

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.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES,  
ST. LOUIS, Mo., Nov. 17, 1875.

*Dear Brother:* . . . Belknap has acted badly by me ever since he reached Washington. . . .

General Grant promised me often to arrange and divide our functions, but he never did, but left the Secretary to do all those things of which he himself, as General, had complained to Stanton. I don't think I ever used the expression often imputed to me of saying that the Secretary of War is only a clerk to the President. It is the opinion of many lawyers that the Secretary of War himself has no right to issue a military order to officers and soldiers—that his office is civil etc., etc. The President is constitutional commander-in-chief, and when the Secretary issues his order he ought to recite the fact; whereas orders are issued by the Adjutant-General by order of the Secretary of War. This is done daily, and I cannot command unless orders come through me, which they do not, but go straight to the party concerned. This is the real question at issue between us. Congress ought to clearly define the relation between the Secretary of War and a General of the army. It is not the case now, but the Secretary of War exercises all the functions of the Commander-General under a decision of the Attorney-General. . . .

Yours, etc.,

W. T. SHERMAN.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES,  
ST. LOUIS, Mo., Dec. 29, 1875.

*Dear Brother:* . . . As to the army, I agree that it is entirely too costly. Twenty-five thousand soldiers with a due proportion of officers ought to be maintained at less than present estimates, which I see are stated at

forty and also at fifty-five millions. This must embrace appropriations for forts, harbors, etc., whose disbursements fall under the engineer and other bureaus of the War Department. The heaviest cost to the army is in these expensive bureaus of which we have ten, all of which have a head in Washington and run, as it were, a separate machine. I have no hesitation in saying that if the Secretary of War has the lawful power to command the army through the Adjutant-General, then my office is a sinecure and should be abolished. Instead of being useful, it is simply ornamental and an obstacle to unity of command and harmony of action. No two men can fulfil the same office; and the law should clearly define the functions of each, or mine should be abolished. . . .

Yours affectionately,

W. T. SHERMAN.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES,  
ST. LOUIS, Mo., Feb. 1, 1876.

*Dear Brother:* . . . Your letter endorsing Hayes is first-rate, and meets general approval. I agree with you that no one should be the President unless he was with us heart and soul in the Civil War; and Hayes fills the bill perfectly.

I should be delighted to have him nominated and elected.

The Democrats, in turning between the Democrats of the North and South, will probably commit a mistake that will reunite the Republicans.

I see the "Herald," in an elaborate and good article on saving money in the War Department estimates, criticizes the sending of officers abroad at public expense, instancing my case. Not one cent of my expenses was

paid by the Government. I availed myself of the frigate *Wabash* to reach Gibraltar, whither she was bound in her course to the Mediterranean. I paid my mess-bill, which amounted to \$130 (more than the price of passage over in a Cunarder).

If you happen to see one of those — reporters, you could say as much. I will not, because on searching they will find that not a cent was paid for my expenses abroad. . . .

Yours affectionately,  
W. T. SHERMAN.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES,  
ST. LOUIS, MO., March 10, 1876.

*Dear Brother:* I have purposely refrained from writing to you my opinions and feelings on the terrible fate that so suddenly has befallen General Belknap, because I want to say truthfully that I have never asked you to advocate my cause or to be compromised by my mistakes. I am proud of your position in the Senate, and would not have you to risk it by even the faintest partiality to your brother. But people will ask you what was the real reason why I left Washington; did I have knowledge of frauds and peculations? and was I not bound to reveal them? You may answer positively that I had no knowledge except what Congress and the President had. It was not my office to probe after vague rumors and whispers that had no official basis. The President and Belknap both gradually withdrew from me all the powers which Grant had exercised in the same office, and Congress capped the climax by repealing that law which required all orders to the army to go *through* the General, and the only other one, a joint resolution that empowered the General to appoint "traders."

The consequence was that orders to individuals of the army went over my head to them, and reports went back without coming through me, as required in every military service on earth. . . .

