

Grant's Last Battle

THE STORY BEHIND *THE PERSONAL MEMOIRS OF* *ULYSSES S. GRANT*

by Chris Mackowski

EMERGING CIVIL WAR SERIES

FOOTNOTES

ABOUT THE SOURCES

The foundation for much of this book comes from *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant*, vol. 31, edited by the late John Y. Simon and published by Southern Illinois University Press. A full citation is offered on first reference, and thereafter, will be referenced as “*Papers*” to differentiate them from *The Personal Memoirs of Ulysses S. Grant*, which will be referenced as “Grant” in accordance with convention. All references to *Papers* refer to volume 31 unless specifically noted.

The two most modern accounts of Grant’s final 18 months—Charles Bracelen Flood’s *Grants Final Victory* (2011) and Mark Perry’s *Grant and Twain* (2004)—trace many of their scenes back to Richard Goldhurst’s *Many Are the Hearts* (1975). This poses a particular problem because Goldhurst uses no footnotes or endnotes himself. “The facts of Grant’s life and career are so indisputable as to need to

documentation," he says in a note about his sources. Goldhurst does include a bibliographic essay at the end of his book.

The Ulysses S. Grant Homepage is a wonderful repository of information and primary source material. It can be accessed at <http://www.empirenet.com/~ulysses/>

Author's Note

"Truth derives from facts but is not dependent on them. . . ." ¹

"By deciding to give his work the full title. . . ." ²

. . . "spelled with heroic audacity, and 'chanced it' on the correctness." ³

Prologue

"There will be no turning back," said Ulysses S. Grant. . . . ⁴

"dark close wood" ⁵

"I intend to fight it out along this line if it takes all summer. . . ." ⁶

"[I]n battle, after giving an order. . . ." ⁷

"It was my fortune, or misfortune. . . ." ⁸

"That reticence which had characterized the manner of the Ex-President. . . ." ⁹

"I cannot help feeling that it is my country that is honored. . . ." ¹⁰

"I know, as I did not before, the value of our inheritance." ¹¹

"Individually, I am much relieved at the result. . . ." ¹²

"One of my superstitions had always been. . . ." ¹³

¹ Waugh, Joan. "Ulysses S. Grant, Historian." *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004. Pg. 21.

² Flood, Charles Bracelen. *Grant's Final Victory: Ulysses S. Grant's Heroic Last Year*. New York: De Capo, 2011. Pg 71.

³ Porter, Horace. *Campaigning with Grant*. New York: Mallard Press, 1991. Pg. 242.

⁴ Louis M. Starr. *Reporting the Civil War: The Bohemian Brigade in Action, 1861-65*. Pg. 246.

⁵ For descriptions of the Wilderness, see *The Dark, Close Wood: The Wilderness, Ellwood, and the Battle that Transformed Both* by Chris Mackowski (Thomas Publications, 2010), pp. 15-20. The phrase itself comes from J.F.J. Caldwell, an infantryman from South Carolina, quoted on pg. 81. Quotes come from the records of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park files.

⁶ Grant to Halleck, May 11, 8:30 a.m., dispatch in O.R. XXXVI, Vol. 2, pp. 627-28.

⁷ Badeau, Adam. "The Last Days of General Grant." *Grant in Peace: Appomattox to Mt. McGregor*. Hartford, CT: S. S. Scranton & Co., 1887. Pg. 451.

⁸ State of the Union Address, Dec. 5, 1876.

⁹ Young, John Russell. *Around the World with General Grant*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2002. pg. 8.

¹⁰ Young, 13.

¹¹ *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant*. John Y. Simon, ed. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2009. Pg. 424. (Hereafter referred to as *Papers*.)

¹² Ackerman, Kenneth D. *Dark Horse: The Surprise Election and Political Murder of President James A. Garfield*. New York: Carroll & Graf, 2003. Pg. 144.

¹³ Grant, Ulysses S. *The Personal Memoirs of Ulysses S. Grant*. New York: Library of America, 1990. Pg. 38.

"I have frequently started to go places. . . ."14
 "There was a plate of delicious peaches on the table. . . ."15
 "[N]othing gives me so much pain as swallowing water. . . ."16
 "General Grant is doomed."17

Chapter 1: The Fall

" . . . perpetually unrepentant, uninterested in anyone's troubles but his own."18
 He regularly offered investors returns. . . .19
 "By the contract of co-partnership. . . ."20
 "I am willing that Mr. Ward should derive. . . ."21
 "Mr. Ward insisted that the business management should be left solely to him. . . ."22
 No one disputed his authority. . . .23
 "[He] sat in his familiar chair and smoked his cigar. . . ."24
 "He is one of us. . . ."25
 "I care nothing about the Marine Bank. . . ."26
 But Ward is slippery. . . .27
 . . . rather than let it sit in the vase and not earn interest.28
 "laden with curios and rich gifts. . . ."29
 "It was a much larger and more expensive house. . . ."30
 "Ferdinand Ward appeared only as a stock villain. . . ."31
 "Now, take it coolly, old boy. . . ."32
 "Did you observe Ward had his slippers on?"33
 "Marine bank closed this morning. . . ."34

14 Ibid.

15 Grant, Julia Dent. *The Personal Memoirs of Julia Dent Grant (Mrs. Ulysses S. Grant)*. John Y. Simon, ed. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1975. Pg. 328.

16 Child, George W. *Recollections of General Grant*. Philadelphia: Collins Printing House, 1890. Pg. 43.

17 Shrady, George F. *Century Magazine*, July 1908. Pg. 80.

18 Ward, Geoffrey C. *A Disposition to be Rich: How a Small-Town Pastor's Son Ruined an American President, Brought on a Wall Street Crash, and Made Himself the Best-Hated Man in the United States*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012. Pg. 5.

