mr. President: I accept the Commission, with gratitude for the high honor conferred. With the aid of the noble Armies that have fought in 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."

President Lincoln and General Grant had never met before, and it was especially fitting that their first meeting should be this occasion in the historic White House. General Grant says: "Although hailing from Illinois myself, the state of the President, I had never met Mr. Lincoln until called to the Capital to receive my commission of Lieutenant-General. I knew him, however, very well and favorably from the accounts given by officers under me in the West, who had

known him all their lives. I had also read the remarkable series of debates between Lincoln and Douglas a few years before, when they were rival candidates for the United States Senate. I was then a resident of Missouri and not a 'Lincoln man' in that contest, but I recognized his great ability. In my first interview with Mr. Lincoln alone, he stated to me that he had never professed to be a military man, or to know how campaigns should be conducted, and never wanted to interfere with them. * * * All he wanted or had ever wanted was some one who would take the responsibility and act, and call on him for all the assistance needed, pledging himself to use all the power of the government in rendering such assistance. * * * The Secretary of War I had met once before only, but felt that I knew him better. While commanding in West Tennessee we had occasionally held conversations over the wires, at night, when they were not being otherwise used. He and General Halleck both cautioned me against giving the President my plans of campaign,

saying that the President was so kind-hearted, so averse to refusing anything asked of him, that some friend would be sure to get from him all he knew. * * * I should have said that in our interview the President told me he did not want to know what I proposed to do. * * * I did not communicate my plans to the President, nor did I to the Secretary of War, or to General Halleck."

In the previous year, July 13, 1863, a week after the fall of Vicksburg, the President had written to General Grant:

"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 write 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 the personal acknowledgment that you were right and I was wrong."

The surrender of Vicksburg included 31,600 men, 172 cannon, about 60,000 muskets, and a large amount of ammunition. Probably never before was so great a victory won, at so small a sacrifice of life.

When General Pemberton, in command of Vicksburg, proposed an armistice, with a view to terms for surrender, all communications were under a flag of truce, and General Grant says:

"It was a glorious sight to officers and men on the line where these white flags were visible, and the news soon spread to all parts of the command. The troops felt that their long and weary marches, hard fighting, ceaseless watching by night and day, in a hot climate, exposure to all sorts

of weather, to diseases, and worst of all, to the gibes of many Northern papers that came to them, saying all their suffering was in vain—that Vicksburg would never be taken—were now at an end, and the Union sure to be saved."

Of the first meeting with General Pemberton, he says:

"At three o'clock Pemberton appeared at the point suggested in my verbal message, accompanied by the same officers who had borne his letter of the morning. Generals Ord, McPherson, Logan, and A. J. Smith, and several officers of my Staff, accompanied me. Our place of meeting was on a hillside, within a few hundred feet of the Confederate lines. Near by stood a stunted oak tree, which was made historical by the event. It was but a short time before the last vestige of its body, root and limb, had disappeared—the fragments taken as trophies. Since then the same tree has furnished as many cords of wood in the shape of relics, as the 'True Cross.' * * * Pemberton and I had served in the same division

during part of the Mexican War. I knew him very well, therefore, and greeted him as an old acquaintance."

This interview ended with an agreement that General Grant would send a letter giving the final terms, by ten o'clock that night —in the meantime both sides holding the truce. General Grant then called together his Corps and Division Commanders, informed them of the substance of the interview, accepting suggestions, but holding the power of deciding entirely in his own hands —and adds:

"This was the nearest approach to a 'Council of War' I ever held."

The result was that his letter with final terms for the surrender of Vicksburg was sent to Pemberton against the almost unanimous judgment of the Council.

During the siege, all Confederates were known as "Johnnies," and Union soldiers as "Yanks," and there was much friendly sparring between the picket lines. A Confederate would call: "Well, Yank, when

are you coming into town?" Sometimes the reply would be: "We intend to celebrate the Fourth of July there." The Vicksburg paper—printed on the plain side of wall paper—said the best recipe for cooking a rabbit was—"First ketch your rabbit." The last number of the paper, issued on the Fourth of July, announced: "The rabbit is ketched."

On the Fourth of July, Vicksburg surrendered—the Confederate troops marched out of the garrison, stacked arms, and returned to remain until all were paroled. They passed between two lines of Union soldiers, in silence. Under General Grant's instruction, there was not a cheer or a word, from the victors, that would humiliate or give pain to the fallen foe. It was a week before the paroles were completed, and the Confederates occupied their old camps behind the intrenchments—no restraint upon them, except that by their own Commanders—and "the men of the two Armies fraternized as if they had been fighting for the same cause."

The great victory at Gettysburg was won on the same day. But it was the fall of Vicksburg that sealed the fate of the Confederacy. General Edward P. Alexander of the Confederate Army, declared that General Grant's Vicksburg campaign was the most brilliant strategy of the whole war.

"The signs look better. The Father of Waters again goes unvexed to the sea."

The victory at Gettysburg—the fall of Vicksburg—the clean sweep of the Mississippi, followed in quick succession. A spirit of rejoicing was abroad in the North, ready for "National Thanksgiving, Praise and Prayer," and the following Proclamation was issued July 15, 1863:

"It has pleased Almighty God to hearken to the supplication and prayers of an afflicted people, and to vouchsafe to the Army and the Navy of the United States, on the land and on the sea, victories so signal and effective as to furnish reasonable grounds for augmented confidence that the Union of these States will be maintained and their Constitution preserved, and their peace and

prosperity permanently secured. But these victories have been accorded not without sacrifice of life, limb and liberty, incurred by brave, patriotic and loyal citizens. Domestic affliction in every part of the country follows in the train of these fearful bereavements. It is meet and right to recognize and confess the presence of the Almighty Father, and the power of His hand equally in these triumphs and these sorrows.

Now, therefore, be it known, that I do set apart Thursday, the sixth day of August, next, to be observed as a day for National Thanksgiving, praise and prayer; and I invite the people of the United States to assemble, on that occasion, in their customary places of worship, and in the form approved by their own conscience, render the homage due to Divine Majesty for the wonderful things He has done in the Nation's behalf, and invoke the influence of His Holy Spirit to subdue the anger which has produced, and so long sustained, a needless and cruel rebellion; to change the hearts of the insurgents; to guide the counsels of the govern-

ment with wisdom adequate to so great a national emergency; and to visit with tender care and consolation, throughout the length and breadth of our land, all those who, through the vicissitudes of marches, voyages, battles and sieges, have been brought to suffer in mind, body or estate; and finally, to lead the whole Nation through the paths of repentance and submission to the Divine will, back to the perfect enjoyment of Union and fraternal peace.

A. LINCOLN.

On April 30, 1864, several weeks after the interview following the presentation of the Commission of Lieutenant-General, the President wrote to General Grant:

"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 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."

General Grant was deeply touched by this letter. He cared little for praise or fame. But these words from the great heart of the President made an impression upon him, and the following day—a quiet Sunday afternoon—he wrote his answer:

"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. * * * I have never had any cause of complaint * * * against the administration or the Secretary of War, for throwing any embarrassment in the way of my vigorously prosecuting what appears to be my duty. * * * 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 President's abiding faith in General Grant was steadfast from beginning to end, and never at any moment disturbed by doubt or criticism. Whether writing to him or talking about him, there was always this luminous faith and absolute confidence in the great soldier. In reply to an invitation to a mass meeting in New York city, June 4, 1864, just a month before Vicksburg surrendered, Mr. Lincoln said:

"I approve of whatever may tend to strengthen and sustain General Grant and the noble Armies now under his direction. My previous high estimate of General Grant has been maintained and heightened by what has occurred in the remarkable campaign he is now conducting, while the magnitude and difficulty of the task before him do not prove less than I expected. He and his brave soldiers are now in the midst of their great trial,

and I trust that at your meeting you will so shape your good words that they may turn to men and guns, moving to his and their support."

When Congress revived the grade of Lieutenant-General the 29th of February, 1864, it went back to George Washington, who alone had been Commissioned with this rank from 1798 to the time of his death in December, 1799. General Winfield Scott held this rank, only by brevet, for ten years preceding his death in 1866. Though no name was mentioned in the Act of Congress, it was well understood that it would be the promotion of General Grant.

With his promotion of Lieutenant-General, in command of the Armies of the United States, General Grant at once began to direct the various commands, East and West, and prepare for the spring campaign. The day after receiving his Commission from the President he went to the headquarters of General Meade, commanding the Army of the Potomac, at Brandy Station, North of the Rapidan. He also promptly advanced General

Sherman to his own late position, and General McPherson to Sherman's, and General Logan to McPherson's—these changes being made on his recommendation, without hesitation or delay at the White House. In fact, the President was as ready to do this as General Grant to recommend it. Of his visit to General Meade he says:

"I had known General Meade slightly in the Mexican war, but had not met him since until this visit. I was a stranger to most of the Army of the Potomac—I might say to all except the officers of the Regular Army, who had served in the Mexican war. There had been some changes ordered in the organization of the Army before my promotion. * * * Meade evidently thought I might want to make still one more change not yet ordered. He said to me that I might want an officer who had served with me in the West, mentioning Sherman, specially, to take his place. If so, he begged me not to hesitate about making the change. He urged that the work before us was of such vast importance to the whole Nation that the feeling or wishes of no

one person should stand in the way of selecting the right men for the positions. For himself, he would serve to the best of his ability wherever placed. I assured him that I had no thought of substituting any one for him. As to Sherman, he could not be spared from the West.

"This incident gave me even a more favorable opinion of Meade, than did his great victory at Gettysburg, the July before. It is men who wait to be selected, and not those who seek, from whom we may always expect the most efficient service."

General Meade had been in supreme command of the Army of the Potomac for nearly a year—except from the authorities at Washington. And now, General Grant, always generous and considerate, made General Meade's position as nearly as possible what it would have been if he had been in Washington, or any other place away from Meade's command. He gave all orders for the movements of the Army of the Potomac to General Meade to have them executed.

When the responsibility of directing 600,000 men in the Armies of the Union and 600 war ships was laid upon General Grant, the eyes of the civilized world were fixed upon him. Many were in doubt as to the result. But there were two men whose faith in final victory was as fixed as the foundation of the hills—Lincoln and Grant. Each believed in the other.

On General Grant's return to Washington after his visit to General Meade, he prepared to leave, without delay, for West Tennessee, to meet General Sherman. Preparations, however, were in full swing to give a dinner and reception in his honor, at the White House—and also, he was to be received by Congress. But he could not be persuaded to stay over, though urged to do so by the President and Mrs. Lincoln. Finally he said:

"The time is very precious just now, and really, Mr. President, I believe I have had enough of this show business."

There had been a reception at the White

House the evening before the day of receiving his Commission, and in spite of going in quietly and unannounced, there was no escape from crowds of enthusiastic friends and admirers. He could face the whole Confederate Army, but had to retreat from "this show business."

The dinner and reception were given, but the guest of honor was speeding away to his duties in the field—having neither time nor desire for social ovations—the man who "fights," as Mr. Lincoln said—"setting the bells of time ringing in a better day for the Union."

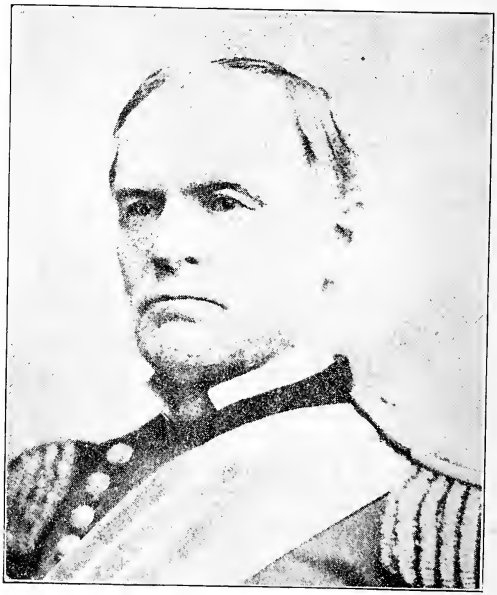
It seems incredible, but is none the less a fact, that while the President had called on the people to return thanks and prayers, and guns were fired in honor of General Grant—who had up to this time won the only decisive victories for the Union—politicians and "higher-up" jealousies in the Army were clamoring for his removal with a persistent injustice having no parallel in the history of modern warfare.

The President was beset on all sides, and

Colonel McClure of Philadelphia, one of the very influential public men, called on Mr. Lincoln and urged him, "in the name of the people," to remove General Grant. Colonel McClure told of this interview:

"I appealed to Lincoln for his own sake to remove Grant at once, and in giving my reasons simply voiced the protest from the loyal people of the land against Grant's continuance in command. * * * When I had said everything that could be said from my standpoint, we lapsed into silence. Lincoln remained silent for what seemed a very long time. He then gathered himself up in his chair and said, in a tone of earnestness that I shall never forget:

"'I can't spare this man; he fights.' That was all he said, but I knew that it was enough and that Grant was safe in Lincoln's hands against the countless hosts of enemies."



General Sherman
1865

CHAPTER III.

Atlanta to the Sea.

The following autumn, when General Sheridan's brilliant achievements swept "Jubal's occupation" out of the Shenandoah Valley, General Sherman's campaign was no less effective in Georgia—"smashing things to the sea."

I am now quoting General Grant more fully for the reason that above all the critics, he knew best how great was General Sherman's work in the Civil War.

Of General Sherman's Army and "March to the Sea," General Grant says: "The Southern papers in commenting upon Sherman's movements pictured him as in the most deplorable condition—stating that his men were starving, that they were demoralized and wandering about almost without object, aiming only to reach the sea coast, and get under the protection of our Navy. These papers got to the North and had more or less effect upon the minds of the people, causing distress to all loyal persons. * * *

Mr. Lincoln, seeing these accounts, had a letter written asking me if I could give him anything that he could say to the loyal people that would comfort them. I told him there was not the slightest occasion for alarm—that with the 60,000 such men as Sherman had with him, such a commanding officer as he was, could not be cut off in the open country. He might possibly be prevented from reaching the point he had started out to reach, but he would get through somewhere and would finally get through to his chosen destination, and even if worst came to worst, he could return North. I heard afterward of the President saying to those who would inquire of him as to what he thought about the safety of Sherman's Army, that Sherman was all right. "Grant says they are safe with such a General, and that if they cannot get out where they want to, they can crawl back by the hole they went in at."

The only military force that was then opposed to General Sherman's forward march was the Georgia Militia. At the capital—Milledgeville—the Governor, who had been al-

most defying Jefferson Davis, now left suddenly, also the Legislature and all State officers. General Sherman said: "The Governor was careful to carry away all of his garden vegetables, and left the archives of the State to fall into our hands." General Grant further says: "While at Milledgeville, the soldiers met at the State House, organized a Legislature and proceeded to business precisely as if they were the legislative body belonging to the State of Georgia. The debates were exciting, and were upon the subject of the situation the South was in at that time, particularly the State of Georgia. They went so far as to repeal, after a spirited and acrimonious debate, the ordinance of secession.

* * *

"Sherman's Army, after all the depletions, numbered about sixty thousand effective men. All weak men had been left to hold the rear, and those remaining were not only well men, but strong and hardy, so that he had sixty thousand as good soldiers as ever trod the earth; better than any European soldiers, because they not only worked like a machine,

but the machine thought. European Armies know very little what they are fighting for, and care less. * * * The men are brave and the officers capable, but the majority of the soldiers in most of the nations of Europe are taken from a class of people who are not very intelligent, and who have very little interest in the contest in which they are called upon to take part. Our Armies were composed of men who were able to read, men who knew what they were fighting for, and could not be induced to serve as soldiers, except in an emergency when the safety of the Nation was involved, and so necessarily must have been more than equal to men who fought merely because they were brave, and because they were thoroughly drilled and inured to hardships.

"On the 15th of November, the real march to the sea commenced. * * * Sherman's orders for this campaign were perfect. Before starting he had sent back all sick, disabled and weak men, retaining nothing but the hardy, well-inured soldiers to accompany him on his long march in prospect. His ar-

tillery was reduced to sixty-five guns. The ammunition carried with them was two hundred rounds for musket and gun. Small rations were taken in a small wagon train, which was loaded to its capacity for rapid movement. The Army was expected to live on the country, and to always keep the wagons full of forage and provisions against a possible delay of a few days. * * * Atlanta was destroyed so far as to render it worthless for military purposes before starting, Sherman himself remaining over a day to superintend the work.

"The organization for supplying the Army was very complete. Each Brigade furnished a company to gather supplies of forage and provisions for the command, to which they belonged. Strict injunctions were issued against pillaging or otherwise unnecessarily annoying the people; but everything in shape of food for man and forage for beast was taken. The supplies were turned over to the Brigade commissary and Quartermaster, and were issued by them to their respective commands precisely the same as if they had

been purchased. The captures consisted largely of cattle, sheep, poultry, some bacon, cornmeal, often molasses, and occasionally coffee or other small rations.

"The skill of these men, called by themselves and the Army, 'bummers,' in collecting their loads and getting back to their respective commands, was marvellous. When they started out in the morning they were always on foot, but scarcely one of them returned in the evening without being mounted on a horse or mule. * * * Many of their exploits would fall under the head of romance—indeed, I am afraid that in telling some of their experiences, the romance got the better of the truth. * * * In one instance it was reported that a few men of Sherman's Army passed a house where they discovered some chickens under a dwelling. They immediately proceeded to capture the chickens to add to the Army's supplies. The lady of the house, who happened to be at home, made appeals to have the chickens spared, saying they were a few she had put away to save. * * * The

soldiers seemed moved at her appeal, but looking at the chickens again, they were tempted, and one of them replied: 'The rebellion must be suppressed if it takes the last chicken in the Confederacy,' and appropriated the last chicken.

