

LIFE AND ADMINISTRATION OF

U. S. GRANT

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by

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PREFACE

In this treatise, the author has endeavored to give, as found through research, an account of the important events that occurred in the life and administration of U. S. Grant, and to show, principally, something of his methods as a general.

Through this study it has been found that Grant made a complete failure with the financial affairs of the government. The influence of the financial policy that he followed was felt so keenly throughout his second administration as president that he failed to be elected to the presidency of the United States for a third term.

The writer wishes to express a sincere appreciation to Doctor T. H. Reynolds, Head of the History Department, Oklahoma A. and M. College, Stillwater, Oklahoma, for his untiring efforts and splendid cooperation; also to Doctor J. C. Muerman, Professor of Rural Education, Oklahoma A. and M. College, Stillwater, Oklahoma, for his helpful suggestions; and to the library staff for its invaluable assistance.

L. F.

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LIFE AND ADMINISTRATION OF U. S. GRANT

CHAPTER I.

Early Life of Grant

No man who ever gained enduring fame was more the sport of chance than Ulysses S. Grant. He was the child of splendid opportunities which came to him unsought, for which he never seemed to care, and which he met with calm assurance.

Grant's grandfather was Captain Noah Grant who lived where the town of Deerfield, Ohio now is.<sup>1</sup> His father was Jesse R. Grant who married Hannah Simpson. On the 27th of April, 1822, at Point Pleasant, Clermont County, Ohio, U. S. Grant was born. A year later the family moved to Georgetown which was the adjoining county east.

Life at this place was uneventful. He attended the village subscription school except during the winters of 1836-37 and 1838-39, which were spent at private schools. He was not studious in habit, and probably did not progress enough to compensate for the outlay of board and tuition. At all events, both winters were spent in going over the same old arithmetic of which he knew every word, and repeating: "a noun is the name of a thing,"<sup>2</sup> which he had heard repeated, until he had come to believe it. The family was in comfortable circumstances considering the times, his place of residence,

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<sup>1</sup>

Dr. J. C. Muerman, Oklahoma A. & M. College, Stillwater, Oklahoma, was born where Captain Noah Grant once lived.

<sup>2</sup>

U. S. Grant, Personal Memoirs of, I, 25.

and the community in which he lived.<sup>3</sup> Because of his father's lack of facilities for securing an education, his greatest desire in maturer years was for the education of his children. Even though Ulysses did not miss school, this did not exempt him from labor. He had to work hard, much harder indeed than any child ought to work, at tasks that were beyond his strength, too.<sup>4</sup> But this thought never occurred to him. He grew up to be a gawky, country boy, notwithstanding his good looks. He was slow at repartee and empty of bright answers.

He was a receding figure at social gatherings, and seldom to be found there, for horses occupied his interest almost to the point of obsession.<sup>5</sup> A knack with horses proved to be a very noticeable asset to him in later years. There are several anecdotes told about his loving to engage in the management of horses, some which are of interest to us follow: Once when he was visiting he saw a very fine saddle horse, which he rather coveted and proposed to the owner to trade him for one of the two he had. The horse for which he wished to trade had never worn harness, and there he was, a distance of seventy miles from home. The horse, after being hitched became frightened before Grant and his companion had gone far. At every attempt to make a new

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid., I, 25; Bishop John H. Vincent, Inner Life of U. S. Grant, Chautauqua, XXX, 634.

<sup>4</sup> W. E. Woodward, Meet General Grant, p. 21.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 21; Elmo Scott Watson, Cadet U. S. Grant, Wellston News.

start, the horse would begin kicking. Finally he thought of his red bandana handkerchief and used it to blindfold the horse. In this way he reached his destination the next day. Upon another occasion when he was still a small boy, there was a Mr. Ralston living within a few miles of the village, who owned a colt which young Grant wanted. His father had offered twenty dollars, but Ralston wanted twenty-five. He was so anxious to have the colt that after the owner left, he begged to be allowed to take him at his own price. His father yielded, but said that twenty dollars was enough to pay, and told him to offer that price, if it was not accepted he was to offer twenty-two-fifty, and if that would not get him to give the twenty-five. When he arrived at the Ralston home he said, "Papa says I may offer you twenty dollars for the horse, but if you won't take that, I am to offer twenty-two-and-a-half and if you won't take that to give you twenty-five."<sup>6</sup>

At another time,

A circus with a trick pony among its attractions came to the village. The proprietor announced that anyone who stayed on the pony's back would get a five dollar bill. This challenge, flashed in the face of Georgetown's youth and courage, brought out the awkward farm-hands, one by one. The pony's mane had been cut off, and its back was probably greased. Without saddle or bridle to hold on to, the sheepish youths were thrown promptly. Finally, Ulysses mounted the capering steed and stayed on by putting his arms around the animal's neck. The trick pony with the ringmaster's whip cracking around its legs, gave a terrific exhibition of

everything a pony can think of to get a man off his back. All to no avail; Ulysses held fast and won the money.<sup>7</sup>

Incidents like these may seem trivial, but they are indicative of a character which is not disturbed by physical encounters, and in which self-reliance and coolness are leading qualities. However, in spite of all the physical stamina he possessed in managing horses, he gradually acquired the reputation of being a numskull among the people of Georgetown.

Without consulting his son, Jesse R. Grant wrote to one of the United States Senators from Ohio, telling him there was a vacancy in the district's representation at West Point, and asking that his son might be appointed. He would not write to the congressman, Thomas L. Hamer, from that district, because he and Grant were political enemies. (At one time they had been close friends.) The letter, though, was evidently turned over to Mr. Hamer and since there was no other application he appointed young Grant.<sup>8</sup> So, during the Christmas vacation he was spending at home in the winter of 1838-39 he was informed by his father that he would probably go to West Point. He was going to refuse the appointment, but his father readily said that he thought he would go, and naturally Grant thought so too if his father did.<sup>9</sup> The only objection he had, however, to

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<sup>7</sup> Woodward, op. cit., p. 22.

<sup>8</sup> Memoirs, I, 34.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., I, 34; Walter Allen, Ulysses S. Grant, p. 18.

going was the idea of the requirements to get through, but much to his surprise, he passed the entrance examinations two weeks later. He had no aspiration for the career of a soldier, in fact, he never intended to stick to it. Even after entering West Point his hope was to be able, by reason of his education, to get a permanent position in some college as a professor.

He entered West Point, in July, 1839, at the age of seventeen years. He was hardly more than five feet tall, but solid and muscular, with no particular charm of face or manner, and no special dignity of carriage. He seems to have made no effort for superior excellence in scholarship, and in some studies his rank was low. He had unusual power of concentrating his attention. This, and a faithful memory enabled him to achieve some distinction.

He was graduated in 1843 at the age of twenty-one, ranking twenty-first in a class of thirty-nine, which was a little below the middle section.<sup>10</sup>

When examinations were over, and the members of the class were called upon to record their choice of arms of service and regiments, Grant applied for an appointment in the dragoons, while his alternative selection was 4th infantry. Naturally, he got the alternative and to this he was attached as a brevet second-lieutenant.

He received a leave of absence which time was spent



in Ohio among his former schoolmates. At the expiration of this time, he joined his regiment at Jefferson Barracks, St. Louis, which at that time was the largest military post in the country. Under General Kearney who commanded the post, discipline was kept at a high standard, but without vexatious rules or regulations.<sup>11</sup> Officers were permitted to leave the camp without giving notice of their leave. His stay at Jefferson Barracks soon came to an end. He had been there only seven months when his regiment was ordered down the Mississippi River and across western Louisiana to the Texas border.

Among Grant's classmates at West Point there had been a cadet by the name of Frederick T. Dent, whose family lived near St. Louis, some miles from Jefferson Barracks. Dent was not stationed at the Barracks himself, but made arrangements with his family to invite Grant to the Dent home.

Being a family of slaveholders,<sup>12</sup> the Dents were different in manner and ideas from anyone whom Grant had known as a boy in Ohio. They were not much better off than Grant's father's family, but they possessed a gentle graciousness that would have seemed effeminate to old Jesse Grant. Among the family was a seventeen-year-old daughter named Julia who had just finished her education in St. Louis. He met the young lady in

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<sup>11</sup>

Memoirs, I, 45.

<sup>12</sup>

Woodward, op. cit., p. 58.

February, 1844. Visits at the Dent home became more frequent and much more enjoyable. If the 4th infantry had remained at Jefferson Barracks it is possible, even probable, that his life might have continued for some years without his finding out there was anything serious the matter with him, but in May of the same year a circumstance occurred that developed his sentiments so palpably that there was no mistaking it. His regiment was sent to Louisiana and orders were given for him to follow, but before doing this, he mustered up courage to make known in the most awkward manner possible, the discovery he had made on learning that the 4th infantry had been ordered away from Jefferson Barracks. The young lady later admitted that she had experienced a depression of spirits she could not account for when the regiment left. Before separating it was understood that at a convenient time they would join their fortunes and not let the removal of a regiment interfere. However, this agreement was not fulfilled until four years later. During the four years that intervened until their marriage they saw each other once, although a constant correspondence was kept up.

In Louisiana his regiment encamped on high ground near the Sabine River. It was in this camp that Grant was restored to perfect health again, he, previously having contracted a serious cough while at West Point.

## CHAPTER II.

Grant's Part in the Mexican War

The die had been cast and was now permanently fixed. Grant was from her out to be an active leader in the Army of the Republic.

No intimation was given that the removal of the 3rd and 4th infantry to the western border of Louisiana was occasioned in any way, by the prospective annexation of Texas, but it was understood that such was the case.

Ostensibly, we were intended to prevent filibustering into Texas, but really, as a menace to Mexico, in case she appeared to contemplate war. Generally the officers of the army were indifferent whether the annexation was consummated or not; but not so all of them. For myself, I was bitterly opposed to the measure, and to this day regard, what resulted, as one of the most unjust ever waged by a stronger against a weaker nation. The manner in which the war was forced upon Mexico cannot be justified, even if the annexation itself could. The fact is, annexationists wanted more territory than they could possibly lay claim to, as part of the new acquisition. Texas, as an independent State, never had exercised jurisdiction over the territory between the Nueces River and the Rio Grande. Mexico had never recognized the independence of Texas, and maintained that, even if independent, the State had no claim south of the Nueces. I am aware that a treaty, made by the Texans with Santa Anna while he was under duress, ceded all the territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande; but he was a prisoner of war when the treaty was made and his life was in jeopardy. He knew, too, that he deserved execution at the hands of the Texans, if they should ever capture him. The texans, if they had taken his life, would have only followed the example set by Santa Anna himself . . . when he executed the entire garrison of the Alamo . . .<sup>1</sup>

The camp was moved to Corpus Christi, a trading and smuggling port. At the time of its first occupancy by

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<sup>1</sup>

Memoirs, I, 53 ff.

