

there is but little doubt a majority of the Legislature is for me. Still I know enough of the shifts and dangers in a new body of men like a Legislature not to be over sanguine. Since I am in the contest I will do all I can for success, and hope my friends will do likewise, but if defeated will bear it patiently. In a short time I will send you a list of the members who are from the military service, in the hope that you may know some of them well enough to influence them. You can feel perfectly easy in doing this, as my opponents use to the uttermost against me any prejudice or feeling against you. This election over, I think I shall be very willing to say good by to politics, and will then seek to settle myself comfortably in some part of Ohio where I can engage in railroads, banking, or manufacturing. The law in this country is now only useful as the pathway to other pursuits.

I have seen Johnson several times. He seems kind and patient with all his terrible responsibility. I think he feels what every one must have observed, that the people will not trust the party or men who, during the war, sided with the rebels. The Democratic party is doomed forever as a disloyal organization, and no promises, or pledges, or platform they can make will redeem them from the odium they justly gained.

Yours affectionately,

JOHN SHERMAN.

On Nov. 29, 1865, General Sherman writes from St. Louis:—

I am going to start for Arkansas on Friday, and be absent some three weeks. I take it nothing important can occur at Washington until after Christmas, unless it

be on the question of the admission of the Southern members. I have never committed myself on that point, and though everybody supposes that my terms with Johnston looked to that result, you will remember that those terms specially provided that the laws of Congress were to control all questions. Now the new oath is and was a law of Congress, and the members elect must take the new oath, and if they cannot it is their fault or misfortune, not ours. If they take the prescribed oath, I think they should be admitted, simply because you cannot expect to hold a people always without representation, and it will give them additional weight, if they be denied now and afterward received. It is always better when concessions are to be made to make them at once, and not seem to be forced to do it after contest. You can now simply say, "Certainly, come in by subscribing to the conditions and oaths already prescribed by law, the same oaths we take."

Affectionately,

W. T. SHERMAN.

ST. LOUIS, Dec. 22, 1865.

*Dear Brother:*

I am just back from Little Rock, have read the message and all the reports which seem satisfactory. Grant's report is all I ask, but no one ever has and may not agree with me as to the very great importance of the march north from Savannah. The march to the sea seems to have captivated everybody, whereas it was child's play compared with the other. All well with me. I will write soon.

W. T. SHERMAN.

And on January 17th he writes again from St. Louis:—

I get a great many commentaries on the past, and have no reason to object to the exalted examples with which my name is connected. According to some enthusiasts, Hannibal, Alexander, and Napoleon fall below my standard. Of course I always laugh at these, and prefer to stand by the record, being perfectly satisfied with Grant's *résumé* of the campaigns of 1864-5.

Affectionately,

W. T. SHERMAN.

HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION  
OF THE MISSISSIPPI,  
ST. LOUIS, Jan. 19, 1866.

*Dear Brother:* The papers this morning announce your election by a strong vote, and settle that question. I am of course very glad, for it demonstrates not only your strength but that the people of Ohio approve your past. As to the future, of course in all things political you have far more knowledge than I, but I do believe that the extension of the election franchise is being pushed beyond the Rule of Right. All beings are entitled to the protection of the law, even "infants not born," but because of such natural right it is not to be inferred they must vote. To vote implies an understanding almost equivalent to the ability to make laws. It is legislative — not natural Right. Instead of enlarging the privilege, we must gradually curtail it, in order to have stability and security. It was this popular clamor for supposed rights that carried the South into rebellion. No people were ever more unanimous than they, and though now they concede themselves vanquished, yet on this and kindred subjects they are as unanimous as ever.

To place or attempt to place the negro on a par with the whites will produce new convulsions. The country is in no condition to go on with such contests. Better pacify or acknowledge conditions than attempt new ones dangerous to the peace of the whole country. It will take ten years for the South to regain full prosperity with the negro free, and that should precede any new complication.

Affectionately, etc.,  
W. T. SHERMAN.

HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION  
OF THE MISSISSIPPI,  
ST. LOUIS, Feb. 11, 1866.