I have now from Moulton two letters, and from Dayton one. In all which is stated that the new Secretary, Judge Taft, has spoken kindly of me, and expressed a desire to meet me in Washington. I will not go to Washington unless ordered, and it would be an outrage if Congress, under a temporary excitement, should compel my removal back. I came out at my own expense, and never charged a cent for transportation, which I could have done. I can better command the army from here than from there. The causes that made a Belknap remain and will remain. . . .

If you see Judge Taft, say to him that my opinion is that I can fulfil any general policy he may prescribe, and enforce any orders he may give better from St. Louis than Washington.

Affectionately, etc.,  
W. T. SHERMAN.

There are two ways to govern the army, — one *through* its generals, and the other through the staff. If orders and instructions are made to individuals composing the army *direct* by the Adjutant-General, and not *through* the commanding General, the latter is not only useless but an incumbrance, and had better be away. But if Secretary Taft is willing to trust me to execute and carry into effect his orders and instructions, all he has to do is to order, and he will find me ready.

Affectionately,  
W. T. SHERMAN.

During the next three years (end of 1877 to 1881) the brothers were so much together that their correspondence contains nothing of continuous interest. General Sherman removed to Washington, and John Sherman lived there as Secretary of the Treasury. In the summer of 1881, John Sherman was in Mansfield, and the General sent him frequent bulletins from Washington as to President Garfield's condition after he was shot. John Sherman returned to Washington before the President's death.

## TELEGRAMS.

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH Co.,  
Dated, WASHINGTON, D.C., July 2, 1881.  
Received at MANSFIELD, OHIO,  
3 P.M.

*To Honorable John Sherman:*

President Garfield was shot in the back toward the right side, the ball ranging downwards — not yet found. Pulse good and appearances favorable.

Has been brought to the White House. The assassin is from Chicago, an ex-consul at Marseilles, described as a lawyer, politician, and theologian. He is in custody. All sorts of rumors afloat, but the above is all that is known to me. I went in person to the depot immediately, and found all his Cabinet present.

W. T. SHERMAN,  
*General.*

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH Co.,  
Dated, WASHINGTON, D.C., July 2, 1881.  
Received at MANSFIELD, OHIO,  
8.45 A.M.

*To Honorable John Sherman:*

Dispatch received. Just come from White House. Saw and talked with General Garfield. Mind and memory clear, and he is personally hopeful. The doctors

shake their heads. Situation most serious, but I cannot help hoping that the ball has not traversed the cavity of the stomach, as the wound indicates. Mrs. Garfield and all the family are with him.

W. T. SHERMAN.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH Co.,  
WASHINGTON, D.C., July 3, 1881.  
Received at MANSFIELD, OHIO,  
4.15 P.M.

*To Honorable John Sherman:*

Dispatch received, I am this minute back from the White House. Doctor Bliss surgeon, in attendance on President Garfield, authorized me to report that all the symptoms continued most favorable, and that he believed in ultimate recovery.

W. T. SHERMAN.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH Co.,  
Dated, WASHINGTON, D.C., July 4, 1881.  
Received at MANSFIELD, OHIO, 1.40.

*To Honorable John Sherman:*

I am just back from the White House. The President is reported to have passed a night of pain, which gave rise to unfavorable reports; but the attending physicians, Bliss, Barnes, Woodward, and Reyburn, have made public the bulletins. Each warrants us to hope for recovery. Everything here is as quiet as the Sabbath.

W. T. SHERMAN,  
*General.*

Here the letters begin again.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES,  
WASHINGTON, D.C., July 13, 1881.

*Dear Brother:* Nobody now sees the President except

the doctors, and we are compelled to base our opinions on the bulletins which are sent by telegraph all around the country.

These warrant us to believe that Garfield will recover, but after a long, painful process, leaving him crippled or emaciated. It is too bad that the law is so unequal to the punishment of the man who intended to murder him. . . .

Yours,  
W. T. SHERMAN.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES,  
Aug. 25, 1881.

*Dear Brother:* The President's condition is now absolutely critical, and surely many days cannot now pass without some turn. He is so weak now that he cannot endure a relapse. . . .

Yours affectionately,  
W. T. SHERMAN.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES,  
WASHINGTON, Aug. 29, 1881.

