

struggle of political life, and above all dread the contest next summer, when, if I am a candidate, I shall have to encounter the combined opposition of every Democrat and of every Federal office-holder in Ohio. . . .

Affectionately,  
JOHN SHERMAN.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES,  
WASHINGTON, D.C., March 21, 1871.

*Dear Brother:* A few days ago at the request of a mutual friend, I sent to General J. E. Johnston at Savannah, the eight volumes of the report of the committee on the conduct of the war.

In writing him I called his attention to the recent feeling here on the subject of the Ku Klux, and that I did not believe he or the Confederate officers were either the instigators, or passive aiders of these disgraceful acts. . . .

Affectionately, etc.,  
W. T. SHERMAN.

General Sherman, while Commander of the Army, made frequent tours of inspection through the West.

FORT RICHARDSON, TEXAS, May 18, 1871.

*Dear Brother:* I have been skirting the frontier of Texas, from San Antonio to this place.

Now, for the first time, we meet mails coming from the direction of St. Louis, and have New York "Heralds" of May 1, 2, and 3. I see the "Herald" is out in full blast for me as President. You may say for me and publish it too, that in no event and under no circumstances will I ever be a candidate for President or any other political office; and I mean every word of it. . . .

Affectionately, etc.,  
W. T. SHERMAN.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES,  
WASHINGTON, D.C., July 8, 1871.

*Dear Brother:*

I saw General Grant when he was here some days ago, and we talked about . . . and my published declination of a nomination by either party. I told him plainly that the South would go against him *en masse*, though he counts on South Carolina, Louisiana, and Arkansas; but I repeated my conviction, that all that was vital at the South was against him, and that negroes were generally quiescent and could not be relied on as voters when local questions become mixed up with political matters. I think, however, he will be renominated and re-elected, unless by personally doing small things, to alienate his party adherence of the North. . . .

My office has been by law stript of all the influence and prestige it possessed under Grant, and even in matters of discipline and army control I am neglected, overlooked, or snubbed. I have called General Grant's attention to the fact several times, but got no satisfactory redress.

The old regulations of 1853, made by Jeff Davis in hostility to General Scott, are now strictly construed and enforced; and in these regulations the War Department is everything, and the name of General, Lieutenant-General, or Commander-in-Chief even, does not appear in the book. Consequently, orders go to parts of the army supposed to be under my command, of which I know nothing till I read them in the newspapers; and when I call the attention of the Secretary to it, he simply refers to some paragraph of the Army Regulations. Some five years ago there was a law to revise these Regulations, and to make them conform to the

new order of things, and to utilize the experiences of the war. A Board was appointed here in Washington, composed of Sherman, Sheridan, and Auger, that did so revise them, and they were submitted to Congress with the approval of General Grant; but no action was taken. But now a new Board is ordered to prepare another set, and this Board is composed of a set of officers hardly qualified to revise the judgment of the former Board. I propose patiently to await the action of this Board, though now that war is remote, there is little chance of Congress giving the army a thought at all; and if these new regulations were framed, as I suppose, to cripple the power of the General, and to foster the heads of staff departments, I will simply notify the President that I cannot undertake to command an army with all its staff independent of the Commander-in-Chief, and ask him to allow me quietly to remove to St. Louis, to do such special matters as may be committed to me by the President, and leave the Army to be governed and commanded as now, by the Secretary of War, in person. This cannot occur for twelve months. . . .

I have said nothing of this to anybody, and will not do anything hasty or rash; but I do think that because some newspapers berate Grant about his military surroundings, he feels disposed to go to the other extreme. . . .

Affectionately,

W. T. SHERMAN.

MANSFIELD, OHIO, July 16, 1871.

Dear Brother:

. . . . .  
 \* He<sup>1</sup> will be nominated and I hope elected. So shall I; and it is better for the country that, in our relative posi-

<sup>1</sup>Grant.

tions, we are independent of each other. I hope you and he will preserve your ancient cordiality; for though he seems willing to strip your office of its power, yet I have no doubt he feels as warm an attachment for you as, from his temperament, he can to any one. You have been forbearing with him, but lose nothing by it. I have seen nothing in the course of the Republican party unfriendly to you. I know you have hosts of friends in our party who would resent any marked injustice to you. . . .

