GLORY AND GRACE: THE CIVIL WAR CAREER OF THE
"CHRISTIAN GENERAL," OLIVER OTIS HOWARD

by

JUDITH RELAFORD

A THESIS
Presented to the Department of History
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts

June 1983
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June 1982
APPROVED: 

Jack P. Maddex
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An Abstract of the Thesis of

Judith Relaford for the degree of Master of Arts
in the Department of History to be taken June 1983

Title: GLORY AND GRACE: THE CIVIL WAR CAREER OF "CHRISTIAN GENERAL," OLIVER OTIS HOWARD

Approved: ______________________

Jack P. Maddex

Oliver Otis Howard was a prominent nineteenth-century American whose public career spanned fifty-five years of service in the army, government, education, and philanthropy. Today, he is an obscure figure in American history, in part because changing societal values have made it difficult for historians of the secular twentieth century to understand a pious military figure of a more religious era.

During the Civil War, Howard earned an enduring reputation as the "Christian General" as a result of his growth as both a Christian and a soldier. The conflict was the crucible which refined his faith, honed his abilities, and welded his values into the mature social philosophy that informed his subsequent career.

This study attempts to give historical content to Howard's sobriquet through an analysis of his Civil War career and thus establish a framework for understanding his later contribution to nineteenth-century America.
An Abstract of the Thesis of

Master of Arts
June 1882

in the Department of History

Title: Glory and Grace: The Civil War Career of Oliver "Ollie" Howard

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Oliver "Ollie" Howard was a prominent nineteenth-century American

whom popular culture shuns; his five years of service in the Army,

Government, education, and philanthropy. Today he is an obscure fig-

ure in American history, in part because changing societal values have

made it difficult for historians of the so-called "Christian" century to

understand a figure with a military background and a non-religious ethos.

During the Civil War, Howard earned an enduring reputation as

the "Christian General" as a result of his boldness as both a Christian

and a Soldier. The conflict was the crucible which refined his faith

and his military career, and helped pave the way for his future role

in politics and philanthropy.

This study attempts to give perspective concerning Howard's

philosophy and its impact on his subsequent career.

Continued untenable as a framework for understanding his future contributions to nineteenth-century America.
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to a number of people for their assistance, advice, and encouragement in my ongoing study of General Howard. I want to thank Hilary Cummings for continuing to find material for me in the Special Collections of the University of Oregon and to Kenneth Duckett for giving me permission to use parts of it in my thesis. Richard M. Brown and Edwin R. Bingham read parts of the work as it developed, and their insights helped me to refine my ideas. I especially want to thank Jack Maddex, not only for his painstaking attention to the style and argument of the paper, but also for the inspiration I gained from his classes on nineteenth-century America. Finally, I want to thank Kent Anderson, whose moral and material support has aided me in my work and given me a more profound appreciation of the concept of Christian charity.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to a number of people for their assistance.

I would like to express my gratitude to the following individuals for their contributions to this project:

[Names and institutions]

[Statement of specific contributions]

Finally, I wish to express my appreciation to [Name] for their [specific contribution] throughout the course of this project.

[Additional acknowledgments as necessary]
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INTRODUCTION

THE "CHRISTIAN GENERAL"

It has always been a favorite idea of mine, that there is so much of the human in every man, that the life of any one individual, however obscure, if really and vividly perceived in all its aspirations, struggles, failures, and successes, would command the interest of all others.

Harriet Beecher Stowe

The early months of 1863 constituted the nadir of Union military fortune and morale during the American Civil War. A partial victory at Antietam the previous September had given Abraham Lincoln the opportunity to issue his Emancipation Proclamation; but discouraging election results in November were an ominous indication that the President badly needed a decisive military victory. Only success in the field could convince a dubious electorate that emancipation was a justifiable war measure.

Instead of victory, the North received the debacle of Fredericksburg in the final days of 1862. With the beginning of the new year, public morale dropped to a new low, and political opponents of the Administration filled the psychological void with a rhetorical barrage intended to discredit Republican war policies. In March, C. Chauncey Burr published an article entitled "The Puritan War" in his extreme Democratic journal, the Old Guard. In it, he argued that emancipation measures were the work of a fanatical Puritan minority which, having
INTRODUCTION

THE "CHRISTIAN GENERAL"

It has always been a familiar idea of mine, that there is as much of the human in every man, that he is of our own imagination, however obscure, as readily any animal parading in all theDickensian,345 well-worn phrases of our fashion, and successions, its purposes, strategies, limitations, and successes,

writing, breeding, science, art, of all others.