"Another anecdote characteristic of these times has been told. The South prior to the rebellion kept bloodhounds to pursue runaway slaves who took refuge in the neighboring swamps, and also to hunt convicts. Orders were issued to kill all these animals as they were met with. On one occasion a soldier picked up a poodle, the favorite pet of its mistress, and was carrying it off to execution when the lady made a strong appeal to him to spare it. The soldier replied: 'Madam, our orders are to kill every bloodhound.' 'But this is not a bloodhound,' said the lady. 'Well, Madam, we cannot tell what it will grow into, if we leave it,' said the soldier as he went off with the poodle. Notwithstanding these anecdotes and the necessary hardships they would seem to imply, I do not believe there was much unwarrantable pillag-

ing, considering that we were in the enemy's country."

With the exception of a "pretty severe engagement" with Confederates, under the command of General Wheeler, about one hundred miles from Milledgeville, there was little resistance to the Union troops, before reaching Savannah. General Wheeler—"Little fighting Joe"—who was afterward in Congress, and one of the most loyal of men—was driven towards Augusta as the Confederates supposed, General Sherman was aiming for that point. General Wade Hampton, afterward in Congress also, was at Augusta trying to raise Cavalry, and General Bragg had been sent to Augusta with troops, all three to unite against Sherman. It was too late, however, to do the work expected, and the Confederate, General Hardee, who was in command of Savannah, had probably less than ten thousand men. Of Savannah and conditions there General Grant says:

"The country about Savannah is low and marshy, and the city was well intrenched from the river above to the river below, and

assaults could not be made except along a comparatively narrow causeway. For this reason assaults must have resulted in serious destruction of life to the Union troops, with the chance of failing altogether. Sherman therefore decided upon a complete investment of the place. When he believed this investment completed, he summoned the garrison to surrender."

The siege of Savannah began on the 10th of December. On the night of the 21st, Savannah was evacuated, General Hardee first blowing up the Navy Yard, destroying some iron-clads, and other property, at the same time leaving an "immense amount of stores untouched, consisting of cotton, railroad cars, workshops, numerous pieces of artillery, and several thousand stands of small arms."

On the 26th, Mr. Lincoln telegraphed to General Sherman:

"When you were about leaving Atlanta for the Atlantic Coast, I was anxious if not fearful; but feeling that you were the better judge, and remembering that 'noth-

ing risked, nothing gained,' I did not interfere. Now, the undertaking being a success, the honor is all yours."

In regard to who planned this perfectly planned campaign—"March to the Sea" —General Grant decides beyond all question or doubt in the following concise statement:

"As there was some discussion as to the authorship of Sherman's March to the Sea, by critics of his book when it appeared before the public, I want to state here that no question upon that subject was ever raised between General Sherman and myself. Circumstances made the plan on which Sherman expected to act impracticable, and as commander of the forces he necessarily had to devise a new one which would give more promise of success; consequently he recommended the destruction of the railroad back to Chattanooga, and that he should be authorized then to move, as he did, from Atlanta forward. His suggestions were finally approved, although they did not immediately find favor in Washington. Even when it came to the time of starting, the greatest ap-

prehension as to the propriety of the campaign filled the minds of the President's advisers. This went so far as to move the President to ask me to suspend Sherman's march for a day or two until I could think the matter over. My recollection is—though I find no record to show it—that out of deference to the President's wishes, I did send a dispatch to Sherman asking him to wait a day or two, or else the connections between us were already cut, so that I could not do so. However this may be, the question of who devised the plan of march from Atlanta to Savannah is easily answered. It was clearly Sherman, and to him also belongs the credit of its brilliant execution. It was hardly possible that any one else than those on the spot could have devised a new plan of campaign to supersede one that did not promise success. I was in favor of Sherman's plan from the time it was first submitted to me. My Chief of Staff, however, was very bitterly opposed to it and, as I learned subsequently, finding that he could not move me, he appealed to the authorities at Washington to stop it."

A month before General Sherman started on the "March to the Sea" the most formidable Confederate force in that part of the South was commanded by General Hood. On October 11, General Grant said in a dispatch to General Sherman: "Does it not look as if Hood was going to attempt the invasion of middle Tennessee? * * * If he does this, he ought to be met and prevented from getting North of the Tennessee River. * * * If you were to cut loose, I do not believe you would meet Hood's Army, but would be bushwhacked by all the old men and little boys and such railroad guards as are still left at home. * * * Hood would probably strike for Nashville. * * * If there is any way of getting at Hood's Army, I would prefer that, but I must trust to your own judgment. * * * I am afraid Thomas, with such lines of road as he has to protect, could not prevent Hood from going North."

General Sherman's reply, dated the same day, from Kingston, Georgia, says:

"Hood is now on the Coosa River, South of Rome. With the twenty-five thousand men, and the bold Cavalry he has, he can constantly break my roads. I would infinitely prefer to make a wreck of the road, and of the country from Chattanooga to Atlanta, including the latter City, send back all my wounded and worthless, and with my effective Army, move through Georgia, smashing things to the sea. * * * Instead of my being on the defensive I would be on the offensive; instead of guessing at what he means to do he would have to guess at my plans. The difference in war is full twenty-five per cent. I can make Savannah, Charleston, or the mouth of the Chattahoochee. Answer quick, as I know we will not have the telegraph long.

W. T. SHERMAN, Major General.

City Point, Virginia,
Oct. 11, 1864, 11:30 P. M.

Your dispatch of today received. If you are satisfied the trip to the sea-coast can be made, holding the line of the Tennessee

River firmly, you may make it, destroying all the railroad south of Dalton or Chattanooga, as you think best.

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

The original design was to "cut the would-be Confederacy in two again," as it had been cut once by gaining possession of the Mississippi River. General Sherman's plan virtually effected this object. General Grant, always quick and generous in appreciation of others, adds:

"General Sherman's movement from Chattanooga to Atlanta was prompt, skillful and brilliant. The history of his flank movements and battles during that memorable campaign, will ever be read with an interest unsurpassed by anything in history."

Hood succeeded in crossing the Tennessee River, but General Thomas was ready for him, and disposed of his Army at the battle of Nashville, December 15—a two days battle—defeating and driving the Confederates from the field in confusion, leaving most of their artillery and many thousand prisoners.

From the 2nd day of December to the 15th, General Grant had been urging General Thomas to "get busy" with Hood, sending one dispatch after another. December 2nd he telegraphed: "You can move out of Nashville with all your Army and force the enemy to retire or fight upon ground of your own choosing—You will suffer incalculable injury upon your railroads if Hood is not speedily disposed of." December 5th—"Hood should be attacked where he is. Time strengthens him in all possibility as much as it does you." December 6th—"Attack Hood at once, and wait no longer for a remnant of your Cavalry. There is great danger of delay resulting in a campaign back to the Ohio River." December 8th—"Why not attack at once? By all means avoid the contingency of a foot race to see which, you or Hood, can beat to the Ohio. * * * Now is one of the finest opportunities ever presented of destroying one of the three Armies of the enemy. * * * Use the means at your command and you can do this, and cause a rejoicing that will re-

sound from one end of the land to the other." December 11th—"If you delay attack any longer the mortifying spectacle will be witnessed of a rebel Army moving for the Ohio River, and you will be forced to act, accepting such weather as you find. Let there be no further delay. I am in hopes of receiving a dispatch from you today announcing that you have moved. Delay no longer for weather or reinforcements."

And so it went on for two weeks. Then came action on the part of General Thomas, and relief to General Grant, to the Administration, and to the whole North.

In a dispatch to General Thomas, December 15th, General Grant says:

"I was just on my way to Nashville, but received a dispatch detailing your splendid success of today; I shall go no further. Push the enemy now and give him no rest. * * Your Army will cheerfully suffer many privations to break up Hood's Army. * * * Do not stop for trains or supplies, but take them from the country as the enemy have done. Much is now expected."

General Thomas had been so slow as to cause very great anxiety. General Grant says: "Before the battle of Nashville I grew very impatient over, as it appeared to me, the unnecessary delay. * * * After urging upon General Thomas the necessity of immediately assuming the offensive, I started West to superintend matters there in person. Reaching Washington I received General Thomas' dispatch, announcing his attack upon the enemy, and the result as far as the battle had progressed. I was delighted. All fears and apprehensions were dispelled."

While General Grant held to his view that instead of the delay, General Thomas should have promptly moved out with his whole force, giving battle to Hood, yet in the end General Thomas' final defeat of the Confederate force was so complete, that it will be accepted as a complete vindication of that distinguished officer's judgment.

CHAPTER IV.

Petersburg—Richmond.

In the early part of March, 1865, Jefferson Davis and General Lee decided on a plan to abandon the Richmond and Petersburg lines, and, as soon as the roads would admit, General Lee was to move to Danville, unite with General Johnston and attack General Sherman. Johnston's army was then in front of Sherman. But when this plan might have been carried out, the abandonment of Richmond was opposed by the Confederate politicians. Another plan of General Lee was to enlist the slaves and make soldiers of them. This was at once put down by the slave interests of the Confederacy. And now the time for doing either had passed. By the arrival of Sheridan, General Lee's contemplated retreat to Danville was cut off. General Grant had settled down before Petersburg and Richmond, where his steady patience and hold on tenacity would enable him to wait until lack of subsistence compelled General Lee to sur-

General Sheridan
1865

render; or his indomitable pluck would lead him to attack General Lee and prevent him from getting away to join Johnston. Suspecting General Lee of this intention, General Grant had, as early as the middle of March, issued instructions to the Army of the Potomac, in anticipation of a general movement, though not fully ready for it untill the last days of the month. Of this advance General Grant says:

"I was very impatient for the time to come when I could commence the spring campaign, which I thoroughly believed would close the war. * * * One of the most anxious periods of my experience during the rebellion was the last few weeks before Petersburg. * * * I felt that the situation of the Confederate Army was such that they would try to escape at the earliest practicable moment, and I was afraid, every morning, that I would awake from my sleep to hear that Lee had gone and that nothing was left but a picket line. * * * I knew he could move much more lightly and more rapidly than I, and that, if he got the start, he would

leave me behind, so that we would have the same Army to fight again further South, and the war might be prolonged another year. * * * I could not see how it was possible for the Confederates to hold out much longer where they were. * * * I knew from the great number of desertions that the men who had fought so bravely, so gallantly and so long for the cause which they believed in—and as earnestly, I take it, as our men believed in the cause for which they were fighting—had lost hope and become despondent. Many of them were deserting and making application to be sent North, where they might get employment until the war was over, when they would return to their Southern homes."

The time had come when General Lee saw that he could hold out no longer. Every line of supply had been destroyed or cut off by the Union troops. He must either surrender or fight his way through General Grant's lines, in the hope of reaching Johnston. It was a forlorn hope, for even if he succeeded in this, the hours of the Confederacy were al-

ready numbered and the end would be postponed but a little while. To gain time, in order not to leave his present position until the roads were in a more favorable condition, General Lee ordered the attack on Fort Stedman, on the right of the Union lines. By this attack he hoped to compel General Grant to draw from his left wing, weakening that point by concentrating on his right. If successful in destroying General Grant's left wing it would be easier for General Lee to reach the Danville and South Side railroad, making his retreat and reaching Johnston, more possible. To accomplish this, General Lee placed about half of his army under command of General John B. Gordon, who was to make the assault on Fort Stedman, where the opposing lines were less than two hundred yards apart, and the pickets but fifty yards apart. The attack was well arranged and made on the night of the 24th of March, and the next morning, about 5 o'clock, the Fort was captured by General Gordon's troops. General Gordon held Fort Stedman four hours, when it was

recaptured by General Hartranft, and this attempt of General Lee to break through the Union lines was defeated. General Grant, seeing indications of increased uneasiness in General Lee, determined not to delay, and, taking the initiative, ordered the move on the 29th of March, from City Point.

Of the condition of the roads General Grant says: "On that date I moved out with all the Army available, after leaving sufficient force to hold the line about Petersburg. It soon set in raining again, however, and in a very short time the roads became practically impassable for teams and almost so for Cavalry. Sometimes a horse or mule would be standing apparently on firm ground, when all at once one foot would sink, and as he commenced scrambling to catch himself, all his feet would sink, and he would have to be drawn by hand out of the quicksands so common in that part of Virginia and other Southern states. It became necessary, therefore, to build corduroy roads every foot of the way as we advanced, to move our artillery upon. The Army had

become so accustomed to this kind of work, and were so well prepared for it, that it was done very rapidly."

On the day of his arrival from the Shenandoah General Sheridan went to General Grant's headquarters at City Point and received his instructions for the move to commence on the 29th. Of this General Grant says:

"After reading the instructions I had given him, Sheridan walked out of my tent, and I followed to have some conversation with him by himself, not in the presence of anybody else, even a member of my Staff. In preparing his instructions, I contemplated just what took place; that is to say, capturing Five Forks, driving the enemy from Petersburg and Richmond, and terminating the contest before separating from the enemy. But the Nation had already become restless and discouraged at the prolongation of the war, and many believed that it would never terminate except by compromise. Knowing that unless my plan proved an entire success it would be interpreted as a dis-

astrous defeat, I provided in these instructions that in a certain event General Sheridan was to cut loose from the Army of the Potomac and his base of supplies, and living upon the country, proceed South by the way of the Danville railroad, or near it, cross the Roanoke, get in the rear of Johnston, who was guarding that road, and cooperate with Sherman in destroying Johnston; then with these combined forces to help carry out the instructions which Sherman already had received, to act in co-operation with the Armies around Petersburg and Richmond. I saw that after Sheridan had read his instructions he seemed somewhat disappointed at the idea, possibly, of having to cut loose again from the Army of the Potomac, and place himself between the two main Armies of the enemy. I said to him: 'General, this portion of your instructions I have put in merely as a blind,' and gave him the reason for doing so, heretofore described. I told him that as a matter of fact, I intended to close the war right here, with this movement, and that he should go no

farther. His face at once brightened up, and slapping his hand on his leg, he said: 'I am glad to hear it, and we can do it.' * * * Sheridan was not, however, to make his movement against Five Forks until he got further instructions from me."

General Grant's plan to, "close the war right here," was just what General Sheridan wanted and believed would prove the final and successful effort. He was so jubilant over the prospect of success that, after the movement had commenced, General Grant says:

"Sheridan rode up to my headquarters, then at Dabney's Mills. He met some of my Staff officers outside and was highly jubilant, giving reasons why he believed this would prove the final and successful effort. Although my Chief-of-Staff had urged very strongly that we return to our position about City Point and the lines around Petersburg, he asked Sheridan to come in and see me, and say to me what he had been saying to them. Sheridan felt a little modest about giving advice where it had not been asked, so one of my Staff came in and told me that

Sheridan had what they considered important news, and suggested that I send for him. I did so, and was glad to see the spirit of confidence with which he was imbued. Knowing, as I did from experience, of what great value that feeling of confidence by a Commander was, I determined to make a movement at once, although on account of the rains, which had fallen after I had started out, the roads were still very heavy."

When General Grant moved out from City Point on the 29th, General Sheridan in co-operation, moved the same day from Hancock Station, where he had gone into camp on the 27th, after his march from the Shenandoah, having had but one day to rest his troops.

General Sheridan moved South on the Weldon and Petersburg road to Malone's crossing, then West to Dinwiddie Court House, where he arrived the same afternoon about 4 o'clock. According to instructions from General Grant, Sheridan was to make a raid on the South Side railroad. Late that night he received further instructions from

General Grant who said: "I now feel like ending the matter, if it is possible to do so. * * * I do not want you, therefore, to cut loose and go after the enemy's roads at present. In the morning push around the enemy if you can and get in his right rear. We will act together as one Army here, until it is seen what can be done with the enemy."

The contemplated raid was abandoned, and General Sheridan at once prepared to act in concert with the Infantry, under General Grant's command, the object being to turn the right flank of General Lee's army. On the following morning Sheridan found the enemy in strong force on the White Oak Road, near Five Forks. General Lee, suspecting Sheridan's designs on the South Side railroad, ordered Fitzhugh Lee's Cavalry from its position on the extreme Confederate left, over to Five Forks, to unite with Pickett's and Bushrod Johnson's Infantry and attack Sheridan.

That General Grant thoroughly appreciated the grave situation of Sheridan's position at this time, was evident from his frequent

communication with him the whole day of the 30th. He at first directed Sheridan to send his Cavalry back to Humphrey's Station for forage, saying the rain would prevent active operations that day. But his next communication, a few hours after, said: "Your positions on the White Oak road are so important that they should be held, even if it prevents sending back any of your Cavalry to Humphrey's Station to be fed," and he then adds that fifty wagon loads of forage will be sent to Sheridan, and increased if necessary. In a third dispatch the same day he repeats the instruction not to send any Cavalry back to Humphrey's Station. In a fourth dispatch, also the same day, General Grant said: "If your situation in the morning is such as to justify the belief that you can turn the enemy's right with the assistance of a Corps of Infantry, entirely detached from the balance of the Army, I will so detach the 5th Corps and place the whole under your command for operation. Let me know as early in the morning as

you can your judgment in the matter, and I will make the necessary orders."