*Dear Brother:* . . . The President is sensibly better to-day, and all the friends and family feel encouraged. If to-morrow he be on the upward mend I shall go to New York, New London, Worcester, and Boston, to be gone ten days, but if you have occasion to write, the letter will be forwarded. But you may be sure that I shall be here in case of necessity. The Cabinet desire that the prisoner, Guiteau, be regularly tried by the courts. We can defend the jail against the world, unless there be treachery. But when the time comes to take him from the jail to the court-house we cannot use soldiers, for the law prohibits their use as a *posse comitatus*. I appre-

hend no violence here even if the President dies, but sooner or later Guiteau will die. The feeling is too universal for him ever to escape.

Affectionately,  
W. T. SHERMAN.

The following letter is published, not for the purpose of calling attention to the incident of which it speaks, but because of the interesting facts regarding the allowances, etc., to army officers.

WASHINGTON, D.C., Feb. 28, 1882.

HON. JOHN SHERMAN,  
*United States Senate.*

When a senator or member of Congress discovers in some newspaper a statement which he considers offensive to himself, he rises to a question of privilege, and makes his statement of facts. Now when an outsider finds himself misrepresented in the Congressional Record, I suppose he may rise and make his statement of facts.

In the Congressional Record, Saturday, February 25th, the Hon. James B. Beck is reported as having said that General Sheridan had come to Washington at an expense to the United States of a thousand dollars, to assist in having his father-in-law, General Rucker, made a brigadier-general and quartermaster-general for the purpose of being retired with increased pay. I know that General Sheridan was ordered to come to Washington by Secretary of War Lincoln, for an entirely different matter, at an expense of not to exceed \$200, viz. eight cents a mile, coming and going by the shortest possible mail route, according to a law made by the Congress of which Mr. Beck was a member.

Mr. Beck is further reported to have said that General

Sherman was in the habit of travelling, with his large staff, in palace cars at the expense of the United States, nominally to inspect posts, but really for pleasure. Now this is so totally untrue, and so diametrically opposed to my usage, that I am simply amazed. Not a cent can be drawn from the Treasury of the United States without the warrant of law. I never hired a palace car in my life, surely not at the expense of the United States, for no quarter-master would pay the voucher, and if such voucher exist, it can be had on demand of any senator.

General Sherman, like every army officer, is entitled by law, and receives eight cents a mile when travelling on duty. My duty and inclination carry me to the remotest parts of our country, where travel usually costs from ten to twenty-five cents a mile.

I think the law ought to provide me a palace car, and I think Mr. Beck agrees with me, and supposes such to be the fact. I have not a particle of doubt he supposed such to be the fact, else he would not have asserted it on the floor of the Senate; but I beg you will on some opportune occasion tell him it is not true, but on the contrary, that the Government expects me to make tours of the Indian frontier chiefly at my own cost. The general or lieutenant-general draws the same travelling allowance as a second lieutenant. No more and no less.

The general of a department has the right to inspect every post of his command, so the General of a division is expected to be familiar with the condition of every post within his sphere of command; and, of course, the commanding general has a similar right. Without this right an intelligent commander would be impossible. By this system I am kept informed of everything per-

taining to the military establishment in peace as well as war, and the constant inquiries by Committees of Congress can thus alone be answered, and I will not alter or change my plans to suit Senator Beck.

I believe it is construed as discourteous to refer to a senator in debate by name,—thus you are addressed as the Honorable Senator from Ohio,—but I infer the rules of the Senate are not so punctilious about the names of outsiders. Thus Senator Beck spoke of Generals Sheridan and Sherman by name, and not by office.

We are not ashamed of our names, and have no objection to their free use on the floor of the Senate. We fear nothing, not even a positive misstatement, but it surely adds nothing to the dignity or manliness of a senator to attempt to misrepresent an absent officer of the common Government, sworn to obey its laws, and to submit to such measures as it, in its wisdom, may prescribe. . . .