Affectionately yours,

JOHN SHERMAN.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES,  
 WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 14, 1871.

Dear Brother: The Ohio election is now over, and you have a clear working majority in the Legislature. So I infer you are safe for another six years in the Senate. I hope so, and was told by Mr. Delano, in the cars coming East, a few days since, that you were sure of re-election.

I understood from one of his revenue officers along, that Delano was not even a candidate for the Senate.

Some time ago Admiral Alden invited me to go out to the Mediterranean with him in the *Wabash* Frigate, to sail in November. I have pretty much made up my mind to go, and President and Secretary have promptly consented. . . .

I made the condition myself, that, though I shall arrange to be gone five months, I would hold myself prepared to come back within thirty days of notice by telegram. . . .

Yours affectionately,

W. T. SHERMAN.

MANSFIELD, OHIO, Oct. 17, 1871.

*Dear Brother:* Your note of the 14th is received. I am glad you are going to Europe, and under such favorable auspices.

You are sure of a hearty reception there, and you will be greatly entertained and instructed by wonders that must be seen as well as read of. . . . It is generally conceded that I shall be elected, though it is not sure. No doubt a majority of Republicans favor me, but combinations are often made, and may be in this election. . . .

Affectionately,  
JOHN SHERMAN.

U. S. FRIGATE WABASH,  
CADIZ, Dec. 21, 1871.

*Dear Brother:*

I have had a good chance to visit Madeira, Cadiz, Xeres, and Seville, and now we proceed to Gibraltar, where I shall leave the ship and go to Malaga, Granada, Cordova, Toledo, Madrid, Saragossa, and Barcelona. Thence we shall cross the Pyrenees into France at Pepignan, Marseilles, and Nice, to rejoin the ship. I can then learn if Admiral Alden can in the ordinary course of his duty go to Naples, Syracuse, Malta, and Alexandria, in which case I can see the Valley of the Po, the Mont Cenis tunnel, etc., to Rome and Naples in time to join the ship at, say, Naples. . . .

Truly, etc.,  
W. T. SHERMAN.

NICE, Jan. 19, 1872.

*Dear Brother:* The telegraph announces your re-election, and as quite a number of Americans and even

foreigners have congratulated me on your re-election I can but join in the general acclaim. This carries your political career two years after Gen. Grant's second term.

Yours truly,  
W. T. SHERMAN.

COMMITTEE OF FINANCE,  
U. S. SENATE, WASHINGTON, Jan. 26, 1872.

*Dear Brother:* . . . Congress is going on with its usual round of debate and delay. I am quite busy with taxes and tariff, and spend most of the time in committee. My re-election has got to be an old story. As the session approached, the opposition to me in my own party died away, and I received the unanimous vote. Still there were five or six Republicans who were disposed to enter into the new party movement, among them Howard and certain Cincinnati members. They disavowed any hostility to me, but were inclined to support Cox as an Anti-Grant or new departure candidate. Perhaps if the whole body of the Democrats had gone into this movement it might have resulted in my defeat; but this was found impracticable, and so I was elected by seven majority over all. I think General Grant has found out that my strength in Ohio was equal to his own. I was in Columbus for one week, but was not put to either unusual trouble or expense, and now hold the office as independent in promise as any member of the Senate. . . . You are to have a grand trip. Your movements are observed and commented upon here kindly. By all means take it easy and don't hurry. . . .

Your affectionate brother,  
JOHN SHERMAN.

ROME, Feb. 21, 1872.

*Dear Brother:* I received yours of 26th of January here at Rome, and have been so busy that really I have had no time to write my home letters. We have been here ten days, and now start for Naples, where we shall stay a week, and then for Malta, Alexandria, Constantinople, and the East. We are everywhere received with every honor and attention; indeed too much for our own comfort and advantage. No nation or people seem to be held in such estimation as the Americans. . . .

The Italians are a kind, good people, and are winning their place among the scientific men of the world. Some of their modern railroads evince a talent in that branch worthy the old days of the Coliseum.