19 Flood, 7.

20 *Papers*, 142-3.

21 *New York Tribune*, May 27, 1884.

22 *Papers*, 144.

23 *Papers*, 145.

24 Ward, Ferdinand. "General Grant as I Knew Him." *New York Herald Magazine*. December 19, 1909.

25 Goldhurst, 4.

26 Ibid.

27 Perry and Flood trace their versions of the story back to Goldhurst; Pitkin skips the story entirely. Ward offers the fullest account, which also includes Buck Grant. Buck's own account, given to investigators Dec. 27, 1884 and Jan. 21, 1885, places himself in only part of the scene.

28 Geoffrey Ward, 186.

29 Ferdinand Ward, 11.

30 Julia Dent Grant. Pp. 324-25.

31 Geoffrey Ward, 5.

32 Ulysses S. Grant, Jr., in *Papers*, 138.

33 Goldhurst, 3.

"Spencer. . . ." ³⁵

"[T]he unusual confinement somewhat affected his spirits. . . ." ³⁶

"I have made it the rule of my life. . . ." ³⁷

Chapter Two: The Bottom

"I think the condition of the country on the whole is quite satisfactory. . . ." ³⁸

"Imagine the shock to us, who thought we were independently wealthy!" ³⁹

"[L]ike a thunderclap. . . ." ⁴⁰

Combined, the family was out nearly a million dollars. ⁴¹

"Yes, I am absolutely penniless. . . ." ⁴²

"None of us liked to keep a dollar out of the firm. . . ." ⁴³

He believed "Ward to be worth 1,000,000 of Dollars himself alone." ⁴⁴

. . . expressly forbade Ward from ever making such suggestions. ⁴⁵

"I am looking for something to do" ⁴⁶

"The General looked weary and troubled. . . ." ⁴⁷

Grant would "suffer for hours in his large armchair. . . ." ⁴⁸

To his sister, Jennie, he wrote. . . . ⁴⁹

"I could bear all the pecuniary loss if that was all. . . ." ⁵⁰

³⁴ Goldhurst, 6.

³⁵ Goldhurst, 8.

³⁶ Badeau, 417.

³⁷ Goldhurst, 8.

³⁸ *Papers*, 135.

³⁹ Julia Dent Grant, 328.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 327.

⁴¹ Keeping in mind Buck's comment "we invested everything we could get," a full accounting of the losses will probably remain lost to history. However, Flood does lists out various losses of the Grant family, pp. 20, 43:

Grant's initial investment: \$100,000

Buck's initial investment: \$100,000

Buck's father in law, Sen. Jerome Chaffee: \$400,000

Grant's youngest son, Jesse: \$95,000

Grant's daughter, Nellie Sartoris: \$12,000

Grant's sister, Virginia Corbin: \$5,000

Grant's son, Fred: \$57,000

Fred also owed \$25,000 to his aunt Virginia and \$7,300 to another aunt, Grant's sister, Mary

Grant Cramer, which he'd invested in the firm.

Plus the Grants' mortgage: \$98,000

⁴² *Papers*, 148.

⁴³ *Papers*, 144.

⁴⁴ *Papers*, 148.

⁴⁵ Grant summarizes the issue of contracts in a May, 1884, memo, in which he uncategorically states, "I have never directly or indirectly sustained a Government contract taken by the firm of Grant & Ward." *Papers*, 153-4. Additional information can be found in the *Papers*, Vol. XXX, pp. 401-402.

⁴⁶ *Papers*, 144.

⁴⁷ *Papers*, 140, citing the *New York Times*, May 9, 1884.

⁴⁸ *Papers*, 161-2.

⁴⁹ *Papers*, 138.

⁵⁰ *Papers*, 148.

"... weeping and wringing his hands in distress."⁵¹
 He admitted the other partners knew comparatively little about it.⁵²
 So it was that the newspaper headlines began to evolve...⁵³
 "You can rest assured..."⁵⁴
 "He was penniless in the house that was crowded with his trophies..."⁵⁵
 "[A]nd last, though not least, the dear old homestead in Missouri..."⁵⁶
 "a very happy arrangement for all"⁵⁷
 The first check—\$500...⁵⁸
 "You have conferred an obligation more than I can ever repay..."⁵⁹
 "Your course in these personal matters..."⁶⁰
 Marion Lake, the postmaster in Fayette, Missouri...⁶¹
 "It is intended that everyone in Ithica shall subscribe..."⁶²
 "A salvo of cheers that for a time almost rendered inaudible the booming..."⁶³
 "I accept the trust you put in me today..."⁶⁴
 The enthusiastic reception from the war's "better angels"....⁶⁵
 "And so it was everywhere..."⁶⁶
 "Look at Grant now..."⁶⁷
 "My time is mostly employed in working on my papers..."⁶⁸
 "[S]ome days after the bank had closed its doors..."⁶⁹

Chapter Three: The Second Disaster of Shiloh

... "important historical enterprise..."⁷⁰
 "His declination was so decisive it left us without hope..."⁷¹
 ... "made no progress in this flank attack upon the General's position..."⁷²

⁵¹ *Papers*, 149.

⁵² *Papers*, 149.

⁵³ The initial *New York Times* story on May 8, at the top of the first column on the front page, says, "Giving no explanations, the peculiar business methods of Ferdinand Ward." Flood, pp. 33-38, traces subsequent coverage with specific examples.

⁵⁴ *Papers*, 149.

⁵⁵ Badeau, 422.

⁵⁶ Julia Dent Grant, 326.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 328.

⁵⁸ *Papers*, 146-7.

⁵⁹ *Papers*, 151.

⁶⁰ *Papers*, 147.

⁶¹ *Papers*, 151.

⁶² Perry, 41.

⁶³ *New York Times*, May 31, 1884.

⁶⁴ *Papers*, 164.

