

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-

dent are drifting from each other into open warfare. Congress is not weak in what it has done, but in *what it has failed to do*. It has adopted no unwise or extreme measures. The Civil Rights Bill and constitutional amendments can be defended as reasonable, moderate, and in harmony with Johnson's old position and yours. As Congress has thus far failed to provide measures to allow legal senators and representatives to take their seats, it has failed in a plain duty. This is its weakness; but even in this it will have the sympathy of the most of the soldiers, and the people who are not too eager to secure rebel political power. As to the President, he is becoming Tylerized. He was elected by the Union party for his openly expressed radical sentiments, and now he seeks to rend to pieces this party. There is a sentiment among the people that this is dishonor. It looks so to me. What Johnson is, is from and by the Union party. He now deserts it and betrays it. He may varnish it up, but, after all, he must admit that he disappoints the reasonable expectations of those who entrusted him with power. He may, by a coalition with Copperheads and rebels, succeed, but the simple fact that nine tenths of them who voted for him do not agree with him, and that he only controls the other tenth by power entrusted to him by the Union party will damn him forever. Besides, he is insincere; he has deceived and misled his best friends. I know he led many to believe he would agree to the Civil Rights Bill, and nearly all who conversed with him until within a few days believed he would acquiesce in the amendments, and even aid in securing their adoption. I almost fear he contemplates civil war. Under these circumstances you, Grant, and Thomas ought to be clear of political complications. As for myself, I intend to stick to

finance, but wherever I can will moderate the actions of the Union party, and favor conciliation and restoration.

Affectionately yours,

JOHN SHERMAN.

During August and September, 1866, Senator Sherman accompanied General Sherman on a trip to the western posts including Denver, but returned through Kansas, leaving General Sherman to complete his tour.

HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSOURI,  
ST. LOUIS, Mo., Oct. 20, 1866.

Dear Brother:

I got back all safe and well the day before yesterday, having met no trouble whatever, notwithstanding the many rumors of Indian troubles. These are all mysterious, and only accountable on the supposition that our people out West are resolved on trouble for the sake of the profit resulting from military occupation. I kept the same ambulances, and made the very route I had prescribed to myself by Garland, Lyon, etc., to Ellsworth, Riley, etc. The railroad is finished to Riley, so that I came all the way thence in cars. . . .

I see rumors of my being called to Washington. Of this I know nothing, and if offered I shall decline. I must keep clear of politics in all its phases, for I must serve any administration that arises. I am not aware that I have ever on paper expressed any opinion of this seeming conflict between Congress and the President. I deplore it as much as you do, and still hope that some solution will be found. . . .

Affectionately,

W. T. SHERMAN.

MANSFIELD, Oct. 26, 1866.

*Dear Brother:* Your letter of the 20th has been received. I thought, and was glad to hear, that you had a charming trip. I saw enough of the mountain region to give me a new estimate of its great value. In some respects I regret that I did not go with you, but situated as I am, it was extremely fortunate that I returned as I did. My political position ought not to be misunderstood, but unfriendly critics took occasion of my absence in the canvass to attribute it to duplicity or cowardice. The President's course on the Civil Rights Bill and constitutional amendment was so unwise that I could not for a moment allow any one to suppose that I meant with him to join a coalition with rebels and Copperheads. Besides, Johnson was elected by a party upon professions before and after his election and inauguration so pointedly different from his recent course that it appeared to me a betrayal of those who trusted his professions, and therefore in the highest sense dishonorable. But worse than all, his turning out good men — sometimes wounded soldiers — merely because they adhered to their party convictions, and putting in men who opposed the war throughout, is simply an unmitigated outrage that will stain the name of any man connected with such conduct. This was the deliberate judgment of *nearly every man in the Union party*, and the feeling was intensified by the President's conduct in his recent tour, when he sunk the Presidential office to the level of a grog-house.