United States troops there was a small Mexican hamlet there containing less than one hundred people. All goods at that time were put up in compact packages of about one hundred pounds each, suitable for loading on pack mules. The bulk of the trade was in leaf tobacco, cotton cloths and calicoes.

Gradually the Army of Occupation was assembled at Corpus Christi, consisting of not more than 3000 men in all, under the command of General Zachary Taylor. This army proved to be very efficient under the command of General Taylor in the first two engagements on Mexican soil. As the Mexicans showed no willingness to drive the invaders from her soil, it became necessary for the invaders to approach within a convenient distance to be struck; the army was moved to a point opposite Matamoras on the Rio Grande, where a new camp was established and fortified. Before leaving Corpus Christi, which had been abandoned, Grant had been promoted to full second lieutenant.<sup>2</sup>

The army marched southward over ground claimed by Texas, which brought them opposite the Mexican town of Matamoras, where the Americans built a fort. Things began to look warlike. Nor did they deceive their appearance, because on May 8, 1846, the two armies met at Palo Alto. Their force outnumbered the American force. Their bayonets and spearheads glistened in the sunlight formidably. The Mexicans immediately opened

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<sup>2</sup>

Allen, op. cit., p. 29.

fire, first with artillery and then with infantry. The fighting was kept up, but just at dusk, it became evident that the Mexicans were falling back. Several were killed and wounded, but at dawn the next morning the army under Taylor was ready to renew the fight. An advance showed that the enemy had entirely left the American front during the night.<sup>3</sup>

General Taylor halted the army not far in advance of the ground occupied by the Mexicans the day before, and selected Captain C. F. Smith and Captain McCall of Grant's Company, to take one hundred and fifty men each and find where the enemy had gone. This left Grant in command of the company, an honor and responsibility he thought very great.<sup>4</sup> The Mexicans were giving way all the time. When there seemed to be a clear space with only a few men in front Grant charged upon them with his company. There was no resistance, but a Mexican colonel and some other men had been wounded. Grant said,

Just as I was sending them to the rear with a guard of two or three men, a private came from the front bringing back one of our officers, who had been badly wounded in advance of where I was. The ground had been charged over before. My exploit was equal to that of the soldier who boasted that he had cut off the leg of one of the enemy. When asked why he did not cut off his head, he replied: Someone had done that before. This left no doubt in my mind but that the battle of Resaca de la Palma would have been won, just as it was if I had not been there.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Memoirs, I, 96.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., I, 97.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., I, 98; Woodward, op. cit., p. 84.

When at last the Mexicans learned that war existed between them and the United States, General Taylor transferred the camps and Matamoras was occupied. The army became the Army of Invasion. This was increased by a horde of dis-  
<sup>6</sup>orderly volunteers. The army started for Monterey, leaving a small garrison at Matamoras. The place was taken by the Americans in a series of desperate attacks. With the exception of the artillery, cavalry, and the brigade to which Grant belonged were moved up the river to Camargo on steamers, that, being reached, was found to be a city of tents outside the hamlet. Here, Grant was detailed to act as quartermaster and commissary to the regiment. The point for establishing the siege of battery was reached and the work performed without attracting the attention of the enemy. Fire was opened on both sides, but when this occurred, Grant's curiosity got the better of his judgment, so he mounted a horse and rode to the front to see what was going  
<sup>7</sup>on. He had been there only a short time when an order was given to charge, and lacking the moral courage to return to camp, he charged with the regiment. About a third of the men who were engaged in the charge were killed. There was so much loss of property that Ampudia, the Mexican commander, made overtures for the surrender of the city and garrison. A quiet camp life was led until mid-winter, after the surrender of Monterey.

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<sup>6</sup> Memoirs, I, 104; Woodward, op. cit., p. 87.

<sup>7</sup> Memoirs, I, 110.

Grant was present and participated in the siege of Vera Cruz, the battle of Cerro Gordo, the assault on Churubusco, the storming of Chapultepec, for which he volunteered with a part of his company, and the battle of Molina del Rey.

Grant says,

I had been in battle with the two leading commanders conducting armies in a foreign land. The contrast between the two was very marked. General Taylor never wore uniforms, but dressed himself entirely for comfort. He moved about the field in which he was operating to see through his own eyes the situation. Often he would be without staff officers, and when he was accompanied by them there was no prescribed order in which they followed. He was much given to sit on his horse sideways--with both feet on one side--particularly on the battle field. General Scott was the reverse in all these particulars. He always wore all the uniform prescribed or allowed by law when he inspected his lines; word would be sent to all divisions and brigade commanders in advance, notifying them of the hour when the commanding general might be expected. This was done so that all the army might be under arms to salute their chief as he passed. On these occasions he wore his dress uniform, cocked hat, aigrillettes, sabre and spurs. His staff proper, besides all officers constructively on his staff--engineers, inspectors, quartermasters, etc.--that could be spared, followed, also in uniform and in prescribed order.<sup>8</sup>

In the firing which occurred in the City of Mexico, the lieutenant-colonel of Grant's regiment, Garland, was wounded. He died a few years later, and by his death Grant was promoted to first lieutenant.

I had gone into the battle of Palo Alto in May, 1846, a second-lieutenant and I entered the City of Mexico, sixteen months later, with the same rank; after having been in all the engagements possible

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<sup>8</sup>

Ibid., I, 138-39.

for any one man and in a regiment that lost more officers during the war than it ever had present at any one engagement. My regiment lost four commissioned officers, all senior to me, by steamboat explosions during the Mexican War. The Mexicans were not so discriminating, they sometimes picked off my juniors.<sup>9</sup>

In the late summer of 1854 Grant rejoined his family, to find in it a son whom he had never seen. He was now to commence at the age of thirty-two, a new struggle for his support. His wife had a farm near St. Louis to which they went. He worked hard, even hauled wood, trying to make money with which to stock the farm.<sup>10</sup> Things went well until he was attacked by a fever which interfered greatly with the amount of work he was able to perform. In the fall of 1858 he sold out his stock, crops, and farming utensils at auction and gave up farming. When he left "Hardscrabble," the name he gave his farm, he was poorer than when he came out of the army.<sup>11</sup> He was thirty-six years old, a confirmed failure in life, and with a growing family to look after. Defeat was written large all over him.

The following winter a partnership with Harry Boggs, in the real estate agency business, was brought about. At this he grew too anxious for the business to develop, and thinking that it was not prosperous enough to support to families, he withdrew from the partnership and took a clerkship in his father's store on a stipulated salary. During the eleven months that he lived in Galena,

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9

Ibid., I, 162-163.

10

Ibid., I, 211.

11

Woodward, op. cit., p. 123.



he was strictly attentive to his business and had made but few acquaintances other than customers and people engaged in the same line with himself.<sup>12</sup> In these years while Grant was smothered with the difficulty of making a living, the American nation was facing such a fierce political gale that it could not do much more than stand still and hold its hat on its head. The older statesmen who had guided national affairs for so many years were like oaks that had lived too long.

Grant, not ever having been brought in contact with men of eminence, had no personal knowledge of great affairs. He knew no politicians, for his acquaintance was limited to army officers and western traders; even in his own town, he had not met the member of Congress who had represented the district for nine successive years, and who afterward<sup>13</sup> became one of his most intimate personal friends.

When the election took place in November, 1860, Grant had not been a resident of Illinois long enough to gain citizenship and could not vote. It was a good thing though, for he would have been compelled to vote for Stephen A. Douglas, who had no possible chance of election. The contest lay between Mr. Breckenridge and Mr. Lincoln, but the Republican candidate won, which brought many discussions up as to whether the South would carry out its threat to secede and set up a separate government.

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<sup>12</sup>

Memoirs, I, 216.

<sup>13</sup>Badeau, I, op. cit., p. 9.

It was generally believed there would be a flurry; that some of the extreme Southern States would pass ordinances of secession. But the common impression was that this step was so plainly suicidal for the South that the movement would not spread over much territory and would not last long. Secession was not logical; it was impracticable.<sup>14</sup>

The right of revolution is an inherent one. When people are oppressed by their government, it is a natural right they enjoy to relieve themselves of oppression, if they are strong enough, either by withdrawal from it or by overthrowing it and substituting a government more acceptable. But any people or part of a people who resort to this remedy, stake their lives, their property, and every claim for protection given by citizenship--on issue.

In the case of war between the states it would have been the exact truth if the South had said--We do not want to live with you Northern people any longer; we know our institution of slavery is obnoxious to you, and as you are growing numerically stronger than we, it may at sometime in the future be endangered. So long as you permitted us to control the government and with the aid of a few friends at the North to enact laws constituting your section a guard against the escape of our property, we were willing to live with you. You have been submissive to our rule heretofore; but it looks now as if you did not intend to continue so, and we will remain in the Union no longer. Instead of this, the seceding States cried lustily, Let us alone; you have no constitutional power to interfere with us.<sup>15</sup>

As the Grants had customers in all the little towns in southwest Wisconsin, southeast Minnesota, and northeast Iowa, considerable traveling was done in these states. The people in these places knew he had been a captain in the regular army and served during the Mexican War. So, naturally when he stopped at night, some of the people would come to the place where he was to hear him discuss the probabilities of the future. His views then were

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Memoirs, I, 218.

15

Ibid., I, 220.

those expressed by Seward at a later date, 'that the war would be over in ninety days.'<sup>16</sup>

The winter of 1860-61 was one of general excitement. South Carolina promptly seceded after the result of the Presidential Election was known. Others proposed to follow. Union sentiment was so strong that it had to be suppressed by force. Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky and Missouri--all slave states--failed to pass the ordinances of secession; but they were all represented in the so-called Congress of the Confederate States.<sup>17</sup>

All this time when the Southerners were so defiant that they would not allow within their borders the expression of a sentiment hostile to their views, it was a brave man indeed who could stand up and proclaim his loyalty to the Union. On the other hand, men at the North--prominent men--proclaimed that the government had no power to coerce the South into submission of the laws of the land; that if the North undertook to raise armies to go South, these armies would have to march over the dead bodies of the speakers.