⁶⁵ *Papers*, 183-4.

⁶⁶ Julia Dent Grant, 327.

⁶⁷ *Papers*, 142.

⁶⁸ *Papers*, 161.

⁶⁹ *Papers*, 141.

⁷⁰ Johnson, Robert Underwood. *Remembered Yesterdays*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1923. Pg. 213.

⁷¹ Johnson, 209.

"He seemed indifferent to his past career. . . ."73
 "It is all in Badeau. . . ."74
 "The country looks with so much regret and sympathy. . . ."75
 . . . much to Johnson's "surprise and joy."76
 Long Branch, Johnson said. . . .77
 . . . which would eventually be swapped out. . . .78
 "I feel much complimented by your proposition. . . ."79
 "I would have no objection to seeing you at any time. . . ."80
 . . . "this new disaster of Shiloh."81
 "The General . . . did not realize the requirements. . . ."82
 "General Grant, instead of being a 'silent man,' was positively loquacious. . . ."83
 . . . "the personal touch that makes a great battle. . . ."84
 Think of it like a talk one would make to friends. . . .85
 Grant seemed astonished at this, but grasped the difference immediately.86
 "[N]o one ever had an apter pupil. . . ."87
 . . . Grant "commenced on the Vicksburg campaign. . . ."88
 . . . "kindest regards."89

Chapter Four: The Writer

"All that summer was spent by my dear husband. . . ."90
 Although "a man not inclined to sedentary occupations. . . ."91
 "He at once became interested in the work. . . ."92
 "He got out of the writing not only diversion from his troubles. . . ."93
 . . . "the heroism and the integrity of a much misrepresented man."94

⁷² Johnson, 210.

⁷³ Johnson, 209.

⁷⁴ Johnson, 209.

⁷⁵ *Papers*, 158.

⁷⁶ Johnson, 210.

⁷⁷ Johnson, 210-213 for this and the rest of the account of Johnson's visit to Long Branch.

⁷⁸ Of the Chattanooga-for-Appomattox swap, one of Johnson's exasperated editorial colleagues wrote, "Isn't Lee's surrender of most importance to us?" (*Papers*, 187)

⁷⁹ *Papers*, 163.

⁸⁰ *Papers*, 162.

⁸¹ Johnson, 213.

⁸² Johnson, 213-4.

⁸³ Johnson, 214.

⁸⁴ Johnson, 214.

⁸⁵ Johnson, 215.

⁸⁶ Johnson, 215: "He seemed astonished at this, and took a quite impersonal view of the event."

⁸⁷ Johnson, 215.

⁸⁸ *Papers*, 172, for this and other excerpts from his letter.

⁸⁹ for examples, see letters from Grant to Badeau in *Papers*, 172, 174, and 177.

⁹⁰ Julia Dent Grant, 329.

⁹¹ Badeau, 426.

⁹² Badeau, 425.

⁹³ Johnson, 215.

⁹⁴ Johnson, 210.

"There is one striking feature about Grant's orders. . . ."95

Horace Porter's comments96

"I have to say that for the last twenty-four years. . . ."97

. . . "undertaken simply to keep the wolf from the door" . . .98

"I intend . . . now that I have commensed to it. . . ."99

"I do not think I care to write any more articles. . . ."100

In acknowledgement of the articles' success. . .101

"Do you really think anyone would be interested in a book by me?"102

"There will be time enough to make the arrangements for publication. . . ."103

"I am glad that you are to publish the book. . . ."104

"Happy, happy thought for him!"105

Grant "said he felt inclined to write a book. . . ."106

"[T]here will be a room for you all the time you want to spend with us. . . ."107

"The better I help you to make [your book]. . . ."108

Chapter Five: The Peach

"[A] villain he was. . . ."109

"My family is American, and has been for generations. . . ."110

"It was during this sad summer. . . ."111

"No, it will be all right directly, and I will not have a doctor. . . ."112

Grant visited Douglas that afternoon.113

95 Porter, 241.

96 Porter, 240-2.

97 Grant, 355-6. "The last two sentences of this paragraph add up to excellent advice for any budding writer," points out historian Bruce Catton in "U.S. Grant: Man of Letters," *American Heritage*, June 1968, pg. 98.

98 Johnson said the articles "were undertaken simply to keep the wolf from the door." Pg. 210.

99 *Papers*, 186.

100 *Papers*, 187.

101 Later, acting on behalf of Grant in the capacity of a literary agent of sorts, Mark Twain would claim to have played a role in increasing Grant's stipend. "[I]t had never seemed to occur to [*The Century*] that to offer General Grant \$500 for a magazine article was not only the monumental insult of the nineteenth century but of all centuries," Twain wrote (Twain, 77). Later, he observed, "This was altogether the sharpest trade I have ever heard of, in any line of business, horse trading included" (Twain, 92). In Johnson's memoir, however, he matter-of-factly recounts "a voluntary additional payment" (Johnson, 219).

102 This and the next few paragraphs from Johnson, 217. "The day was charming" from Smith, quoted in *Papers*, 205.

103 *Papers*, 204.

104 Johnson, 217.

105 Julia Dent Grant, 329.

106 Badeau, 425.

107 *Papers*, 210. Badeau's novel, *Conspiracy: A Cuban Romance*, was eventually published in 1885.

108 quoted by Bruce Catton in "U.S. Grant: Man of Letters."

