

a good deal in the South, I think I know practically more of slavery than you do. If it were a new question, no one now would contend for introducing it; but it is an old and historical fact that you must take as you find it. There are certain lands in the South that cannot be inhabited in the summer by the whites, and yet the negro thrives in it—this I know. Negroes free won't work tasks of course, and rice, sugar, and certain kinds of cotton cannot be produced except by forced negro labor. Slavery being a fact is chargeable on the past; it cannot, by our system, be abolished except by force and consequent breaking up of our present government. As to restraining its further growth, the North have a perfect right to their full vote, and should, as a matter of course, use it. The Nebraska bill was a mistake on the part of the South, a vital mistake that will do them more harm than all the violent abolitionists in the country. Let slavery extend along the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, but not in the high salubrious prairies of the West. It was a mistake to make Missouri a slave State; but it was done long ago, and now there is no remedy except in the State itself. Slavery can never exist here or north of us, so the North now has the power and can exercise it in prudence and moderation. Of all the follies of our government, that of the purchase of the Gadsden line excelled any,—the land embraced in that line would not sell at auction for a thousand dollars, and yet it cost ten millions. My idea is to leave our present limits alone until we have more population, and then to make other adjacent territories pay for coming into the Union. The Sandwich Islands and Cuba, as long as held by Spain, or are independent, are more useful to us than if annexed as territory. If we had a colonial system like England, whereby we could govern them absolutely, it would be

good property, but to admit the Kanakas of the Pacific and mixed Creoles of Cuba on a par with ourselves, would not exalt them, but would degrade us. . . .

Your affectionate brother,

W. T. SHERMAN.

Happily, General Sherman lived to see the freed slaves work, and realized with his friends in the South the consequent improved condition of the Southern commerce.

BANKING HOUSE OF LUCAS, TURNER & Co.,
SAN FRANCISCO, March 20, 1856.

My Dear Brother: I see you are placed on the Committee of Foreign Relations, which is deemed a compliment. Since you are embarked in politics, I shall watch your course with deep interest, and of all things, I shall expect you to avoid localism and to act as a representative of a great developing nation rather than a mere emblem of the freaks and prejudices of a small constituency. The slavery question is forced on you in spite of yourself. Time and facts are accomplishing all you aim at, viz. the preponderance of the free over the slave States. This is so manifest that the politicians and people of the South feel it, and consequently are tetchy and morose. Of course, you will vote as you think right; but should you have occasion to speak, do not imitate Giddings or Seward, but avoid the subject as a dirty black one. The repeal of the Compromise was unfortunate, but being done, to repeal it would only produce feeling and no good. Kansas will be a free State, so will Missouri and Kentucky in time; but the way to accomplish that is to let things go on as now, showing the eminent prosperity of the free States, whilst the slave States get along slowly. Self-interest is the great motor, and the Kentuckians and Missourians, seeing the land and

property of adjoining free States commanding a high and ready price in consequence of the influx of white men, will feel that they have other interests beside slave property, and this cause is now telling, and will go on increasing. Therefore, to accomplish any political end, no provoking speeches are necessary, but on the contrary defeat the object in view. I think you may do yourself credit and a public good by aiding California and the Pacific coast, which is poorly represented. There are now Indian wars going on to the north of us that will appeal to you. Don't meddle in it. Let Oregon and Washington Territories have reasonable help; but they should help themselves, as Congress has donated to them liberally in the way of land, and these wars are doubtless provoked by the indiscriminate robbery of the Indians, who, driven from the valleys, find no alternative but to steal and kill.

All the Pacific slope is mountainous, and the valleys are limited in extent. From these the Indians have been expelled, and of right they resist. The settlements have pushed forward more than the extent of the white population warrants, and they cannot be restrained, save by the danger of Indians, a proper and necessary restraint.