W. T. SHERMAN,  
*General.*

Before the Act of Compulsory Retirement of Army Officers at the age of sixty-four years (passed 1882,) all retirements were made at the will of the President. General Ord's retirement by President Hayes greatly distressed General Sherman, as it came at a time when General Ord could ill afford to be retired, and when he had every right to expect that General McDowell, his senior in age as well as rank, would be retired first. This case was the immediate cause of the staunch support which General Sherman gave to this bill; so after its passage, when it was suggested that an exception be made in his own case, he refused to allow it. He was retired February 8, 1884, but had already removed to St. Louis with his family several months previous to this date in order to allow General Sheridan to take command of the army at the opening of Congress.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH Co.,  
Dated, LOS ANGELES, CAL., April 15, 1882.

TO HON. JOHN SHERMAN,  
*United States Senate, Washington, D. C.*

Letter of eighth received. I do not expect to reach Washington, D. C., till about May 12th, and do not ask Congress to make any exception in my case. If officers generally are disqualified for efficient service at sixty-two years, the law should so declare it and no chance be allowed for a repetition of the terrible discrimination made in General Ord's case. Compensation to retired officers should vary according to length and quality of service, and a vote of thanks by Congress to general officers should have some value. There are only five such now surviving, and, like the Supreme Court, they should retain their salaries without other allowances. You may announce these as my opinions.

W. T. SHERMAN,  
*General.*

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES,  
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 7, 1883.

*Dear Brother:* . . . I expect all alteration to be complete by the time we reach there, early in October, and after a short pause I will come on to Washington, write up all by reports, and then ask the President to order me to St. Louis to await my retirement February 8, 1884, and by or before December 1st of this year to install General Sheridan in command of the army, *vice* Sherman retired.

It is better that the change should occur with the new Congress. The country is now generally prosperous, and the army is in reasonably good condition, considering the fact that peace and politics are always more damaging than war. . . .

Later he writes from St. Louis:—

I have fixed November 1st as the day for transferring the command of the army to Sheridan. This will enable me to conclude my report, and in like manner enable Sheridan to submit to Congress any special matters he may deem proper.

On the whole, the time is most opportune, and I think I can leave my post with the general respect of my fellows. . . .

Affectionately,  
W. T. SHERMAN.

In the spring of 1884, after General Sherman's retirement, his name was prominently mentioned as a possible candidate for the Presidency in the coming campaign. As he had done on several previous occasions, he refused to allow his name to be used.

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 29, 1884.

*Dear Brother:* . . . You are probably right in your treatment of the Presidential nomination. Most of the talk in your favor is no doubt honest and sincere, but some of it, I am sure, is to crowd off other candidates, or for selfish motives. A nomination is far from being equivalent to an election. The chances are for the Democrats, but for their proverbial blundering. An election would be a misfortune to you, while the canvass would be painful to all the family. Still, having fairly and fully stated your opposition to being a candidate, and having given fair notice of your purpose to decline, it is better not to say anything more about it. The papers will think you protest too much.

It now looks as if Logan may get the nomination.

Affectionately yours,  
JOHN SHERMAN.

St. Louis, Feb. 24, 1884.