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<sup>16</sup>

Ibid., I, 222.

<sup>17</sup>

Ibid., I, 227-228.

## CHAPTER III.

Grant and the Civil War

Fort Sumpter, a national fort, in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina, was fired upon by the Southerners and a few days afterward was captured.<sup>1</sup> Upon the firing of Ft. Sumpter, President Lincoln issued his first call for troops and soon after a proclamation convening Congress in extra session.<sup>2</sup>

When the call for volunteers, which was for 75,000, reached Galena, posters were stuck up calling for a meeting for the citizens, where indignation and devotion found utterance. Business ceased, and everything was excitement. At the beginning there were no party distinctions; all were Union people who were determined to avenge the insult to the national flag. Grant was called upon to preside, although few knew him, but possibly he was called upon because he had been in the army and had seen service. Although greatly embarrassed and with some prompting, he finally announced the subject of the meeting.

When the speaking was over, volunteers were called upon to form a company at Galena. Grant was offered the captaincy of the company but declined it, although

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<sup>1</sup> Badeau, op. cit., I, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Memoirs, I, 229.

he announced that he would aid the company in every way he could, and if war should occur he would be found in the service somewhere.<sup>3</sup> He never went into the leather store again to do any business. The ladies of Galena were quite as patriotic as the men. They could not enlist, but they decided they would send their first company to the field uniformed. They got a description of the uniforms from Grant, bought material, and made them. When this was done Grant took charge and divided the men into squads and superintended their drill.<sup>4</sup>

As there were so many volunteers the government hardly knew whom to select, however, a law was enacted authorizing the government to accept the services of ten additional regiments, one from each Congressional district, for one month, to be paid by the States, but pledged to go into the service of the United States if there should be a further call during their term. In the meantime Grant had gone to Springfield, and while there he wrote to the adjutant-general of the army offering his services to the government in any capacity in which he could serve. The letter was not deemed of sufficient notice to preserve; it stated that Grant had received a military education at the expense of the public, and now that the country was in danger, he thought it his duty to place at the disposal of the

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<sup>3</sup>  
Ibid., I, 231.

<sup>4</sup>  
Ibid., I, 232.

authorities, whatever skill or experience he had acquired. He received no reply; but remaining at Springfield his military experience made him of service in the organization of the volunteer troops of the state.<sup>5</sup>

Other avenues of service opened to Grant who later wrote that he had felt some hesitation in suggesting rank as high as the colonelcy of a regiment, feeling somewhat doubtful whether he would be equal to the position. But Grant said,

I have seen nearly every colonel who had been mustered in from the State of Illinois, and some from Indiana, and felt if they could command a regiment properly and with credit, I could also.<sup>6</sup>

He was offered the colonelcy but refused to accept it and went to Cincinnati to visit Major General McClellan whom he hoped would offer him a place on his staff, but not being able to find him he returned to Illinois; without mentioning his aspirations to anyone. Yates,<sup>7</sup> governor of Illinois and the one who recommended his appointment, wondered what was wrong, but was told that one should ask Grant no questions but, ".....simply order him to duty and he will obey promptly."<sup>8</sup>

....Yates wired Grant, then visiting his father at Covington: You are this day appointed Colonel of the Twenty-first Illinois Volunteers and requested to take command at once.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Badeau, *op. cit.*, I, 9; *Memoirs*, I, 232; Louis A. Coolidge, *Ulysses S. Grant*, I, 49.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 49.

<sup>7</sup> Badeau, *op. cit.*, I, 10.

<sup>8</sup> Coolidge, *op. cit.*, I, 50.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 50; Badeau, *op. cit.*, I, 10.

He did so early in June on the fair grounds near Springfield.<sup>10</sup> In August, much to the surprise of everyone, even, himself, he was commissioned by the President, brigadier-general of volunteers.<sup>11</sup> He had been unanimously recommended by the members of Congress from Illinois, no one of whom had been his personal acquaintance.

By authority of the United States, the country was divided into military departments. These were often changed. In August, General Fremont who was then in command, transferred Grant to Ironton, Missouri, and soon after to Jefferson City. On the first of September by direction of Fremont he assumed command of the District of Southeast Missouri.

Grant's first act was the seizure of Paducah on September the 6th, at the mouth of the Tennessee, which completely commanded the navigation of both the Ohio and Tennessee Rivers.

His first great fighting was the seizure of a little camp of shanties just opposite Columbus bearing the pretentious name of Belmont, which was commanded by Polk of the opposing forces. The rebels were constantly crossing troops between these points, which was a constant menace to every point in Grant's command.<sup>12</sup> At the approach of Grant's force, the enemy had evidently failed to divine their intentions, since the force from

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<sup>10</sup>

Badeau, op. cit., I, 10; Memoirs, I, 243.

<sup>11</sup>

Badeau, op. cit., I, 10.

<sup>12</sup>

Ibid., I, 13.

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Paducah was threatening them. But presently fighting began, which lasted about four hours, when the enemy was forced back gradually until he was driven into his camp.

Early in this engagement my horse was shot under me, but I got another from one of my staff and kept well up with the advance until the river was reached.<sup>14</sup>

Troops lay crouched under cover of the river bank, ready to come up and surrender if summoned to do so; but finding they were not pursued, they worked their way up the river and came up on the bank between Grant's force and the transports. At this time, steamers appeared for the enemy, which attracted Grant's men. He tried to get them to turn their guns upon the loaded steamers, but his efforts were in vain. At last, Grant directed his men to set fire to the camp. This drew the fire of the enemy's guns. Grant's force was ordered to cut its way out as it had cut its way in. The enemy was soon encountered, but, now, resistance was feeble. A watchful eye was kept on the enemy, since they had crossed over the river in great numbers. Grant had practically everything to do himself, and was obliged to superintend his own orders. When the whole of the soldiers had embarked, Grant rode upon a knoll and discovered that the whole rebel force was

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Memoirs, I, 273.

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Ibid., I, 273.



advancing upon him. "The rebel line was a cornfield, not fifty yards from Grant, and already firing on his transports."<sup>15</sup> He was fortunate to be wearing a private's overcoat. This kept him from being recognized as an officer. Seeing that it was impossible to save the parties who were searching for the wounded, he turned his horse slowly so as not to attract a fire. But as he drew nearer we can see him as, "he put spurs to his horse, and galloped hard to the bank, the animal sliding over the brink on its haunches."<sup>16</sup> At his arrival the boats were about to push off, but seeing Grant just in time, the captain ordered the engineer not to start the engine; he then had a plank run out for Grant. His horse seemed to take in the situation. He put his fore feet over the bank and slid gently on to the boat, without much hesitation or urging.<sup>17</sup>

When fire was opened on the transports by the enemy, the gunboats returned it with vigor.<sup>18</sup> They were some distance down the stream so that very little elevation to their guns had to be given, to clear the banks of the river. Soon they were out of reach and went on peacefully to Cairo, feeling that Belmont was a great victory and that each had contributed his

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<sup>15</sup> Badeau, op. cit., I, 18.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., I, 19.

<sup>17</sup> Memoirs, I, 279.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., I, 279.

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share to it.

Always seeing the humorous side of things, Grant met an old West Point comrade the next day who had been a rebel and was serving on Polk's staff. Grant mentioned having ridden out and met the rebel line. "Was that you?" said the other. "We saw you, and General Polk called to some of his troops, 'There, men, is a Yankee, if you want to try your aim.'" <sup>20</sup> But all were intent on hitting the transport then and nobody fired.

Halleck took command of the new department of the Missouri, including Arkansas and the position of Kentucky west of the Cumberland. Halleck confirmed Grant in the command to which Fremont had assigned him. He had kept Grant organizing and disciplining troops for nearly two months, allowing no forward <sup>21</sup> movements in all that time.

In 1862 McClellan, then general-in-chief, sent directions to Grant, through Halleck, to send 6,000 men under McClernand, from Cairo and Bird's Point, toward Mayfield and Murray, in west Kentucky. Another company under C. F. Smith was sent from Paducah in the same direction, threatening Columbus and the rebel line between that place and Bowling Green. The movement was ordered on the 6th but Halleck telegraphed

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Ibid., I, 280.

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Badeau, op. cit., I, 21; Memoirs, I, 281.

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Badeau, op. cit., I, 25.

its delay on the 10th. Grant had already started. The troops were out more than a week and suffered greatly from the efforts of call. There was no fighting but the object of the demonstration was accomplished, for during its continuance, rebel reenforcements were detained at Columbus; Nashville was threatened and Brigadier-General George H. Thomas, one of Buell's subordinates, fought and won the battle of Mill Springs in east Kentucky.

Smith on his return, reported that the capture of Fort Henry was feasible. At this suggestion in 1862 Grant urged Halleck to let him attack Forts Henry and Donelson. The permission was finally given. Grant was supported by Commodore A. H. Foote with small gunboats, proceeded up the Tennessee River with 17,000 men. Fort Henry proved easy of capture and Grant then moved his men twelve miles overland to take the fort on the Cumberland River; the plan being for Foote to go round by water and join him in the attack.<sup>22</sup> The fire from the fort was so heavy, Foote was forced to withdraw and while Grant was in consultation with him, the land forces were suddenly attacked and almost defeated by the Confederates. Grant, arriving just in time, by a magnificent counter attack to force the Confederates back into the fort.<sup>23</sup> It was mid-February, and sleet and cold made that night a terrible one for the Union soldiers, entirely without protection

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<sup>22</sup>

James Truslow Adams, The March of Democracy, II, 32.