109 Guare, John. "Preface." *A Few Stout Individuals*. New York: Grove Press, 2003. Pg. xi.

110 Grant, 1.

111 Julia Dent Grant, 328, for the events and quotes from this scene.

112 Ibid.

"I work about four hours a day, six days a week, on my book. . . ."114

"He liked to have his pages read aloud to the family. . . ."115

"Then hope returned to me. . . ."116

Chapter Six: Twain

. . . with the nonchalance of a man who strolls into a room and moves about without seeming to aim for any special spot. . . .¹¹⁷

"Sit down and keep quiet until I sign a contract. . . ."118 He had a way of occupying a chair with a morning-cup-of-coffee-and-a-newspaper air, but inside, his nerves crackled. He'd heard the night before that Grant was about to sign a contract for his memoirs, and Twain had come to talk Grant out of it.¹¹⁹

"He had no confidence in his ability to write well. . . ."120

"[H]ere was a book that was morally bound to sell. . . ."121

. . . "with the iron expression of a man. . . ."122

. . . "looking exactly as he had looked upon that trying occasion. . . ."123

. . . "the perilous distinction of the place of honor. . . ."124

"I didn't know whether to laugh or cry. . . ."125

"Don't sign it," Twain said.¹²⁶

"They had no base intentions. . . ."127

. . . Grant had another literary star show up at 3 East Sixty-Sixth that first morning of negotiations. . . .¹²⁸

". . . about the conduct of General Lew Wallace at the battle of Shiloh."¹²⁹

"I believe the . . . company can sell a greater number than the *Century*. . . ."130

"Grant was surprised," says historian Mark Perry. . . .¹³¹

"It was a shameful thing. . . ."132

¹¹³ Douglas, John. "Records of the Last Days of the Magnanimous Soldier U. S. Grant." John Hancock Douglas Papers, Library of Congress. Portions of Douglas's papers are excerpted as an appendix in Thomas M. Pitkin's *The Captain Departs: Ulysses S. Grant's Last Campaign*.

¹¹⁴ *Papers*, 228.

¹¹⁵ Badeau, 429.

¹¹⁶ Julia Dent Grant, 329.

¹¹⁷ Cantacuzene, Princess Julia. *My Life Here and There*. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1921. 40.

¹¹⁸ Description of Twain's posture while seated from Cantacuzene (Grant's granddaughter), 40.

¹¹⁹ Twain, Mark. *The Autobiography of Mark Twain*. Vol. 1. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001. Pg 77.

¹²⁰ Twain, 71.

¹²¹ Twain, 78.

¹²² For this and the rest of the account of Twain's first meeting with Grant: *Following the Equator*, 11.

¹²³ Twain, 67-8.

¹²⁴ This and the tale of Twain's toast come from Twain, 69-70.

¹²⁵ Twain, 78.

¹²⁶ Twain, 78.

¹²⁷ Twain, 78.

¹²⁸ Perry, 87-88.

¹²⁹ *Papers*, 378.

¹³⁰ *Papers*, 295.

¹³¹ Perry, 103.

"Mark Twain, with his . . . protruding eyebrows. . . ."133

Chapter Seven: The Winter of Discontent

"Blackbirds made merry. . . ."134

It was November 20.¹³⁵

"At this time he seemed in tolerable health. . . ."136

. . . "those closest and dearest. . . ."137

"[H]e could not swallow without torture. . . ."138

"[T]he shock to the General's system. . . ."139

"Their prattle and kisses were always welcome. . . ."140

. . . "a delicious morsel of sweet in the midst of so much bitter care. . . ."141

"[M]any friends came in to see him. . . ."142

"He never relented in his bitterness to these two men. . . ."143

"Lick 'em tomorrow."¹⁴⁴

"If I had my health and strength, the two volumes could be completed by May. . . ."145

"[H]is stout heart gave way. . . ."146

"I have no desire to live if I'm not to recover. . . ."147

Chapter Eight: Stage Five

"I am not going to commit suicide. . . ."148

"But the general was always silent, Mrs. Grant. . . ."149

Charles Bracelen Flood has called it "the friendship that won the Civil War."¹⁵⁰

¹³² Twain, 81.

¹³³ Cantacuzene, 40.

¹³⁴ This and other quotes from this section come from Meade, C. E. 102-3. "Grant's Last Cigar." *Reminiscences by Personal Friends of Gen. U. S. Grant and the History of Grant's Log Cabin*. James L. Post, ed. St. Louis, 1904. Pg. 108-109. Meade was a relative of Union Maj. Gen. George Gordon Meade, commander of the Army of the Potomac.

¹³⁵ Childs, 43.

¹³⁶ Badeau, 426.

¹³⁷ Badeau, 422.

¹³⁸ Badeau, 428.

¹³⁹ Badeau, 427.

¹⁴⁰ Badeau, 430.

¹⁴¹ Badeau, 430.

¹⁴² Badeau, 426.

¹⁴³ Badeau, 447.

¹⁴⁴ The story is so common it's become almost apocryphal. ECW Chief Historian Dan Davis tracked down its source through Bruce Catton's *Grant Moves South* (1960). Catton cites a *Washington Post* interview that Sherman did that is quoted in the *Army and Navy Journal*, December 30, 1893. "The journal was a newspaper established during the war to share information about the two branches and their operations," Davis explains. "It was a weekly publication. William Church was the editor. He was apparently pretty close with Sherman, so I don't think he would have published the quote had he not felt it to be legit." The original article is digitized and available online; the story appears on page 317 under the section "Grant's Pertinacity" on the right-hand side: <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924069761736#view=1up;seq=325>.

¹⁴⁵ *Papers*, 246.

¹⁴⁶ Badeau, 434.

¹⁴⁷ This and the rest of the section, Badeau, 428.

¹⁴⁸ Badeau, 429.

¹⁴⁹ Cantacuzene, 39.