General Grant, in his reliance on Sheridan at this critical hour, must have felt the prophetic force of his own words in their electric flash to the Shenandoah six months before: "Keep on, and your work will cause the fall of Richmond."

The battle of Dinwiddie Court House was fought the next day, March 31st, by Sheridan with his three divisions of cavalry against the large odds of Fitzhugh Lee's and Rosser's Cavalry, with Pickett's and Bushrod Johnson's Infantry. Though defeating the Confederates in this fight by driving them back for a time, Sheridan in his dispatch to General Grant that evening said: "This force is too strong for us. I will hold on to Dinwiddie Court House until I am compelled to leave. Our fighting today was all dismounted."

At 10 P. M. that night General Grant sent back this message: "The 5th Corps has been ordered to your support. In addition I have sent McKenzie's Cavalry. All these forces,

except the Cavalry, should reach you by 12 o'clock tonight. You will assume command of the whole force sent to operate with you, and use it to the best of your ability to destroy the force which your command has fought so gallantly today."

The battle of Five Forks fought on the first day of April was a continuation of the previous day's fighting at Dinwiddie Court House. The Confederate troops, in addition to Fitzhugh Lee's and Rosser's Cavalry with Pickett's and Bushrod Johnson's Infantry, had been reinforced by W. H. F. Lee's and Lomer's Cavalry, the whole commanded by Lieut-General Anderson. Sheridan, himself in command attacked the Confederate Infantry at daylight and drove them back to their strong line of earthworks on the White Oak Road. It was a daring attack, and fought by troops brave to desperation. Though expecting his reinforcements every moment, Sheridan attacked and held back this very superior force with but three divisions of Cavalry, until about eleven o'clock, when the 5th Corps, which should have been

there at midnight, and McKenzie's Cavalry arrived. At four o'clock that afternoon, Sheridan assaulted and carried the Confederate works, capturing 6,000 prisoners, many pieces of artillery, wagons, etc., and putting to flight the rest of the Confederate force. Thus was General Lee's last hope of fighting his way out irretrievably defeated by General Sheridan. It was followed by General Grant's assault on Petersburg the next morning, Sunday, April 2nd, and then it was that General Lee telegraphed to Jefferson Davis in Richmond:

"My lines are broken in three places. Richmond must be evacuated tonight."

Mr. Davis was at church when the dispatch was handed to him. He quickly laid down his prayer book, left the church, and went at once to his home, where he issued an order for the evacuation of Richmond, and made hasty preparations for leaving the City.

That afternoon the President of the Confederacy, Vice-President, and Cabinet, with scant preparation, took their departure from

Richmond. At eight o'clock in the evening General Ewell, in command, began to move the Confederate troops out, first ordering the firing of the magazine, which caused great destruction of property. The explosion set fire to many buildings, and the Court House, old State House, Mechanics' Institute, offices of the newspapers—*Enquirer* and *Dispatch*—were among the buildings burned. Commissary stores were also destroyed, heads of whiskey casks were knocked in and the liquor poured out on the ground. This gave the soldiers free access to the liquor and the rear guard of Ewell's army staggered, rather than marched out on the evacuation of Richmond that Sunday night.

The formal surrender of Richmond was made to General Weitzel at 8 o'clock Monday morning, April 3rd, about the same hour that General Grant took possession of Petersburg. General Weitzel went up to Richmond from his position at Bermuda Hundred, and the brief ceremony took place in the City Hall. Captain Langdon and Lieut. de Peyster, of General Weitzel's staff, raised the Stars and

Stripes on the Capitol, where, on the 18th of March the Confederate Congress had adjourned in great haste, the members leaving for their homes, lest they should be prevented from going, by the Union forces.

Lieut. de Peyster, who was a young Artillery officer, but twenty years of age, had carried the flag on the pommel of his saddle for several days. He was determined to be the first to restore the Stars and Stripes to their old place on the Capitol in Richmond. When the flag was run up on the pole, there was great cheering by the Union troops and the colored people. But if there were others glad to see the Star Spangled Banner take the place held by the Confederate flag for four years, they made no sign of it.

Of the evacuation of Richmond, General Grant says: "A dispatch from General Weitzel notified me that he had taken possession of Richmond. The City had been deserted by the authorities, civil and military, without any notice whatever that they were about to leave. In fact, up to the very hour of the evacuation, the people had been led to be-

lieve that Lee had gained an important victory somewhere around Petersburg. * * * The City was on fire. Our troops were directed to extinguish the flames, which they finally succeeded in doing. * * * The fire had been started by some one connected with the retreating Army. * * * I presume it was the work of excited men, who were leaving what they regarded as their Capital, and may have felt that it was better to destroy it, than have it fall into the hands of the enemy. There was evidence of great demoralization in Lee's army, there being still many men and even officers, in the town."

When General Grant went into Petersburg he telegraphed the President, who had remained at City Point, to join him there. Of this meeting he says: "I had started all the troops out early in the morning, so that after the National Army left Petersburg, there was not a soul to be seen, not even an animal to be seen in the streets. There was absolutely no one there, except my Staff Officers, and, possibly, a small escort of

Cavalry. We had selected the piazza of a deserted house, and occupied it until the President arrived. I would have let him know what I contemplated doing, only while I felt a strong conviction that the move was going to be successful, yet it might not prove so; and then I would have only added another to the many disappointments he had been suffering for the past three years. But when we started out he saw that we were moving for a purpose, and bidding us Godspeed, remained at City Point to hear the result.

"About the first thing that Mr. Lincoln said to me, after warm congratulations for the victory, and thanks both to myself and to the Army which had accomplished it, was: 'Do you know, General, that I have had a sort of sneaking idea for some days that you intended to do something like this?' Our movements having been successful up to this point, I no longer had any object in concealing from the President all my movements. * * * Mr. Lincoln knew that it had been arranged for Sherman to join me at a fixed time, to cooperate in the destruction of Lee's Army.

* * * When our conversation was at an end, he mounted his horse and started on his return to City Point, while I and my Staff started to join the Army, now a good many miles in advance."

General Grant's plan of campaign against General Lee suggested the challenge of the two Roman Generals—"If thou are a great General, come down and fight me." "If thou are a great General, *make* me come down and fight *thee*."

Four times out of five—for the Army of the Potomac had fought on five distinct lines—Grant, by a single march, had made Lee come down and fight him. * * * No other plan could have succeeded, or as Secretary Stanton expressed it—"Gabriel would have been blowing his last horn, before the old tactics of the Army of the Potomac could have forced the surrender of Lee and his Army." There were cold and unjust criticisms in the North, of General Grant's Virginia campaign—but adding greater interest to the views of Europeans, more especially the English, and the press of London.

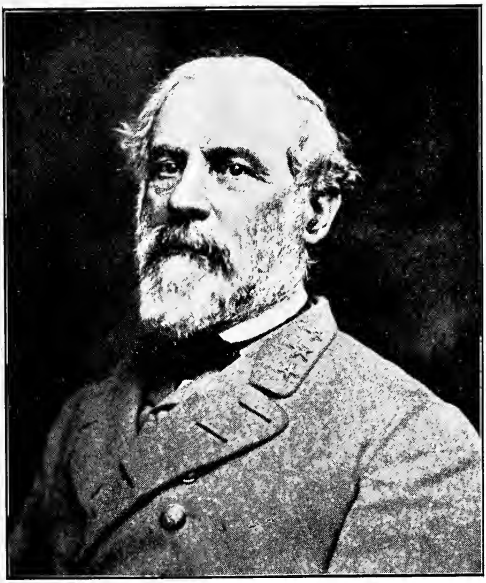
The *London Times*—the Tory organ of England—could hardly believe in the possibility of his success, but finally said: "Grant is invincibly obstinate, he has uncontrolled command, he has exacted the unreserved support of his Government, and he has seen the Southern Army retire before him. But if he ever reaches Richmond with an Army, he will have achieved a miracle of success."

The reputation of General Lee was so exalted in England, that any success over him was regarded as marvellous. The battles of May, 1864, brought forth from the *London Times* this admission: "While a single day of the battles of Grant in Virginia could be matched or excelled by the record of battles in the Old World, there were never in the history of man, four such battles fought, as those comprised in seven successive days, ending with the 12th of May."

CHAPTER V.

Waterloo of Lee's Retreat.

General Grant had anticipated correctly the movements of Jefferson Davis. About the same hour that the flag was raised in Richmond, Mr. Davis and his Cabinet passed through Burkesville, going South. General Grant left Petersburg at noon, moving out to Wilson's Station, on the Richmond and Danville railroad. Burkesville is at the junction of this road with the one leading to Lynchburg. At the time Mr. Davis passed through Burkesville, Custer's division of Sheridan's Cavalry had an engagement with the rear guard of General Lee's Army, capturing a large number of men, artillery, battle flags, etc. General Grant had instructed Sheridan to push round and intercept the Confederates at Farmville, as it was supposed General Lee would move through that place on his way to Danville. But Sheridan did not have to go so far out of the way. Jetersville is on the Richmond and Danville railroad, about half way between Burkesville and Amelia Court



General Lee
1865

House, where, at the latter place it was at first thought General Lee would make a stand, and where he did make a brief halt to rest his troops.

From Jetersville, April 4th, General Sheridan telegraphed General Grant: "The Confederate Army is in my front, three miles distant, with all its trains. If the 6th Corps can hurry up, we will have sufficient strength. I will hold my ground unless driven from it. * * * Men are out of rations and some wagons should follow after the 6th Corps. The enemy is moving from Amelia Court House, via Jetersville and Burke's Station to Danville. Jefferson Davis passed over this railroad yesterday to Danville."

On the following morning, April 5th, Sheridan again telegraphed General Grant: "The whole of Lee's Army is at, or near, Amelia Court House and on this side of it. * * * We can capture the Army of Northern Virginia, if force enough can be thrown to this point, and then advance upon it. * * * General Lee is at

Amelia Court House in person. They are out, or nearly out, of rations. They were advancing up the railroad towards Burkesville yesterday when we intercepted them at this point."

General Meade reached Jetersville with the 2d and 6th Corps that afternoon. On the same day General Ewell's command, which left Richmond on Sunday evening, reached Amelia Court House, where General Anderson's command of Bushrod Johnson's and Pickett's infantry, with Fitzhugh Lee's Cavalry, had arrived in the morning. General Longstreet and General Gordon had arrived the day before. At Amelia Court House, General Lee obtained rations for part of his Army. But his men were already suffering from fatigue and want of food. The rains had made the roads almost impassable for wagon trains. General Meade had been obliged to put large working parties on the roads for three days, to facilitate the march of the Union troops.

When but three miles from Jetersville, General Lee had advanced to attack Sheri-

dan's Cavalry. But learning that General Sheridan had been reinforced by Infantry, he turned North to the bridge over Flat Creek, five miles distant. Here he crossed at sunset. He still hoped by a night march to make an advance that would enable him to reach Lynchburg by way of Farmville. He continued his march all night, arriving at Rice's Station at daybreak on the morning of April 6th, where he halted his weary, hungry, dispirited troops. One can not think of that night march of General Lee, and his tired, disheartened Army, without seeing a pathos and bravery worthy of honest pity and admiration. General Lee's retreat will be respected as the last faithful and heroic steps of a great soldier, in the discharge of what he deemed to be his duty.

The condition of the Army of Northern Virginia, at this stage of General Lee's retreat, can best be seen in the following, written the day preceding his night march:

Cavalry Headquarters, April 5, 1865.

Lieut.-General Grant:

From present indications the retreat of

the enemy is rapidly becoming a rout. We are shelling their trains and preparing to attack their Infantry immediately. Their troops are moving on my left flank and I think we can break and disperse them. Everything should be hurried forward with the utmost speed. If General Ord can be put in below, it will probably use them up.

P. H. Sheridan, Major General.

The pursuit of General Lee's Army was now well under way. The excitement of the Union troops had become intense, rising to a higher pitch as the pursuit lessened the distance between them and the Confederate Army. Every hour made General Lee's capture or surrender more and more a foregone conclusion. His Army must go either to Danville or Lynchburg. But General Grant's movements were such as would cut off retreat no matter which route General Lee might take.

For three days General Grant had been in pursuit, intercepting, harassing and fighting General Lee's retreat, and every day making

large captures of prisoners, artillery, wagons and other army equipments. In the meantime, he had kept the President, who remained at City Point, informed of his movements, often telegraphing to Mr. Lincoln, who in turn, sent the news to the Secretary of War, in Washington.

On the 5th, General Grant telegraphed to General Sherman in North Carolina: "All indications now are that General Lee will attempt to reach Danville with the remnant of his force. Sheridan, who was up with him last night, reports all that is left, horse, foot and dragoons, at about twenty-five thousand, much demoralized. I shall push on to Burkesville, and, if a stand is made at Danville, will in a very few days go there. If you can possibly do so, push on from where you are, and let us see if we can not finish the job with Lee's and Johnston's Armies. Whether it will be better for you to strike for Greensboro or nearer to Danville, you will be better able to judge when you receive this. Confederate Armies now are the only strategic points to strike at."

The morning of the 6th, General Grant reached Jetersville, from whence Sheridan had pushed on after the Confederates. The chase was now so close that General Lee's Army was but two hours ahead. The battle of Sailor's Creek was fought that afternoon, General Sheridan in person commanding, against the Confederate force commanded by General Lee.

It was a great victory. The news was flashed all over the North, and at 11:15 that night General Grant repeated the following dispatch received from Sheridan, to the President, at City Point:

Thursday, April 6, 1865, 11:15 P. M.
Lieut.-General Grant:

I have the honor to report that the enemy made a stand at the intersection of Burke's Station Road, with the one upon which they were retreating. I attacked them with two divisions of the 6th Army Corps, and routed them handsomely, making a connection with the Cavalry. I am still pressing on with both Cavalry and Infantry. Up to the

present time we have captured Generals Ewell, Kershaw, Button, Corse, Du Barre, Hunter and Custis Lee—several thousand prisoners, fourteen pieces of artillery, with caissons, etc. If the thing is pressed, I think General Lee will surrender.

P. H. SHERIDAN,
Major General Commanding.

The President telegraphed back to General Grant: "Let the thing be pressed." The next morning, Mr. Lincoln repeated Sheridan's dispatch to the Secretary of War, in Washington.

In March, 1861, General Sheridan was thirty years of age, with the rank of Captain. April, 1865, he was thirty-four, a Major-General, and the youngest of our renowned soldiers—in fame surpassed only by two others—Grant and Sherman.

On the 7th, General Grant was at Farmville, where General Lee spent the previous night. The pursuit was renewed at daylight and kept up all that day, General Lee moving to the Appomattox River and crossing

to the North side on the common bridge, at High Bridge. His troops were so hotly pressed by the 2nd Corps that they had no time to burn the bridge over which their pursuers immediately followed. General Grant had sent the Union troops on in three detachments—one to cross at High Bridge, one near Farmville, and the third, making a detour on the west by Prince Edward Court House, to get in front of the Confederates. The battle of Sailor's Creek, was the Waterloo of Lee's retreat.

General Grant was convinced of this, and on Friday, the day after that battle, he wrote the first note of the correspondence on the surrender.

Headquarters Armies of the U. S.

5 P. M., April 7, 1865.

General R. E. Lee,

Commanding C. S. A.:

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 Army, known as the Army of Northern Virginia.

U. S. GRANT, Lieut.-General.

This note was sent through the picket lines to General Lee about 8 o'clock that evening, by General Humphreys, in command of the 2nd Corps, who at the same time authorized a truce of an hour, to allow the Confederates to carry off their wounded. The opposing troops were only a few hundred yards apart. General Lee answered the note that evening, and the reply reached General Grant the next morning, just before he moved on from Farmville.

April 7, 1865.

General:

I have received your note of this date. Though not entertaining the opinion you express on the hopelessless of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia, I reciprocate your desire to avoid use-

less effusion of blood, and therefore, before considering your proposition, ask the terms you will offer on condition of its surrender.

R. E. Lee, General.

Lieut.-General U. S. Grant,

Commanding Armies of the U. S.

This was not satisfactory to General Grant, who, however, regarded it as deserving another note, and wrote General Lee as follows:

April 8, 1865.

General R. E. Lee,

Commanding C. S. A.:

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 great desire, there is but one condition I would insist upon, namely: That the men and officers surrendered be disqualified from taking up arms 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.

U. S. GRANT, Lieut.-General.

General Grant, after sending his answer to General Lee, moved on, with General Meade's column, having first written the following before starting.

Headquarters Armies of the U. S.
Farmville, Va., April 8, 1865.

To Major General Sheridan:

Make a detail from your own command to go with the ambulances of the 5th Corps, to collect in your wounded. I think General Lee will surrender to-day. I addressed him on the subject last evening and received a reply this morning asking the terms I wanted. We will push him until terms are agreed upon.

U. S. GRANT,
Lieut.-General.

Of the condition of the Confederates at this time General Grant says: "Lee's

Army was rapidly crumbling. Many of his soldiers had enlisted from that part of the State where they now were, and were continually dropping out of the ranks and going to their homes. I know that I occupied a Hotel almost destitute of furniture, at Farmville, which had probably been used as a Confederate hospital. The next morning when I came out, I found a Confederate Colonel there, who reported to me, and said that he was the proprietor of that Hotel, and that he was a Colonel of a Regiment that had been raised in that neighborhood. He said that when he came along past home, he found that he was the only man of the Regiment remaining with Lee's Army, so he just dropped out, and now wanted to surrender himself. I told him to stay there, and he would not be molested. * * * Although Sheridan had been marching all day, his troops moved with alacrity and without any straggling. They began to see the end of what they had been fighting four years for. Nothing seemed to fatigue them. They were ready to move without rations and travel without rest, until

the end. Every man was now a rival for the front."