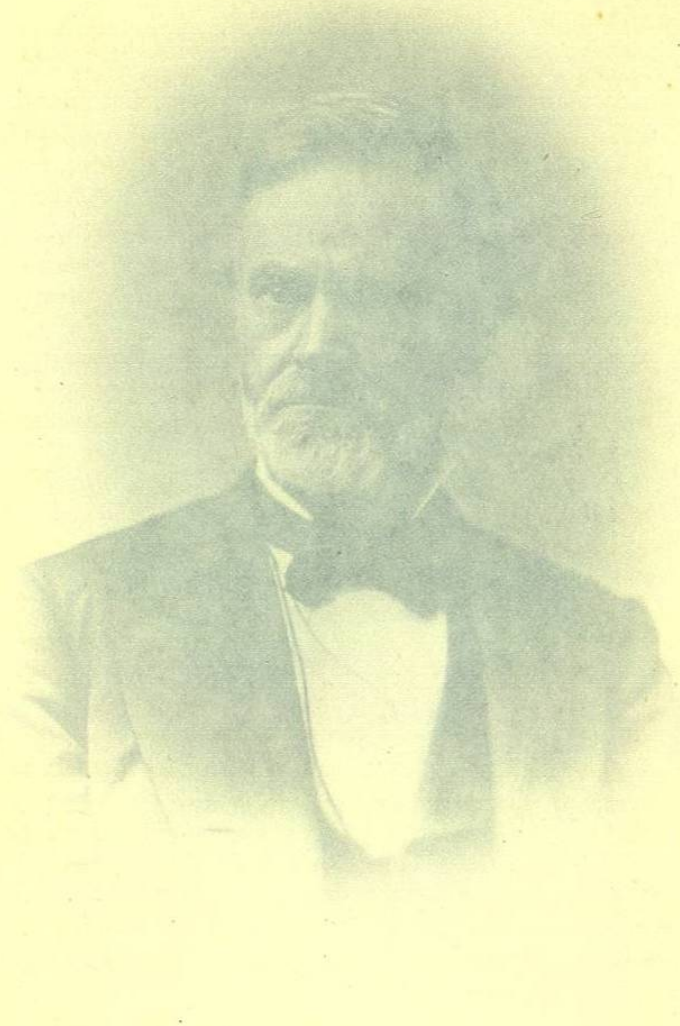
*Dear Brother:* I think I have owed you a letter some time. I have nothing new. Days, weeks, and months glide by, and my mail brings the most conglomerate stuff possible, — letters asking for autographs, photographs, donations, tokens, such as saddles, swords, muskets, buttons, etc., etc., which I used in the war, — many letters predicting that I will be the next President, and that the writer foresaw it and was the first to conceive the thought. . . . I notice with satisfaction that my name is being gradually dropped, and that my sincerity is recognized. What your party wants is a good, fair executive, and of these you have plenty, — Edmunds, Harrison, Gresham, Logan, etc., etc. . . . I wish to remain absolutely neutral. Gresham has a fine war record, and is as honest, outspoken, judicious a man as I know among my old soldiers. I also think highly of Calkins of Indiana and Ballantine of Nebraska.

Affectionately yours,  
W. T. SHERMAN.

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
WASHINGTON, D.C., March 7, 1884.

*Dear Brother:* . . . I have made up my mind to be silent and neutral, and I think that it is your best course. You did not want the nomination. I would gladly take it as an honorable closing of thirty years of political life, but I will neither ask for it, scheme for it, nor have I the faintest hope of getting it, and at the end of my present term I intend to retire from my political life and take it easy.

One thing you ought to have, and I think Congress would readily grant it if acceptable to you, and that is the detail of a staff-officer to help you with your military



Affectionately Yours  
John Sherman



St. Louis, Feb. 24, 1884.

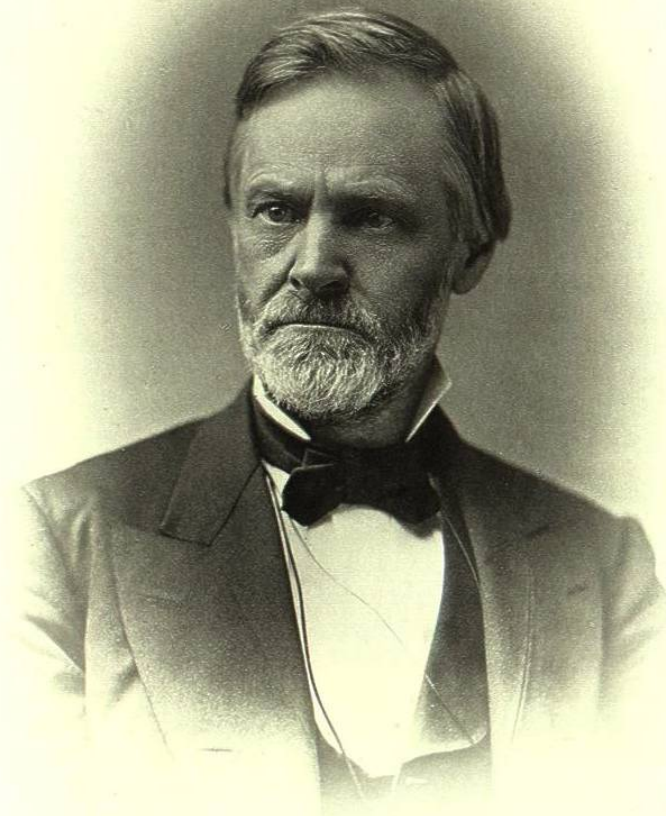
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One thing you ought to have, and I think Congress would readily grant it if acceptable to you, and that is the detail of a staff-officer to help you with your military



*Affectionately Yours*  
John Sherman

correspondence, to travel with you, and aid you in the social duties that will always cling to you while you live. . . .