Sherman was one of “the fittest officers for large commands I have come in contact with. . . .”¹⁵¹

“Grant stood by me when I was crazy. . . .”¹⁵²

“I found Grant, Fred, and Badeau at work on his book. . . .”¹⁵³

“Grant says my visits have done him more good. . . .”¹⁵⁴

“Grant is in a bad way. . . .”¹⁵⁵

“His business Condition is worse than I had supposed. . . .”¹⁵⁶

“I appreciate both the motive and the friendship. . . .”¹⁵⁷

“The greeting offered to his first contribution to written history. . . .”¹⁵⁸

“My Dear Mr. Wood. . . .”¹⁵⁹

“I will accept instead now or at any time. . . .”¹⁶⁰

“We were as brothers. . . .”¹⁶¹

Chapter Nine: The Greatest Showman on Earth

“I am a showman by profession. . . .”¹⁶²

“The whole world honors and respects you. . . .”¹⁶³

“So many misrepresentations have appeared in regard to the loan. . . .”¹⁶⁴

“an act of marked and unusual friendship. . . .”¹⁶⁵

“Now that I am at liberty to treat these things as my own. . . .”¹⁶⁶

“In this manner you have anticipated the disposition. . . .”¹⁶⁷

Chapter Ten: Twain’s Return

“He enjoyed his labors now. . . .”¹⁶⁸

“. . . the advice to turn the book over to me.”¹⁶⁹

¹⁵⁰ It’s the subtitle of Flood’s 2005 book *Grant and Sherman: The Friendship that Won the Civil War*.

¹⁵¹ *OR* XXXVI, Pt. 1, 18.

¹⁵² This quote from Sherman is repeated so often that it almost seems apocryphal.

¹⁵³ *Papers*, 249.

¹⁵⁴ Flood, 122.

¹⁵⁵ *Papers*, 248.

¹⁵⁶ *Papers*, 249.

¹⁵⁷ *Papers*, 251-2.

¹⁵⁸ Badeau, 439.

¹⁵⁹ *Papers*, 250-1.

¹⁶⁰ *Papers*, 251.

¹⁶¹ Sherman, William T. “The Grand Strategy of the Last Year of the War.” *Battles and Leaders*, Vol. 4. Pg. 250.

¹⁶² Kunhardt, Philip B., Jr.; Kunhardt, Philip B., III; Kunhardt, Peter W. (1995). *P.T. Barnum: America’s Greatest Showman*. Alfred A. Knopf. Pg. vi.

¹⁶³ *Papers*, 258, for this and other quotes from Barnum’s correspondence with Grant.

¹⁶⁴ *Papers*, 256.

¹⁶⁵ *Papers*, 256.

¹⁶⁶ *Papers*, 256-7.

¹⁶⁷ *Papers*, 255.

¹⁶⁸ Badeau, 429.

¹⁶⁹ Twain, 80.

Twain swept into East Sixty-Sixth. . . .¹⁷⁰
 "General Grant was a sick man. . . ." ¹⁷¹
 "It kills me these days to write half of that. . . ." ¹⁷²
 "He was losing valuable time. . . ." ¹⁷³
 The constant and painstaking fact-checking cost a great deal of time. . . .¹⁷⁴
 "His memory was superb. . . ." ¹⁷⁵
 "[H]e told me that he needed me. . . ." ¹⁷⁶
 "Even his writing looked gentle." ¹⁷⁷
 "It was the great honor of my life. . . ." ¹⁷⁸

Chapter Eleven: Turning Back

"The plain fact is that [the country] was saved by him. . . ." ¹⁷⁹
 "The effect upon [Grant] was like raising the dead. . . ." ¹⁸⁰
 "[T]he exact truth," Badeau confirmed. . . .¹⁸¹
 "[T]he sympathy we met with. . . ." ¹⁸²
 "Meetings of former Confederates were held to signify their sorrow. . . ." ¹⁸³
 "General Grant is dying," Davis responded.¹⁸⁴
 ". . . remember him gratefully in his hour of tribulation." ¹⁸⁵
 "This was the consideration that strengthened the sinking soldier. . . ." ¹⁸⁶
 "His mind was absorbed with the one subject. . . ." ¹⁸⁷

Chapter Twelve: Crisis and Resurrection

"Reports of my death have been greatly exaggerated. . . ." ¹⁸⁸

¹⁷⁰ Here and in the next few graphs from Twain, 82.

¹⁷¹ Twain, 325.

¹⁷² Twain, 208.

¹⁷³ Twain, 84.

¹⁷⁴ Twain, 84.

¹⁷⁵ Twain, 84.

¹⁷⁶ Here and for the next few graphs from Dawson, Noble E. "Grant's Last Stand." *Philadelphia Inquirer*. February 6, 1894.

¹⁷⁷ Twain, 83.

¹⁷⁸ Dawson.

¹⁷⁹ *New York Times*, May 9, 1884.

¹⁸⁰ Goldhurst, 169-170.

¹⁸¹ Badeau, 436.

¹⁸² Julia Grant, 330.

¹⁸³ Badeau, 438.

¹⁸⁴ Daniel, John W., ed. *The Life and Reminiscences of Jefferson Davis*. Baltimore: R. H. Woodward, 1890. 265.

¹⁸⁵ *Papers*, 262.

¹⁸⁶ Badeau, 458.

¹⁸⁷ Wilson, James Grant. *General Grant*. New York: Appleton & Co., 1897. Pg. 354.

¹⁸⁸ The source is in dispute, however. For a brief examination of the original sourcing, see the Oxford Academic: <http://oupacademic.tumblr.com/post/48310773463/misquotation-reports-of-my-death-have-been>.