*Dear Brother:* I had a pleasant trip to Detroit, reaching there in a snowstorm on Wednesday morning. I got a couple hours of quiet, and then for two days was kept on the jump, visited and dined, when I got away. I think I must have touched the hands of 10,000 people. At the dinner we had the best people of the city, who were even more eulogistic than usual. I saw Mr. Cass, who sat in a chair and was seemingly much flattered by my visit. He simply said that he hoped the present peace would not be disturbed by experiments. We cannot shove the South back as Territories, and all steps to that end must fail for many reasons, if no other than that it compels the people already there to assume a hostile attitude. The well disposed of the South must again be trusted — we cannot help it.

You are classed universally as one of the rising statesmen, above mere party rules. And whilst you should not separate from your party, you can moderate the severity of their counsels. . . .

Affectionately,  
W. T. SHERMAN.

HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION  
OF THE MISSISSIPPI,  
ST. LOUIS, Feb. 23, 1866.

*Dear Brother:* The political aspect now is interesting to a looker-on. Sumner and Stevens would have made another civil war inevitably — the President's antagonistic position saves us war save of words, and as I am a peace man I go for Johnson and the Veto.

I recollect that Congress is but one of three co-ordinate branches of the Government. I want to hear the Supreme Court manifest itself, and then can guess at the conclusion. . . . Let Johnson fight it out with Sumner, who, though sincere, represents an antagonism as ultra as of Davis himself. Both are representative men, and it will be a pity if the great mass of our people have to go on fighting forever to demonstrate the fallacy of extreme opinions.

The Republican party has lost forever the best chance they can ever expect of gaining recruits from the great middle class who want peace and industry. The white men of this country will control it, and the negro, in mass, will occupy a subordinate place as a race. We can secure them the liberty now gained, but we cannot raise them to a full equality in our day, even if at all. Had the Republicans graciously admitted the great principle of representation, leaving members to take the Ironclad Oath, you would have secured the active co-operation of such men as Sharkey, Parsons, Wm. A. Graham, Johnson, and others of the South, and it would not be many years before some of these States would have grown as rabid as Missouri, Maryland, and Arkansas are now disposed to be. The foolish querulousness of the Secessionists untamed would soon make a snarlish minority in their own States. Now, however, by the

extreme measures begun and urged with so much vindictiveness, Sumner has turned all the Union people South as well as of the West against the party. . . . It is surely unfortunate that the President is thus thrown seemingly on the old mischievous anti-war Democrats, but from his standpoint he had no alternative. To outsiders it looks as though he was purposely forced into that category.

I know that the Freedmen Bureau Bill, and that for universal suffrage in the District, are impracticable and impolitic. Better let them slide, and devote time to putting the actual Government into the best shape the country admits of, letting other natural causes produce the results you aim at. Whenever State Legislatures and people oppress the negro they cut their own throats, for the negro cannot again be enslaved. Their mistakes will work to the interests of the great Union party.

I can readily understand what the effect must be in your circle. How difficult it is to do anything, but if Congress does nothing it will be the greatest wisdom; for the business relations opening throughout the South will do more to restore peace and prosperity than all the laws that could be published in six months.

I think Mr. Johnson would consent to a modification of the Constitution to change the basis of representation to suit the changed condition of the population South, but that is all he can or should do. . . .

We need the Army Bills<sup>1</sup> to get to work. I will have to abandon all the remote settlements to the chances of the Indians, for even after the bill passes, it will take months to enlist the men, and in the meantime all vol-

<sup>1</sup> The bills providing for the reorganization of the army.

unteers are clamorous for discharge, and must be discharged as soon as winter lets them come in.

Affectionately,  
W. T. SHERMAN.

And on February 28th, he writes again:—

*Dear Brother:* Of course I agree substantially with the President. If we do not design to make a complete revolution in our form of Government, but rather to preserve it, you must, sooner or later, allow representation from the South, and the longer it is deferred the worse will be its effect.

Any seeming purpose to restrict them from retaining political power with your party will react against you.

The case is very different when a native conquers an adversary, but even in that case we have always incorporated new conquests as a part of the whole, as in Louisiana, Texas, and California. If the people of the South are to be punished, it must be done by trials and convictions of individuals.

Affectionately,  
W. T. SHERMAN.

On March 24th, General Sherman writes from St. Louis:—

I am sorry to hear that the President is likely to break with the party. It should not be, but Congress should defer much to him, as an executive feels how much more difficult to execute plans than a Congress dealing with abstract ideas. I still hope that mutual concessions will result in a practical solution.

The question as to the burning of Columbia, S.C., having been raised by Wade Hampton, General Sher-

man writes the two following letters on the subject and encloses an old order given at the time.