The unification of Italy seems to grow in strength, and the Pope, though obstinate, is in no manner interfered with in his office, and I think in time he will realize that he is stronger by being entirely disconnected with the administration of a petty state or kingdom. This is the opinion also of many Catholics. It is possible that some want the Pope to be considered somewhat of a martyr, but those who control the government here understand well enough the problem.

The King is at Naples, but his son Prince Humbert has been extremely polite to us and has tendered all proper attentions.

I do not see but the people are as free here as in France or other neighboring countries, there being substantially a free press, and thus far we have not even been called on for our passports, a perfect contrast to the annoyances of former times. Italy is full of Americans and we meet everywhere our country people, who seem to take the lead as sculptors, painters, travellers, etc. . . .

W. T. SHERMAN.

CONSTANTINOPLE, April 16, 1872.

*Dear Brother:* I have been here eight days, and have seen everything that interests travellers, and was to have started to-day for Odessa and the Crimea by the regular Russian steamer *Vladimir*; but last night when dining with the English Chargé the Sultan's Grand Master of Ceremonies called, and expressed the Sultan's wish that I would postpone my departure, as he expressed his desire to see me, and was so situated that he could not until to-morrow. Of course I was compelled to defer my departure and now I am undecided. . . . Soon after our arrival the Sultan received us with marked favor, and afterwards entertained us at breakfast; but he gave to Fred Grant, as Prince Royal, the post of honor. We infer that the reason he has asked me to postpone my departure is to show me personally that he meant nothing wrong, which of course I knew he did not, for it was a subject of joke. The Russian Ambassador and English have entertained us, and they knew perfectly our relative ranks. . . .

Yours truly,

W. T. SHERMAN.

PARIS, FRANCE, July 16, 1872.

*Dear Brother:* . . . Of course I have watched the progress of political events as they appear from this standpoint, and feel amazed to see the turn things have taken. Grant, who never was a Republican, is your candidate; and Greeley, who never was a Democrat but quite the reverse, is the Democratic candidate. I infer that Grant will be re-elected, though several shrewd judges insist that Greeley will be our next President. . . . There are a great many Americans located here in business or prolonged stay, that constitute a society in

themselves. They try to monopolize my spare time, yet I have managed to see M. Thiers, and the officers of Versailles, — having dined with the President, — and I am this moment back from a tour of the southern line of forts, Valérien, D'Issy, Vanves, and Montrouge, guided by a staff-officer especially appointed; and I have appointed another day of next week to complete the circuit. *En route* to Paris I saw Strasbourg, Wissembourg, Saarbruck, Metz, and Sedan, so that I shall be able to understand the angry controversies that are sure to arise in the progress of the trials that I see it is resolved to put Bazaine and others through. . . . Choosing between the two candidates on national grounds, I surely prefer Grant; as to platforms and parties, of course I regard these as mere traps to catch flies, but with General Grant as President, there will likely be more stability and quietude, which the country needs. . . .

Truly yours,  
W. T. SHERMAN.

MANSFIELD, OHIO, Aug. 4, 1872.

*Dear Brother:* . . . Just now all interest is centred upon the Presidential election. As you say, the Republicans are running a Democrat, and the Democrats a Republican. And there is not an essential difference in the platform of principle. The chief interest I feel in the canvass is the preservation of the Republican party, which I think essential to secure the fair enforcement of the results of the war. General Grant has so managed matters as to gain the very bitter and active hostility of many of the leading Republicans, and the personal indifference of most of the residue. He will, however, be fairly supported by the great mass of the Republicans, and I still hope and believe will be elected. The defec-

tions among Republicans will be made up by Democrats, who will not vote for Greeley.

The whole canvass is so extraordinary, that no result can be anticipated. You will notice that Sumner, Thurman, Banks, and others are for Greeley, who is probably the most unfit man for President, except Train, that has ever been mentioned. I intend to support Grant fairly and fully, as best for the country and Republican party.

Affectionately yours,  
JOHN SHERMAN.

MANSFIELD, OHIO, Oct. 10, 1872.

*Dear Brother:* Your letter came in my absence. The election is over,<sup>1</sup> and clearly indicates the re-election of Grant. I do not see any occasion of a further contest, but I presume it will be continued until November. . . .

Affectionately yours,  
JOHN SHERMAN.