"As the inquiry went on. . . ."189
 "The truth is the disease has gotten away from the doctors. . . ."190
 "All this while, the public interest was painful. . . ."191
 "Many a person between the two oceans lay hours awake. . . ."192
 "If you doctors know how long a man can live under water. . . ."193
 "[L]ike the giant of old, he received his strength from his contact with earth. . . ."194
 Newman's "sympathy and spiritual consolation. . . ."195
 ". . . he was *not* a praying man."196
 "I would only be too happy to do so. . . ."197
 "I receive a hundred letters in a mail. . . ."198
 "[W]ith hearts surcharged with the tenderest affection. . . ."199
 "The dispatches have been so numerous. . . ."200
 "The public only know of but a fraction. . . ."201
 "My chances, I think, of pulling through this are one in a hundred. . . ."202
 Dr. Shrady recalled a quieter incident from late that month. . . .203

Chapter Thirteen: Bad "Water," Bad Blood²⁰⁴

"The fact remains and cannot be dislodged. . . ."205
 "I was able to say in all sincerity. . . ."206
 "The most the general has done upon the book. . . ."207
 "The composition is entirely my own. . . ."208
 "[Y]ou and I must part all association. . . ."209
 In mid-July, Grant would write to Badeau one last time.²¹⁰
 "He who had passed unscathed through Shiloh and the Wilderness. . . ."211

¹⁸⁹ Badeau, 447.

¹⁹⁰ Goldhurst, 181, quoting Romero.

¹⁹¹ Badeau, 452.

¹⁹² Twain, 99.

¹⁹³ Douglas.

¹⁹⁴ Badeau, 456.

¹⁹⁵ Julia Grant, 329-30.

¹⁹⁶ Twain, 99.

¹⁹⁷ *Papers*, 429.

¹⁹⁸ *New York Times*, April 29, 1885, excerpting an interview that appeared in the *Philadelphia Times*.

¹⁹⁹ For this and other expressions of sympathy and congratulations, including Winnie C. Daboll's letter from St. John's Michigan, see *Papers* 339-346.

²⁰⁰ *Papers* 345-6.

²⁰¹ *New York Times*, April 29, 1885, excerpting an interview that appeared in the *Philadelphia Times*.

²⁰² *Papers*, xxxi.

²⁰³ <http://www.granthomepage.com/intshrady2.htm>.

²⁰⁴ In French, "eau" means "water," thus the bad pun on Badeau's last name: "bad water."

²⁰⁵ Twain, Vol. 2, 71-2.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁷ *Papers*, 347.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁹ Excerpts from letter come from *Papers*, 350-357.

²¹⁰ Excerpts from letter come from *Papers*, 429-431.

"I was not with him at Mount McGregor. . . ." ²¹²
In 1888, Julia would finally settle for \$11,254.97. . . . ²¹³

Chapter Fourteen: The Last March

Grant had been suffering a particularly bad day. . . . ²¹⁴
"[I]n spite of military discipline, all eyes turned upward. . . ." ²¹⁵
"These volumes are dedicated to the American soldier and sailor. . . ." ²¹⁶
"It is a great deal better that it should be dedicated as it is. . . ." ²¹⁷
"At station after station on the route. . . ." ²¹⁸
The "12-mile jolt" up the mountainside took less than an hour. ²¹⁹
"As he went on his voice became weaker and weaker. . . ." ²²⁰
. . . as he told Dr. Douglas, he kept as quiet as possible. . . . ²²¹
"It is just a week to-day since I have spoken. . . ." ²²²
"[H]e used a yellow manila legal pad with blue lines. . . ." ²²³
". . . at once packed up and made safe." ²²⁴
"This was doubtless a hardship at the moment. . . ." ²²⁵
"My dear wife. . . ." ²²⁶

Chapter Fifteen: The Last Days of Ulysses S. Grant

"There is much more that I could do if I was a well man. . . ." ²²⁷
"I am very thankful I have been spared this long. . . ." ²²⁸
"I had begun to feel that the work of getting my book to-gether. . . ." ²²⁹
"Man proposes. . . ." ²³⁰
. . . and prepared for sentry duty. ²³¹

²¹¹ Badeau, 446.

²¹² Badeau, 457.

²¹³ *Papers*, 287, 278-9.

²¹⁴ This and other quotes in this section from Horace Porter: "Eulogy of Grant." *The Rhetoric of Oratory*. Edwin Du Bois Shurter, ed. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911. 90-91.

²¹⁵ Cantacuzene, 46.

²¹⁶ Grant, 3.

²¹⁷ *Papers*, 410.

²¹⁸ quoting the June 27, 1885 issue of *Harper's Weekly* from Green, Horace. *General Grant's Last Stand: A Biography*. New York: Scribner, 1936. Pg. 307.

²¹⁹ Flood, 191.

²²⁰ Dawson, Noble E. "Grant's Last Stand." *Philadelphia Inquirer*. February 6, 1894.

²²¹ *Papers*, 383.

²²² *Papers*, 376.

²²³ Dawson.

²²⁴ *Papers*, 441.

²²⁵ Badeau, 457.

²²⁶ *Papers*, 387, for this and other quotes from the letter, written on June 29.

²²⁷ *Papers*, 390.

²²⁸ *Papers*, 403.

²²⁹ *Papers*, 408-9.

²³⁰ Grant, 5.

“The fact is that I am a verb instead of a personal pronoun. . . .”²³²
 “[T]aken properly, it gives a wonderfull amount of relief from pain. . . .”²³³
 “I had something that I wanted to write. . . .”²³⁴
 “When the medicine is being applied. . . .”²³⁵
 “It hurts very much to apply it. . . .”²³⁶
 “I feel the want of it very much. . . .”²³⁷
 “I do not see how I am to avoid the use of Cocain. . . .”²³⁸
 His misery came in many forms.²³⁹
 “I feel that I am growing weaker all the time. . . .”²⁴⁰
 Grant told Douglas he could feel his system “preparing for dissolution. . . .”²⁴¹
 “I may last this month of July. . . .”²⁴²
 “Do as I do. I take it quietly. . . .”²⁴³
 “The old soldier battling with a deadly disease. . . .”²⁴⁴
 “I am very sorry that I am unable to converse even in a whisper.”²⁴⁵
 “I feel very thankful to you for the kindness you did me last summer. . . .”²⁴⁶
 “The General, fully dressed, sat on the piazza in the sun. . . .”²⁴⁷
 “No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. . . .”²⁴⁸
 “You look very natural. . . .”²⁴⁹
 “I have witnessed since my sickness. . . .”²⁵⁰
 “The Confederate soldier vied with the Union soldier in sounding my praise. . . .”²⁵¹
 “I feel that we are on the eve of a new era. . . .”²⁵²
 “I have been writing up my views of some of our generals. . . .”²⁵³

Chapter Sixteen: Victory and Loss

²³¹ Flood, 198.