The time for the great national railroad has not yet come. The surveys thus far made do not settle the question of the best route; but my opinion is the old emigrant route from Fort Leavenworth or Council Bluffs is the best one. But the movement now on foot to open a good wagon road is very timely. Its cost will be comparatively small, as California will make one or more good roads across the Sierra Nevada. Some four or five military posts with settlements around them, some bridges and free ferries, will be all that is needed. Advocate the wagon road with all the zeal you possess, and

you will do a good thing. A stage will use the wagon road as soon as the wants of the people demand. The great object to be accomplished is to afford convenient resting places, where the emigrant can buy a mule or ox and can have his wagon repaired at moderate cost. This post should be fortified in the strongest manner possible, and supplied in advance of any necessity with all the munitions of war. The engineer in chief will have made the necessary estimates, and you will be safe in advocating whatever he may recommend.

Independent of gold, California is of great value to the Union by affording so good a harbor and point of commerce, from which we can trade with the Pacific Islands, with Mexico, and the Asiatic continent. The navy yard and docks now in process of building should be finished as soon as possible. I throw out these ideas to you, as I suppose you will admit my means of judging.

Your affectionate brother,

W. T. SHERMAN.

Almost at the same time, March 28, John writes his brother: "I have been appointed on a committee of three of the House to go to Kansas to investigate, etc.," and in answer to the General's letter of the 20th, he says:—

WASHINGTON, June 29, 1856.

My Dear Brother: Your letter of March 20th has been received by me upon my return from Kansas. Your notions about the slavery question are in common with my own. In accepting the appointment to go to Kansas, I was left free to follow my own judgment and form my own opinions about the disturbances there. These opinions are embodied in the Report of the Committee, all of which I wrote, a copy of which I will send to you as soon as it is printed. You will see that the condition of affairs

in that territory are far worse than you anticipated. Please give me your opinion frankly as to the character of the report.

I do not think that the Pacific Railroad will pass this Session. A liberal appropriation will be made, I think, to construct a wagon road. This will be the best plan for the present, and I will therefore cordially support it.

I saw your name connected with the disturbances in San Francisco. Please inform me all about it. I shall feel disposed to favor appropriations to California, Oregon, and Washington, and especially to make communications between them and older States, but the sums you ask rather startle our economical notions.

Affectionately your brother,

JOHN SHERMAN.

The following group of letters, treating of the Vigilance Committee, and including the one to Mr. Ewing, referred to in John Sherman's letter of July 15, explain very fully the General's opposition to the committee. The former rather sympathizes with it, because of his recent experience in Kansas, which the General asserts to have been different.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., July 7, 1856.

My Dear Brother: The steamer sails to-day, and will bring you news of the same character as the two past. The Vigilance Committee is in full blast, still exercises entire control, has Judge Terry in their power, and had the man Hopkins died, they would have hung him. Now the probabilities are they will send him away. Where the matter is to end, I cannot imagine, but I think the community is getting sick and disgusted with their secrecy, their street fools, and parades, and mock trials, — worse, far worse, than the prompt, rapid executions of a mob or lynch court.

Since my resignation I have kept purposely aloof from all parties, either one way or the other; being in a business where large interests are at stake, I cannot act with that decision otherwise that would suit me. I do not think there is any necessity for the interference of the federal authorities, but that before we can hear from Washington the matter will be over and forgotten.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., Aug. 3, 1856.

My Dear Brother:

Here in this country the Democratic — a mob — element prevails to such a degree that, as you will have observed, the influence of governor, mayor, and all the executive authority has been utterly disregarded. For three months here we have been governed by a self-constituted committee, who have hung four men, banished some twenty others, arrested, imprisoned, and ironed many more, and who now hold a judge of the Supreme Court in their power. . . . There is no doubt we have a bad administration of law here, and more than a fair share of rowdies; but I think the Committee itself no better, and if we are to be governed by the mere opinion of the Committee, and not by officers of our own choice, I would prefer at once to have a Dictator. The Committee is now in a bad fix. The man whom Terry stabbed is now well. The Executive Committee of Vigilance are now willing to acquit him, but before they can act in such a matter by their by-laws, they must submit the case to a Board of Delegates, composed of three from each of their military companies. This Board of Delegates, of course, want action, and they insist that Terry shall resign his office and go away, or be hung. There is a sloop-of-war here, the *John Adams*,