I have no doubt myself, and Howard, Logan, Woods, and all who were in Columbia that night concur with me. The fire which burned up the city, began about dawn, after I had been in six hours, and I know that great exertions were made to stop it, but there had been all day and continued till late at night, a perfect tempest of wind, and I saw hundreds of bales of cotton on fire flying hundreds of yards. It is barely possible some malicious soldier started the fire, but I rather think this devilish spirit grew as the fire progressed. I know that the general judgment of the country is that no matter how it began it was all right, still I know that the cotton was the cause of the rapid spread of the fire, and this resulted from the fact that the bales had been ripped open with knives, so that long before the fire began the houses and trees were white with it, and it was plain a spark would spread like gunpowder. It was not specially my business, for Howard was in actual command of the troops in Columbia, but being present in person the world holds me responsible. I should like you to introduce the petition, and to say that I have no doubt as to the parties responsible for all the consequences.

It was not until the day after the conflagration that I destroyed the Arsenal and other public factories which were in the suburbs and had escaped the fire that burned the town.

Affectionately,

W. T. SHERMAN.

HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION  
OF THE MISSISSIPPI,  
St. Louis, Mo., April 2, 1866.

Dear Brother:

I know the railroad depot and three large bridges were burned *before* a soldier of ours had entered Columbia, and I know that six hours before the real conflagration began I saw half-a-dozen piles of cotton *on fire* in the streets — one large pile near the market house where the great conflagration began, which fire our soldiers were putting out as I rode by it. . . . Wade Hampton defended Columbia as long as he dared, and then ran away, leaving the city full of cotton blowing about like flakes of snow. So that trees and frame houses and garden fences were literally white. Of course a mayor could expect no terms. Being helpless, he took what he could get. I told him, of course, I had no intention to burn or destroy anything except what my previous orders defined. I saw Wade Hampton's cotton order printed in a Columbia paper, but kept no copy, as it was notorious; for he openly declared that Yankee footsteps should not pollute his threshold, and he commanded everything like corn fodder, etc., to be burnt, lest we should get it. . . .

They boasted that we would find a Moscow and its consequences.

The treatment of our officers, prisoners at Columbia, was enough to have warranted its utter annihilation, and after the fire began it required all our efforts to prevent its extending to the suburbs, including the Old Hampton house, — now owned by Preston, brother-in-law of Wade Hampton, — which was saved by John Logan.

Affectionately yours,

W. T. SHERMAN.

HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI,  
IN THE FIELD NEAR COLUMBIA, S.C., Feb. 16, 1865.

Special Field Orders, }  
No. 26. }

## EXTRACT.

The next series of movements will be at Fayetteville, N.C., and thence to Wilmington or Goldsboro, according to events. Great care must be taken to collect forage and food, and at the same time in covering the wagon trains from cavalry dashes.

General Howard will cross the Saluda and Broad rivers as near their mouths as possible, occupy Columbia, destroy the public buildings, railroad property, manufacturing and machine shops, but will spare libraries, and asylums, and private dwellings. He will then move to Winnsboro, destroying en route utterly that section of the railroad. . . .

By order of Major-General

W. T. SHERMAN.

L. M. DAYTON, *Assistant Adjutant-General*.

[Probably April 6-7, 1866.]

This order was made the day before we entered Columbia, about the time the rebels were cannonading our camps on the west side of the Congaree, and burning their three splendid bridges (Saluda and Broad unite at Columbia and make the Congaree). During the 16th Howard crossed the Saluda at the factory above Columbia, and that night crossed Stone's brigade to the east side of the Broad River, and under its cover laid the pontoon bridge, completing it about noon of the 17th. Stone's brigade went into Columbia about 11 A.M., the mayor having come out three miles and notified him that Beauregard and Hampton had evacuated. They evacuated because they knew that Slocum and Kilpatrick

were moving straight for Winnsboro, 26 miles in their rear, and I wanted them to stay in Columbia another day. Their hasty evacuation was not to spare Columbia, but to save being caught in the forks of the Congaree and Catawba, which would have resulted, had they given time for Slocum to reach Winnsboro. Mayor Goodwin complained to me of the cotton-burning order of Wade Hampton, and especially that Hampton and Beauregard would not consent to his request that the liquor (which had run the blockade and been transferred from the coast to Columbia for safety) was not removed or destroyed. This liquor, which our men got in bucketfuls, was an aggravation, and occasioned much of the disorder at night after the fires had got headway. We all know how the soldiers and junior officers hated South Carolina, and I can hardly say what excesses would have resulted had the general officers allowed them free scope. . . .