I do trust you will not connect your name with this administration. You lose in every way by it. Grant ought not to ask it, for in the common judgment it places you in equivocal relations with him. You will have all the odium caused by disappointment in the reorganization of the Army, and will have a most difficult, delicate,

and responsible duty to discharge, in which you can gain no credit and may lose much. Besides, it connects you as a partisan with Johnson — just what he wants, but what you ought to dread. What can you think of the recent telegrams about your private letter? If you wrote a private letter, what business had they to make it public in the most offensive way by innuendo? Grant and you are above the ephemera of party politics, and for the sake of the country I hope will keep so. Let Johnson take Cowan, or some one that left the Union party with him, but my convictions are so strong that you ought not to play "Administrator de bonis non" of Stanton, that I write thus freely. If you conclude otherwise, I can only say I shall deeply regret it. . . .

Affectionately,

JOHN SHERMAN.

After returning from his Western trip, General Sherman was summoned to Washington in October by the President, who wished to make him Secretary of War.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 31, 1866.

*Dear Brother:* I got your letter, and have this morning answered by telegraph, but wish to write more fully. When here last winter, I did not call to say good-by to the President, and wrote him a good letter of apology, enclosing my good wishes for his success in his professed desire to accomplish in his term of office the restoration of Civil Government all over our land. When I got in to Riley I received a despatch from the President, asking leave to publish it. I answered that he could publish anything I ever wrote if it would do any good, — if Mr. Stanbery would advise it, — but desiring, if possible, to avoid any controversy. On this he did not publish, and I have not made any request in the premises. I don't

believe he will publish it, and I don't care much, for it contains nothing more than I thought then; *viz.*, in February last, when I got here, there was a move to send Grant to Mexico with Campbell in an advisory capacity. Grant could not then be put to one side in that way, and on my arrival I found out that the President was aiming to get Grant out of the way, and me in, not only as Secretary of War but to command the army, on the supposition that I would be more friendly to him than Grant. Grant was willing that I should be Secretary of War, but I was not. I would not be put in such a category, and after much pro and con we have settled down that I shall go with Campbell. The Secretary of the Navy is preparing a steamer for us, and it will be ready next week at New York, when we will go forth to search for the Governor of Mexico; not a task at all to my liking, but I cheerfully consented because it removes at once a crisis. Both Grant and I desire to keep plainly and strictly to our duty in the Army, and not to be construed as partisans. We must be prepared to serve every administration as it arises. We recognize Mr. Johnson as the lawful President, without committing ourselves in the remotest degree to an approval or disapproval of his specific acts. We recognize the present Congress as the lawful Congress of the United States, and its laws binding on us and all alike, and we are most anxious to see, somehow or other, the Supreme Court brought in to pass on the legal and constitutional differences between the President and Congress.

We see nothing objectionable in the proposed amendments to the Constitution, only there ought to have been some further action on the part of Congress committing it to the admission of members when the amendments are adopted; also the minor exceptions to hold office,

etc., should be relaxed as the people show an adherence to the national cause. . . . I feel sure the President is so in the habit of being controlled by popular majorities that he will yield—save he may argue against Congress and in favor of his own past-expressed opinions. Congress should not attempt an impeachment or interference with the current acts of the executive unless some overt act clearly within the definition of the Constitution be attempted, of which I see no signs whatever. Some very bad appointments have been made, but I find here that he was backed by long lists of names that were Union men in the war. Of course our army cannot be in force everywhere: to suppress riots in the South, Indians in that vast region, only a part of which we saw, where whites and Indians both require watching, and the thousand and one duties that devolve on us. This army can never be used in the political complications, nothing more than to hold arsenals, depots, etc., against riots, or to form the nucleus of an army of which Congress must provide the laws for government and the means of support. Neither the President nor Congress ought to ask us of the army to manifest any favor or disfavor to any political measures. We are naturally desirous for harmonious action—for peace and civility. We naturally resist the clamor of temporary popular changes, but as each administration comes in we must serve its executive and the War Department with seeming friendship.

I have called on Mr. Stanton, who received me with all cordiality, and placed at my disposal ample means to execute my present task with ease and comfort.