From 1872 to 1874, the two brothers lived near each other in Washington. In the fall of 1874, General Sherman obtained permission to transfer his headquarters to St. Louis, and removed there with his family. He did this in order to remove himself from further official contact with General Belknap, then Secretary of War, who was issuing many military orders and making many military appointments without General Sherman's knowledge or approval. Two years later, after General Belknap's resignation as Secretary of War had been accepted, the office of General of the Army was reinvested with the powers which had formerly belonged to it. Thereafter General Sherman willingly removed back to Washington and re-established his headquarters there.

<sup>1</sup> Referring to the October State elections, which, by going strongly Republican, presaged a Republican victory in November.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES,  
WASHINGTON, D.C., Aug. 28, 1874.

*Dear Brother:* . . . Don't ever give any person the least encouragement to think I can be used for political ends. I have seen it poison so many otherwise good characters, that I am really more obstinate than ever. I think Grant will be made miserable to the end of his life by his eight years' experience. Let those who are trained to it keep the office, and keep the Army and Navy as free from politics as possible, for emergencies that may arise at any time.

Think of the reputations wrecked in politics since 1865.

Yours affectionately,

W. T. SHERMAN.

And a few days later he continued:—

No matter what the temptation, I will never allow my name to be used by any party; but I don't think it would be prudent to allow the old Democrats to get possession of the Government; and hope the Republicans will choose some new man, as like Mr. Lincoln as you can find. Or else let us unite on Blaine, or even Washburne. . . .

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES,  
ST. LOUIS, MO., Oct. 23, 1874.

*Dear Brother:*

I am now established here with a good headquarters, corner of 10th and Locust, where I can dispatch promptly all business that properly devolves on me. I have, as I have always had, the smallest possible staff and a most inexpensive establishment, and therefore am not regarded by the non-combatant staff who flock in Washington, as a friend of that ornamental part of the army. But here

I am in easy communication with, and in perfect harmony with, the real working army. . . .

But if let alone, I will do what devolves on me by law and custom, and endeavor to injure no one; but of those fellows in Washington who have served through several great wars, and boast that they have never heard a shot, and never had to do the dirty work of campaigning, I will speak out and Congress will have to notice it.

The Republican newspaper in Washington, their organ, intimates that inasmuch as I have removed from Washington, I am not in harmony with the Administration and should resign. By my office I am above party, and am not bound in honor or fact to toady to anybody. Therefore I shall never resign, and shall never court any other office, so they may reserve their advice to men who seek it. . . .

I have always expressed a desire that some good man, a statesman of experience if he can be found, be selected for President. General Grant has had enough to recognize the obligation of the country to the army, and the time has come to return to the civil list. In no event and under no circumstances will I yield to this, my final determination. . . .

Yours affectionately,

W. T. SHERMAN.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES,  
ST. LOUIS, MO., Dec. 10, 1874.

*Dear Brother:* I have just received from the President's secretary a note, saying he may want me to attend a dinner and reception he proposes to give the King of the Sandwich Islands, and I have answered that on a two days' notice I can be there. . . .

Affectionately,

W. T. SHERMAN.

The "Louisiana matters," referred to in the letters of January 7 and February 3, were the reconstruction difficulties which so many of the Southern States were experiencing. General Sherman objected to the detailing of army officers to assist the State authorities in keeping the peace.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES,  
ST. LOUIS, MO., JAN. 7, 1875.

*Dear Brother:* I see my name was used in the debate yesterday on Louisiana matters.

Neither the President or Secretary of War ever consulted me about Louisiana matters. Sheridan received his orders direct from the Secretary of War and Adjutant-General Townsend, and started on telegraphic notice, writing me a short note stating the fact, and that the Secretary of War would explain to me.

The latter sent me a copy of the orders and instructions by mail, which I received after General Sheridan had gone, and I simply acknowledged their receipt.

I have all along tried to save our officers and soldiers from the dirty work imposed on them by the city authorities of the South; and may, thereby, have incurred the suspicion of the President that I did not cordially sustain his force. My hands and conscience are free of any of the breaches of fundamental principles in that quarter. And I have always thought it wrong to bolster up weak State governments by our troops. We should keep the peace always; but not act as bailiff constables and catch thieves. That should be beneath a soldier's vocation. If you want information of the conditions up the Red River, call for a report recently made by Lieutenant-Colonel Morrow, personally known to you. . . .