General Sheridan, with all his Cavalry, had marched rapidly on, the same day direct to Appomattox Station. At 9:20 that night he said in a dispatch to General Grant: "If General Gibbon and the 5th Corps can get up to-night, we will perhaps finish the job in the morning. I do not think General Lee means to surrender until compelled to do so."

General Sheridan had not yet received General Grant's note informing him of the correspondence with General Lee. He had good reason to conclude that General Lee would not give up, until forced to do so, by actual capture. But the end was nearer than "Little Phil" thought, as he soon found when he had an opportunity to "finish the job in the morning." He was now in the immediate vicinity of Appomattox Court House.

On the evening of the 8th, General Lee, who had halted for the night, also near Appomattox Court House, called together his Corps Commanders, among them Longstreet, Gordon, and Fitzhugh Lee, and explained

the situation, informing them of his correspondence with General Grant. General Gordon and General Fitzhugh Lee were bitterly opposed to surrender. They held to the hope of making the advance which would yet enable the Confederates to join General Johnston in North Carolina. General Lee finally consented that Gordon and Fitzhugh Lee should attack Sheridan's Cavalry at daylight the next morning, if Sheridan was without Infantry. But if Sheridan was supported by any considerable force of Infantry, General Lee was to be immediately notified. Though hopeless, it was, nevertheless, the last chance to open the way out for further retreat. With this hope in reserve, General Lee wrote his second note to General Grant.

April 8, 1865.

General:

I received at a late hour, your note of today. In 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 of this Army; but as the restoration of peace should be the sole object of all, I desire to know whether your proposal would lead to that end. I cannot, therefore, meet you with a view to surrender the Army of Northern Virginia; but, as far as your proposal may affect the Confederate States forces under my command, and tend to the restoration of peace, I should be pleased to meet you at 10 A. M. tomorrow, on the old stage-road to Richmond, between the picket lines of the two Armies.

R. E. Lee, General.

Lieut.-General U. S. Grant.

General Grant received General Lee's reply on the march at midnight, and at daylight the next morning, returned his answer:

Headquarters Armies of the U. S.,
April 9, 1865.

General R. E. Lee,
Commanding C. S. A.:

Your note of yesterday is received. I have

no authority to treat on the subject of peace; the meeting proposed for 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 entertains 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. Seriously hoping that all our difficulties may be settled without the loss of another life, I subscribe myself, etc.,

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

At Appomattox, Sheridan's Cavalry was drawn up in line of battle, stretching across the road like a barrier before the advance of General Lee's Army. Gordon and Fitzhugh Lee, according to the plan of the night before, had attacked Sheridan at daylight. But the troops of the 5th and 2nd Corps, under Gibbon and Ord, at the same moment, with wild yells, swept down to the support

of Sheridan, and the Confederates fell back in confusion, and retired. Though General Gibbon and the 5th Corps did not get up the night before as Sheridan expected, they were nevertheless in time to "finish the job in the morning."

Shortly after, a white flag was seen at the Confederate Front, and a few moments later General Sheridan and General Gordon, both on horseback, met near the Court House. General Gordon asked for a suspension of hostilities in view of the correspondence on the surrender. But as he had attacked General Sheridan an hour before, for the purpose of escape, Sheridan insisted on some assurance of good faith. General Longstreet joined them and corroborated General Gordon's statement that General Lee was about to surrender.

General Lee was at that moment writing the following reply to General Grant's note, and within the sound of the guns at Appomattox, where he knew the last spark of hope had vanished in the defeat of Gordon

and Fitzhugh Lee's attempt to break through the Union lines:

April 9, 1865.

General:

I received yours of this morning on the picket line, whither I had come to meet you and ascertain definitely what terms were embraced in your proposal of yesterday, with reference to the surrender of this Army. I now ask an interview in accordance with the offer contained in your letter of yesterday for that purpose.

R. E. Lee, General.

Lieutenant-General U. S. Grant,

Commanding U. S. Armies.

This was written at 9 o'clock in the morning and delivered to General Grant two hours later on the road, about eight miles from Appomattox Court House. Leaving General Meade's column early in the morning, General Grant and Staff had taken a short cut on the cross-road to Appomattox River, which they forded near Planter's Tavern, there striking the Farmville and Lynchburg road

over which Ord's troops had passed a little while before. General Lee's note was sent through Sheridan's lines, and when Lieut. Pease, the bearer of the note, reached General Grant, he found him sitting on a log by the side of the road, where, with his Staff, he had dismounted to rest. General Rawlins and General Dent were also seated on the log and the other officers of his Staff were resting on the ground, eating from the supplies carried on the saddle. Their uniforms were travel soiled and bespattered with mud from the "sacred soil," and the brass buttons were no longer bright. Altogether they showed the hardships of practical soldiering.

General Grant writes of suffering with sick headache for two days, stopping at a farm house the night before, trying various remedies for relief. He says:

"When the officer reached me I was still suffering with the sick headache. But the instant I saw the contents of the note, I was cured."

He at once got up, quietly remarked, "This

means surrender," and wrote the following reply:

April 9, 1865, 11:50 A. M.

General R. E. Lee,

Commanding C. S. Armies:

Your note of this date is but this moment 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 Walker'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.

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

Then mounting his horse and followed by his staff, he rode directly on to Appomattox Court House, where General Lee's Army lay waiting—and where the Union troops, still in line of battle, stretched across the path of the Confederates, their glistening bayonets shining like a hedge of silver in the Sabbath sunshine.

"Surrender House"
1865

CHAPTER VI.

Appomattox—Surrender.

The surrender took place in the house of Wilber McLean, who lived near the Court House, and had tendered his "best room" for the purpose. It was a two story house, with a veranda across the front, supported by columns which gave it a solid appearance, and fashioned like most Southern houses, with a broad hall through the center. The yard was enclosed by a picket fence and shaded with trees, and the April air was sweet with the scent of apple blossoms.

At one o'clock, in the room on the left of the hall, the two great leaders of the Army of the Union and the Army of Northern Virginia met, and shaking hands, seemed in that moment to span the breach opened between the North and South by four years of strife and bloodshed.

General Grant was on the eve of his forty-third birthday, which occurred a little over two weeks later. His rugged physique, power

of endurance, and fair complexion, gave him the appearance of a younger man. General Lee, was about sixteen years older than General Grant and a well preserved, handsome man, of fine military bearing. The contrast in the two men was striking in more respects than one. General Lee's uniform was new and bright, as if put on for the first time, and his white gauntlet gloves as fresh and spotless as if just taken from the box. General Grant, who was at no time precise in dress, had come in direct from the saddle. His loose, open coat was travel worn and shabby with hard service. He wore his collar turned down and was without his sword, having left that with his Orderly, who did not get in until some time after. Altogether the Union General was as roughly dressed as any soldier in the ranks. The contrast was not more marked in personal make-up and dress, than in manner—the one imperturbable and diffident to shyness; the other having the inborn, self-contained presence of a man of the world united with the suavity and grace, typical of the cultured Southerner.

General Grant says: "I had known General Lee in the old Army, and had served with him in the Mexican War, but did not suppose, owing to the difference in our age and rank, that he would remember me. * * * When I left camp that morning I had not expected so soon the result that was then taking place and was in rough garb. I was without a sword, as I usually was when on horseback in the field, and wore a soldier's blouse for a coat, with the shoulder straps of my rank to indicate to the Army who I was. * * * General Lee was dressed in full uniform, which was entirely new, and wearing a sword of considerable value, very likely the sword which had been presented by the State of Virginia. * * * I must have contrasted very strangely with a man so handsomely dressed, six feet high, and of faultless form. But this was not a matter that I thought of until afterward."

In regard to General Lee's feelings General Grant further says:

"What General Lee's feelings were I do not know. He was a man of much dignity,

with an impassible face. * * * It was not possible to say whether he felt inwardly glad that the end had finally come, or felt sad over the result, and was too manly to show it. * * * My own feelings, which had been jubilant on the receipt of his letter, were sad and depressed. I felt like anything rather than rejoicing at the downfall of a foe who had fought so long and valiantly, and had suffered so much for a cause, though that cause was, I believe, one of the worst for which a people ever fought. I do not question, however, the sincerity of the great mass of those who were opposed to us."

General Sheridan had come over from his headquarters with General Grant. General John A. Rawlins, General Frederick T. Dent, General Adam Badeau, General Orville E. Babcock, General Horace Porter, Colonel Eli Parker, Captain Robert T. Lincoln, officers of General Grant's staff, and General James Longstreet, General John B. Gordon, General Fitzhugh Lee and Colonel Marshall, of General Lee's staff, were

present. Later, other officers on both sides, came in.

After the first greeting of the leaders, each recalled his remembrance of the other when they were comrades in arms during the war with Mexico, about eighteen years before.

"I hardly expected you to remember me, General. I was only a young Captain in command of a company then," said General Grant. "But, of course, I remember you, and recall your rank as superior to mine, also that you were Chief-of-Staff of General Scott."

"Oh, yes," replied General Lee, "I remember you very well. Though not personally acquainted, I assure you I remember Captain Grant and what he was as a soldier then." General Lee's tone implied much more than his words, in his recollection of Captain Grant's service in that war, and plainly conveyed the honest compliment intended. There was a pleasant ten minutes' conversation, and General Grant says: "I almost forgot the object of our meeting.

* * * General Lee called my attention to the object of our meeting, * * * then we gradually fell off again into conversation."

General Lee referred to the terms of the surrender, suggesting they be written out, and General Grant, saying they would be substantially the same as mentioned in his note of the previous day, stepped over to a small table at the side of the room, sat down, and wrote the following terms of surrender:

Appomattox C. H., Va.,
April 9th, 1865.

Gen. R. E. Lee,
Comd'g C. S. A.

General: In accordance with the substance of my letter to you of the 8th instant, I propose to receive the surrender of the Army of N. 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 to be designated by me, the other to be retained by such officer or officers as you may designate. The officers to give

their individual paroles not to take up arms against the Government of 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 parked and stacked and turned over to the officers appointed by me to receive them. This will not embrace the side arms of 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 paroles and the laws in force where they may reside.

Very respectfully,

U. S. Grant, Lt.-Gen.

In the meantime General Lee had taken a chair near a table in the center of the room. General Grant rose as he finished writing and handing the terms to General Lee, took a chair near and facing him. General Lee read the note silently, moving a little to let the light fall directly upon the writing. Then he turned round to the table,

wrote the following note of acceptance, and handed it to General Grant:

Headquarters, Army 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 inst., they are accepted. I will proceed to designate the proper officers to carry the stipulations into effect.

R. E. Lee, General.

Lieut.-General U. S. Grant.

At this supreme moment of the surrender, consummated in the silent reading of the terms by General Lee, and the silent reading of his acceptance by General Grant, not a word was spoken.

General Rawlins and General Dent stood behind General Grant, each with a hand resting on the back of their chief's chair, and looking over his head at the face of the Con-

federate General. Colonel Marshall stood near General Lee, with his right hand on the back of that officer's chair. At Marshall's right stood General Babcock, and a few feet from him were General Seth Williams and Colonel Parker, standing with the side table between them. All were looking intently at the two stars in this dramatic scene, and the dark face of the Indian, Colonel Parker, was fiercely expressive in its scowling brows and piercing black eyes.

General Sheridan, whose command still remained in line of battle, had gone out a few moments before.

When General Lee handed to General Grant his note of acceptance for the latter to read, General Dent took a step nearer to General Rawlins and whispered—"Rawlins, this is historic." Then going back noiselessly to the fire-place, General Dent took from the mantel what he thought was a piece of paper, but what was in fact a torn bit of a pasteboard box, and with a pencil, hastily sketched the positions of the persons in the room. General Lee was the first to break

the silence, by referring to the very liberal terms, which gave to his officers their horses, and which was not mentioned in General Grant's note of the 8th.

"Yes, General, you will want all your horses, and the terms are to include the horses belonging to your men also," said General Grant. "They will need them when they go home, in plowing and putting in their crops."

General Lee had not expected this, and he thanked General Grant with much feeling, saying that it would have a happy effect upon his Army.

Then General Grant added: "I will have two copies made of these papers, one for you, and one for me. Colonel Marshall and Colonel Parker can copy them now, and we will sign them." Colonel Marshall and Colonel Parker sat down at the side table, the former making two copies of General Lee's note, and Colonel Parker making two of General Grant's. They were then read aloud, General Grant holding the original of his terms, and General Lee holding the

original of his acceptance, while Marshall and Parker read from the copies. The signatures were immediately affixed, at the same time, each using a separate pen. While the papers were being copied, General Sheridan returned, and General Ord, Quartermaster General Rufus Ingalls, Commissary General Morgan, with other Union officers, came in, and were also present during the reading and signing of the papers. The pens used in the signatures to the official copies were retained as mementoes by Parker and Marshall. The table was afterwards purchased from Mr. McLean by General Sheridan, who presented it to Mrs. Custer, wife of General Custer.

This was the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia on Sunday, the 9th of April, 1865, and just one week after General Lee began his retreat from Petersburg and Richmond. The terms were offered and accepted without discussion or change, and the brief, business-like, but impressive ceremony occupied less than one hour's time.

General Grant says: "When I put my pen

to the paper I did not know the first word that I should make use of in writing the terms. I only knew what was in my mind, and I wished to express it clearly, so that there could be no mistaking it. As I wrote on, the thought occurred to me that the officers had their own private horses and effects, which were important to them, but of no value to us; also that it would be an unnecessary humiliation to call upon them to deliver their side arms.

"No conversation, not one word, passed between General Lee and myself, either about private property, side arms or kindred subjects. * * * The much talked of surrendering of Lee's sword, and my handing it back, is the purest romance. The word sword or side arms was not mentioned by either of us until I wrote it in the terms. There was no premeditation, and it did not occur to me until the moment I wrote it down. If I had happened to omit it, and General Lee had called my attention to it, I should have put it in the terms precisely as

I acceded to the provision about the soldiers retaining their horses."

The surrender of his Army was necessarily a painful ordeal to General Lee. But no man in the room had so little the air of a conqueror as General Grant, who, as he laid down his pen, turned to General Lee and asked in his quiet, matter-of-fact way:

"How are you off for rations, General?"

"Pretty badly off. I expected to get some supplies here, but was disappointed," General Lee replied, looking over to General Sheridan, who immediately said:

"Yes, General, we got in ahead of you last night and helped ourselves to your supplies at the station, without waiting for permission."

Every one laughed at General Sheridan for owning up so promptly to his capture of General Lee's supplies. When the laugh subsided, General Grant said:

"General Sheridan, can you let General Lee have the rations he needs?"

General Sheridan replied in the affirma-

tive, adding: "You know I'm always pretty well supplied, General."

"General Ingalls, when can you have the railroad repaired to get up supplies?" asked General Grant of his Quartermaster General.

"At nine o'clock tomorrow morning, General, and the supplies can be up in an hour or two."

"Very well. General Morgan," addressing the Commissary General, "you will please send forward to Appomattox in the morning, two hundred thousand rations and furnish General Lee with what he needs for his troops. We shall also want some for ourselves," said General Grant.

The bravest men are always most generous. The victorious soldier, in these thoughtful, considerate words, had turned attention to the common duty of providing for the two Armies, and thus relieved the vanquished leader from the embarrassment of his position. This at once gave a social atmosphere to the occasion, and General Lee said to General Grant:

"General, my officers wish to come in and

pay their respects to you, if you will receive them."

"Certainly, General, I shall be happy to see them. And you have hosts of old friends here, who will be glad to meet you again," replied General Grant.

The veranda was by this time crowded with officers of the two Armies. Those of General Grant's staff were first presented to General Lee, whom few of them had ever seen. Naturally there was the same curiosity on their part to see the Confederate leader, that the Confederate officers had to see General Grant. Captain Robert T. Lincoln, speaking of it many years afterward, said:

"I remember that I, for one, was curious to see General Lee. When we went in from the veranda looking pretty rough and feeling awfully tired from our week's march, winding up with the ride from daylight until nearly one o'clock that day, I remember well the impression made upon me by General Lee's fine figure in his brilliant uniform of gray and gold. There hadn't been much ceremony among 'us fellows' outside and I

thought the introduction quite formal. As the youngest officer with General Grant and lowest in rank, I was at the end of his Staff, and probably was more impressed by General Lee's appearance than the others. At any rate, that part of the scene always comes to my mind more vividly than anything else. There were fifteen on our Staff and General Lee had fourteen on his, so the Staff officers filled up the room, and a good many soon went back to the veranda, where it was cooler and less crowded. After it was over, I remember that I went off and slept the rest of the afternoon. We didn't realize our fatigue until the business was finished."

General Dent, also many years after, in Washington, in an interview, called to mind the hand shaking among officers outside, where, not only the veranda but the little yard, was the scene of rejoicing, renewing of old friendships, and mingling of the blue and gray uniforms. Foes but a few hours ago, they were now friends, and in the reaction of relief and joy, officers, regardless of rank, were as hilarious as school boys and

were "hail fellow, well met" with their jokes and jests. "That enemy, whose manhood, however mistaken the cause, drew forth such herculean deeds of valor," as General Grant had said, now gladly joined with the victorious adversary in mutual acknowledgment of having, "had fighting enough."