W. T. SHERMAN.

The latter part of March, 1866, John Sherman says in a long letter on family matters:—

. . . . .  
You may have noticed that I have been in Connecticut making two speeches. That at Bridgeport is reported in full in "The New York Times" of yesterday. Our difficulties here are not over; Johnson<sup>1</sup> is suspicious of every one, and I fear will drift into his old party relations. If so, he will carry with him but little peace and prestige, and will soon be in deserved disgrace. It is also evident that Grant has some political aspirations and can, if he wishes it, easily attain the Presidency. . . .

Affectionately yours,

JOHN SHERMAN.

<sup>1</sup> The President.

And on April 23d he writes:—

*Dear Brother:* So little attention is paid to Wade Hampton's gasconade, that I do not think it worth while to give it importance by an answer. Indeed, I do not find it printed in any Northern paper, and having sent you the only copy I have seen, I find it impossible to get another. The materials of a reply are on hand, and are entirely satisfactory, but I will let it rest until the charge is taken up by some one else.

As for the Civil Rights Bill, I felt it so clearly right that I was prepared for the very general acquiescence in its provisions both North and South.

To have refused the negroes the simplest right granted to every other inhabitant, native or foreigner, would be outrageous; and to confess that our Government is strong enough to compel their military services, and yet not strong enough to secure them the right to acquire and hold property would involve a gross inconsistency. I hope this bill will be made the basis of a compromise. If fairly enforced in the South, the public mind will be satisfied for the negro to take his chances for political privileges. . . .

Affectionately,  
JOHN SHERMAN.

On May 12th, John Sherman writes of a contemplated Western trip.

The chief motive I have in the trip this fall is to notice the country through which the Pacific R. R. runs. The mistake made by Congress was in not concentrating its aid on *one* road commencing far enough west to be the common meeting point of all the Eastern roads, and then push it through with all the means of the Govern-

ment. As it is too late to alter the law, it is probable *one* of the roads now building will be selected, and gratuities will not be given to the other further than the one hundredth meridian. I am a member of the Railroad Committee, and therefore take an active interest in the question.

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
WASHINGTON, July 2, 1866.

*Dear Brother:* I have read the enclosed letter with a good deal of interest. The feeling of the writer is manly and proper. A man may lose his cause both in law or in war without yielding his sense of right or his pride or honor. If he will only submit to the decision of the tribunal to which he appeals, it is all that can be asked of him. I meet a great many from the South whom I knew before the war, and I confess I am gratified with their sentiments and conduct. If they could now see their manifest interests to accept the recent adjustment or amendments to the Constitution as a reasonable and fair settlement, the South would soon be resurrected into greater wealth and power. I only fear their political alliance with the pestilent Copperheads of the North, and thus perpetuation of sectional enmity. I really fear that Johnson, who is an honest man, will from sheer stubbornness and bitter dislike to Stevens and a few others, lend himself to this faction. The very moment the South will agree to a firm basis of representation, I am for general amnesty and a repeal of the test oaths. But the signs of the times indicate another stirring political contest. I see no way to avoid it. I will have to take part in it, but you can, and I hope will, stand aloof. Don't commit yourself to any political faction, and don't fail to remember that the Republican, or anti-slavery and now anti-rebel feeling, is deeper and

stronger than any other in the Northern States. We could surely contend with a manly, fighting rebel like your friend, but never will with those who raised the white flag in the rear. . . .

Affectionately,

JOHN SHERMAN.

The letter referred to by Senator Sherman is one written by Mr. Boyd to General Sherman. Mr. Boyd was, at the time he writes, the Superintendent of the Louisiana State Military Academy, a position which General Sherman held just before the war. The letter follows this one of Senator Sherman's.

LOUISIANA STATE SEMINARY, May 1, 1866.

GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN,  
United States America.

*Dear General:* Your most welcome favor of 12 ult. is at hand.