whose commander says that he will intercept any ship that attempts to carry Terry off; so that it will be difficult for them to banish Terry, and it is not impossible that they may yet hang Terry to save themselves the consequences of his return to the Bench. If there is not an entire revolution and withdrawal from the Union, then all these acts of violence must come up before our courts on actions for civil damages, and it is likely, if Terry returns to the Bench, he will have some feeling against the men who have kept him imprisoned some two months, with daily expectation of death or banishment. We are waiting to hear what President Pierce will do in the matter. I doubt whether he will interfere as long as these men do not try to bring about an absolute revolution, which I do not think they have yet contemplated. My own opinion is, the committee is tired of its position, but find it difficult to withdraw from the complications in which they are involved.

Affectionately your brother,

W. T. SHERMAN.

WASHINGTON, July 15, 1856.

My Dear Brother: Your letter to Mr. Ewing and the accompanying letters were carefully read by me and then sent to Mr. Ewing. I do not see how your conduct can be assailed. I had watched with a very great deal of anxiety your movements, and had carefully preserved every extract of a paper which related to it, fearing at the time a collision between the Vigilant Committee and your authority. I must confess that, except as you were personally interested in the contest, my sympathies were all with the committee. The same class of characters

who were so infamous in this city and in election frauds have controlled the cause of Law and Order in Kansas, and there committed such calamities with the direct sanction of the authorities that it seemed to me just and right to organize and to enforce a higher law. The early movements of the people meet the cordial approval of all good men here, and this feeling was deepened by the act of your representative, Herbert, in killing the Irish waiter. If the proclamation of the governor had been equally obeyed by the committee, all would have been satisfied; but their continued action subverts all law and authority, and it seems to me ought not to be tolerated. At first I was surprised that you had taken part in the strife, and especially against the committee; but the newspapers have contained such full information as to your movements that it was manifest that you did right in accepting the authority you did, and under the circumstances you could do nothing but resent what they did. The papers here take the same view of it, and approve the course you pursued, and generally condemn General Johnson that he did not observe more moderation in dealing with the committee. As it seems to exercise its novel authority wisely and promptly, I hope they will expel the worst of their prisoners without further violence, and then gradually dissolve, and allow the constituted authorities to resume their usual course. The lesson taught them may be of service.

Affectionately your brother,

JOHN SHERMAN.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., Aug. 19, 1856.

My Dear Brother: I have received your letter. The difference between the Kansas case and this is that in

Kansas the efforts came from the slavery party to restrain the free emigration, and to stuff the vote, so as to nullify the numbers of free voters. Here the ballot-box stuffing was partly imaginary, the famous box being a humbug, used at the primary elections to secure the nominations, and never used at the public polls. One was positively illegal, the other was simply irregular, and the Legislature of the State had already decided that the judges of election should be appointed by five well-known gentlemen of this city, — a remedy ample and conclusive for future elections, which was an admission on the part of the State that the former judges of election were not trustworthy. Again, in Kansas it was doubtful who was the legal governor. Here there is no question that Johnson was duly and fairly elected, for if any illegal votes were cast, they were against him. The city of San Francisco, where all these alleged frauds were committed, voted against Johnson. If murder had not been punished heretofore, it was not the fault of the judges, but of the juries, the merchants, and those who are of the Vigilance Committee, having avoided jury duty as much as possible. I remember when Cora's jury was empanelled, there was a universal answer that it was a good jury, and the judge charged strongly for murder; but the jury did not agree, and those who voted for Cora's acquittal were of the Vigilance Committee. Same of Hetherington's trial.

Your affectionate brother,

W. T. SHERMAN.

In August, 1856, General Sherman, who has evidently been watching with concern and anxiety the trouble brewing in the House of Representatives, says: —

Unless people, both North and South, learn more moderation, we'll see sights in the way of civil war. Of course, the North have the strength, and must prevail, though the people of the South could and would be desperate enough. I hope in Congress you will resolve yourself into the fighting branch and work off some of the surplus steam that is threatening to blow up the Union.

Again, in December, he urges the necessity of a road to California.