Affectionately yours,  
JOHN SHERMAN.

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
WASHINGTON, D.C., May 4, 1884.

*Dear Brother:* . . . While in Ohio I heard a great deal of politics, and chiefly about the nomination for the Presidency. It is certain that if Blaine is not nominated in the early ballots a movement will be made for your nomination, and if entered upon will go like wild fire. Some one should be authorized to make a definite and positive refusal if you have concluded to decline the nomination if tendered. My own opinion is still that while you ought not to seek, or even beforehand consent, to accept a nomination, yet if it comes unsought and with cordial unanimity you ought to acquiesce. I believe it would be best for the country, honorable to you and your children, and far less irksome than you have thought. It would be the safe result of what is like to be a severe contest. . . . If desired by me I could have the solid vote of Ohio, but I see no prospect or possibility of my nomination, and not much of my election if nominated, but yours is easy. Blaine could readily turn his strength to you if he cannot get a majority, and I think means to do so. All well here.

Affectionately yours,  
JOHN SHERMAN.

St. Louis, May 7, 1884.

*Dear Brother:* . . . The more I reflect, the more convinced I am that I was wise and prudent in taking the

exact course I have, and that it would be the height of folly to allow any false ambition to allow the use of my name for any political office.

John B. Henderson is my neighbor here, is a delegate at large to the Chicago Convention, and will, if need be, announce my unalterable purpose. . . . Why should I, at sixty-five years of age, with a reasonable provision for life, not a dollar of debt, and with the universal respect of my neighbors and countrymen, embark in the questionable game of politics? The country is in a state of absolute peace, and it would be a farce to declare that any man should sacrifice himself to a mere party necessity. Surely you do not rate Hayes or Arthur as great men, yet each gave the country a good administration. . . .

If you count yourself out, I will be absolutely neutral, and honestly believe we are approaching that epoch in our history when King Log is about as good as King Stork. Queen Victoria has proven about the best executive a nation has ever had, and we shall be lucky in securing a man of moderate ability and reasonable presence.

Yours affectionately,  
W. T. SHERMAN.

St. Louis, June 7, 1884.

*Dear Brother:* Now that the Convention at Chicago has nominated Blaine and Logan, I feel such a sense of relief that I would approve of anything. My instructions to Henderson, verbal, telegraphic, and written, were all short, emphatic, and clear, and, so far as I am concerned, all may be published; viz. first, to do what was possible to prevent even the mention of my name; and, second, that though there should occur a break after

the first ballots, and my name should be presented as a compromise, to decline; and, lastly, if in spite of such declination I should be nominated, I would decline with an emphasis which might be construed as disrespectful to the Convention itself, which, of course, I do not want to do.

I would not for a million of dollars subject myself and family to the ordeal of a political canvass and afterwards to a four years' service in the White House. You and Blaine and others have been trained in a different school,—quite different,—and have a perfect right to aim for the highest round of your ladder. . . . Here at this point I must confide to you, in absolute confidence, that I was in possession of a letter from Blaine,<sup>1</sup> all in his own hand, marked "Strictly, absolutely confidential," which I now possess, with a copy of my answer, with others from various people, all to the same effect,—that in case of a break and deadlock between Blaine and Arthur it was inevitable that my name would be used, and that I had no more right to decline than if I had received an order as lieutenant of the army. When you come here sometime I will show you these letters, but I must not part with them. I had expected that my letters in answer, in case of a break—which all seemed to expect—would compel the Convention to turn to you, Edmunds, Hawley, or Gresham, and it may be that my positive manner carried conviction of my sincerity and stubbornness, and helped to bring about the nomination of Blaine and Logan. Anyhow, I escaped, and that to me was salvation. . . .

Affectionately yours,  
W. T. SHERMAN.

<sup>1</sup>This letter was afterwards published in the "North American Review" with Mr. Blaine's consent.