The early months of 1863 contributed the heart of Union military

fortunes, and morale, culminating the American Civil War. A partial victory

at Antietam the previous September had given Abraham Lincoln the oppor-

tunity to issue his Emancipation Proclamation, and a corresponding ele-

tion seems to have in November 1863 an ominous intensification of the pressure.

Only success in the field

convinced the public that emancipation was a justification.

Instead of victory, the North received the debacle of Fredericksburg—

which in the giving years of 1863, with the beginning of the new year,

pubic morale dropped to a new low and political appetite of the

Administration filled the hypocrisy with a desperate patience.

Chamberlain

intended to discredit Republican war policies. In March C.

Chamberlain published an article entitled "The partition War in its extreme

Democratic Journal, the Old Guard. In the passage that emancipation

meant to be the work of a Presbyterian minority which, having
gained temporary control of the Federal Government, was willing to
destroy the States in its moral crusade against slaveholders, foreign-
ers, and imbibers.  

If he had wished to pursue his argument, Burr could have pointed
to the coincidental timing of two events that had taken place on January
16. On that day, the New York *Times* published a letter to the editor
from an obscure, thirty-two-year-old brigadier-general in the Army
of the Potomac. Concerned with the defeatist spirit among civilians,
the officer asked, "What good are a soldier's efforts with indifference
and opposition at home?" He then recalled that he had been taught
from childhood to love freedom, but that he had also at times apolo-
gized for slavery in the interest of union. Still, he insisted that
he could not sacrifice republican ideals to perpetuate human bondage
in the South. The Rebels were intransigent: they would neither yield
to law nor return to allegiance. Therefore, the writer concluded,
"we must destroy Slavery root and branch; we must do it in order to
*subjugate* the persistent enemy of Republican government."  

The officer who poured out his antislavery sentiments in the
letter was Oliver Otis Howard, a pious West Point graduate from the
temperance state of Maine who could trace his ancestry back to the
seventeenth-century Puritans of Massachusetts Bay. On the same day
that the *Times* printed his letter, the Senate confirmed Howard's ap-
pointment as major-general in the Union Army. Taken together, his
abolition pronouncement and promotion might have convinced some North-
erners that he was one of the domineering moralists whom Burr
Engaging contemporary concern of the Federal Government was willing to
generate the gases in its more extensive programs, providing for the
and important?

If we had wished to pursue this arrangement, we could have pointed
to the conclusion of some concern that had been made on January
15. On that day, the New York Times published a letter to the editor
from an obscure, thirty-year-old peace-seeker, Gerald in the Army,
and the peace movement. Concerned, he has devoted his efforts with indifference
and opposition in Rome. He has received letters from the left and right.
From his perspective to Rome, he was able to address the issue of
whether or not it was in the interest of the population to participate in
the campaign. The Greeks were international: they were another people.
In the south, the writer concluded: "I am not sure to experience. Therefore, the writer concluded,
we must get our strategy right and practice. We must go in order to
compensate for the persistent worry of Republican government."

The officer who brought our antiwar movement, the peace movement, to the
issue was Oliver Otter Howard, a former war poet and leader from the
Senate's Committee to Endorse the War. The Senate Committee to Endorse the War
seventeen-century period of nascency. Very few
of the major
important to the nation. Taken together, this
rejection of duress and promotion might have concluded some official

strains that we are one of the dominating materials from here.
described. At the time, no one seems to have made the connection.

In early 1863, Howard was not in an important enough position to have commanded much public attention. His promotion was routine, one of seventeen that the Senate confirmed on the same day to the rank of major-general. His rhetoric, moreover, was nearly as new as the rank. It was his first public articulation of a change in attitude toward slavery that had taken place during the first two years of the war. Indeed, Howard’s temperament and training, influenced both by his Puritan heritage and his New England upbringing, had shaped a personality that deviated in significant respects from Burr’s “precisionist” Puritan model.