I wish you would make it your business to advocate the wagon road to California, one road along the usually travelled emigrant way. Let the railroad alone; it will cost so much money that it will break down any administration that adopts it as a party measure. Such a road is for the future, not the present. Give us a good wagon road, costing, say, a million or two, with bridges, wells, and stations. Also, more particularly, I wish you would use your private efforts to procure the passage of a bill granting the usual proportion of public land to the Sacramento Valley Railroad. This road is already built at heavy expense from Sacramento City east to the foot of the mountains.

Your affectionate brother,

W. T. SHERMAN.

In May, 1857, General Sherman removed with his family to New York, and shortly after returned to Ohio. The general panic in California, attendant upon the failure of the gold mines, rendered the banking business perilous in the extreme, so that Lucas, Turner & Co. wound up their affairs in San Francisco. Shortly after General Sherman had opened a branch house in New York, the parent firm in St. Louis failed, and, after clos-

ing the bank in the former city, he returned to Ohio to again start out in the world. In December, 1857, he writes:—

I think rather than be idle or to undertake any new indefinite scheme, I would return to my old business (the army), for which I am better qualified than any other. There will be great press for the higher appointments of Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Major: still, I have very many friends among the higher officers, and think by vigorous efforts I might get one of them.

The army was not increased, as he hoped it would be, so he failed to secure his reinstatement. In January General Sherman finally decided to become a lawyer, and entered into partnership with his brothers-in-law, Hugh and Thomas Ewing, in Leavenworth, Kansas.

In writing to John at this time he foretells some things that have come true, and another war that may still come to us, though far from probable.

I think in the next ten years we will have plenty to do in the war line—Mormon war, civil broils and strife, contests for political power, growing out of slavery and other exciting topics, and last a war with Spain, resulting in the conquest of Cuba.

Much of his work was done in surveying roads, and upon being asked to draw up a map of the supposed gold region in Kansas, he writes:—

It is very dangerous to attempt to draw lines by any old maps, for, like Benton, you will have ideal, wide, beautiful valleys, where awful mountains stand and won't get out of the way. Again, it is not safe to locate roads along valleys, because these valleys are not like the valleys of Ohio or the Alleghanies, for in California I have seen valleys with almost perpendicular sides of 1500 to

2500 feet, which is a smooth country, 'tis said, to that about Shasta. I think that this memorandum of mine will answer your questions; whether satisfactorily or not, I don't know.

On Dec. 19, John Sherman writes from Washington:—

Dear Brother: Your letter of the 8th came opportunely, as it gives me a good opportunity to make a request which it may be a pleasure to grant. I have heretofore opposed the Pacific Railroad, or rather its aid by the government, principally because its construction within the ten years will be premature and will be subject to interruptions by the Indians, and because our knowledge of the country was not sufficient to enable the best route to be chosen. I have fought against all grants to railroads because of the change it made in the settled policy of the government in regard to settled lands. I have favored the "Pre-emption and Homestead Lines," and have steadily opposed either grants or sales except to actual settlers and for settlement. Within a few days, in a conference with polite friends and rather in deference to the general demand for a Pacific Railroad, I have agreed to support a bill containing the following as its leading features: 1st. Authority to the President to contract for the transportation of the mails, etc., by railroad company between Big Sioux and Kansas River; thence between latitude 27° and 43° to San Francisco. 2d. A grant of alternate sections of public lands for twenty miles on each side of roads to be sold within five years after the completion of each section of the road of twenty-five miles; to be subject, however, to pre-emption by actual settlers at not over \$2.50 per acre, and the remaining sections to be granted to actual settlers under the Homestead Bill. 3d. A payment by the government of \$10,000 a mile,

to be paid as each section of twenty-five miles is completed, with proper reservations to secure completion of the contract.

The details of this measure are a compound of Giddings and other railroad bills. I do not think any bill will pass this session. I may wish to speak upon it, and what I want to ask of you is a full statement of your ideas, pro and con, with liberty to use what you write. You must have a general knowledge of the routes, etc., etc., and if you take time to do as I ask, I hope you will be so full and yet so guarded in your statements that I may quote them and implicitly insist upon their entire accuracy.