<sup>23</sup>

Ibid., II, 32.

and partially without food. Inside the fort however, General Buckner, its commander, realized the impossibility of holding it against assault the following day. On the morning of the 16th he asked for terms, and Grant's reply, which was to make him famous, was immediately given:

No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works.<sup>24</sup>

Without further notice or argument Ft. Donelson fell, 14,000 men, bringing this response:

The distribution of the forces under my command, incident to an unexpected change of commanders, compel me, notwithstanding the brilliant success of the Confederate arms yesterday, to accept the ungenerous and unchivalrous terms which you propose.<sup>25</sup>

Grant was named a major-general by the President February 16th and "Unconditional Surrender Grant," by the public.<sup>26</sup>

All the world was praising Grant but Halleck, who was praising everybody else. A very painful episode was taking place in Grant's career. "Old Brains,"<sup>27</sup> as Halleck was called, seemed incapable of letting him alone. In less than two weeks after the victory at Donelson, the two leading generals in the war, Halleck and McClellan, were in correspondence

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<sup>24</sup> Coolidge, op. cit., I, 74.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., I, 74.

<sup>26</sup> Adams, op. cit., II, 32.

<sup>27</sup> Coolidge, op. cit., I, 68.

as to what disposition should be made of Grant and  
 in less than two weeks he was virtually in arrest and  
 without a command.<sup>28</sup>

On the 13th of March he was restored to command  
 and on the 17th Halleck sent him a copy of an order  
 from the War Department which stated that accounts of  
 his misbehavior (referring to his going to Nashville  
 without authority) had reached Washington and directed  
 him to investigate and report the facts. He did not  
 inform Grant that it was his own reports that had  
 created all the trouble. Grant never knew the truth  
 until General Badeau unearthed the facts in his re-  
 searches for his history of Grant's campaigns.<sup>29</sup> But  
 Halleck, playing the role of a hypocrite to perfection,  
 wrote Grant,

Instead of relieving you, I wish you, as soon  
 as your new army is in the field, to assume  
 immediate command, and lead it to new victories.<sup>30</sup>

At receiving this order, Grant proceeded to Savannah  
 on the Tennessee to where his troops had arrived.

Another Union force, of about 37,000 men, operating  
 under General D. C. Buell, had advanced as far South  
 as Nashville, which had been evacuated by the Confederates,  
 about 4,000 of whom had been massed at Corinth with the

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<sup>28</sup> Memoirs, I, 327.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., I, 328.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., I, 328.

object of attacking and destroying Grant before Buell  
<sup>31</sup> could arrive. Grant appears to have been wholly  
 ignorant of the fact that while he was making prepara-  
 tions for an advance on Corinth, General Johnston had  
 decided to attack him at Pittsburg Landing. Early on  
 the morning of April 6th, the unexpected attack was  
 launched while Grant was breakfasting in perfect con-  
 fidence at Savannah. Johnston's army of 40,000 under  
 cover of the night, having come up to the Union lines,  
<sup>32</sup> brought one of the deadliest battles of the war. The  
 men who were temporarily commanding Smith's regiment  
 were encamped around Pittsburg Landing. Lew Wallace  
 has 5,000 men at Crumps Landing. The Union camp was  
 not intrenched, which caused Southern troops to pour  
 in over an exposed line about three miles from Pittsburg  
 near a log-cabin meeting house called Shiloh, where  
 Sherman was encamped. The men were wild and mixed  
 themselves with McClernands troops, both divisions  
 scrambling into one. "Thus the battle went in all  
 parts of the field, and thus Grant found it when he  
 reached the scene."<sup>33</sup> But turning this defeat into  
 victory was brought about by Grant riding from place  
 to place when bullets were flying and giving commands,

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<sup>31</sup> Adams, op. cit., II, 33.

<sup>32</sup> Coolidge, op. cit., I, 85.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., I, 87.

as was his way, in a low, vibrant, penetrating voice, alert but undemonstrative. Before victory came, however, and as night approached, the Confederate army held the ground where Sherman's troops had slept the night before. The Confederates being superior in number and not inferior in ability to fight had the tide of battle changed when Johnston fell. Jefferson Davis wrote years later that, "the fortunes of a country hung by the single thread of life that was yielded on the field of Shiloh."<sup>34</sup> General Beauregard at sunset issued an order to suspend the fighting until morning. During the night of the 6th the remainder of Nelson's division, Buell's army, crossed the river and was ready to advance. On the morning of the 7th the advance developed the enemy in the camps, occupied by our troops before the battle began, more than a mile back from the most advanced position of the Confederates on the day before. It was known immediately that they had not yet learned of the arrival of Buell's command.<sup>35</sup>

In a very short time the battle became general all along the line. Everything was favorable to the Union side, who had now become the attacking party. The enemy was driven back all day as the Union forces had been the day before, until finally he beat a precipitate retreat.<sup>36</sup> Seeing that the enemy was giving way

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<sup>34</sup>

Elbridge S. Brooks, Historic Americans, p. 280.

<sup>35</sup>

Memoirs, I, 349.

<sup>36</sup>

Ibid., I, 350.

everywhere else, Grant gathered up some troops, formed them in line of battle, and marched them forward, going in front himself to prevent premature or long range firing. Knowing that the enemy was ready to break with a little encouragement, Grant marched the troops to within musket range, when he gave the command, "Charge," the last of the enemy broke.<sup>37</sup>

The next important place brought to the mind of Union generals was Vicksburg, situated at a remarkable bend on the Mississippi River which rendered it one of the strongest fortified places in America.<sup>38</sup>

Grant wrote Halleck the following:

You never have suggested to me any plan of operation in this department. . . . As situated now, with no more troops, I can do nothing but defend my positions, and I do not feel at liberty to abandon any of them without first consulting you. With small reenforcements at Memphis, I think I would be able to move down the Mississippi Central Road and cause the evacuation of Vicksburg. I am ready, however, to do with all my might, whatever you may direct, without criticism.<sup>39</sup>

But the generals were different. One was essentially a defensive, the other an offensive general; one always prepared for defeat the other always expected to win. So the day after Grant's suggestion for an advance, Halleck telegraphed: Be prepared to concentrate your troops in case of an attack.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., I, 350.

<sup>38</sup> Badeau, op. cit., I, 126.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., I, 126.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., I, 126.



Seen there began the wonderful campaign which ended two months later in Pemberton's capitulation of the rebel stronghold. When this landing was taken Grant felt a degree of relief scarcely ever equalled since. He said:

Vicksburg was not yet taken it is true, nor were its defenders demoralized by any of our previous moves. I was now in the enemy's country with a vast river and the stronghold of Vicksburg between me and my base of supplies. But I was on dry ground on the same side of the river with the enemy. All the campaigns, labor, hardships and exposures from the month of December previous to this time that had been made and endured, were for the accomplishment of this one object.<sup>41</sup>

Grant siezed Port Gibson and then without a word to Halleck, and in the face of Sherman's doubts, he struck out for Vicksburg feeding his army off the country as he rushed them on from fight to fight;

Halleck, too late in learning what was on, ordered him back to keep banks at Port Hudson. Grant then caught Joe Johnston's army at Jackson, separating Johnston's army from Pemberton's and seized the Mississippi capitol and railroad center, cutting off Vicksburg from this depot of supplies; and in eighteen days marched two hundred miles, won five pitched battles, took eight thousand prisoners and eighty cannon, scattered a hostile army larger than his own fighting on its chosen ground, and had the rebel army penned in Vicksburg--this is a story whose more recital emblazons the chronicles of war.<sup>42</sup>

On May 22, there came a setback. Johnston was in the rear, not more than fifty miles away, with an army not much inferior in number to the one Grant had and was being reenforced all the time. There was danger

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<sup>41</sup> Coolidge, op. cit., I, 117.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., op. cit., I, 118.

of his coming to the assistance of Pemberton and also defeat the anticipation of Grant capturing the garrison if not the city. The attack was ordered to commence on all parts of the line at 10 o'clock a. m. with a furious cannonade from every battery in position. It was a gallant attack, but at no place were they able to enter the line. Reenforcements were given from all sides, but it only increased the casualties. <sup>43</sup> After a successful assault had been made, the regular siege began. There was a great amount of work to be done to make their position as strong against the enemy, as theirs was against them. In no place were the Union lines more than six hundred yards from the enemy. Building the batteries and intrenching was largely done by pioneers. By the 30th of June there were two hundred and twenty guns in position, besides a battery of heavy guns owned by the navy. They were now as strong for defense against the garrison of Vicksburg as the enemy was against the Union side.

Pemberton seeing no hope of relief, addressed the following letter to each of his four division commanders:

Unless the siege of Vicksburg is raised or supplies are thrown in, it will become necessary very shortly to evacuate the place. I see no prospect of the former, and there are many great, if not insuperable obstacles in the way of the latter. You are,

therefore; requested to inform me with as little delay as possible, as to the condition of your and their ability to make the marches and undergo the fatigues necessary to accomplish a successful evacuation.<sup>44</sup>

Thinking that an attempt to evacuate would fail, two of his generals suggested surrender. On the 3rd about ten o'clock a. m. white flags appeared on a portion of the rebel field. Finally after much deliberation on the part of Pemberton, he accepted terms of surrender<sup>45</sup> as made by Grant.

During the siege there had been a great deal of friendly sparring between the soldiers of the two armies, on picket and where the lines were close together. "All rebels were known as 'Johnnies';" all Union troops as "Yanks." Often "Johnny" would call, "Well, Yank, when are you coming into town?" The reply was sometimes: "We propose to celebrate the 4th of July there." Sometimes it would be: "We always treat our prisoners with kindness and do not want to hurt them;" or "We are holding you as prisoners of war while you are feeding yourselves."<sup>46</sup>

The fate of the Confederacy was sealed when Vicksburg fell. Much hard fighting was to be done afterward and many lives were sacrificed but the

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid., I, 556.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., I, 556.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., I, 563.

morale was with the supporters of the Union ever afterward. With the fall of Vicksburg and the victory gained at Gettysburg on the same day, and came also Port Hudson which gave the national troops complete possession of the Mississippi River.

Up to this time nothing had been said as to what course Grant should pursue after he left Vicksburg, except a suggestion from Halleck that he had better go to Nashville and superintend the operation of troops sent to relieve Rosecrans. Mr. Stanton, Secretary of War, whom he had previously met, handed him two orders, saying that he might take his choice of them. One order left the department commanders as they were, while the other relieved Rosecrans and assigned Thomas <sup>47</sup> to his place. Grant accepted the latter.