As ever, your brother,

W. T. SHERMAN.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES,  
ST. LOUIS, MO., JAN. 23, 1875.

*Dear Brother:*

You will be surprised and maybe alarmed, that I have at last agreed to publish in book form my Memoirs of a period from 1846-65, in two volumes, prepared at great cost of labor and care.

I have carefully eliminated everything calculated to raise controversy, except where sustained by documents embraced in the work itself, and then only with minor parties. I submitted the manuscript to—last summer, and he was emphatic that it ought to be published in the interest of history. Bancroft did the same, though he never saw the manuscript, and I thought I had best show it to but few, as after all the responsibility rests on me. . . .

Affectionately,

W. T. SHERMAN.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES,  
ST. LOUIS, MO., FEB. 3, 1875.

*Dear Brother:* I read carefully your speech,<sup>1</sup> and your reasoning is very close; much more so than Thurman's and others, and I was glad you could make so good a defence. I know that our soldiers hate that kind of duty terribly, and not one of those officers but would prefer to go to the plains against the Indians, rather than encounter a street mob, or serve a civil process.

But in our government it is too hard for our troops to stand up in the face of what is apparent: that the present government of Louisiana is not the choice of the people, though in strict technical law it is the State government. I recognize the great necessity of standing by the *lawful*

<sup>1</sup> On the Louisiana matters.

State government, but the soldiers do not. The quicker you allow the people to select their own governors the better, and if necessary pile on the effort to secure a fair election, and prevent intimidation of voters.

I was always embarrassed by the plain, palpable fact, that the Union whites are cowardly, and allow the rebel element that loves to fight, to cow them. Until the Union whites, and negroes too, *fight* for their own rights they will be trodden down. Outside help sooner or later must cease, for our army is ridiculously small, in case of actual collision. It is only the memory of our war power, that operates on the rebel element now. They have the votes, the will, and will in the end prevail. Delay only gives them sympathy elsewhere. . . .

Affectionately,

W. T. SHERMAN.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES,  
ST. LOUIS, MO., March 18, 1875.

Dear Brother:

To-morrow Generals Sheridan and Pope will meet here to discuss the Indian troubles. We could settle them in an hour, but Congress wants the patronage of the Indian bureau, and the bureau wants the appropriations without any of the trouble of the Indians themselves. I don't suppose in the history of the world there is such a palpable waste of money as that bestowed on the Kioways, and no wonder our government is sinking deeper and deeper into debt. We have spent in the past seven months, at least half a million dollars in bringing down these Indians, and this is the fourth time since I have personal knowledge of the fact. . . .

Yours affectionately,

W. T. SHERMAN.

X

Criticism of the Memoirs—Differences with Belknap—Senator Sherman endorses Hayes—Belknap's downfall—President Garfield's assassination—Telegram from General Sherman announcing the fact and relating subsequent news—Reply to charges by Senator Beck—The Act of Compulsory Retirement of Army Officers—Presidential candidates in 1884—Invincible repugnance of General Sherman to accept a nomination—General Sherman on Jefferson Davis—John Sherman elected Senator for the fourth time—General Hancock's death and funeral—Removal of General Sherman to New York—Estimate of Burnside—The return of captured rebel flags—Western trip of John Sherman—Views as to annexation of Canada and Mexico—The Civil Service—Closing years of General Sherman's life

GENERAL SHERMAN'S Memoirs were first published in 1875, and called forth a storm of criticism, to which the following letter refers.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES,  
ST. LOUIS, MO., May 25, 1875.

Dear Brother: . . . No matter how unwise were my conditions with Johnston they were *secret*, and his [Stanton's] divulgence was a betrayal of me; and Stanton knew it. At all events, he himself made so much clamor that history is not perfect unless the matter be wholly explained, and I think I have done it fairly.<sup>1</sup>

. . . I believe, had I submitted to Stanton's and Halleck's insults of 1865, I should have been swept aside like any other piece of war rubbish at the reorganization of the army. . . .

Yours affectionately,

W. T. SHERMAN.

<sup>1</sup>See Memoirs.