I have here ample opportunities and facilities for information, but I have not time to wade through the immense volumes of exploration, etc.

I have talked with Stevens (your old friend) and Lander and others, but they are enlisted in some war scheme. To aid you I will send you the exploration in eight quarto volumes, but all I have are in Mansfield. You shall, however, have a full set in the spring. You had better keep posted in this Pacific Railroad, for who knows but you may be connected with it some day.

In your statement, answer me these questions:

Why should government build a railroad so much in advance of settlements? Why is the central road to be chosen rather than any other? What is the best mode for the government to do it? By its own agents? By its contracts with corporations or individuals? Shall it be with lands, money, etc.? What are the difficulties to be overcome, and how? Indians, timber, water, transportation, mountains, elevation, and face of the country?

It is a magnificent project and I fear the greatness of

the task will lure our people into a premature attempt to build it. We like great and splendid schemes, and sometimes forget they do not pay.

Affectionately yours,

JOHN SHERMAN.

P.S. — You are mistaken about the Republican party; there are no signs of division in its ranks. It is now the most compact and by far the strongest political element in our politics.

I think that I met Mr. Williams in New York. I was at a party given by Governor Morgan, the governor-elect of New York, and met nearly all the leading capitalists and bankers of the State, and I am pretty sure he was among them. By the way, a good many of them had waded through a financial speech I made last spring and so got the idea that I know ten times more about "Finance" than I do.

The request made (in the letter of December 19th) was granted and highly approved of by John Sherman. In acknowledging it, he calls it the "best statement of the arguments pro and con and the difficulties to be overcome" that he had seen. In the same letter he says: "While I like the excitement of political life, it will make me an old man before my time," a prophecy happily unfulfilled. In writing of the admission of Kansas as a free or slave State, General Sherman writes:—

For many years the Southern politicians have struggled to maintain that equal representation in the Senate, long since lost in the House, and when, as now also, a majority is obtained in the Senate beyond chance of alteration, then the question is settled and all angry controversy might and ought to cease. The South, with a minority of representation in both branches, and with

the presence of three millions of slaves in their midst, are weak and in the power of the North; so that it seems to me that the Northern representatives can afford to lay low and let events develop the solution of the dangerous political problem. If Congress do admit Kansas as a slave State, her people will forthwith abolish it, and the South will never again attempt to coerce their Southern ideas upon any new territory so illy adapted to slave labor. To taunt them with their want of success and weakness can do no good.

Affectionately your brother,

W. T. SHERMAN.

And later, in writing to congratulate John on his reelection, he urges moderation in the coming discussions and strife with the Southern members.

I see by the papers that you are re-elected; I took that for granted. It seems to be the impression that we are to have a Republican candidate, or rather President, in 1860. I hope, if you have a hand in it, you will be as moderate as possible. I don't fear the South flying off for any such cause; but there is a reasonable middle ground on which all educated Americans may stand.

In April of 1859 John Sherman sailed on the *Vanderbilt* for a short trip abroad. Just at this time Kansas became the scene of gold discoveries, or rumors of such. General Sherman seems destined to lead a life of excitement. His arrival seems to herald some human upheaval. He writes to John of these new excitements.

LEAVENWORTH CITY, KANSAS, April 30, 1859.
(Finished May 1.)

Dear Brother: . . . I would like very much to be with you and make the trip, although my tastes might

lead me to traverse fields and places which have no interest to you; but Europe, being now the concentrated history and civilization of our time, has in every part interest enough for all men. I wish, therefore, you to tell me of your progress and observations. . . .

At this moment we are in the midst of a rush to Pike's Peak. Steamboats arrive in twos and threes each day, loaded with people for the new gold region. The streets are full of people buying flour, bacon, and groceries, with wagons and outfits, and all around the town are little camps preparing to go west. A daily stage goes west to Fort Riley, 135 miles, and every morning two spring wagons, drawn by four mules and capable of carrying six passengers, start for the Peak, distance six hundred miles, the journey to be made in twelve days. As yet the stages all go out and don't return, according to the plan for distributing the carriages; but as soon as they are distributed, there will be two going and two returning, making a good line of stages to Pike's Peak. Strange to say, even yet, although probably 25,000 people have actually gone, we are without authentic advices of gold. Accounts are generally favorable as to words and descriptions, but no positive physical evidence comes in in the shape of gold, and I will be incredulous until I know some considerable quantity comes in in the way of trade.