Within the last few months Halleck had striven hard to compel Rosecrans to cooperate with Grant, but found himself utterly unable to accomplish the task; and it was now determined to cut the knot of Rosecrans' obstinacy and insubordination, by giving to Grant almost absolute control of the forces and operations west of the Alleghanies. Grant was to be allowed to make his own campaigns, to use the troops to accomplish his own purposes. It was a great responsibility to put upon him, but there was nothing better to do; no other general had accomplished as much as he; his past successes were the best guaranty for future ones; the danger at Chattanooga was imminent, and increasing daily; it was necessary to act at once; and tremblingly, doubtless, but almost hopefully the great trust was committed to his hands.<sup>48</sup>

It was feared that Rosecrans would even abandon Chattanooga before Grant could arrive--in fact, he was

<sup>47</sup> Memoirs, II, 19.

<sup>48</sup> Badeau, op. cit., I, 423-24.

preparing for such a movement. The secretary directed Grant to assume his new command and to relieve Rosecrans before such a thing became possible. He assumed this command on the 19th of October, 1863. Repairing to the front, steps were taken to relieve Chattanooga of its peril, for want of supplies.

Reaching the field on the 23rd, Grant found Hooker on the eve of a movement into Lookout Valley, then held by the enemy, who was thus controlling the routes to Bridgeport, compelled all supplies to come by the almost impassable roads from the west and north.<sup>50</sup>

At five o'clock on the 27th, Hazen landed at Brown's Ferry, surprised the picket guard, and captured most of it.<sup>51</sup> Soon they were in possession of a height commanding the ferry. Fortifications began at once and soon the extreme right in Lookout Valley was fortified and connected with the rest of the army. There was no further danger of starvation, surrender, or retreat and Grant was in position to hold the town all winter or until reinforcements should arrive. As early as October he wired Halleck:

The question of supplies may now be regarded as settled. If the rebels give us one week more, I think all danger of losing territory now held by us will have passed away, and preparations may commence for offensive operations.<sup>52</sup>

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Ibid., I, 424.

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Orville J. Victor, The History, Civil, Political and Military of the Southern Rebellion, IV, 165.

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Memoirs, II, p. 37.

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Coolidge, op. cit., I, 137.

Grant began the three days' battle on the 23rd of November. It was the most completely planned of all his battles, a feat unmarred in its perfection and as a spectacle unequalled in the history of war. <sup>53</sup> The three days' engagement is known as, "Chattanooga," the third day's fight as "Missionary Ridge," in memory of the culminating glory of a deed, which has been called "one of the greatest miracles in military <sup>54</sup> history."

The battle of Chattanooga was the grandest ever fought west of the Alleghanies. It covered an extent of thirteen miles and Grant had over 60,000 men engaged. <sup>55</sup> It was the only battle of the war in which its four great figures, Grant, Thomas, Sherman and Sheridan were engaged together. <sup>56</sup> Few battles have ever been won so strictly according to the plan laid down.

Grant was commissioned lieutenant-general in the army of the United States after the battle of Chattanooga. President Lincoln read the following words:

General Grant, the nation's appreciation of what you have done and its reliance upon you for what remains to be done in the existing

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<sup>53</sup>

Ibid., I, 137.

<sup>54</sup>

Ibid., I, 138.

<sup>55</sup>

Badeau, op. cit., I, 524.

<sup>56</sup>

Coolidge, op. cit., I, 139.

great struggle, are now presented with this commission constituting you lieutenant-general in the Army of the United States with high honor, devolves upon you, also a corresponding responsibility. As the country herein trusts you, so, under God, it will sustain you. I scarcely need to add, that what I here speak for the nation, goes my own hearty personal concurrence.<sup>57</sup>

It was when he received the commission that he determined to take command in person of the armies in Virginia, and dispose his other armies so as to best conquer Lee. Before he left for Washington he wrote to Sherman a letter as follows:

Whilst I have been eminently successful in this war, in at least gaining the confidence of the public, no one feels more than I how much of this success is due to the energy and skill, of those whom it has been my good fortune to have occupying subordinate positions under me. There are many officers to whom these remarks are applicable to a greater or less degree, proportionate to their ability as soldiers; but what I want is to express my thanks to you and McPherson as the men to whom, above all others, I feel indebted for whatever I have had of success. How far your advice and assistance have been of help to me you know; how far your execution of whatever has been given to you to do entitles you to the reward I am receiving, you cannot know as well as I.<sup>58</sup>

When Grant assumed command of all the armies, in spite of his success in the west and those gained by the gallant little navy, ten southern states were in revolt. Grant had no holiday in store when he came east. He put Sherman at the head of the division of the Mississippi. His own headquarters were in the field and for the time being with the army of the Potomac, under Meade's

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<sup>57</sup>

Memoirs, II, 115.

<sup>58</sup>

Coolidge, op. cit., I, 143.

command, who looked ahead to crush Lee, which was his objective point. With Lee eliminated, the Confederacy would crumble of itself; there would be no formidable fighting elsewhere. But this involved the capture of Richmond and Atlanta and shutting off the few remaining breathing places on the coast through which the South could touch the sea--Mobile, Savannah, Charleston,<sup>59</sup> and Wilmington, protected by Fort Fisher. Sherman was given orders to move against Johnston's army, to break it up and get into the interior of the enemy's country as far as he could, inflicting all the damage he could against the war resources.<sup>60</sup> He was to follow it wherever it went, to fight it whenever it stood; to sap its supplies and break up its strength. Sherman and Butler and Meade were to begin operations on the same day; and while one absorbed the rebel attention at the west, the others would occupy all the energies of the enemy at the east, so that neither rebel army should be able to reenforce or support the other.

If Johnston showed signs of joining Lee, Sherman was to follow him up to the extent of his ability, and Meade would prevent the concentration of Lee upon Sherman if it was in the power of the army of the Potomac to do so.<sup>61</sup>

....For the first time since Sumpter, the keys controlling all the Northern armies were in a

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<sup>59</sup>

Ibid., op. cit., I, 160.

<sup>60</sup>

Memoirs, II, 125.

<sup>61</sup>

Badeau, op. cit., II, 35.



single hand, and when everything was ready for the word, Grant touched them all at once. From Culpepper where he had pitched his tent, the signal flashed for every general to move on the 4th of May; Meade against Lee, Sherman against Johnston, Butler toward Richmond, Sigel along the Shenandoah. From that time until the end, Grant kept his finger on the pulse of all armies. While he was hammering away at Lee and Richmond, he was sending daily orders also to every captain under his command.<sup>62</sup>

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The cooperation so long desired had at last begun. The enemy had been far from idle. As soon as Lee had been informed that the Army of the Potomac had crossed the Rapidan, he took measures to oppose it. His main object was to divide Grant's force, and drive it back across the Rapidan. Lee who had once fought with Hooker on that very ground successfully against great odds, took the chance of meeting Grant's superior forces on a field, where he had already demonstrated that victory did not necessarily attend the heaviest battallions.<sup>64</sup>

During the two days' battle of the Wilderness with its ghastly toll brought home to Grant the horror of the path in which his feet were set.<sup>65</sup> There were hours in which defeat was hovering closely; disaster had never pressed him quite so close.

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Badeau, op. cit., II, 100.

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Badeau, op. cit., II, 100.

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Coolidge, op. cit., I, 163.

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Ibid., I, 167.

It was a wrestle as blind as midnight, a gloom that made maneuvers impracticable, a jungle where regiments were on the enemy by turns, firing sometimes into their own ranks, and guided often only by the crackling of the bushes or the cheers that arose from the depth around.<sup>66</sup>

On the 6th Lee withdrew his army under cover of night.

Tactfully, this battle was indecisive; the losses were heavy, Grant's numbering over seventeen thousand and Lee's, though unknown, cannot have been less than seven thousand. Strategically it was the greatest Federal victory yet won in the east, for Lee was now thrown on the defensive--he was held. Thus within forty-eight hours of crossing the Rapidan, did Grant gain his object--the fixing of Lee.<sup>67</sup>

Lee had definitely abandoned his offensive and the battle of the Wilderness was over.

Grant received word that Butler had moved according to orders, and landed his whole force at City Point, completely surprising the enemy. Sherman was advancing upon Johnston. Orders were given for the whole army to march toward Spottsylvania, thinking that Lee might have been summoned to Richmond.<sup>68</sup>

Sheridan, in this memorable raid, passed entirely around Lee's army; encountered his cavalry in four engagements, and defeated them in all; recaptured four hundred Union prisoners and captured many of the enemy; destroyed and used many supplies and munitions of war; destroyed miles of railroad and telegraph, and freed us from annoyance by the cavalry of the enemy for more than two weeks.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> J. F. C. Fuller, Grant and Lee, p. 214.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p. 215.

<sup>68</sup> Badeau, op. cit., II, 133.

<sup>69</sup> Memoirs, II, 157.

... 'As a soldier, as a commander of troops, as a man capable of doing all that is possible with any number of men,' Grant said later, 'there is no man living greater than Sheridan. He belongs to the very first rank of soldiers, not only of our country, but of the world. I rank Sheridan with Napoleon and Frederick and the great commanders of history. No man ever had such a faculty of finding out things as Sheridan, of knowing all about the enemy. He was always the best-informed man of his command as to the enemy. Then he had the magnificent quality of swaying men, which I wish I had--a rare quality in a general.'<sup>70</sup>

Sherman had no longer lighted in Atlanta than he began to think of longer flights--he had a vision of marching to the sea. Sherman had sent Thomas to Nashville to protect Tennessee. He, himself, would destroy Atlanta, and move to Charleston or Savannah. Lincoln and Grant were uneasy because they thought a misstep by him might be fatal to the army.<sup>71</sup> But Grant later approved his plan. Hood crossed the river into Tennessee. Grant thought that Hood should be destroyed before the march began, but Sherman thought this was a means to get him out of Georgia. He thought Thomas could manage Hood since he had sent him Schofield's army in case of an emergency. Thomas then destroyed Atlanta and cut loose November 12th from all communications with the North, and for a month was swallowed up in Georgia with six thousand men.

Hood was forced to choose between following Sherman or invading Tennessee. He began to move toward

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<sup>70</sup>

Coolidge, op. cit., I, 181.

<sup>71</sup>

Ibid., I, 181.