²³² *Papers*, 441.

²³³ *Papers*, 439.

²³⁴ *Papers*, 393.

²³⁵ *Papers*, 439.

²³⁶ *Papers*, 404.

²³⁷ *Papers*, 412-413.

²³⁸ *Papers*, 425.

²³⁹ *Papers*, 386.

²⁴⁰ *Papers* 394.

²⁴¹ *Papers*, 374-5.

²⁴² *Papers*, 394.

²⁴³ *Papers*, 389.

²⁴⁴ Perry, 223, quoting a letter from Twain to Henry Ward Beecher.

²⁴⁵ *Papers*, 419.

²⁴⁶ *Papers*, 419.

²⁴⁷ Johnson, 223.

²⁴⁸ *O.R.* VII, 161.

²⁴⁹ *Papers*, 424.

²⁵⁰ *Papers*, 423.

²⁵¹ *Papers*, 393.

²⁵² Grant, 779.

²⁵³ *Papers*, 404. The most telling “writing” he did in this section was to actually omit his former commander, rival, and perpetual thorn, Henry “Old Brains” Halleck.

" . . . using this as a desk, the sick man wrote for a considerable time."²⁵⁴
 "I am sure I will never leave Mt. McGregor alive. . . ."²⁵⁵
 "I saw that he was sinking fast and suffering intensely. . . ."²⁵⁶
 "I have my book off my mind now. . . ."²⁵⁷
 "There is nothing more I should do to it now. . . ."²⁵⁸
 "Should my career be closed at an earlier day. . . ."²⁵⁹
 ". . . too important now to have you break down."²⁶⁰
 "I saw at last that he had reached the end. . . ."²⁶¹
 "One day he put aside his pencil and said there was nothing more to do."²⁶²
 "I don't want anybody to feel distressed on my account."²⁶³
 "As the hours grew on, the symptoms of dissolution grew. . . ."²⁶⁴
 Julia sat next to Grant's bedside.²⁶⁵
 A noticeable change had come over Grant's features. . . .²⁶⁶

Chapter Seventeen: Where Grant Rests

"[I]f he should die there, it might make the place a national shrine. . . ."²⁶⁷
 Inside, in Grant's room. . . .²⁶⁸
 "It was not a hard rain but a searching and persistent one," a newspaper reported.
 "Vapor began to fill the valley like a milky sea. . . ."²⁶⁹
 "The day broke heavy and sullen. . . ."²⁷⁰
 "[A]s far as the eye could measure the avenue. . . ."²⁷¹
 "[E]very balcony, window, and door commanding a view of the line of march. . . ."²⁷²
 "The various regiments and bands. . . ."²⁷³
 "Through the stillness the low, sweet notes of the soldier's good-night. . . ."²⁷⁴

²⁵⁴ NY *Tribune*, July 9, 1885, quoted in Papers, 416.

²⁵⁵ Papers, 416.

²⁵⁶ Dawson.

²⁵⁷ Papers, 429.

²⁵⁸ Papers, 437.

²⁵⁹ Papers, 416.

²⁶⁰ Papers, 441.

²⁶¹ Dawson.

²⁶² Mark Twain to Henry Ward Beecher. *The Selected Letters of Mark Twain*. Neider, Charles, ed. NY: Harpers, 1982. Cited from <http://www.granthomepage.com/inttwain.htm>.

²⁶³ *New York Times*, July 24, 1885.

²⁶⁴ Douglas in Pitkin, 137.

²⁶⁵ Newman.

²⁶⁶ *New York Times*, July 24, 1885, for these and other details of the scene.

²⁶⁷ Perry, 209, quoting the *Albany Evening Journal*, June 19, 1885.

²⁶⁸ "We call this 'Grant's room,'" site interpreter Samantha Dow told me during a volunteer orientation in May 2015. "We never say 'bedroom.' As you see, there's no bed."

²⁶⁹ *New York Times*. Aug. 4, 1885.

²⁷⁰ *New York Times*, Aug. 9, 1885.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*

²⁷² *Ibid.*

²⁷³ *Ibid.*

"[I]n the years following his death. . . ."275
"By the end of the first year. . . ."276
"The blaze was so spectacular. . . ."277
"It's a special place. . . ."278
"These struggles we all have. . . ."279
"I have known [Hancock] for forty years. . . ."280

Epilogue: The Last Word

"I am reading Grant's book with the delight I find to fail in novels. . . ."281
"[T]he Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant. . . ."282
"Other books of the war will be forgotten. . . ."283
Another friend, editorial cartoonist Thomas Nast. . . .284
Modern scholar Joan Waugh has assessed the memoirs. . . .285
"Looking back didn't come to Grant naturally. . . ." as well as other Trimm quotes.²⁸⁶
"Jubel [Jubal] Early and [D. H.] Hill are the only two that I know of. . . ."287
"It is one thing to fight it out if it takes all summer. . . ."288

Appendix B: Memorializing Grant

Much of the information about various Grant memorials that appears in Appendix B comes from a series of articles titled "Grant in Sculpture," which can be found at <http://www.grantstomb.org>. The authors of the appendix thank Frank Scaturro for his valuable work.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁵ Trimm, 2.

²⁷⁶ Trimm, 19.

²⁷⁷ Trimm, 26.