I start from here to-night, and shall reach St. Louis on Friday night, ready to start for New York as soon as the vessel is ready and as soon as Campbell is ready, say

all next week. . . . I don't know that I can come by way of Mansfield, as, you see, I must move fast, staying every spare minute I can at home. Write me fully, and let us all pull together and get past this present difficulty; then all will be well. . . .

Yours affectionately,  
W. T. SHERMAN.

In the fall of 1866, the Hon. Lewis D. Campbell, of Ohio, was appointed Minister to Juarez in Mexico, which country was still in possession of the Emperor Maximilian, supported by French troops under Marshal Bazaine, although Juarez was the President-elect of the country.

General Grant was ordered to escort Mr. Campbell to Mexico, but did not wish to go, as related by General Sherman, and the latter was ordered to go in his stead. On November 11th, General Sherman sailed on his mission on the United States ship *Susquehanna*.

UNITED STATES SHIP SUSQUEHANNA (off Sandy Hook),  
Nov. 11, 1866.

Dear Brother:

I had to make this trip to escape a worse duty, and to save another person from a complication that should be avoided.

I am determined to keep out of political, or even quasi-political office, and shall resign before being so placed, though I cannot afford to resign.

I hope that Congress will not let power pass into the hands of such men as Butler, Phillips, etc. — extreme men, as much so as Davis, Cobb, etc. We have escaped one horn of the dilemma, and ought if possible the other. But it is too late to argue anything, but I feel that if we cannot be calm and temperate in our country,

we have no right to go to Mexico to offer ourselves as their example and special friends. You can write me through the Navy Department, as I may run to New Orleans where Sheridan could hold a letter for me, but I expect little the next two months. . . .

Affectionately,  
W. T. SHERMAN.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 3, 1866.

Dear Brother: . . . I was heartily glad you got out of the War Department. The mission to Mexico is a very honorable one, and with your views on "annexation" is a very safe one for the country. We all hope that the French will go out, and that you will keep the United States out. We want as little to do with Mexico politically as possible, and as much trade with her as is profitable. She is terribly in need of a strong government, and if her mixed population would elect you or some other firm military ruler as emperor or king, it would be lucky for her, but a bad business for the elected one. I have never seen the elements of a stable government in Mexico, but she has physical resources that might, under a firm ruler, make her the second power in America. Self-government is out of the question. The worst enemies of Mexico are her own mixed, ignorant population. If Maximilian could have held on, he would have secured them physical prosperity; but sooner or later the pride of our people aroused against European intervention would have got us into a quarrel with him. It is therefore best that he leave. What you can do for or with Mexico we will see. Your military reputation and aptitude with all classes may help to bring order out of chaos. . . .

Your reception at Havana must have been grateful,

and the whole Mexican trip will no doubt close agreeably for you a year of trials and ovations. If they don't make you emperor down there, we will welcome you back as the "republicanizer" of the worst anarchy on the globe. If you establish Juarez, come away by all means in hot haste before the next pronunciamiento.

As for domestic matters, Congress meets to-morrow, very much irritated at the President. As for Butler or impeachment, you need not fear we shall follow the one or attempt the other. Johnson ought to acquiesce in the public judgment, agree to the amendment, and we shall have peace. The personal feeling grows out of the wholesale removal of good Union men from office. Campbell is as responsible for this as any man in Ohio; while I was under a cloud for being friendly to Johnson and absent from the State, they turned out all my special friends and put in Copperheads. . . .

Affectionately,

JOHN SHERMAN.

SANTIAGO, NOV. 7, 1866.

*Dear Brother:* We have nearly completed the circle without finding Juarez, who is about as far as ever, away up in Chihuahua for no other possible purpose than to be where the devil himself cannot get at him.

I have not the remotest idea of riding on mule back a thousand miles in Mexico to find its chief magistrate, and although the French go away and Maximilian follow, I doubt if Juarez can be made to trust his life and safety to his own countrymen. We found Vera Cruz in possession of the French and Maximilian, and we found Tzacapiso in possession of local troops in the interest of Maximilian, but they had not the remotest idea where we should look for Juarez. We have just reached here,

and shall to-morrow go up to Matamoras to meet General Escobedo, who can possibly fix some date when Juarez will come within reach of civilization.