General Dent said:

"I guess we all had as much fighting as we wanted. I remember, after the first excitement of handshaking, I seized a telegraph operator and sent the news to my wife in New Jersey, without stopping to think whether I had a right to do it or not. The Secretary of War held the dispatch back until he got General Grant's official telegram announcing the surrender, then he forwarded mine to Mrs. Dent. Of course the Secretary was right. But I was so glad that I didn't think of anything except that the thing was over, and I wanted my wife to know it at once."

After the details for paroling the Confederate troops had been completed, General Grant says: "Lee and I then separated as

cordially as we had met, he returning to his own lines, and all went into bivouac for the night at Appomattox. Soon after Lee's departure I telegraphed to Washington as follows:

Headquarters, Appomattox C. H., Va.,
April 9th, 1865, 4:30 P. M.

Hon. E. M. Stanton,
Secretary of War,
Washington.

General Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia this afternoon on terms proposed by myself. The accompanying additional correspondence will show the conditions fully.

U. S. Grant, Lieut.-General.

General Grant then adds: "When the news of the surrender first reached our lines, our men commenced firing a salute of a hundred guns in honor of the victory. I at once sent word, however, to have it stopped. The Confederates were now our prisoners, and we did not want to exult over their downfall."

The following morning General Grant and

General Lee met for the last time. Of this meeting General Grant says: "I thought I would like to see General Lee again; so I rode out beyond our lines toward his headquarters, preceded by a bugler and a staff officer carrying a white flag. Lee soon mounted his horse, seeing who it was, and met me. We had there, between the lines, sitting on horseback, a very pleasant conversation of over half an hour, in the course of which Lee said to me that the South was a big country and that we might have to march over it three or four times before the war entirely ended, but that we would now be able to do it, as they could no longer resist us. He expressed it as his earnest hope, however, that we would not be called upon to cause more loss and sacrifice of life. * * * I then suggested to General Lee that there was not a man in the Confederacy whose influence with the soldiery and the whole people was as great as his, and that if he would now advise the surrender of all the Armies, I had no doubt his advice would be followed with alacrity."

General Grant's management of the Union troops in the pursuit had thrown them around General Lee's retreating forces in almost a complete circle, and General Lee, looking down upon his encompassed Army, admitted the hopelessness of retreat. He calmly talked over the situation and declared the rebellion virtually ended. When they parted, there was no definite promise on the part of General Lee, who said he could not do so without consulting the President of the Confederacy.

Of this last meeting with General Lee, General Grant further says: "My Staff and other officers seemed to have a great desire to go inside the Confederate lines. They finally asked permission of Lee to do so for the purpose of seeing some of their old Army friends, and the permission was given. They went over, had a very pleasant time with their old friends and brought some of them back with them. * * * At the house of Mr. McLean, officers of both Armies came in great numbers and seemed to enjoy the meeting as much as though they had been sepa-

rated for a long time, while fighting battles under the same flag."

When General Grant went back to the McLean house, General Lee returned to his lines and read his farewell address to the Confederate troops:

Headquarters Army of Northern Virginia.

April 10, 1865.

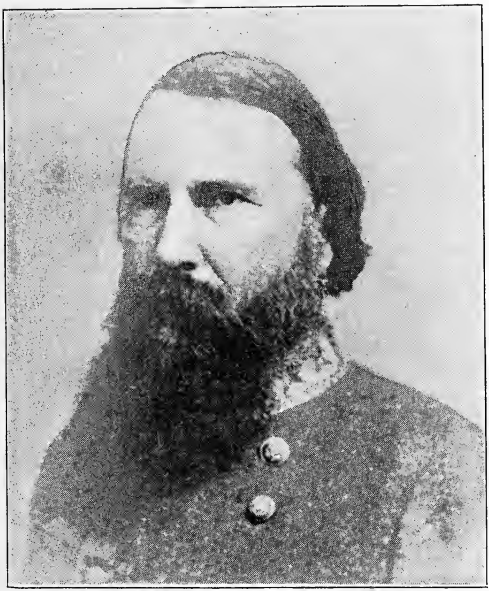
After four years of arduous service, marked by unsurpassed courage and fortitude, the Army of Northern Virginia has been compelled to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources. I need not tell the survivors of so many hard fought battles, who have remained steadfast to the last, that I have consented to this result from no distrust of them, but feeling that valor and devotion could accomplish nothing that could compensate for the loss that would have attended the continuation of the contest, I have determined to avoid the needless sacrifice of those whose past sacrifices have endeared them to their countrymen. With an increasing admiration of your constancy and grate-

ful remembrance of your kind and generous consideration of myself, I bid you an affectionate farewell.

R. E. Lee, General.

General Gibbon, General Merritt and General Griffin were designated by General Grant to carry into effect the paroling of the Confederate soldiers; and General Longstreet, General Gordon and General Pemberton, named by General Lee to confer and facilitate the work. This completed, the Army of the Union and the Army of the Confederacy turned their backs on each other for the first time in four long years. Charges were withdrawn from the guns, camp fires left to smoulder in their ashes, flags furled—historic banners, battle stained reminders of their former selves—officers and men stacked their arms, were disbanded, and set out for their homes.

General Grant writes of the small number, only 28,356 officers and men left of the Army of Northern Virginia, to be paroled. * * * He says: "After the fall of Petersburg, and when the Armies of the Potomac and the



General Longstreet
1865

James were in motion to head off Lee's Army, the *morale* of our troops had greatly improved. There was no more straggling, no more rear guards. Men, who in former times had been falling back, were now striving to get to the front. For the first time in four weary years they felt that they were now nearing the time when they could return to their homes with their Country saved. On the other hand, the Confederates were more than correspondingly depressed. Their despondency increased with each returning day, and especially after the battle of Sailor's Creek. They threw away their arms in constantly increasing numbers, and dropped out of the ranks in the hope of reaching their homes. I have already instanced the case of the entire disintegration of a Regiment whose Colonel I met at Farmville. As a result of these and other influences, when General Lee finally surrendered at Appomattox there were only 28,356 officers and men left to be paroled, and many of these were without arms."

The official records show that during the

two weeks between the forward move of the Union troops, March 29, and the surrender, April 9—about 20,000 of General Lee's troops were captured—to say nothing of the killed, wounded and missing during "the desperate conflicts which marked his determined flight."

At the Surrender, General Lee himself frankly stated that his Army was in bad condition for want of food, and said that his men had been living for some days on parched corn, exclusively. When asked about the number in need of rations, his answer was, "About twenty-five thousand," proving beyond question that he was well aware of the condition and depletion of the Army of Northern Virginia, and especially of the rapidly thinning ranks by capture and desertion after the fall of Petersburg.

Two days after the Surrender, General Grant went to Washington, and the same day General Lee went to Richmond, where his family had remained. He had sent a message to Mrs. Lee to leave the City when it was evacuated, probably feeling that the

President of the Confederacy would aid Mrs. Lee in going. But he did not. Both the President and Vice-President of the Confederacy looked out for their own safety, while General Lee was yet fighting to keep life in their expiring Government. Mrs. Lee remained in Richmond and the buildings fired by the Confederate soldiers burned around her home, the explosion of a magazine near by causing imminent danger.

When the Union troops took possession of Richmond there was no further danger; and when General Lee returned to his own house he found his family and home protected by a Union Sentry pacing before the door.

From the portico of the White House, among the last words of President Lincoln to a rejoicing people were: "No part of the honor for plan or execution is mine. To General Grant, his skillful officers and brave men, all belongs."

CHAPTER VII.

Sherman—Johnston.

Donelson to Appomattox is a long stretch, covering three years of terrible war—but the end close at hand with the surrender of Johnston in North Carolina. And then, the loyalty and devotion of General Sherman is returned two-fold by General Grant.

Misrepresentation of facts, the feeling of the people stunned by the death of Mr. Lincoln, uncertain course of the new President, all led to doubt and distrust of General Sherman, and alarm as to his authority to make such terms as he did for the surrender of Johnston's Army—though General Grant says, the terms were only agreed to *conditionally,* because there was both a political and a military question in the terms, and therefore they would have to be approved by the Administration in Washington.

On the 27th of March, two days after the President's arrival at City Point, there was a meeting of General Sherman, General Sheridan, Admiral Porter, and the President to

confer with General Grant about the final movement of the Army. All knew that, about the 2nd of February, the President had met Peace Commissioners from the so-called Confederate States, at Hampton Roads, and what he had said to them. Before there could be any negotiations for peace, they would have to agree to two points—"one, that the Union as a whole should be preserved; the other, that slavery should be abolished." If these two points were conceded, Mr. Lincoln said he was "almost ready to sign his name to a blank piece of paper and permit them to fill out the balance of the terms upon which we would live together."

It is not strange, therefore, that General Sherman, when making terms for the surrender of Johnston, should be influenced more or less by Mr. Lincoln's attitude of magnanimity toward the South. Emancipation had abolished slavery, General Sherman had just heard of Lee's surrender, and believed the end was at hand that would save the Union—the two points above everything

else, for which Mr. Lincoln had prayed, planned and worked. General Sherman's correspondence with General Johnston for the surrender was opened on the 14th of April—the day after he received news of General Lee's surrender, and the basis for peace was sent to Washington for approval, before he knew of the assassination of the President.

General Grant says:

"Sherman thought, no doubt, in adding to the terms that I had made with General Lee, that he was but carrying out the wishes of the President of the United States. But seeing that he was going beyond his authority, he made it a point that the terms were only *conditional*. They signed them with this understanding, and agreed to a truce until the terms could be sent to Washington for approval. If approved by the proper authorities there, they would then be final. If not approved, then Sherman would give due notice before resuming hostilities.

"Some days after my return to Washington, President Johnson and the Secretary

of War received the terms which General Sherman had forwarded for approval, a Cabinet meeting was immediately called, and I was sent for. There seemed to be the greatest consternation lest Sherman would commit the Government to terms which they were not willing to accede to, and which he had no right to make. A message went out directing the troops in the South not to obey General Sherman. I was ordered to proceed at once to North Carolina and take charge of matters there myself. Of course I started without delay, and went to Raleigh, where Sherman was, as quietly as possible, hoping to see him without even his Army learning of my presence.

"When I arrived I went to Sherman's Headquarters, and we were at once closeted together. I showed him the instructions and orders under which I visited him. I told him that I wanted him to notify General Johnston that the terms which they had *conditionally* agreed upon, had not been approved in Washington, and that he was authorized to offer the same terms I had given

General Lee. I sent Sherman to do this himself. I did not wish the knowledge of my presence to be known to the Army generally, so I left it to Sherman to negotiate the terms of the surrender solely by himself, and without the enemy knowing that I was anywhere near the field. As soon as possible, I started to get away, to leave Sherman quite free and untrammelled.

"At Goldsboro, on my way back, I met a mail containing the last newspapers, and I found in them indications of great excitement in the North over the terms Sherman had given Johnston, and harsh orders that had been promulgated by President Johnson and the Secretary of War. I knew that Sherman must see these papers, and I fully realized what great indignation they would cause him, though I do not think his feelings could have been more excited than were my own. But like the true and loyal soldier that he was, he carried out the instructions I had given him, obtained the surrender of Johnston's Army, and settled down in his Camp about Raleigh, to await final orders."

On the 26th of April, the day after General Grant had gone away quietly and unobserved, General Johnston and his Army of 89,270 men with all equipments surrendered to General Sherman, who had 60,000 men. Probably not a dozen Union soldiers knew of General Grant's visit, and all believed as they had a right to believe, that with their Commander, they had "fought the good fight" for the Union, and now had won the victory. And General Grant made this belief not a theory, but a fact, when he telegraphed to the Administration in Washington—"Johnston has surrendered to Sherman."

Is there a similar instance in the records of our Civil War, or any war, of a senior officer ready to waive rank and independent command, to give his service and helpful encouragement to a Commander of less rank —comparatively unknown—as Sherman did at Donelson? Is there a similar instance of a Commander of all the Armies having within his hand a second surrender, adding to the fame of Appomattox, quietly turning

away and leaving the triumph and praise to the other man, as Grant did at Raleigh? Oh, No. Halleck, McClellan, Hooker, Burnside, Buell, were all conspicuous Commanders. But all would have taken "council of ambition," and no one of them would have done anything like it.

When General Grant was preparing to go to Washington to receive his Commission of Lieutenant-General from the hand of President Lincoln, he wrote to General Sherman, with his Army then near Memphis:

"I start in the morning. * * * But I shall say very distinctly on my arrival there, that I shall accept no appointment which will require me to make that City my headquarters. * * * While 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. * * * 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 suggestions have been of assistance you know. How far your execution of whatever has been given you to do, entitles you to the reward I am now receiving, you cannot know as well as I do. I feel all the gratitude this letter would express, giving it the most flattering construction." * * *

General Sherman's reply is dated the 10th of March, the day after General Grant was commissioned to command the Armies of the United States:

"You do yourself injustice and us too much honor, in assigning to us so large a share of the merits which have led to your high advancement. 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. * * * 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 capacity to influence you. * * * I believe you are as brave, patriotic, and just, as the great prototype, Washington; as honest, unselfish, and kind hearted as a man should be; but the chief characteristic in your nature is the simple faith in success you have always manifested, which I can liken to nothing else than the faith a Christian has in his 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 reserve; and I tell you that 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 come, if alive. * * * Now, as to the future. Do not stay in Washington. Hal-

leck is better qualified to stand the buffets of intrigue and policy." * * *

These letters are worthy of the "Golden Rule," as illustration that from first to last, a supreme sense of justice and unselfish stand for right, marked the relations of Grant and Sherman, as Comrades in Arms. It was the crowning glory of service to their country, and to each other.

CHAPTER VIII.

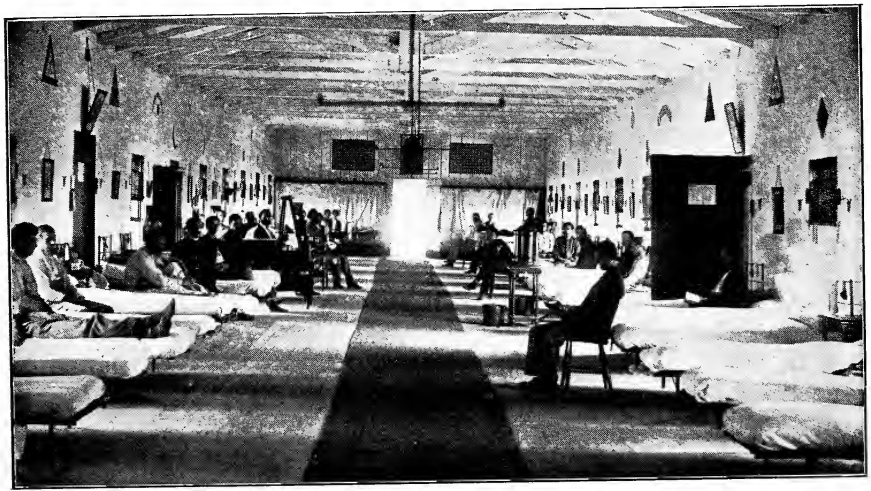
Grand Review—Commanders—Last Days.

The Grand Review was a two days' review of marching men—waving banners—inspiring music—from the marble Capitol to the White House, in Washington.

Many years after, in Berlin, on the great Tempelhof Field—I witnessed the all day review of twenty-five thousand troops—the "flower of the German Army"—by Unser Kaiser—beloved of the Fatherland—near the ninetieth milestone of his life, who, with Bismarck, had made the German Empire out of the Franco-Prussian War.

The splendid physique of the German soldiers—variety of regiments mounted, and on foot—the magnificent uniforms, perfection of every detail, and superb as a whole, made a pageant above comparison with any Army in the world. It was a picture for admiration—wonder—silence; a picture to hold in memory for all time.

In Washington, the cheers of thousands



Ward B., Armory Square Hospital
Washington, 1865

reached the very Heavens above—the tender, human feeling of the soul went out to the Union Army—the machine that *"thought,"* —men in worn and shabby uniforms, with battle-stained flags—heroes who had saved their country, and were now going home. This was the other picture—not admiration —wonder—silence; but loyalty—sacrifice—gratitude of the Nation—a picture to hold in memory for all time, and through all eternity.

Here is General Grant's realistic touch of the Grand Review:

"On the 18th of May, orders were issued by the Adjutant-General for a grand review by the President and his Cabinet, of Sherman's and Meade's Armies. The review commenced on the 23rd and lasted two days. Meade's Army occupied over six hours of the first day in passing the grand stand which had been erected in front of the President's House.

"Sherman's troops had been in camp on the South side of the Potomac. During the night of the 23rd he crossed over and biv-

ouacked not far from the Capitol. Promptly at 10 o'clock on the morning of the 24th, his troops commenced to pass in review. Sherman's Army made a different appearance from that of the Army of the Potomac. The latter had been operating where they received directly from the North full supplies of food and clothing regularly. The review of the Army of the Potomac, therefore, was the review of a body of 65,000 well-drilled, well-disciplined and orderly soldiers, inured to hardship and fit for any duty, but without the experience of gathering their own food and supplies in an enemy's country, and of being ever on the watch.