In telling John his political convictions at this time, he says:—

I keep along still, and shall not even vote till some organization arises that is more in accordance with my personal convictions, which are more and more strong. My idea is that the Southern States should be more likened to a man having a deformity, like the fox who

lost his tail and wanted all others to cut theirs off. They think they are best off, or at least are bound to think so; and instead of thrusting the fact before them all the time, I would indulge them in their delusion with all the philosophy and complacency of a strong man. If they attempt to abolish the law about slave trade, vote them down without unnecessary debate. If they and committee frame a bill to restrain territorial legislation from restricting slavery, vote them down. They have not the physical or political power to oppress the free States, nor can they afford to disperse their slaves any more. Already they have Florida, Arkansas, Texas, and large parts of Alabama and Mississippi, with less population per area than Mexico or Central America. There is no outlet for the negroes of our country; we have no right to displace the population of Mexico to put slaves there. Slavery must stay pretty much in its present boundaries by the constitution and laws as they now are.

Whether in the midst of moving battalions, in rattling towns, amid the towering Alps, or in sunny Italy, you must think of us out here on the pampas of Kansas.

Your affectionate brother,

W. T. SHERMAN.

In writing to John Sherman, travelling abroad, in May, 1859, General Sherman shows the most glowing interest in the Italian war, and bemoans his inability to go to the scene of conflict. His short epitome of the possibilities and probabilities of the outcome of the trouble is curious in its accuracy as well as in its mistaken idea of the chief actor.

Of course we are all expectation here to read news of the war in Italy. Our latest accounts are simply that

the Austrians, after entering Piedmont, have manœuvred without any definite plan, giving full time for the Sardinians to organize, and for France to pour into Italy her well-equipped armies by every avenue of approach. We know, too, that the Emperor of Austria has gone to control the operations of his army, that the King of Sardinia is also his own generalissimo, and that Napoleon had sailed from Marseilles for Genoa, whence, I take it, he promptly crossed to Turin, and that he, too, will command in person.

I should like of all things to be in your stead, and I think ere this I would be near the Lake of Maggiore, within a circuit of thirty miles of which, I feel satisfied, will be or have been fought several great battles. So rapid now are movements of troops, so well-equipped are they, and so glowing with a desire to battle, that I doubt not ere this some actions have been fought that will give a clue to the result. If Napoleon can drive the Austrians out of all Italy, even from Venice and Triest, and from thence north of the Styrian Alps, and then gradually surrender the power thus acquired to a federation of states, retiring to France, he would be the most celebrated man of this or any age. He can do so. The elder Bonaparte could not, as he was never cordially recognized by other governments; but Napoleon III. is so firmly fixed, to all appearance, in France, that he can moderate his plans, and cease conquest the moment his aim is accomplished. So few ambitious men, however, have been able to stop at the right place that fortune seems to tempt them beyond human depth into ruin; still, so wilful, silent, and determined has he shown himself that I expect that he will force the Austrians back from Italy, and then allow some form of government to control the Italian kingdoms, states, and republics. Austria, however, will not

relinquish Triest, Dalmatia, and Venice without a death-struggle, and it may be that the war now begun may spread and make as many dynastic changes as those wars which followed the French Revolution. I wish I were there to watch the operations and changes; but alas! I am in Kansas.

As ever,

Your brother,

W. T. SHERMAN.

While the soldier brother was in the wilds of Kansas, pining to hear the clash of great armies, the statesman brother was in London, burning to suggest new measures in the House of Commons, to fight another kind of battle.

PARIS, June 19, 1859.