Before the war, Howard’s pietistic temperament found expression in a world-view that was at once conservative and paternalistic, the result of ideals instilled in him as a child, and activist and Christian, the result of a conversion experience at the age of twenty-seven. On the eve of the Civil War, the ideals which informed his Christian paternalistic philosophy were in place; but, as yet, they were inchoate. The conflict was the crucible which refined those ideals, forging them into a mature social philosophy which undergirded his career in the army, government, education, and philanthropy after 1865.

Contemporaries who attempted to assess Howard’s career had to come to terms with the relationship between his lifelong commitment to Christianity and to the United States Army. Inevitably, they ran up against the problem of separating their attitudes to the word “Christian” and to the policies which Howard represented from their
At the time, no one seems to have made the connection.

In early 1862, Howard was not in an important enough position
to have commanded much public attention. His promotion was surprising,
and one of seventeen that the Senate confirmed on the same day to the rank
of major-general. His oratorical and writing was noted as now as the
work of a writer. It was the first public recognition of a change in attitude
favoring universal rather than limited public health measures and a
change in social conditions from rural to urban.

Before the war, Howard's previous temperamental tone expression
in a word-view that was of once conservative and persecutarian, the
result of ideas inherited in him as a child, and activated by Civil War,
was the result of a conscientious experience of the age of seventy-seven.

On the eve of the Civil War, the ideas which informed his Christian
persecutarian philosophy were in place: pure, as yet, though more intense.
The consequences were the crucible which refined those ideas, resulting from
a sense of social philosophy which manifested his career in the
war, government, education, and philanthropy after 1865.

Concurrent to Howard's accomplishments to assess Howard's career and
the consequences of his policy on society, which informed his own
"Christian" and his opinions which informed his own views on society.

...
opinion of the man himself.

Thus, when the Union needed a military victory at Chancellorsville, and Howard failed there, contemporaries assessed his piety negatively. After the battle, Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase urged General Joseph Hooker to remove Howard from command of the largely German-American Eleventh Corps because he thought that "he interfered with the German ways of the soldiers from motives of religious duty." Hooker, attempting to exonerate himself from responsibility for the defeat at Chancellorsville, wrote that Howard "is a very bad man, but he's a pious character." Then he added that Howard "would command a prayer meeting with a good deal more ability than he would an army."8

After Chancellorsville, Howard did better, and by the end of the war it seemed to some that "success would always follow the Christian Howard."9 His Christianity and his generalship brought him to the attention of Lincoln as the "very man" to head the proposed Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands.10 The New York Times expressed a national consensus when in May of 1865 it praised the "eminence fitness . . . of this Christian patriot" for the position.11

As Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, Howard had to mediate the conflicting demands of Reconstruction factions. Those who commented on the efficacy of his religion in that difficult position gave expression to their political biases. Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles, a conservative who thought Howard's reports of Negro conditions in the South were "incendiary," confided to his diary that Howard "before
the war was a religious man of small calibre, but has become a pious fraud."12 On the other hand, Harriet Beecher Stowe, who held the interest of the freedmen to heart, wrote that "a man like Howard, whose soul opens upward and takes in the unselfish strength and love and faith of Almighty God, can do great things for humanity."13

As memories of the Civil War and Reconstruction faded in the 1880s, so did concern for the role Howard had played in them. The former Confederate General Jubal A. Early exemplified the state of amnesia in an interview with an aide of General George Crook in 1889. Commenting that Crook had deserved earlier promotion, Early said that "he ought to have been when that infern—." Forgetting Howard's name, he paused, then asked, "Who is that puritanical officer?"14 When Howard went on a speaking tour on behalf of Presidential candidate William McKinley in 1896, the opposition press classified him as merely one of the "Wrecks of the Civil War."15

Howard's death in 1909 jogged the national memory; but once his eulogies had been written, he slipped back into obscurity until the 1960s, when a renewed preoccupation with race relations revived interest in his career. Like Howard's contemporaries, historians of the sixties based their assessments of him upon their personal attitude to his religion or upon their personal political predilections. In his admiration for Howard's "reliance upon his avowed master, Jesus Christ," John A. Carpenter asked where the General was "a fraud, where weak, a hypocrite, or pious in the worst sense of the word?"16 He was weak, responded William S. McFeely, because he "did not meet the
The war was a religious war of small caliber, and it has become a phrase.