"Sherman's Army was not so well dressed as the Army of the Potomac, but their marching could not be excelled. They gave the appearance of men who had been thoroughly drilled to endure hardships, either by long marches, or through exposure to any climate without the ordinary shelter of a camp. They exhibited also some of the order of march through Georgia where the, "sweet

potatoes sprung up from the ground," as Sherman's Army went marching through. In the rear of a company there would be a captured horse or mule loaded with small cooking utensils, captured chickens and other food picked up for the use of the men. Negro families, who had followed the Army would sometimes come along in the rear of a company, with three or four children packed upon a single mule, and the mother leading it.

"Nearly all day, for two successive days, from the Capitol to the Treasury Building, could be seen a mass of orderly soldiers marching in columns of companies. The National flag was flying from almost every house—the windows were filled with spectators—the door-steps and side-walks were crowded with colored people and poor whites who did not succeed in securing better quarters from which to get a better view of the Grand Armies. The city was about as full of strangers who had come to see the sights as it usually is on Inauguration day, when a new President takes his seat."

When the Armies of the Potomac and the James under General Meade, from Burkesville Junction, Virginia, where they had gone after the surrender, and General Sherman's Army from the vicinity of Raleigh, North Carolina, arrived, they went into camp near Washington, to await the "mustering out," which would follow the Grand Review. Of the soldiers after four years' service, General Grant says:

"The troops were hardy, being inured to fatigue, and they appeared in their respective camps as ready and fit for duty as they had ever been in their lives. I doubt whether an equal body of men of any Nation, take them man for man, officer for officer, was ever gotten together that would have proved their equal in a great battle."

It was in praise of General Meade, on a previous occasion, that General Grant said: "It is men who wait to be selected—and not those who seek—from whom we may always expect the most efficient service."

There is no greater praise than this, and none more true and just, the world over. In

his estimate of Army and Corps Commanders serving with him, General Grant says:

"General Meade was an officer of great merit with drawbacks to his usefulness that were beyond his control. He had been an officer of the Engineer Corps before the war, and consequently had never served with troops until he was over forty-six years of age. * * * He saw clearly and distinctly the position of the enemy, and the topoggraphy of the country in front of his own position. His first idea was to take advantage of the lay of the ground, sometimes without reference to the direction we wanted to move afterwards. He was subordinate to his superiors in rank, to the extent, that he could execute an order which changed his own plans with the same zeal he would have displayed if the plan had been his own. He was brave and conscientious, and commanded the respect of all who knew him. He was unfortunately of a temper that would get beyond his control, at times. * * * No one saw this fault more plainly than himself, and no one regretted it more. * * * In

spite of this defect, he was a most valuable officer and deserves a high place in the annals of his country. * * *

"Of General Hooker I saw but little during the war. Where I did see him, at Chattanooga, his achievement in bringing his command around the point of Lookout Mountain and into Chattanooga Valley, was brilliant. * * * He was not subordinate to his superiors * * * his disposition was, when engaged in battle, to get detached from the main body of the Army, and exercise a separate command, gathering to his standard all he could of his juniors. * * *

"Hancock stands the most prominent figure of all the general officers who did not exercise a separate command. He commanded a Corps longer than any other one, and his name was never mentioned as having committed in battle a blunder for which he was responsible. He was a man of very conspicious personal appearance. Tall, well-formed and, at the time of which I now write, young and fresh-looking—he presented an appearance that would attract the attention

of any Army. His genial disposition made him friends, and his personal courage and his presence in the thickest of the fight, won for him the confidence of troops serving under him. No matter how hard the fight, the 2nd Corps always felt that their commander was looking after them. * * *

"General Burnside was an officer who was generally liked and respected. He was not, however, fitted to command an Army. No one knew this better than himself. He always admitted his blunders, and extenuated those of officers under him, beyond what they were entitled to. * * *

"Sedgwick was killed at Spottsylvania before I had an opportunity of forming an estimate of his qualifications as a soldier, from personal observation. I had known him in Mexico, when both of us were Lieutenants, and when our service gave no indication that either of us would ever be equal to the command of a Brigade. He stood very high in the Army, however, as an officer and a man. He was brave and conscientious. His ambition was not great, and he seemed to dread re-

sponsibility. He was willing to do any amount of battling, but always wanted some one else to direct. He declined the command of the Army of the Potomac once, if not oftener.

"General Alfred H. Terry came into the Army as a volunteer, without a military education. His way was won without political influence up to an important separate command—the expedition against Fort Fisher, in January, 1865. His success there was most brilliant, and won for him the rank of Brigadier-General, in the Regular Army, and of Major-General of Volunteers. * * *

"There were others of great merit—Griffin, Humphreys, Wright and MacKenzie. Griffin, Humphreys and MacKenzie were good Corps Commanders, but came into that position so near to the close of the war, as not to attract public attention. All three served in the last campaign of the Armies of the Potomac and the James, which culminated at Appomattox on the 9th of April, 1865. The sudden collapse of the rebellion monopolized attention to the exclusion of almost

everything else. I regarded MacKenzie as the most promising young officer in the army. Graduating at West Point, as he did, during the second year of the war, he had won his way up to the command of a Corps before its close. This he did upon his own merit and without influence."

Among these officers, General Burnside had been at one time in command of the Army of the Potomac, and later of the Army of the Ohio. General Hooker also, was in command of the Army of the Potomac for a short time.

It was well known that the slow, deliberate movements of General Thomas, before the battle of Nashville, caused great anxiety to General Grant, and as he feared, the Confederate forces under General Hood crossed the Tennessee River, with a pretty good prospect of getting North of the Cumberland, into Ohio. None the less, his estimate of General Thomas is just and generous, giving full praise to the "Rock of Chickamauga," as General Thomas was called by his soldiers.

"It is due to myself as well as to him,

that I give my estimate of him as a soldier. * * * I had been at West Point with Thomas one year, and had known him later in the old Army. He was a man of commanding appearance, slow and deliberate in speech and action, sensible, honest and brave. He possessed valuable soldierly qualities in an eminent degree. He gained the confidence of all who served under him, and almost their love. This implies a very valuable quality. It is a quality which calls out the most efficient service of the troops serving under the commander possessing it.

"Thomas's dispositions were deliberately made, and always good. He could not be driven from a point he was given to hold. He was not as good, however, in pursuit as he was in action. I do not believe that he could ever have conducted Sherman's Army from Chattanooga to Atlanta, against the defenses and Johnston guarding that line in 1864. On the other hand, if it had been given him to hold the line, which Johnston tried to hold, neither that General nor Sher-

man, nor any other officer could have done it better.

"General Thomas was a valuable officer, who richly deserved, as he has received, the plaudits of his countrymen for the part he played in the great tragedy of 1861-5."

General Grant's estimate of General Sheridan is full praise for the Cavalry Leader:

"Sheridan's pursuit of Lee was perfect in its generalship and energy. * * * As a soldier, as a commander of troops, as a man capable of doing all that is possible with any number of men, there is no man living greater than Sheridan. He belongs to the very first rank of soldiers, not only of our country, but of the world. I rank Sheridan with Napoleon and Frederick and the great commanders in history. No man ever had such a faculty of finding out things as Sheridan, or of knowing all about the enemy. He was always the best informed man in his command as to the enemy. Then he had that magnetic quality of swaying men, which I wish I had,—a rare quality in a General."

General Grant's deeds, more than words,

proved his unfailing sense of justice to the soldiers—officers and men. His many friendships were loyal and lasting—perhaps above all others in some respects, the confidence, sympathy and perfect trust, holding his close friendship with General Sherman. Colonel Nicholas Smith declares—Donelson "was the beginning of a friendship as beautiful as that of Damon and Pythias, and a love of one for the other as warm and lasting as that sealed by the covenant of David and Jonathan."

During the siege of Fort Donelson, General Sherman was in command at the mouth of the Cumberland River, to forward reinforcements and supplies. General Grant says:

"At that time he was my senior in rank and there was no authority of law to assign a junior to command a senior of the same grade. But every boat that came up with supplies brought a note of encouragement from Sherman, asking me to call upon him for any assistance he could render, and saying that if he could be of service at the front I might send for him and he would waive rank."

When General Grant had written to General Buckner in command of the Confederate forces—"No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works"—he had won the first great and decisive victory for the Union—in the surrender that Sunday morning, February 16th, 1862, of Fort Donelson, with 21,000 prisoners, 20,000 stands of arms, 65 cannon, 3,000 horses and a large quantity of commissary stores. The victory was an inspiration to the whole North, and it might be said that it was as great and significant a victory as the "Capitulation of Ulm to Napoleon."

On Monday, the day following the surrender of Fort Donelson, President Lincoln made the nomination, promoting General Grant from Brigadier-General to Major-General. There was great rejoicing all over the North, and congratulations poured in upon him from the Army, and friends in civil life. Two Army officers, however, were conspicuous by their silence—General McClellan, then in command of all the Armies, and General

Halleck—though up to this time, *they had accomplished nothing.*

Nicolay and Hay, in the Life of Lincoln, write: "While these Generals were discussing high strategy and grand campaigns by telegraph, and probably deliberating with more anxiety the possibilities of personal fame, the simple soldiering of Grant was solving some of the problems that confused scientific hypotheses."

Was it destiny? Despite the slights, the rebuffs, the cold shoulder at every turn—the jealousy and envy of those "higher up"— facing embarrassing conditions—raw troops, overflowing rivers, heavy rains—where was the faith that this plain man, unassuming as the private in the ranks—almost from obscurity—would "become the first stirring force in the field for the preservation of the Union?"

The Secretary of War said:

"What, under the blessing of Providence, I conceive to be the true organization of victory and military combination to end this war was declared in a few words by General

Grant's message to General Buckner: 'I propose to move immediately upon your works.'' General Grant's opinion at the time, and never changed, was—that ''immediately after the fall of Fort Donelson the way was opened to the National forces all over the South-West without much resistance. If one General who would have taken the responsibility, had been in command of all the troops West of the Alleghanies, he could have marched to Chattanooga, Corinth, Memphis and Vicksburg, with the troops we then had, and as volunteering was going on rapidly over the North, there would soon have been force enough at all these centers to operate offensively against any body of the enemy that might be found near them. Rapid movements and the acquisition of rebellious territory would have promoted volunteering, so that reinforcements could have been had as fast as transportation could have been obtained to carry them to their destination.

"On the other hand, there were tens of thousands of strong, able-bodied young men

still at their homes in the South-Western States, who had not gone into the Confederate Army in February, 1862, and who had no particular desire to go. If our lines had been extended to protect their homes, many of them never would have gone. Providence ruled differently. Time was given the enemy to collect Armies and fortify his new positions; and twice afterwards he came near forcing his North-Western front up to the Ohio River."

I have given General Grant's opinion in full, believing it will appeal to the practical common sense of the Union Veteran. At any rate, there can be no question that "time was given the enemy"—all the time desired—given by General McClellan and General Halleck.

In regard to Jefferson Davis, when the war was over, General Grant says:

"For myself, and I believe Mr. Lincoln shared the feeling, I would have been very glad to have seen Mr. Davis succeed in escaping, but for one reason: I feared that if not captured, he might get into the trans-

Mississippi region and there set up a more contracted Confederacy. The young men now out of homes and out of employment, might have rallied under his standard and protracted the war another year.

"Mr. Lincoln, I believe, wanted Mr. Davis to escape, because he did not wish to deal with the matter of punishment. He knew there would be people clamoring for the punishment of the ex-Confederate President, for high treason. He thought blood enough had already been spilled to atone for our wickedness as a Nation. At all events, he did not wish to be the judge to decide whether more should be shed or not. But his own life was sacrificed at the hands of an assassin before the ex-President of the Confederacy was a prisoner in the hands of the Government which he had lent all his talent and all his energies to destroy * * *

"Much was said at the time about the garb Mr. Davis was wearing when he was captured. * * * Naturally enough he wanted to escape, and could not reflect much how this should be accomplished provided it

might be done successfully. If captured he would be no ordinary prisoner. He represented all there was of that hostility to the Government which had caused four years of the bloodiest war—and the most costly in other respects, of which history makes any record. * * *

"All things are said to be wisely directed, and for the best interest of all concerned. This reflection does not, however, abate in the slightest our sense of bereavement in the untimely loss of so good and great a man as Abraham Lincoln. He would have proven the best friend the South could have had, and saved much of the wrangling and bitterness of feeling brought out by reconstruction."

General Grant was right in his belief that the escape of Jefferson Davis would be a relief to the President, who had grave doubts as to whether we had a law under which Mr. Davis could be tried for treason and convicted. The following little story was related to me by one of the party with Mr. Lincoln on his visit to City Point, in the

"last days," before the surrender. It was on board the River Queen, with the party returning to Washington. Richmond had been evacuated—Petersburg had fallen—such glorious results had been achieved dur- the President's two weeks' visit at the front, that despite the anxiety and tremendous strain upon him, he was going back to Washington hopeful and rested by the change. His humor showed itself in several amusing stories told in his happiest manner. Sitting on deck, the leaders of the rebellion were discussed, and the probabilities of Jefferson Davis' capture led to the question, whether he could, after all, be tried for treason.

"Well," said Mr. Lincoln, settling back in his chair and looking smilingly out upon the water, "that reminds me of the boy and the coon I saw in Illinois. I was going down to my office one morning when I saw a boy sitting on the sidewalk just outside of a gate. He had a small coon, which he held by a rope round its neck. The boy was crying, and I, of course, stopped and asked what was the matter. 'Mister,' he answered,

wiping the tears off with his sleeve, 'Do you see that coon there?' I said I did. 'Well, Mister, do you see that rope?' he asked. Again I replied in the affirmative, when he said, still sobbing, 'Now, Mister, that coon has been gnawing that rope to get away. I've been watching him all the morning, and Mister, I'm dogged if I don't wish the rascal would just gnaw through and go.' "

Tad Lincoln, then about twelve years old, who was sitting by his father, asked with eager interest: "Oh, father, why didn't he put a chain on the coon? A chain would hold a coon." "Well, Tad," replied the President, "I guess the boy hadn't any chain." Then turning to the laughing group before him, he added: "Now it is a question whether we have a law that would hold Jefferson Davis. If we haven't, it would be less trouble to just let him gnaw through and go."

CHAPTER IX.

Reader of Men—Statesman.

General Grant was a reader of men, and motives. Of President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton he says:

"The President and the Secretary of War were the very opposite of each other, in almost every particular, except that each possessed great ability.

"Mr. Lincoln gained influence over men by making them feel that it was a pleasure to serve him. He preferred yielding his own wish to gratify others, rather than to insist upon having his own way. It distressed him to disappoint others. In matters of public duty, however, he had what he wished, but in the least offensive way.

"Mr. Stanton never questioned his own authority to command, unless resisted. He cared nothing for the feelings of others. * * * He felt no hesitation in assuming the functions of the President, or in acting, without advising with him.

"It was generally supposed that these two

officials formed the complement of each other. The Secretary was required to prevent the President's being imposed upon. The President was required in the more responsible place of seeing that injustice was not done to others.

"I do not know that this view of these two men is still entertained by the majority of the people. It is not a correct view, however, in my estimation. Mr. Lincoln did not require a guardian to aid him in the fulfillment of a public trust.

"Mr. Lincoln was not timid, and he was willing to trust his Generals in making and executing their plans. Mr. Stanton was very timid, and it was impossible for him to avoid interfering with the Armies covering the National Capital, when it was sought to defend it by an offensive movement against the Army guarding the Confederate Capital. He could see our weakness, but he could not see that the enemy was in danger. * * *

"He was an able constitutional lawyer and jurist, but the Constitution was not an im-

pediment to him while the war lasted. In this latter particular I entirely agree with the view he evidently held. The Constitution was not framed with a view to any such rebellion as that of 1861-5. While it did not authorize rebellion, it made no provision against it. Yet, the right to resist or suppress rebellion is as inherent as the right of self-defense, and as natural as the right of an individual to preserve his life when in jeopardy. * * * It would be a hard case when one-third of a Nation, united in a rebellion against the National authority, is entirely untrammeled, that the other two-thirds, in their efforts to maintain the Union intact, should be restrained by a Constitution prepared by our ancestors, for the express purpose of insuring the permanency of the Confederation of the States." * * *

"It is possible that the question of a conflict between races may come up in the future, as did that between freedom and slavery before. The condition of the colored man within our borders may become a source of anxiety, to say the least. But he was brought

to our shores by compulsion, and he now should be considered as having as good a right to remain here as any other class of our citizens. * * *

"The war has made us a Nation of great power and intelligence. We have but little to do to preserve peace, happiness and prosperity at home, and the respect of other nations. Our experience ought to teach us the necessity of the first; our power secures the latter. * * *

"I feel that we are on the eve of a new era, when there is to be great harmony between the Federal and Confederate. I cannot stay to be a living witness to this prophecy; but I feel it within me that it is to be so. The universally kind feeling expressed for me at a time when it was supposed that each day would prove my last, seemed to me the beginning of the answer to—"Let us have Peace."

The report of Lieutenant-General U. S. Grant of the United States Armies—1864-'65, to Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War, is dated July 22, 1865, about three

months after the Surrender of the Confederate Armies. Following the correspondence on the Surrender at Appomattox the report says:—

"General Lee's great influence throughout the whole South caused his example to be followed, and today the result is, that the Armies lately under his leadership are at their homes, desiring peace and quiet, and their arms are in the hands of our Ordnance Officers." * * * This report, so concise and complete—in itself a history of the war—closes with these words:

"It has been my fortune 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 antagonists at Appomattox Court House, Virginia. 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."