I am glad to know that you still feel so much interest in the seminary as to use your valuable time in writing me such wholesome advice regarding its management. None can appreciate your suggestions more than I do; for them I thank you, both in my official capacity and personally; and for the personal interest which I know you have always taken in my welfare I tender you my most sincere thanks. In the *late* war through which the country has passed, I was opposed to you; and in my own feeble and humble way did my best to help secure the secession of the Southern States.

For you, the great Federal Commander, I feel as do all good Southerners, not *amiably*, nor yet unkindly; for the noble and brilliant manner in which you did your duty commands our admiration, and now the struggle is over and I am one of the poor, subjugated band, I can

truly say that I have not a particle of ill feeling towards any man in the Federal Army. On the contrary, I have a few friends whom I value none the less for whipping me. Understand me rightly. I speak with no cringing spirit. Though beaten and so poor that none do me reverence, I am *patient* and *proud*. The end of matters has decided that the rights I battled for were in vain. I have no other, and none will I ask. I have taken the oath of allegiance in good faith, hoping to be allowed to remain in the country, and if not a useful citizen to be a harmless one.

Certainly I have no intention of ever again attempting to say who shall *not* be President of the United States. I am cured of that. That question must hereafter be decided by the *faithful* and not the *rebellious*.

For a similar reason I am addressing these lines not to the *General*, but to *W. T. Sherman*, and I congratulate myself that no one knows the difference between the two characters better than my friend, the report of whose death at Shiloh gave me great grief, when I was a poor *rebel* soldier lying in the Rappahannock mud, and whose "Union Scouts" (*alias* Confederate jayhawkers and deserters) two years after kidnapped me and took me a prisoner to him at Natchez, where he treated me both like a prisoner of war and his personal friend! And the friendship of such a man I value, and hope ever to have his confidence and esteem. . . .

Your chair is filled by Venable, Kirby Smith's topographical engineer. He has extraordinary capacity and fine character. . . .

In one way you can be of great use to the seminary, and I claim the right to call your attention to the matter. Although I have bought some few books for the boys to read we are still in great need of a library, and as I



have no doubt that you are showered with patent office reports, military books, maps, etc., much of which you do not want. Please have your orderly to pack up the rubbish and send them to us by Adams' express, *I* to pay all charges. If not in all, at least in the more important books, put *your name* as *donor*. I would like, also, to have a large picture of you in *citizen's* dress (unless you prefer your *uniform*), to be put in our library as our first superintendent. By sending us the books as asked for, you can really do us great good. You must know that we outsiders (not being represented at Washington) can't even get a patent office report. . . .

I must beg pardon for asking you to read so long a letter, but really, when I sit down to write to you, the past, so pleasant to recollect, and the present, so changed from then, make me feel like telling you all I know, and think, and feel. To a Southern man—a conscientious Calhounite as I was and am—the present is dark and sad, and the future gives but little hope. It is all not your fault nor mine. Present me most kindly to Mrs. Sherman and your children.

Your friend,

D. F. BOYD.

## VIII

Johnson's reconstruction policy—Severe comments by Senator Sherman—Strictly impartial attitude maintained by General Sherman—His mission to Mexico—Removals of officeholders by the President—General Sherman on the situation in Mexico—The Fourteenth Amendment—Eulogy of General Custer—Reconstruction in 1867—Napoleon III. on General Sherman—The Indian troubles in the West—Candidacy of Grant and Chase for the Presidency—The Indian Commission's incomplete work—General Sherman's advice to Johnson—The removal of Stanton—Sherman's invincible opposition to being in Washington—Efforts of the President to make him Secretary of War—Difficulties of his position—The impeachment proceedings—Comment of General Sherman

DURING the unfortunate struggle between the President and Congress with reference to the Secretary of War, it became almost impossible for General Sherman to keep out of the trouble. The President, finding himself at variance with Mr. Stanton, his Secretary of War, attempted to remove him without the sanction of Congress. Mr. Stanton declined to leave his office, and General Grant refused to comply with the President's request and assume the position of Secretary of War. The President, believing that General Sherman was more friendly to him than General Grant, made several attempts to bring him to Washington and to send General Grant away on the Mexican mission. General Grant refused to be disposed of in any such manner and General Sherman declined to be made Secretary of War. But he offered to go to Mexico in General Grant's place, and this plan was finally decided upon.

UNITED STATES SENATE CHAMBER,  
WASHINGTON, July 8, 1866.

*Dear Brother:* It is now wise for you to avoid all expressions of political opinion. Congress and the Presi-