Nashville, but was repulsed on his way at having met Schofield. He then followed Schofield to Nashville with a reduced army, while Thomas held the town with twice his force.<sup>72</sup> He organized his force after much impatience on the part of Lincoln and Grant and was delivered into the hands of Hood, making a complete victory of the battle--in fact one of the most complete of the Union forces. Grant asked that Thomas be made a major general in the army. In the meantime Sherman was still marching--a march of 361 miles through hostile territory had been a holiday.<sup>73</sup> He advanced his combined army on the enemy, gained contact with them and compelled them to fall back. This he did at Dalton and several other places. He caused Hood's army to be repulsed with heavy losses at three different times.

Being compelled to fall back on Atlanta, Sherman followed him up; there Hood's position became untenable, and on September 1, the gate of the city of the South was in Sherman's hands.<sup>74</sup>

Once Atlanta was occupied, the operation would be easy, but since this was not so, there was much maneuvering to be done. And furthermore, the City of Mobile remained yet to be captured. Grant suggested that General Canby, who was operating against Mobile, act upon Savannah, while Sherman moved on Augusta.

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<sup>72</sup>

Ibid., I, 182.

<sup>73</sup>

S. H. M. Byers, Harpers Weekly, XLIX, 684.

<sup>74</sup>

Fuller, op. cit., p. 232.

Hood had now flanked an advance on Augusta and was now safe so long as Mobile held out, but Hood seeing he could no longer hold out made a move to the effect that Sherman decided to leave a corps to protect Atlanta and set out in pursuit of him. This being a difficult task, Sherman wrote Grant that the original plan of capturing Charleston or Savannah was the better plan because said Sherman, "To pursue Hood is folly, for he can twist and turn like a fox and wear out any army in pursuit."<sup>75</sup> Grant agreed. Sherman set out from Atlanta at the head of 60,000 men, and arrived at Savannah a few days later.

Though on the way he was but weakly opposed, beyond all question his march had a decisive strategical and political influence on the war, for the destruction he wrought in Georgia, which was estimated at \$100,000,000, had a most demoralizing effect on the whole of the Confederacy, and particularly on Lee's army, thousands of his men deserting to their homes in order to succour their families. The defeat of Hood at Nashville by Schofield, and the occupation of Savannah by Sherman ended the campaign of 1864.<sup>76</sup>

Grant's plan for 1865 was to draw the net closer and closer around his antagonist. The first problem was to occupy the remaining sea ports--Charleston, Mobile and Wilmington. Grant feared Lee might try to break away so he decided to watch him instead of making an attack. Next he decided to close four columns in on Lee:

Sherman to advance on Branchville, Columbia, and eventually on Raleigh; Schofield to be transferred

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<sup>75</sup>

Ibid., p. 233.

<sup>76</sup>

Ibid., p. 236.

from Tennessee to North Carolina, secure Wilmington and then occupy Goldsboro, in order to open a base of supplies for Sherman; Sheridan to move on Lynchburg; Thomas to move on Selma sending a strong force of cavalry under General Stoneman towards Columbia and Canby to take and occupy Mobile.<sup>77</sup>

This plan was carried out except on Thomas's part, which made Lee's situation a desperate one. The initiative was now Grant's, and not waiting for Sherman, who could not advance on the Roanoke River, Grant decided to strike. He hemmed Lee's army in on all sides, although Lee managed to push on to Appomattox, where he had intended to supply his army. Grant, expecting this, ordered the Second and Sixth Corps to move north of the Appomattox. Here it was that his foe met his downfall.

No conqueror ever was higher-souled than Grant at Appomattox. Sad and depressed, as he tells us, at the downfall of a valiant foe, he met Lee as if that foeman in war were a neighbor in trouble. Shrinking from his triumph, he had to be twice recalled by the Confederate chieftain to the subject of their meeting, the naming of his terms of peace.

These were as simple as they were unprecedented. The soldiers of the South were hungry; they should be fed. They were going home and would need their horses for the spring plowing; they should take them. Lee's hand moved toward his sword for the purpose of surrendering it. Without a word Grant stopped him by a silent wave of his hand. The guns outside began to roar over the victory. The victor silenced them, as he had hushed the cheers over the Confederates at Vicksburg. The great war was won; but the noble conqueror turned away from Richmond without entering the fallen capitol.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>77</sup>

Ibid., pp. 237-38.

<sup>78</sup>

James Morgan, Our Presidents, p. 177.

## CHAPTER IV.

Grant as President

When Grant became President, it seemed for the moment as though a second "era of good feeling" were at hand. It was his misfortune to know no one except his associates in the war.

The inaugural was brief,--only twelve hundred words,--and yet in spite of its brevity it contained sentences which stuck in the mind of some, which have since become imbedded in our common speech: The responsibilities of the position I feel, but accept them without fear. The office has come to me unsought; I commence its duties untrammelled. All laws will be faithfully executed, whether they meet my approval or not. I shall on all subjects have a policy to recommend, but none to enforce against the will of the people. Laws are to govern all alike--those opposed as well as those who favor them. I know no method to repeal bad or obnoxious laws so effective as their stringent execution.<sup>1</sup>

Grant's first act, in making up his Cabinet, was characteristic. Never having held a council of war or consulted anyone in the army, he did not consult the Republican leaders. The ones he chose could not serve for various reasons and in selecting a Chief Justice, he pursued the same hit or miss plan and had to send in a third name before the Senate would give its assent. The Secretary of War was given to John A. Rawlins.

There were sound personal reasons for the selection of General Rawlins, who had been Grant's vigilant watchdog in the army, standing between

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<sup>1</sup>Coolidge, op. cit., I, 274-75.

his too trusting nature and false friends. These latter needed now more than ever to be warded off, and the untimely death of this frank and loyal friend early in the administration left a place which remained sadly vacant.<sup>2</sup>

The many scandals of the administration were mostly traceable to the betrayal of Grant's childlike confidence in unworthy friends. The first of these great episodes to occupy the mind of the reader is "Black Friday" which developed from this source--letters from leading bankers, merchants and business men poured into Washington urging that the Treasury Department abstain from selling gold as had been the practice for some time, so that the premium might advance to a figure that would send our products out of the country, as the cheapest exportable material in place of coin, which at its then artificially depressed price, was the cheapest of our products, and the only one undesirable to part with. So the government decided to suspend gold sales indefinitely.<sup>3</sup> John Gould and others deciding this was to be the policy of the administration, commenced at once buying large amounts of gold by the purest, patriotic motives--namely, to stimulate cotton and cereal exports. They succeeded in accumulating a large amount of gold at a seemingly low price, covering a period of three months' steady buying. It was upon this foundation that the great "Black Friday" speculative deal was erected. The eruption was really

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<sup>2</sup>

Morgan, op. cit., p. 179.

<sup>3</sup>

Henry Clews, Fifty Years in Wall Street, p. 181.



caused by John Fiske, Jr., who actively joined the movement on Thursday, the day before, and became wild with enthusiasm on the subject of high gold.<sup>4</sup> Gould directed the deal to the end, with the assistance of a few wicked partners. Their office was located in Broad Street on the present site of the Drexel Building. When this was found out Clews sent a telegram to Secretary Boutwell and one to Grant stating the condition of affairs in Wall Street and urging the immediate sale of gold. This, they did, driving down the premium from 160 to 132 in less than two hours, and striking terror to the holders of gold. Naturally, a general rush was made to sell out, but Speyer, one of the representatives, kept bidding 160 for a million at a time, making one of the wildest and most ludicrous spectacles ever witnessed among men not idiots. As the transactions were purely phantom in their nature, the great parties did not lose much. Importing merchants were among the greatest sufferers.

The suspension of the Gold Bank caused many important failures, which gave a fuller effect of the disaster. A state of chaos reigned and how to unravel the problem remained to be solved. The Board Room was crowded almost to suffocation and the scene just prior to its close partook of the appearance of, Bedlam let loose; in fact, it had not been very different all day.

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<sup>4</sup>

Ibid., p. 182.

Late in the afternoon a body of enraged sufferers assembled at the doors of Smith, Gould and Martin's office and made many boisterous threats against the members--in fact, they were so boisterous that the police came to their protection.

As President Grant was conservative on the subject of gold, the conspirators conceived a plan of arranging things so that Secretary Boutwell could not depart from this policy, no matter what emergency might arise. But before it could be successful, President Grant must first be convinced that stopping the gold sales was the only salvation for the country.<sup>5</sup> The plan was to impress upon him the necessity of giving Boutwell an absolute order not to sell gold, which would be impossible to revoke. Of course, the scheme was little short of treason from a patriotic point of view, but if that had to be resorted to, the conspirators would have gone just that far, but fortunately for Grant and for the honor of the nation, the plan succeeded without offering him any violence.

Furthermore to carry out the plan, one beautiful day it was arranged that Grant should accompany some people who were going to attend the great Peace Jubilee of Patrick Sarsfield Gilmore in Boston. There was a fine champagne supper on board the boat, and several men who could talk glibly on the state of financial

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<sup>5</sup>

Ibid., p. 187.

questions. The subject of exports and stopping the sale of gold was brought up. Grant was an eager listener, but his mind was not thoroughly made up that the best policy for the prosperity of the country was to stop the sale of gold. Therefore, he was undecided on that point and it required well directed reasons to convince him.<sup>6</sup> When Grant was asked what his views were, he remarked that he thought there was a certain amount of fiction about the prosperity of the country and the bubble might as well be tapped in one way as another.