²⁷⁸ Personal interview, May 16, 2015.

²⁷⁹ Phone interview, June 9, 2015, for this and all Trimm quotes in the rest of this section.

²⁸⁰ Ackerman, 203.

²⁸¹ *Mark Twain-Howells Letters: The Correspondence of Samuel L. Clemens and William D. Howells, 1872-1910*. Henry Nash Smith, William Merriam Gibson, eds. Boston: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1960.

²⁸² Howells, William Dean. "Criticism and Fiction." *The Complete Project Gutenberg William Dean Howells Works, 2004*. <http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/3377>. There are no page #s, but the passage can be found on the second-to-last page of section XVII. The passage originally appeared without Howells's byline in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* in March 1886.

²⁸³ Sherman quoted by The Ulysses S. Grant Homepage:

<http://www.granthomepage.com/grantauthor.htm>.

²⁸⁴ Nast quoted by The Ulysses S. Grant Homepage:

<http://www.granthomepage.com/grantauthor.htm>

²⁸⁵ Waugh, 31.

²⁸⁶ Steve Trimm interview with author, June 9, 2015.

²⁸⁷ *Papers*, 423.

²⁸⁸ Simpson, Brooks D. "Continuous Hammering and Mere Attrition." *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*. Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan, eds. Indianapolis: University of Indiana Press, 2000. Pg. 167.

Appendix E: Mark Twain and Ulysses S. Grant

Author's note²⁸⁹

Years later, long after the war. . . .²⁹⁰

Twain, horrified that such a great man could be in this plight. . . .²⁹¹

. . . his own publisher, Charles L. Webster and Co. . . .²⁹²

Twain also worked behind the scenes at the publishing company. . . .²⁹³

Sources²⁹⁴

²⁸⁹ JM: Since I assume that my readers are already familiar with the particulars of Grant's life, my essay will focus on Twain's view of the ex-president.

²⁹⁰ JM: Another odd coincidence is that in the years preceding the war Grant likely socialized in St. Louis with Twain's sister and brother-in-law, Pamela and William Moffett.

²⁹¹ JM: Little could Twain have predicted that just a decade or so later, in 1894, his own bad investments would lead him to bankruptcy.

²⁹² JM: After he became convinced that the owner of American Publishing Company, Elisha Bliss, was a crook, Twain started his own publishing company in 1884, installing his niece's husband, Charles L. Webster, as its proprietor. Twain himself, however, directly oversaw all operations at the firm. Unfortunately, Twain was a better author than businessman, and Charles L. Webster and Co. went bankrupt in the 1890s.

²⁹³ JM: At the same time that he was assisting and encouraging Grant with his memoirs, Twain was immersed in the publication of his own masterpiece, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, which came out in the United States on February 18, 1885. Although it sold very well, a number of critics attacked the book for its "coarseness" and some libraries banned it from their shelves. Twain mounted a vigorous defense of his novel, a defense that took up a great deal of his time. In addition to defending *Huck Finn*, he spent countless hours in 1885 planning the books that he intended to write as well as supervising his many business ventures.

²⁹⁴ Flood, Charles. *Grant's Final Victory: Ulysses S. Grant's Heroic Last Year*. Boston: Da Capo, 2012.

Fulton, Joe. B. *The Reconstruction of Mark Twain: How a Confederate Bushwacker Became the Lincoln of Our Literature*. Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 2010.

McWilliams, Jim. *Mark Twain in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. Troy, NY: Whitston, 1997.

Perry, Mark. *Grant and Twain: The Story of a Friendship that Changed America*. New York: Random House, 2012.

Powers, Ron. *Mark Twain: A Life*. New York: Free Press, 2005.

Twain, Mark. *Autobiography of Mark Twain: The Complete and Authoritative Edition*. 2 vols. Ed. Harriet Elinor Smith, et al. Berkeley: U of California P, 2010 & 2013.

ERRATA

On page 24, a caption mistakenly identifies a photo of Joseph Drexel as being a photo of Fred Grant. Fred actually looked like this:



Photo courtesy of Grant Cottage.

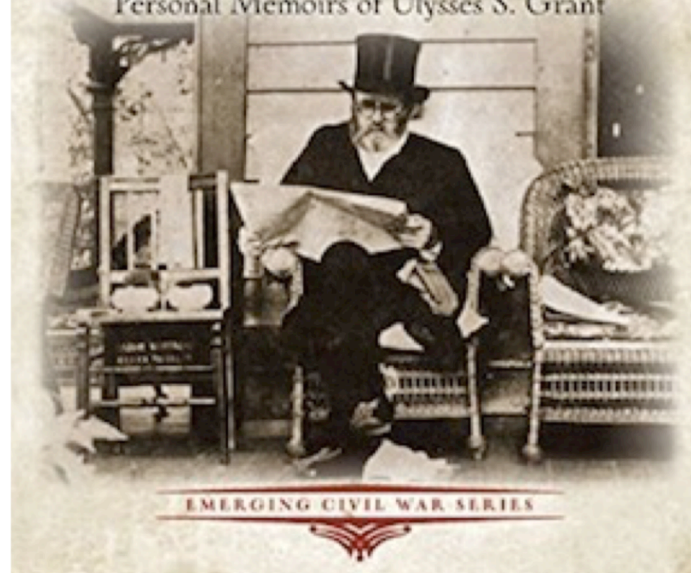
On page 35, the manuscript places the meeting between Twain, Howells, and Grant in 1881, but the meeting actually took place on March 10, 1882. The mistake comes from Twain's own notes, which were corrected in the footnotes of volume one of his complete annotated bibliography, published in 2001.

Chris Mackowski

Foreword by Frank P. Vizny

Grant's Last Battle

The Story Behind the
Personal Memoirs of Ulysses S. Grant



EMERGING CIVIL WAR SERIES