The truth is these Mexicans were and are still as unable as children to appreciate the value of time. They shrug their shoulders and exclaim "Quien sabe!" (who knows) and "Poco tiempo" (in a short time), utterly regardless of combinations with others.

Mr. Campbell can deal with none but Juarez and the Republican Government he represents, and that government partakes of the characteristics of Mexicans; *viz.*, indecision and utter want of combination.

I believe the French want to leave, but would like to bring us into the scrape. Their scheme of giving Mexico a stable government has cost them \$200,000,000 of gold, and the whole conception was in hostility to us, to be ready to reabsolve the old Louisiana purchase, where, as Napoleon calculated, our Union had failed. But our Union has not failed, and the French are willing to go, but they are scattered and must collect before they can march for the seacoast to embark. By reason of the everlasting contest between the rival factions of Mexico, the property-holders desire some sort of stable government, and these favor Maximilian. He may attempt to remain after the French go, but I think would soon be forced to go. Then Mexico must of necessity settle her own difficulties. Some think she can, some that she cannot without our aid. This cannot be done without Congress, and on that point I am no advocate. All I can say is that Mexico does not belong to our system. All its northern part is very barren and costly. Its southern part is very good tropical country, but not suited to our people or pursuits. Its inhabitants are a mixture of Indians, negroes, and Spanish, that can never be tor-

tured into good citizens, and would have to be exterminated before the country could be made available to us. I am obeying orders and not carrying out a project of my own, and it is well you should understand it, though I cannot impart it to others.

I don't know what policy the Administration has adopted, but I should deplore anything that would make us assume Mexico in any shape — its territory, its government, or its people. Still the French occupation designed in hostility to us should be made to terminate.

Affectionately,

W. T. SHERMAN.

UNITED STATES SENATE CHAMBER,  
WASHINGTON, Dec. 27, 1866.

*Dear Brother:*

On the whole I am not sorry that your mission failed, since the French are leaving; my sympathies are rather with Maximilian. The usual factions of Ortega and Juarez will divide the native population, while Maximilian can have the support of the clergy and property. They are a miserable set, and we ought to keep away from them. Here political strife is hushed, and the South have two months more in which to accept the constitutional amendment.<sup>1</sup> What folly they exhibit! To me Johnson and the old encrusted politicians who view everything in the light of thirty years ago seem like blind guides. After the 4th of March they will rally to the amendment, and it will then be too late. . . .

Very truly yours,

JOHN SHERMAN.

<sup>1</sup> The 14th amendment, then pending before the State Legislatures.

General Sherman returned to St. Louis from Mexico by way of New Orleans.

St. Louis, Sunday, Dec. 30, 1866.

*Dear Brother:* I came up from New Orleans right through the country that I had been the means of raiding so thoroughly, and did not know but I should hear some things that would not be pleasant, but, on the contrary, many people met me all along the road in the most friendly spirit. I spent a whole day at Jackson, where chimney stacks and broken railroads marked the presence of Sherman's army. But all sorts of people pressed to see me, and evinced their natural curiosity, nothing more. . . .

I expect to have two Indian wars on my hands, and have no time for other things. The Sioux and Cheyennes are now so circumscribed that I suppose they must be exterminated, for they cannot and will not settle down, and our people will force us to it. It will also call for all possible prudence to keep us from war with the Mormons, for there are people that yearn for the farms and property the Mormons have created in the wilderness.

I have a despatch from Mr. Stanton, saying that my action in the delicate mission to Mexico meets the approval of the President, the Cabinet, and himself, so I got out of that scrape easily. I do not want to come to Washington, but to stay here quietly as long as possible. When Grant goes to Europe, then I shall be forced to come. The longer that is deferred the better for me.

Affectionately,

W. T. SHERMAN.

General Sherman, having been summoned to Washington, writes from St. Louis on January 8, 1867.