About the time the above events were transpiring, the assistant Secretary of the Treasury, H. H. Van Dyck, resigned his office in the city, Gould's chief ambition was to name his successor so he could control the Treasury Department when the time came. Mr. Abel R. Corbin served to further the designs of Gould. He was well informed on financial matters, a good writer and could talk very intelligently. His wife was a sister of Mrs. Grant. These two, Corbin and Gould, working together, talked Mr. Butterfield into taking the position, which made another link in the chain perfect. Corbin talked with Grant until he received a positive assurance that Boutwell was to sell no more gold. Until this time Gould was not positively sure. The

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<sup>6</sup>

Ibid., p. 189.

links of this strategic chain were now largely forged. To insure perfect safety, Grant must be put out of the way temporarily. He was prevailed upon to visit at a place in Pennsylvania for the purpose of seeing an old friend. The town was cut off from telegraphic communication, and the other means of access were not very convenient. About the time of the President's departure, Fisk bought seven or eight million dollars worth of gold. Gould then said to Fisk:

This matter is all fixed up. Butterfield is all right. Corbin has got Butterfield all right and Corbin has got Grant fixed all right and in my opinion they are all interested together.<sup>7</sup>

The speculation appeared hazardous and uncertain, and Gould and Fisk would have dropped it, but Corbin assured them that it was all right. In August there was another steamboat trip to Newport but, this time the President was not so sure that the bubble of inflation ought to be pricked.<sup>8</sup> But Corbin did not have him fixed--he had been moved by Gould's arguments and immediately wrote Boutwell of the Treasury to go slowly in selling gold, as he did not want to put down the price of crops, and he repeated some of Gould's clever sophistries as his own.<sup>9</sup>

Gould and Fisk had not worked long until they held contracts for twice the available supply of gold.

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<sup>7</sup>  
Ibid., p. 194.

<sup>8</sup>  
Woodward, op. cit., p. 414.

<sup>9</sup>  
Ibid., p. 414.

Gould and Corbin also attempted to compromise Grant's family, as well as his private secretary, General Horace Porter. Neither the Grants nor Porter knew of the transactions, but Corbin told Gould that Mrs. Grant wanted \$25,000 on account. It never reached Mrs. Grant and the fact came out later that Corbin had used it to pay off a loan of his at a bank.<sup>10</sup> Gould was involved for at least fifty millions, and anxiety sat on his dark brow. He urged Corbin to write a letter to the President arguing against the sale of gold by the government. Corbin did and sent it by a special messenger to the little village in Pennsylvania where the Grants were spending a holiday. Horace Porter received the missive from the messenger and told him it was all right--meaning the letter had been received in good order. The messenger dashed away to telegraph the message to Gould. In the meantime, Grant had read his brother-in-law's letter, and he asked Mrs. Grant to write to Mrs. Corbin that the President was very much distressed by her husband's speculations. Corbin showed the letter to Gould who saw that Corbin had been a deceiver all this time. Following this interview, Gould secretly began to sell through a new set of brokers and to the very end Fisk thought that Gould was on his side.

On Friday, which is now known as "Black Friday"--

September 24, 1869--the price of gold went to 162, and the Gold Room was a mad house.

Then word was received from Washington that the government had begun to sell, and that Grant had instructed the Secretary of the Treasury to put four million dollars of gold on the market immediately. This brought the price down from 162 to 135, which left a number of ruined speculators. The enraged people were roaming through the streets looking for Gould and Fisk, but they had escaped.

Grant emerged from this episode with a slightly tarnished reputation. The public knew nothing of the inside facts, but everybody knew that Grant had associated on friendly terms with Gould and the unspeakable Fisk. The natural supposition was that he had countenanced their schemes.<sup>11</sup>

Political scandals were unhappily numerous during this period. Among these in addition to the one previously mentioned was the San Domingo tragedy. The project of annexation appeared to have grown upon Grant before the Secretary of State or other members of the Cabinet were fully aware of it. There was talk about it in Cabinet meetings to which Grant listened without comment, and it was generally understood that the policy of the Administration was against intervention, until one day in May, Grant casually remarked that as the navy definitely wanted Samana Bay for a coaling-station, he thought he would send General Babcock down to report upon it as an engineer.

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<sup>11</sup>

Ibid., p. 416.

Furthermore, other advocates for its annexation referred to the value of its minerals and production of crops and said,

We have now the opportunity to acquire this magnificent domain. The Government and the people of the Dominican portion of the island are prepared today to enter into our Union; to place themselves and their territory under the control of our laws; in a word to share our destinies. With the acquisition of Domingo, that of Hayti becomes inevitable, and by our acceptance of this entire island we come into the possession of the richest gift ever offered any nation. It comes without terms or conditions, except such as we in our own judgment may impose for the benefit of all concerned; it comes without any incumbrance save such as we may voluntarily assume; without war or bloodshed; without entangling alliances; with the full and free assent of those who by rightful authority own and control its destinies, and without lawful protest from any outside Power.<sup>12</sup>

On September 4, Babcock executed with the Dominican authorities a protocol which stipulated for the annexation of the Dominican Republic with the payment of \$1,500,000 by the United States for the extinction of the Dominican debt. Charles Sumner, chairman, Foreign Relations Committee, who, according to Grant, had promised to support the treaty, denied that he had done anything of the kind and submitted the following report:

Resolved: That the President of the United States be requested to communicate to the Senate, if, in his opinion, not incompatible with the public interests, copies of all papers and correspondence relating to the proposed annexation of the Dominican portion of the Island of San Domingo, or the purchase of any part thereof, including the original

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<sup>12</sup>

Congressional Globe and Appendix, XLI, 41 Cong., 1 sess., p. 523.

and all subsequent instructions to any agent or consul of the United States with the correspondence of such agent or consul; also any protocol or convention signed by such agent or consul; also, an account of the debt and liabilities of the Dominican government, especially its obligations to the neighboring republic of Hayti; also the provisions of the existing constitution of Dominica, so far as the same relate to the sale or transfer of the national domain; also any treaty with Hayti or France by which Dominica is bound or effected; also any communication from the neighboring republic of Hayti, or from ministers there, relating to the proposed annexation; also instructions to the commander of our naval squadron in the water of the island since the commencement of the late negotiations, with the reports and correspondence of such commander; also any information tending to show what European power, if any, proposes to acquire jurisdiction of any part of the island, and if so, of what part; also any information with regard to the position of President Baez, under whom the treaty of annexation was negotiated, and the extent to which he has been maintained in power by the presence of United States vessels of war; also any information with regard to the sentiments of the people in Dominica, and the reported pendency there of civil war; also any information with regard to any claim of jurisdiction by the republic of Hayti over the territory of Dominica.<sup>13</sup>

Indiana opposed the annexation too, and instructed their senators and requested their representatives to oppose by their votes, and by all other legal means the  
<sup>14</sup>  
consumation of the said plan.

Mr. Banks also introduced a joint resolution concerning the annexation of the republic of San Dominica to the United States; which was read a first and second time, ordered to be printed, and to be referred to the  
<sup>15</sup>  
committee on Foreign Affairs when appointed.

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<sup>13</sup> Senate Misc. Document, No. 10, 41 Cong., 3 sess., p. 1.

<sup>14</sup> House Misc. Document, No. 43, 41 Cong., 3 sess., I, 1.

<sup>15</sup> Congressional Globe, 41 Cong., 1 sess., I, 59.



Sumner also submitted other resolutions regarding San Domingo, one of which concerned the employment of the Navy of the United States on the coast of San Domingo during the pendency of negotiations for the acquisition of part of that island.

Whereas, any negotiation by one nation with a people inferior in population and power, having in view the acquisition of territory, should be above all suspicion of influence from superior force and in testimony to this principle Spain boasted that the reincorporation of Dominica with her monarchy in 1861 was accomplished without the presence of a single Spanish ship on the coast or a single Spanish soldier on the land, all of which appear in official documents; and whereas, the United States being a Republic, founded on the rights of man, cannot depart from such a principle and such a precedent without weakening the obligations of justice between nations, and inflicting a blow upon republican institutions.<sup>16</sup>

....Instead of seeking to acquire part of the island of St. Domingo by belligerent intervention, without the authority of an act of Congress, it would have been in better accord with the principle of our Republic, and its mission of peace and beneficence, had our government in the spirit of good neighborhood and by friendly appeal, instead of belligerent intervention, striven for the establishment of tranquility throughout the whole island, so that the internal dissensions of Dominican and its disturbed relation with Hayti might be brought to a close, thus obtaining that security which is the first condition of prosperity, all of which, being in the nature of good offices, would have been without any violation of international law, and without any usurpation of war powers under the Constitution of the United States.<sup>17</sup>

The facts stated above indicate how Sumner resented that the President of the United States should be pledged to lobby the treaty through the Senate, and this resentment intensified the prejudice he held against

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<sup>16</sup>

Senate Misc. Document, No. 35, 42 Cong., 1 sess., I, 12.

<sup>17</sup>

Ibid.

the annexation project as a whole, feeling as he did that the extinction of the Black Republic would be a wrong to the negro who had there an opportunity to work out a problem in self-government. Sumner's only intimate friend in the Administration was Attorney-General Hoar. Shortly before the San Domingo Treaty was to be voted on, he was suddenly asked for his resignation, even if Grant did seem attached to Hoar.<sup>18</sup> Finally, when the treaty reached the Committee on Foreign Relations, Sumner came out in opposition to it that was bitter and unyielding.

He carried a majority of the committee with him, and the measure appeared before the Senate with the Committee's disapproval. On June 30, 1870, the treaty failed of ratification in the Senate and was relegated to the trash pile of imperialism.<sup>19</sup>

There seemed to be an itch for money. A group of stockholders, incorporated as the "Credit Mobilier" of America, which received most of the contracts for building the Union Pacific Railroad, and one of the members, Oakes Ames, of Massachusetts, a member of the House of Federal Representatives, sold stock in the "Credit Mobilier" at par to many members of both Houses and to various officials, despite the fact that the stock paid dividends exceeding the face value of the shares.

Out of a suit begun by some disgruntled persons who felt that they had been defrauded of their share of the loot, came some inkling of what was going on.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> George S. Boutwell, General Grant's Administration, McClures, XIV, 356, Feb., 1900.

<sup>19</sup> Woodward, op. cit., p. 445.

<sup>20</sup> Lester Burrell Shippee, Recent American History, p. 25.

Twelve million acres of government land along the road's right-of-way were given the company; besides, the government had agreed to lend the company twenty-seven million dollars in United States bonds.

The organizers of the enterprise persuaded Congress to permit the road to issue twenty-seven million dollars of first mortgage bonds, and this obligation took precedence of the loan from the government.<sup>21</sup>

This had gone through so smoothly that they decided to secure the wealth for themselves by contracting to build the road. The price agreed upon gave them three times the amount that it actually cost for the work.

Exposure of Ames' methods came about as an incident of a family row in the small circle of insiders, which led to the publication of some of his letters in the New York Sun. This occurred in 1872, when a Congressional investigation was made which opened up much of the unsavory mess and left a trail of smirched political reputations.<sup>22</sup> It might be called the "Teapot Dome " of the day.