Time has softened bitterness and sorrow — forty-five years — lessened pain and strengthened acceptance of suffering through our Civil War. If Grant and Lee were alive today, they would see a united people—even the spirit of Appomattox, holding together a great Nation—blessed by the man whose

stand was first, last and always, for the Union—the man, Lincoln.

General Grant's military genius, and renown as the great Commander of our Armies, overshadowed his statesmanlike qualities, and while he was President, we could not see that he was a statesman, as well as soldier. This statesmanship developed more and more under the duties and responsibilities of President. Time is making plain, the many wise measures of his Administration—of lasting beneficence to the country—and proving him a statesman worthy to rank with the best of his predecessors. These are the views of Andrew D. White, of Cornell University, and many men of "clear vision"—and posterity will see with this same "clear vision"—the greatness of the man, and President.

We are to bear in mind, the passion and bitterness, of reconstruction days—"Carpet-bag" influence, resentment, and suffering of the Southern people—all facing his Administration. The feeling was so intense, that his predecessor had been sent

into "obscurity to stay." But he did not stay. Time vindicated President Johnson, to a considerable extent, and the loyal people of Tennessee, by their freely given votes, returned him to the United States Senate, where for many years he was an able and honored member.

There were but two men who could meet the terrible trials of reconstruction—Mr. Lincoln, who died by the hand of an assassin, and General Grant, who proved at Appomattox, what he carried out in the White House, as President of all the people.

His vetoes were a power over political and financial demagogues, much in evidence at that time. He secured the Treaty of Washington, which averted war with England, brought about the adjustment of the Alabama Claims by Arbitration, and placed in our National treasury $15,500,000 in gold—in full settlement of these Claims.

His veto of the Inflation Bill came at a critical moment, and turned the scales

against depreciated currency. In that act, he did more, than all the public men of his day, to defend the Nation's faith, and maintain the National credit. Among the legacies of the war were the enormous public debt, and irredeemable currency. His stand was firm and immovable against all the schemes of inflation, to tempt the people. In his Administration, the public debt was reduced $450,500,000. The Internal Revenue Taxes were reduced $300,000,000. The balance of trade was changed from $130,000,000 against this country, to $130,000,000 in favor. When the Specie Payment Act went into effect the 1st of January, 1876, it made no more disturbance in financial circles than would the "falling of the dew in the physical world."

Whatever had been said of General Grant's "incapacity for business," before the war—there is no instance of it—from the date of his first command, Colonel of the 21st Illinois, in 1861—to 1880, covering the war, the Presidency, and tour of

the world—about twenty years. In war, he always won in the "open." In the White House, his fight and veto were always in the open field, dignified, quiet, but none the less determined in his attitude. It was later, in his private life, during the last five years, that he was helpless before duplicity and falsehood—and his so-called "incapacity for business" went down—no match for the dishonesty of a partner, and he lost everything in the failure.

There was no "big stick" diplomacy in his Administration—no shouting from the housetops, "my policy"—no undue prominence given, "platform pledges." No President had a higher moral courage to stand for measures he believed to be for the welfare of the country, and against all schemes he believed to be harmful. It is not surprising that critics were so dazzled by his military genius that they could not see the other side of the man. As a matter of fact, all through the eight years, as President—he had broad ideas of financial and political economy, and a rugged sense

of business integrity, which were of inestimable service to his country in days of storm and stress.

There is a prophetic force in General Grant's words, written twenty-five years ago, and the concluding pages of the "Personal Memoirs," are strangely impressive. He saw what the world then regarded as visionary—the dream of a man in broken health, but marvellous optimism—though long since accepted by the world, as a matter of course. It was the new life, new conditions, onward stride of progress in every line, irresistible advance to the Greater Republic, having its birth in the agony and devastation of the Civil War. Today, every word of hope for the future of one Country—one Flag—one People—is as he desired and foretold—a blessed reality.

"Let Us Have Peace."

My recollection of the origin:—

General Hawley and the Committee called at General Grant's Headquarters, Southwest

corner, 17th and F streets, by appointment made the day before, and were received by the General, surrounded by all his Staff then in Washington. After introduction of the Committee to General Grant, by General Hawley, the latter made the announcement to General Grant of his nomination by the Convention for the office of President of the United States. General Grant, in a conversational tone, replied, accepting the nomination, and expressing his appreciation of the honor—and then remarked that he would communicate his acceptance to the Committee in writing. After a pleasant half hour chat, General Hawley and the Committee departed.

The next morning, I, fearing that the Committee was being delayed, asked the General if he had sent them the written communication he had promised. He replied, "No," but would write it now. Turning to his desk, he wrote without hesitation his letter of acceptance. All of his Staff had, in the meantime, come into the room. When he had finished, he turned to me and re-

marked: "I have used a word that does not give exactly my meaning"—naming the word,—"I want a synonym." I gave one, He said: "That is the word I want," marked out the word written and substituted the suggested one, and then read aloud his letter.

General Rawlins took up the letter from the desk and read it over to himself, apparently weighing every sentence, then handing it to General Grant, he said: "Just the thing; put your name to it, General." General Grant immediately wrote: "Let us have peace," and signed his name—U. S. Grant. It was sent at once to General Hawley.

F. T. DENT, Bridagier General, U. S. A.

The origin of—"Let us have Peace," was given to me many years ago in Washington by General Dent, at his home, 1907 N Street, following a conversation on the Surrender. Seeing my interest in it, and the historical value, he wrote it out carefully and sent it to me a few days after the interview. Though

showing age, it is still perfectly legible, and the exact copy appears in the book.

The autograph card, like General Dent's letter, has the prestige of age, and has been treasured with something of reverence—over a quarter of a century. On General Grant's last birthday, April 27th, 1885, I chanced to be in New York and called at his home, with a little gift of flowers. I knew of his failing health, and that in spite of it, he was working to complete the "Personal Memoirs."

I had no expectation, whatever, of seeing the General—only to leave the flowers, with a few words. But I was asked to "wait a moment," and very soon he came into the room, greeted me cordially, sat down and for ten minutes talked frankly of his work—cheerful and hopeful—telling me of the progress, and that he had just finished the chapter on the Surrender, and now there would be comparatively little more to do to complete his book.

It was not the courage of the soldier, in battle through four years of war. It was

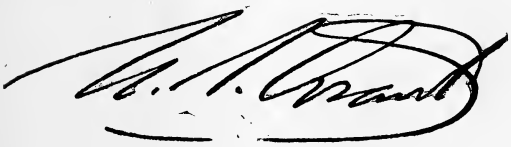
that higher courage—the pathos of strength sublime—that works and waits, and day by day, calmly looks at death. * * * When I was leaving, I asked his son for the autograph, and received it the next day with the following little note:

New York, April 28th, 1885.

Miss Jennings:—

I fulfill my promise and thank you for the flowers. Respectfully,

F. D. Grant.



CHAPTER X.

Tributes.

"Others have varied widely in their estimate of that extraordinary character. Yet I believe its most extraordinary quality was the extreme simplicity, so extreme that many have overlooked it in their search for some deeply hidden secret to account for so great a character, unmindful of the fact that simplicity is one of the most prominent attributes of greatness.

"The greatest of all the traits of Grant's character was that which lay always on the surface, visible to all who had eyes to see it. This was his moral and intellectual integrity, sincerity, veracity and justice. He was incapable of any attempt to deceive anybody, except for a legitimate purpose, as in military strategy; and, above all, he was incapable of deceiving himself. He possessed that rarest of all human faculties, the power of a perfectly accurate estimate of himself, uninfluenced by pride, ambition, flattery or self interest. The highest encomiums were accepted for what he believed them to be worth.

They did not disturb his equilibrium in the slightest degree.

"While Grant knew his own merits as well as anybody did, he also knew his own imperfections and estimated them at their real value. For example, his inability to speak in public, which produced the impression of extreme modesty or diffidence, he accepted simply as a fact in his nature, which was of little or no consequence, and which he did not even care to conceal. He would not, for many years, even take the trouble to jot down a few words in advance, so as to be able to say something when called upon. Indeed, I believe he would have regarded it as an unworthy attempt to appear in a false light, if he had made preparations in advance for an 'extemporaneous' speech. * * * After telling a story in which the facts had been modified somewhat to give greater effect, which no one could enjoy more than he did, Grant would take care to explain exactly in what respects he had altered the facts for the purpose of increasing the interest in his story, so that he might not leave any wrong

impression. * * * His love of truth and justice was so far above all personal considerations that he showed unmistakable evidence of gratification when any error into which he might have fallen, was corrected. The fact that he had made a mistake and that it was plainly pointed out to him, did not produce the slightest unpleasant impression, while the further fact that no harm had resulted from his mistake gave him real pleasure. In Grant's judgment no case in which any wrong had been done could possibly be regarded as finally settled until that wrong was righted; and if he himself had been, in any sense, a party to that wrong, he was the more earnest in his desire to see justice done. While he thus showed a total absence of any false pride of opinion or of knowledge, no man could be firmer than he in adherence to his mature judgment, or more earnest in his determination, on proper occasions, to make it understood that his opinion was his own, and not borrowed from anybody else. * * * This absolute confidence in his own judgment upon any sub-

ject which he had mastered, and the moral courage to take upon himself alone the highest responsibility, and to demand full authority and freedom to act according to his own judgment, without interference from anybody, added to his accurate estimate of his own ability and his clear perception of the necessity for undivided authority and responsibility in the conduct of military operations, and in all that concerns the efficiency of Armies in time of war, constituted the foundation of that very great character.

"When summoned to Washington to take command of all the Armies, with the rank of Lieutenant-General, he determined, before he reached the Capital, that he would not accept the command under any other conditions than those above stated. His sense of honor and of loyalty to the country would not permit him to consent to be placed in a false position—one in which he could not perform the service which the country had been led to expect from him—and he had the courage to say so in unqualified terms.

"These are the traits of character which

made Grant a very great man—the only man of our time, so far as can be known, who possessed both the character and the military ability which were, under the circumstances, indispensable in the commander of the Armies which were to suppress the great rebellion.

"It has been said that Grant, like Lincoln, was a typical American, and for that reason was most beloved and respected by the people. That is true of the statesman and of the soldier, as well as of the people, if it is meant that they were the highest type—that ideal which commands the respect and admiration of the highest and best in a man's nature—however far he may know it to be above himself. The soldiers and the people saw in Grant or in Lincoln, not one of themselves, nor yet some superior being whom they could not understand—but the personification of their highest ideal of a citizen, soldier, or statesman—a man whose greatness they could see and understand as plainly as they could anything else under the sun. And there was no more mystery about it all,

in fact, than there was in the popular mind.

"Matchless courage and composure in the midst of the most trying events of battle, magnanimity in the hour of victory, and moral courage to compel all others to respect his plighted faith towards those who had surrendered to him, were the crowning glories of Grant's great and noble character."

GENERAL JOHN M. SCHOFIELD.
"Forty-Six Years in the Army."

"Grant's military supremacy was honestly earned, without factious praise and 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 exhibited extraordinary qualities in the field. Bravery among American officers is a rule which has, happily, had few exceptions. Grant possessed a quality above bravery. He had an insensibility to danger, apparently, an unconsciousness of fear. Beside that, he possessed an evenness of judgment to be depend-

ed upon in sunshine and in storm. Napoleon said: 'The rarest attribute among Generals is two o'clock-in-the-morning courage.' No better description could be given of the type of courage which distinguished General Grant. In his services in the field he never once exhibited indecision, and it was this quality that gave him his crowning characteristic as a military leader. He inspired men with a sense of their invincibility, and they were henceforth invincible."

JAMES G. BLAINE.

Portland, Maine.

"Such a career laughs at criticism and defies deprecation. Success succeeds. But when the philosophic historian comes to analyze the strange features of our great war, no anomaly will be more puzzling than Grant. * * * He will marvel at the amazing mental poise of the man, cast down by no disaster, elated by no success. He will admire his strong, good sense, * * * his tremendous, unconquerable will. * * * Yet he will look in vain for such character-

istics as should account for his being first in a nation of soldiers.

"Seeking still further for the cause of his rise, he will record firm friendships that were so helpful; will observe how willingness to fight while others were fortifying, first gave him power; will allow for the unexampled profusion in which soldiers and munitions were always furnished to his call; how he came upon the broader stage only when it was made easier for his tread by the failures of his predecessors and the prestige of his victories, and how both combined to make him absolute. * * *

"But after all these considerations he will fail to find the veritable secret of his wonderful success, and will at last be forced to set it down that Fortune—the happy explainer of mysteries inexplicable—did from the outset so attend him * * * that he was mysteriously held up and borne forward, so that at the end he was able to rest in the highest professional promotion—'in peace after so many troubles—in honor after so much obloquy.'"

WHITELAW REID.
"Ohio in the War."

"How, like a weapon in a giant's hand, did he wield the vast aggregations of soldiery, whose immensity oppressed so many minds! How every soldier came to feel his participation a direct contribution to the general success! And when, at length, his merit won the government of the entire military power of the North, how perfect became, without noise or friction, the co-operation of every Army, of every strength throughout the wide territory of the war, toward the common end. * * * Then how rapidly crumbled on every side the crushed revolt! Where shall we find in past records the tale of such a struggle, so enormous in extent, so nearly matched at the outset, so desperately contested, so effectively decided! Through what a course of uninterrupted victories did he proceed from the earliest engagements to a complete dominion of the vast catastrophe!"

COLONEL WILLIAM F. VILAS.

"A crisis befalls the land. Patriotism is burned into the soul of this shy, unambitious,

unknown man. He offers all he has in the world—himself—to his country. But he is diffident and unsoldierly in bearing and is repelled. Others of finer speech and of more pretentious mien are preferred before him. But he remains true. Again he is rejected. Finally the door of opportunity opens. A small command is given to him. He is equal to the occasion. His rank is raised, and eight months after, this stranger, who never loved army life and cared less for the study of war, has his name carried to the farthermost parts of the land. He wins the first decisive victory for the Nation and the Flag. From millions comes the cry, 'Whence comes this man?' Hardly had the answer been flashed back before he commanded the largest Army in the greatest war that had been fought on the Continent, and his fame became world wide.

"Again, in twelve months, he startles the world by conceiving and executing the most remarkable siege known in history. His name is hailed with acclaim. People are thrilled by his sublime courage and success,

and amazed at the modesty and unselfishness of the man.

"He rises to higher honor. In less than three years from the day he passed out of the shop a struggling salesman, he is invested with more extraordinary power than was ever before conferred by a Republic upon a Commander of men of arms. The hour of supreme victory finally comes, and the quiet man, who never sought fame, or sway, or place, saves the Nation.

"Lincoln was the guiding force in the darkest days in American history—Grant was the hope and inspiration of that Army which had volunteered to risk their lives for a righteous cause. * * * He never took a step backward. * * * In all the centuries from Cæsar to Napoleon, there has not lived a warrior who so beautifully and completely manifested the God-given spirit of tenderness and magnanimity toward a fallen foe, as Grant. * * *

"Many military critics have wondered where Grant got his military genius. It had never been displayed on any occasion

previous to the Civil War. George S. Bontwell said: 'Grant's military genius was simply a part of his nature; God gave it to him; and almost by intuition he knew what should be done in an emergency. He could go on the field and post a line of battle in twenty minutes, while another military man who had been a hard student, might take a day or two to do the same thing.' * * * He stands pre-eminent among all the Generals who served in the Civil War, in the completeness of his final results. * * * He owed nothing to accident. * * * And thus measuring him by what he accomplished in four years of war, and what he was in purity of purpose, and charity for those over whom he was victor, he will ever remain, "singular and solitary"—The Man of Mystery. * * *I do not mean to present Grant as a perfect man. He was human like the rest of us, and had his imperfections. But reading history aright we learn that he rose above the plane of the daily experience of most great men. * * * I wish to illustrate and illuminate with exactness the qualities

of this man * * * his supreme self-possession and simplicity and rectitude; his true hearted patriotism; his greatness unmixed with personal ambition; his abiding faith in himself, in his tried friends, in his comrades in arms, in his country, and in his God."

"We have followed him through all the varied phases of his wonderful life. * * * We have watched the quiet humble citizen, as he emerged from obscurity at the call of his country, in a few months to become, through a succession of marvellous achievements, the greatest Military Chieftain of his day—to command all the Armies of the United States, and be entrusted with the gigantic task of subduing the greatest of rebellions, led by the most gifted of Commanders. We have seen him for eight years at the head of a Nation, during the trying period of reconstruction, after the awful devastation of four years of internecine strife. We have followed him in his unparalleled journey around the world, which, begun as the quiet holi-

day of a private citizen, was turned into the triumphal march of the Conqueror, as he was greeted and honored by Kings, Princes, Statesmen, and peoples of the realms through which he passed. We have seen him go down into his valley of humiliation—and at last smitten by a fatal malady. We have seen him emerge, bearing the marks of his suffering, and exchanging sword for pen, hold his great enemy at bay, while he wrote the story of his achievements, and provided for the future of those he loved better than his life—while the world looked on in astonishment and sympathy. When the task was finished, he laid down his pen, and the invincible spirit went forth to join the company of the immortals, who before him had fought the good fight and kept the faith * * * His name and memory will be enshrined in the hearts of his grateful countrymen, while the Republic shall endure."

COLONEL NICHOLAS SMITH.