My Dear Brother: You will perceive from the date of this letter that I am in the capital of gaiety, and such I have found it. This city is a striking contrast to any I have ever seen. If there are unhappy people here, I have not seen them. The streets are alive with people, and bands are playing in the gardens and palaces. Groups are gathered around singing-stalls, the cafés and restaurants are filled, and the broad promenades are encroached upon by persons sitting in front of the cafés, sipping coffee, etc. I have now been here eight days, and if I was to select a happy city, judging only from appearances, there could be no rival with Paris.

I know very well, from the history of the Parisians, that a sudden impulse would change them into tigers, and that the gayest spots have been the scenes of frightful cruelties, but surely they seem happy now. I have been constantly contrasting the people of Paris with the English: the conclusion is all in favor of the Parisians.

I was in Great Britain seven weeks; went into England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. I saw all I was allowed to see, without prejudice, with a sincere desire to improve my limited time. As a matter of course, I could not give you reasons or ideas on facts gathered on the way. The mere journal of places, men, and sights seen would be a very poor guide-book. My conclusions are all against the British Government. . . . When Englishmen hereafter talk about their rights, I will know what they mean. They do enjoy a limited liberty of speech and of the press, and then you have said all. It is a government of the aristocracy, more exclusive, repelling, and narrow than I conceived of. The House of Commons is the only pretended representation of the people, and that is but a mere pretence. The representation is so glaringly unequal that it is a surprise to me that the people will submit to it. As the members are not paid, and none can vote without property, it is a mere representation of money and not of men. Every regulation of the government, the rules of caste, the combined insolence and obsequiousness of all classes with whom I came in contact, were so unpleasant to me that, while my visit there was a constant enjoyment and a school, I would not live under the British Government for any consideration. . . . Without this detail, this is my idea of the British Government, and if time and space united allowed, I could state the facts and observations that, little by little, led to this conclusion; but I will leave that for some long talk when time is not so precious.

The cultivated scenery of England fully met my expectations. I can imagine nothing more beautiful than their hawthorn-hedge fields, their cattle and sheep, and indeed everything that depends on care and cultivation. The idea that all this stock and property belonged to a

few, that the great mass of the people merely labored for others, and that the whole government was conducted and a system of laws passed simply to continue and intensify this state of things, and that the favored class had the possession of all the powers of government, securely hedged about, made me a rebel from the beginning.

I was present at the great debate in the House of Commons, when the ministry was overthrown upon questions utterly insignificant, and I could not but wish that I was a member of that body for ten years, with full power to introduce and discuss several measures of reform, to bring to the people of England equal representation, based upon men and not upon property or boroughs, a law against entailment, and a law of descent and distribution, which would divide property among children equally. The discussion of such radical measures could not but convince intelligent men. But what then? Neither the intelligence nor population of England is represented in Parliament, and a favored class have never yielded power except to revolution or the fear of it.

The French government is much more tolerable. Louis Napoleon is emperor by usurpation, but I really think that the government is not only for the good, but is the choice of the people and others. There is the greatest personal liberty and equality here, and the institutions tend to advance equality and give a fair chance to merit. It is true that through the press people cannot discuss politics, except on one side. In private life, and indeed in the saloons and public places, there seems no restraint. The administration of the law seems well conducted. Taxes, as compared with England, are light, and the Frenchman has no restraint,

either by caste or law, from doing what he wishes, except that he must not write against the government. His equality with his neighbor is recognized. There is more freedom, if I might say so, more mixing of all classes of people here, and on terms of kindness and equality, than you will find even in America. The blouses, the uniforms, and the black coats all sit and eat and chat together. On the whole, they have much more claim to be a "free people" than the English, and hereafter I will know how to appreciate an English account of French tyranny.

But enough of this. I received two of your letters with great pleasure. Through friends and the papers to be found here, in many places, I am kept well advised of the American matters.

My travels have given me a fund of information that I could get in no other way. I think I will never regret the trip. I leave Paris to-morrow for Milan and the seat of war; thence we visit Switzerland and the Rhine, returning here in time to take the boat leaving Havre August 3d for New York. I regret to return so soon, but business demands it.

I will be on the field of Magenta and Montebello, and if possible, on the present theatre of action. Remember me to all, and believe me to remain

Affectionately your brother,

JOHN SHERMAN.