The "Salary Grab" of 1873 was an act increasing the salaries of president, vice-president, and cabinet officers and members of Congress, and in case of the latter was retroactive in that it increased the stipend of the members of Congress which passed the act. There was a howl of disapproval, and many members refused to accept the additional payment.<sup>23</sup> It was depicted as a

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<sup>21</sup> Woodward, op. cit., p. 405.

<sup>22</sup> Shippee, op. cit., p. 25.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., op. cit., p. 27.

conspiracy to loot the Treasury and those who voted for it were held up to public scorn.

Democrats and Republicans had joined in its support; one party was as guilty as the other, but as the Congress was Republican, that party had to bear the blame.<sup>24</sup>

One of the first acts of the new Congress was to repeal the law except as it applied to the President and Justices of the Supreme Court. This was the issue which was probably responsible for the Republican defeat in the election that followed.

In 1873 William A. Richardson became head of the Treasury Department, who soon afterwards appointed John D. Sanborn, as a special agent for the collection of delinquent taxes. A contract provided that he was to receive one-half the money he managed to collect. A Congressional Committee looked into the affair and decided that Richardson was getting too much money and should be dismissed from the Cabinet. Nothing came of it though, because Grant would plead with individual members that he not be dismissed, promising that he would get him to resign. Richardson left the Cabinet and in his place Benjamin H. Bristow was placed. Sometime before he entered upon these duties there had been some talk of a "Whiskey Ring" composed of distillers who were evading the internal revenue tax on distilled spirits. The method of collecting this tax was to license each distillery and have on the

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<sup>24</sup>

Coolidge, op. cit., p. 436.

spot a Treasury agent to do the collecting and stamp  
each barrel. <sup>25</sup> The idea of giving these who were  
expected to do the collecting a gratuity to let untaxed  
liquor go, occurred to them, so the Whiskey-Ring came  
into being. The distillers had been selling the liquor  
long before this without paying the tax and they had  
learned through underground intelligence, when their  
plants and books were to be inspected and were invari-  
ably prepared before the inspectors arrived. Soon,  
Bristow employed a corps of private detectives, who  
found all the necessary evidence, but whose trails came  
to an end in the President's office. The principal  
secretary to Grant at this time was Orville E. Babcock  
who had been in correspondence with the leaders of the  
Whiskey-Ring and had secured enough money through them  
to finance Grant's campaign of 1872. <sup>26</sup> Grant denied  
this, but Bristow, not to be outdone, raided sixteen  
of the largest distilleries in St. Louis, Milwaukee,  
and Chicago and seized their records. There were two-  
hundred and fifty-three indictments found, and about  
sixty distillers and government agents pleaded guilty.  
Three were sent to prison and the rest were fined  
small amounts. Babcock was indicted with the rest,  
but the President spoke handsomely of him so he was

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Woodward, op. cit., p. 420.

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Ibid., p. 421.

acquitted. Bristow realized that he was no longer wanted in the Cabinet after Grant had listened to those who were opposed to him, so he handed in his resignation.

When the Whiskey-Ring began to wane there began to be talk of another exposure, centered around W. W. Belknap, Secretary of War, who was without any financial means except his salary and who had a very fashionable wife who wore the most expensive of French clothes. Mrs. Belknap was a guest of Mr. and Mrs. Marsh sometime in the year 1870. They became involved in a conversation about the War Department and its affairs. She told Marsh that post-traders in the Indian Territory were very profitable, because they had a monopoly as merchants around the military posts. She promised to get him a trader's post; but she would have to have a share of the profits for her services in persuading her husband to give Marsh the place. Belknap decided to give him the place which at that time was held by a man by the name of Evans. He had made quite an investment there and hated to lose money; so they originated the idea that if Evans would pay Marsh twelve thousand dollars a year <sup>27</sup> he could keep the place. Evans went to see the Secretary but learned that Marsh would get the place if he wanted it, so he went back and signed an agreement

whereby he was to pay Marsh twelve thousand dollars a  
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 year, half of which was to be turned over to Mrs.  
 Belknap until her death, which occurred shortly after  
 this, at which time Marsh began to send the remittance  
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 to Secretary Belknap.

Mr. Clymer who was investigating the expenditures of the War Department, by unanimous consent, submitted the following resolution, which was read, condensed and agreed to: Resolved: That the Secretary of War be requested to inform this House of the names, residences, and dates of appointment of the several post traders, of the several trading establishments and the place at which one is trading. And also what changes, if any, in the prices of goods, wares and merchandise or supplies of every sort and description whatever as fixed by the post or other council of administration, has been made, and by whom and by what authority.<sup>30</sup>

The amount of money Belknap received from Marsh for maintaining a trading establishment and having appointed John Evans to maintain it follows:

November 2, 1870, Belknap received \$1500;  
 January 17, 1871, \$1500; April 18, 1871, \$1500;  
 July 25, 1871, \$1500; November 10, 1871, \$1500;  
 January 15, 1872, \$1500; November 22, 1872, \$1500;  
 April 28, 1873, \$1000; June 16, 1873, \$1700;  
 November 4, 1873, \$1500; January 22, 1874, \$1500;  
 April 10, 1874, \$1500; October 9, 1874, \$1500;  
 May 24, 1875, \$1500; November 17, 1875, \$1500;  
 January 15, 1876, \$750.<sup>31</sup>

John Evans was appointed on the 10th day of October and continued to operate the trading post

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>30</sup> Congressional Record, IV, Part II, 44 Cong., 1 sess., February 10 to March 28, 1876, p. 115.

<sup>31</sup> Senate Misc. Document, No. 84, 44 Cong., 1 sess., I, 7.

until March 2, 1876.

The replication of the House of Representatives of the United States in their own behalf, and also in the name of the people of the United States, to the plea of William W. Belknap to the articles of impeachment exhibited by them to the Senate against the said William W. Belknap.

The House of Representatives of the United States, prosecuting on behalf of themselves and the people of the United States, the articles of impeachment exhibited by them to the Senate of the United States against said William W. Belknap, reply to the plea of said William W. Belknap and say that the matter alleged in the said plea are not sufficient to exempt the said William W. Belknap from answering the said articles of impeachment, because, they say that, at the time all the acts charged in said articles of impeachment were done and committed, and thence continuously done to the second day of March, A. D. 1876, the said William W. Belknap was Secretary of War of the United States, as in said articles of impeachment averred, and therefore that, by the Constitution of the United States, the House of Representatives had power to prefer the articles of impeachment, and the Senate have full and the sole power to try the same. Wherefore they demand that the plea aforesaid of the said William W. Belknap be not allowed, but that the said William W. Belknap be required to answer the said articles of impeachment.<sup>33</sup> 32

The House of Representatives and the United States alleged in the said plea are not sufficient to exempt him from answering the articles of impeachment, because he continued to repeat the acts that have been alleged. Just when the House was preparing the reports recommending the impeachment of Belknap for the matters and things set forth in the articles, Belknap, with full knowledge of it all, resigned his position as

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31 32

Ibid.; House Report, No. 222, 44 Cong., 1 sess., I, 1.

32 33

Senate Misc. Document, No. 92, 44 Cong., 1 sess., I, 1.



such officer, on the second day of March, 1876, with intent to evade the proceedings of impeachment against <sup>33</sup> 34 him. Grant accepted the resignation immediately and Belknap was out of the War Department forty minutes before Clymer charged him with malfeasance in office.

Belknap got out of office by the skin of his teeth, but the Senate tried him anyway. He pleaded ignorance as his defense. The money that came from Marsh was income from his late wife's investments, or so he thought. But Marsh testified that Belknap had never spoken of investments, nor had he ever made any inquiry as to the source of the money that he received.<sup>35</sup> 34

At the end of his second term Grant was disgusted and bored with America. For eight long years he had hardly done a thing that resulted as he thought it would. His simplest decisions carried vast implications; and stinging criticism was often the reward of what he considered praiseworthy actions. He hated politics and disliked his friends almost as much as he disliked his enemies. When he would see one of them he would think of some unfortunate episode someone had led him into.

He started for Europe without a plan, and with only a general idea of a long tour abroad, and to visit the principal European cities. They did visit the most prominent cities of Europe and were received as honored guests in many. The trip finally developed into a trip around the world.

When he returned in 1879 his friends were wanting

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<sup>33</sup> 34

Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>34</sup> 35

Woodward, op. cit., p. 426.

him to be elected as President for a third term, but until he did arrive, he was not so anxious for this as was Mrs. Grant.

A few months after his trip around the world he set out for Cuba and Mexico. While there he wrote his friends that his money was getting low but he still had hopes of being nominated for a third term even if it was breaking the American tradition. He told his friends that during his eight years as president, he had made mistakes and now that he had more experience, he would make a better president. However, he was badly beaten and his mortification became profound.

Then came the question of what he should do for a living. He had about one hundred thousand dollars, the income from which he considered quite insufficient to support himself and his wife. The sons were looking out for themselves. Frederick was then a Lieutenant-Colonel in the army; Ulysses, Jr., had married the daughter of Hon. Jerome B. Chaffee, a wealthy man, and was in business in Wall Street; and Jesse, having passed through the law school, was getting along very well.<sup>36</sup> 35

At this time Grant had a passion for money, so he became a member of a Wall Street concern, which held some government contracts, although he did not know it. He was asked to contribute one hundred and fifty thousand dollars to the firm of Grant and Ward, but not having a penny, Grant had to ask Vanderbilt, who was a friend of his, to lend him the money. This

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35 36

Ibid., p. 476.

he did, but the loan was personal. Finally the firm went broke and financially the Grant family was ruined for the present.

Mark Twain called upon Grant and found that he was planning to write his Memoirs. At this time he had been publishing a few articles for the Century Magazine. They were interested in the Memoirs, too, but found that they could not compete with Mark Twain who had offered Grant \$25,000 advance royalty. <sup>37</sup> 36

The writing of the Memoirs was a race with death, as Grant had a growing pain in his throat that had been diagnosed as cancer. He hoped that the book would provide something for his wife.

The fortune that Grant was so anxious to make during his life was earned after he was dead. Mark Twain's firm sold three hundred thousand copies and turned over about \$450,000 in royalties to the General's widow.

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