"GRANT, THE MAN OF MYSTERY."

"No two great commanders have possessed the same qualifications. Sheridan is not complete on the same lines that made Grant such a mighty power in war. But he held other gifts of head and spirit which Grant had not, and which go very far toward rounding up the strength of resource between them. Sheridan had the impetuous quality that comes from Irish ancestry. Grant inherited the perfect temper, self-poise, resolution and endurance of the Scotch. Naturally a wide difference, yet they had many points in common. Neither of them was talkative, and in their Army life both may well be called silent men of the type of whom Carlyle says:

"The noble, silent men, scattered here and there, each in his department, silently thinking, silently working, * * * they are the salt of the earth. Silence * * * the great empire of silence."

"In action, Sheridan was extraordinary. He could be as calm as a brazen figure, or as flashing as a stream of molten metal. He would choose, when a battle began, a rising

piece of ground, from which he could survey the whole field. He sat his saddle like a centaur * * * there was no better horseman in the American Army * * * and he knew his horse also, * * * would see every phase of the conflict * * * at a critical moment would dash forward, galloping direct to where he was needed, * * * ride swiftly along the lines just before a charge and raise the troops' enthusiasm to fever heat. * * * There was a magnetic influence about him which extended itself to every one in the ranks. At such moments he seemed transformed, and it was no wonder that his troops moved with steadiness and determination into the vortex of flame that awaited them.

"As a practical soldier, it is doubtful if any Army ever had a better one. He readily mastered the topography of the region in which he was operating. He was never surprised. In an Army, he always proved on consultation to be better informed than any one else. He had the best of scouts—men who were ready to dare anything at his

orders or request. He provided for his troops amply and always the best there was to be had. * * * He was equally at home in handling every arm of the service, though he delighted most in handling the Cavalry, to whose capacity for real warfare he gave increased value. While a firm but not an extreme disciplinarian, he never failed to remember that he was dealing with men to whom martial service was but an episode in citizenship. Men fight better when they know that the man who leads them has the ability to extricate them from sudden and unforeseen difficulties. He was our Marshal Ney, and inspired the most complete confidence. No officer was more beloved by his troops.

"A member of the Chief Army associations, The Loyal Legion and the Grand Army of the Republic, General Sheridan was a faithful attendant in the reunions which made each year so much a feature of our reminiscent life. His little speeches to the Society of the Army of the Potomac are worthy the preservation the records give. * * * One

of the last made was an impromptu speech at Creston, Iowa, in 1886, when he said:

"'Comrades, I came here today to see you, talk with you, and shake hands with you, while Colonel Carr and others, you know, came here to make eloquent addresses for you to listen to. I think he has been too eulogistic of me in his remarks. It is true that I fought in almost everybody's Army, from Pea Ridge to Appomattox, and although I fought with Cavalry and Infantry, and on every line of operation, and always had to change and take new men on new lines, I was very successful. I went through all the grades they had in the volunteer service, and then I commenced and went through all the grades in the regular service, and the date of every commission that I have is the date of a battle. And I want to say to you, comrades, this—that I am indebted to the private in the ranks for all the credit that has come to me.

"'He was the man who did the fighting. The man who carried the musket is the great-

est hero of the war, in my opinion. I was nothing but an agent. I knew how to take care of men. I knew what a soldier was worth, and I knew how to study the country so as to put him in right. I knew how to put him in battle, but I was simply the agent to take care of him, and he did the work. Comrades, these are common sense things, and I can't say them in very flowery language —but they are true—and they are true, not of me alone, but of everybody else. It is to the common soldier, the private in the ranks, that we are indebted to any credit that came to us.'"

"A strong, simple man—very human and close to our common life. * * * In the American democracy, Sheridan's life, like Grant's and Sherman's, with all their comrades', gives us proof that the equality of man before the law is the very best guarantee that under the law the loftiest service, the bravest deeds, the most daring of intellectual activity, must all tend steadily to the common

advantage—to the uplifting and glory of the commonwealth.''

Colonel Richard J. Hinton, and Frank A. Burr.
''Life of General Philip H. Sheridan.''

James E. Murdoch, the widely known and popular Reader, long ago, gave the origin of the famous poem—"Sheridan's Ride"—by Thomas Buchanan Read, in the following story:

"The ladies of Cincinnati had arranged to give me a reception that finally turned into an ovation. I had given many readings to raise funds for their Soldiers' Aid Society, and they were going to present me with a silk flag. They had made every arrangement to have the reception a very dramatic event. The morning of the day it was to take place, Read and I were, as usual, taking our breakfast late. We had finished, but were still sitting at the table.

"Mr. Cyrus Garrett, his brother-in-law, came in while we were thus lounging. He wore and air of impatience and carried a pa-

per in his hand. He walked up to Read and unfolded a copy of *Harper's Weekly* and held it up before the man so singularly gifted as both poet and painter. The whole front of the paper was covered with a striking picture representing Sheridan, on his black horse, just emerging from a cloud of dust that rolled up from the highway as he dashed along, followed by a few troopers.

" 'There,' said Mr. Garrett, 'see what you have missed. You ought to have drawn that picture yourself, and gotten the credit of it. It is just in your line. The first thing you know somebody will write a poem on that event and you will be beaten all around.'

"Read looked at the picture rather quizzically—a look which I interrupted by saying:

" 'He is right, Read. The subject and circumstance are worth a poem.'

" 'Oh, no,' said Read, 'that theme has been written to death. There is "Paul Revere's Ride," "Lochinvar," Tom Hood's "Wild Steed of the Plain," and half a dozen other poems of like character.'

"Filled with the idea that this was a good chance for the gifted man, I said:

" 'Read, you are losing a great opportunity. If I had such a poem to read at my reception tonight it would make a great hit.'

" 'But, Murdoch, you can't order a poem as you would a coat. I can't write anything in a few hours that will do either you or me any credit,' he replied rather sharply.

"I turned to him and said:

" 'Read, two or three thousand of the warmest hearts in Cincinnati will be in the Opera House tonight at that presentation. It will be a very significant affair. Now, you go and give me anything in rhyme, and I will give it a deliverance before that splendid audience, and you can then revise and polish it before it goes into print.'

"This view seemed to strike him favorably and he finally said:

" 'Well! Well! We'll see what can be done,' and he went to his room. A half hour later Mrs. Read came down and said:

" 'He wants a pot of strong tea. He told me to get it for him, and then he would lock

the door and must not be disturbed unless the house was on fire.'

"Time wore on, and in our talk in the family circle we had almost forgotten the poet at work upstairs. Dinner had been announced when Read came in and beckoned to me.

" 'Murdoch, I think I have about what you want.'

"He read it to me, and with an enthusiasm that surprised him. I said, 'It is just the thing.'

"We dined, and at the proper time Read and I, with the family, went to the Opera House. The building was crowded in every part. Upon the stage were sitting two hundred maimed soldiers, each with an arm or a leg off. General Joe Hooker was to present me with the flag the ladies had made, and at the time appointed we marched down the stage toward the footlights, General Hooker bearing the flag, and I with my arm in his. Such a storm of applause as greeted our appearance I never heard before or since. Behind and on each side of us were the rows

of crippled soldiers—in front the vast audience, cheering to the echo. Hooker quailed before the warm reception, and growing nervous, said to me in an undertone:

"'I can stand the storm of battle, but this is too much for me.'

"'Leave it to me,' said I, 'I am an old hand behind the footlights, and will divert the strain from you.' So quickly I dropped upon my knee, took a fold of the silken flag and pressed it to my lips. This by-play created a fresh storm of enthusiasm, but it steadied Hooker, and he presented the flag very gracefully. I accepted it in fitting words.

"I then drew from my pocket the poem Read had written, and with proper introduction, began reading it to the audience. The vast assemblage became as still as a church during prayer time, and I read the three verses without a pause and then the fourth.

"As this verse was finished the audience broke into a tumult of applause. Then I read, with all the spirit I could command,

the fifth. The sound of my voice uttering the last word had not died away when cheer after cheer went up from the great concourse that shook the building to its very foundation. Ladies waved their handkerchiefs and men their hats until worn out with the fervor of the hour. They then demanded the author's name and I pointed to Read and he acknowledged the verses.

"In such a setting and upon such an occasion as I have been able only faintly to describe to you, the poem of 'Sheridan's Ride' was given to the world. It was written in about three hours and never changed after I read it from the manuscript."

SHERIDAN'S RIDE.

BY THOMAS BUCHANAN READ.

Up from the South at break of day,
Bringing to Winchester fresh dismay,
The affrighted air with a shudder bore,
Like a herald in haste to the chieftain's door,
The terrible grumble and rumble and roar,
Telling the battle was on once more,
And Sheridan, twenty miles away.

And wider still those billows of war
Thundered along the horizon's bar;
And louder yet into Winchester rolled
The roar of that red sea, uncontrolled;
Making the blood of the listener cold;
As he thought of the stake in that fiery fray,
And Sheridan, twenty miles away.

But there is a road from Winchester town,
A good broad highway, leading down;
And there through the flush of the morning light,
A steed as black as the steeds of night,
Was seen to pass as with eagle flight,
As if he knew the terrible need.
He stretched away, with his utmost speed;
Hill rose and fell; but his heart was gay,
With Sheridan fifteen miles away.

Still sprung from those swift hoofs thundering south,
The dust, like the smoke from the cannon's mouth,
Or the trail of the comet, sweeping faster and faster,
Foreboding to traitors the doom of disaster;
The heart of the steed and the heart of the master
Were beating like prisoners assaulting their walls,

The Blue and the Gray

Impatient to be where the battlefield calls.
Every nerve of the charger was strained to full play
With Sheridan only ten miles away.

Under his spurning feet, the road,
Like an arrowy Alpine river flowed,
And the landscape sped away, behind,
Like an ocean, flying before the wind;
And the steed with his wild eyes full of fire,
Swept on to the goal of his heart's desire;
He is snuffing the smoke of the roaring fray,
With Sheridan only five miles away.

The first that the General saw, were the groups
Of stragglers, and then the retreating troops,
What was done—what to do—a glance told him both,
Then striking his spurs, with a muttered oath,
He dashed down the lines mid a storm of huzza.
The sight of the master compelled them to pause.
With foam and with dust the black charger was gray;
By the flash of his eye and his red nostrils' play,
He seemed to the whole great army to say,
I have brought you Sheridan all the way
From Winchester down, to save the day.

Hurrah, hurrah, for Sheridan;
Hurrah, hurrah, for the horse and man;
And when their statues are placed on high,
Under the dome of the Union sky,
(The American soldier's Temple of Fame)
There with the glorious General's name,
Be it said, in letters bold and bright,
"Here is the steed that saved the day
By carrying Sheridan into the fight,
From Winchester, twenty miles away."

SHERMAN'S MARCH TO THE SEA.

S. H. M. BYERS, ADJUTANT, FIFTH IOWA INFANTRY.

Our camp-fires shone bright on the mountain
That frowned on the river below,
As we stood by our guns in the morning
And eagerly watched for the foe;
When a rider came out of the darkness
That hung over mountain and tree,
And shouted, "Boys, up and be ready!
For Sherman will march to the sea!"

Chorus.

Then sang we a song of our chieftan,
That echoed over river and lea;
And the stars of our banner shone brighter
When Sherman marched down to the sea!

Then cheer upon cheer for bold Sherman
Went up from each valley and glen,
And the bugles re-echoed the music
That came from the lips of the men;
For we knew that the stars in our banner
More bright in their splendor would be,
And that blessings from Northland would greet us,
When Sherman marched down to the sea!
Then sang we a song, etc.

Then forward, boys! forward to battle!
We marched on our wearisome way,
We stormed the wild hills of Resaca—
God bless those who fell on that day!
Then Kenesaw frowned in its glory,
Frowned down on the flag of the free;
But the East and the West bore our standard,
And Sherman marched on to the sea!
Then sang we a song, etc.

The Blue and the Gray

Still onward we pressed, till our banners
Swept out from Atlanta's grim walls,
And the blood of the patriot dampened
The soil where the traitor flag falls;
But we paused not to weep for the fallen,
Who slept by each river and tree,
Yet we twined them a wreath of the laurel,
As Sherman marched down to the sea!
Then sang we a song, etc.

Oh, proud was our army this morning,
That stood where the pine darkly towers,
When Sherman said, "Boys, you are weary,
But today fair Savannah is ours!"
Then sang we the song of our chieftain,
That echoed over river and lea,
And the stars in our banner shone brighter
When Sherman camped down by the sea!

STAR-SPANGLED BANNER.

Oh, say, can you see, by the dawn's early light,
What so proudly we hail'd at the twilight's last gleaming,
Whose broad stripes and bright stars, thro' the perilous fight,
O'er the ramparts we watched, were so gallantly streaming?
And the rockets' red glare, the bombs bursting in air,
Gave proof thro' the night that our flag was still there.
Oh, say, does that star-spangled banner yet wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?

On the shore dimly seen thro' the mists of the deep,
Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes,
What is that which the breeze, o'er the towering steep,
As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half discloses?
Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam,
In full glory reflected, now shines on the stream.
'Tis the star-spangled banner; oh, long may it wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN
THE GREATEST AMERICAN
BY JANET JENNINGS

"No one can read this little book without feeling better acquainted with Lincoln. The opportunity of a Washington journalist for conversations and interviews with personal friends has not been used for a secondhand tribute. Out of associations with those who lived with him and loved him, has grown a direct and intimate sympathy with the spirit of Lincoln, and the author writes from this viewpoint. Appreciating that comment cannot add to a story so strong she effaces herself, and wherever they can be used, she makes Lincoln's own words tell the lessons of his life. You feel it is written as Lincoln himself would have liked it written, without exaggeration, and true as he himself was. The book is so attractive in every way, and so low in price, it should fill the aim of the writer, and reach a large number of people." —La Follette's Weekly Magazine.

"This little volume is unique and valuable, and we hope it will be placed in the libraries and schools of the country."—Freeport Daily Journal.

"Janet Jennings' book, which proclaims its subject, " the greatest American," is based on firsthand information acquired during the author's twenty years of journalism in Washington. She had there frequent conversations with those who had known Lincoln intimately. Side by side with Washington the author places Lincoln—as well as naming him the greatest American. However, there need be no quarrel on this account, for the Lincoln wave which struck the country last spring has been making the best of us contradict our-

selves in the effort to give the famous statesman his due meed of superlatives. This little volume contributes more variable praise than its size would suggest, recounting many incidents that show in typical light Lincoln's kindly humor, which so often molified unpleasant situations; his moral courage, his gift as an orator as manifested especially in that speech which drew forth Goldwin Smith's eulogy among many others: "Not a sovereign in Europe could have uttered himself more regally than did Lincoln at Gettysburg." His qualities of sympathy, justice, mercy, are also emphasized in this little volume, nor does the author neglect to note Lincoln's sanction on suffrage for women. A chapter of tributes contains many great names of the North and South from Lincoln's own day to the past twelfth day of February, whose echoes still are in the air."—Courier-Journal, Louisville, Ky.

" 'Abraham Lincoln, the Greatest American,' by Janet Jennings (Cantwell Printing company, Madison, Wis.)—'The aim of this little book,' says the author, 'is to offer the best at the smallest cost to the largest number of readers—the plain people with whom Abraham Lincoln was more closely and sympathetically allied than any other President of this nation; to influence and impress younger generations by precept and example of his life; to inspire the boy of today—the man of tomorrow—with that spirit of moral courage which above any other force made Abraham Lincoln the greatest American.' "—Chicago Inter-Ocean.

"It is a neat, interesting and instructive biography of America's Greatest Man, and contains some interesting facts never before published. It is an up-to-date volume, suitable for the people of

all ages, and would make a fine text book. It should be in every school and public library.

"It contains several illustrations, including the unveiling of the monument at the Kentucky home, last February, on the occasion of the Centennial of Lincoln's birth."—The Sentinel, Monroe, Wis.

This Lincoln book has been presented by the author to many public libraries and by request has gone to state and private libraries and private collections of Lincoln literature, notably the New Hampshire State Library of Concord and the Drew Theological Seminary Library of Madison, New Jersey. The Phesident of the University of Wisconsin says:

"This book cannot help but inspire all who read it."

Charles W. McSellan of Champlain, New York, who has one of the finest collections of Lincoln literature in the United States, writes:

"It is so comprehensive, containing so much that is new, and presented in such a simple, attractive form, for the future generations of the 'plain people,' he so loved—whom it cannot fail to influence and inspire. * * * I shall treasure it as a valuable addition to my collection."

J. B. Oakleaf of Moline, Ill., says: "This book will become a part of my library of Lincoln literature, consisting of something over twelve hundred volumes, and I feel that it will find a home among others of its own kin."

Senator Frye of Maine says: "I have read it—found it most interesting and very attractive—this notwithstanding the innumerable volumes that have been written on the Greatest American."

The Blue and the Gray

Robert T. Lincoln, writing to the author from his summer home, Manchester, Vermont, said:

"Your little book on my father, I brought here with me. Mrs. Lincoln has also read it, and we agree in thinking it one of the most interesting and agreeable books which have come to us."

As a holiday gift, this Lincoln book seems especially appropriate. C. P. Read, of Los Angeles, California, with an order for twenty-four, said: "It is the finest little book on Lincoln I have read, and I know of no Christmas gift to be more appreciated."

Published by
The CANTWELL PRINTING CO.
Madison, Wis.
PRICE FIFTY CENTS