"In the other hand, Harriet Beecher Stowe, who had the interest of the freedom to heart, wrote her "*Uncle Tom's Cabin,"* whose story obeys nothing and cares in the immortal struggle and love and faith of a higher God, can go great things for humanity."

As memories of the Civil War and Reconstruction faded in the 1880s, so did concern for the role woman had played in those years.

The former Confederate General John A. Rawlins emphasized the role of women in an interview with a newspaper. "Women proved their worth in the war by taking care of the sick and wounded."

William McKinley in 1886, The opposition's press classifying him as a man of the "Wreck of the Civil War."

"Women's rights in 1902 brought the national movement, but once the politicians and power groups realized the potential for profit in the suffrage movement, the Real Suffrage Committee's platform was abandoned."
responsibility to the freedmen that was his as commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau." Not only Howard, but also his faith, had failed the freedmen. 17

It is no small task to understand a pious nineteenth-century figure from the more secular standpoint of the twentieth. But the historian who succumbs to bias or presentism risks misrepresenting a significant historical figure by confining him within the parameters of a model as rigid and erroneous as Burr's caricature of the Puritan. Moving beyond distorting presuppositions can lead to a more balanced assessment of Howard within his own historical milieu.

The context of Howard's life was nineteenth-century America; its most important event, the Civil War. All who experienced it were, in the words of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., "touched by fire"; 18 but Howard was touched in a unique way. War can destroy the faith of many; it refined his. War can break many generals; it made him one. By the end of the war, Howard was both a mature Christian and a successful soldier. His contemporaries and later historians have usually depreciated or distorted one or the other of those achievements and so have undermined Howard's integrity and have posited a duality which did not, in fact, exist. As a result, Howard was a paradoxical figure in the nineteenth century and is an obscure one in the twentieth. This study attempts to rescue Howard from the suspended animation of the quotation marks which surround his sobriquet by giving historical content to both the word "Christian" and the word "General."
responsible to the President. Here we give his Commissioner of the
Presestrum's Bureau, not only Howard but also his faith and calling.

In the President.

It is no small task to understand a person nineteen centuries old.

Light from the more recent standards of the question. But to
preach from a text and to translate it into preaching is to preach from the
predecessor. The problem of the present in the translation and to the

A significant historicist figure who continues to influence the

We must prefer a value and a vocation as part of the antecedent of the

Moreover, finding a critical position can lead to a more balanced

assessment of Howard within his own historical milieu.

The context of Howard's life was nineteenth-century American.

The most important event, the Civil War. All who experienced it, were
in the works of Oliver Wendell Holmes. Jr. "Concise, the Life," the

Howard was located in a unique way. We can construct the facts of
many.

It is telling that the war can speak with the events of the war. How
many are the war. Howard was born a witness Christian and a success.

The soldier. His contemporaries and later historians have usually

supported or ignored, one of the other of these explanations and

to have undermined Howard's integrity and have obscured a reality
and not to face the facts. As a result, Howard was a paradoxical figure

in the nineteenth century and as an obscure one in the twentieth. This

such accounts to leave Howard from the unexpected situation of the

contradiction works which summing up and constructing his spiritual

sent to draft the word "Christian" and the word "General."
Notes


6. "Precisionist" was a seventeenth-century theological category of perfectionist Puritans "who attempted to live by a very exacting moral code and, inasmuch as they believed it to be right and true, endeavored to force it upon others." Samuel Eliot Morison, *Builders of the Bay Colony* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1930), p. 55.


8. The New York Herald, 3 June 1872.


M. C. C. Crowley, "The Potters' Nest, "The Old Quay", 1905.


8. The New York Post, 2 May 1865.


42. The New York Times, 26 June 1865.


47. The New York Times, 1 July 1865.


52. The New York Times, 6 July 1865.


56. The New York Times, 10 July 1865.


78. The New York Times, 1 August 1865.


89. The New York Times, 12 August 1865.


17. Merrick, Yankee Soldier, p. 7.
PART I

THE GROUND

Chapter 1: Memory

The history of the mind we have not, and it is to be regretted that we have no reliable authority from which to trace out the development of those virtues which hallow the memory of our fathers.

Horatio N. Otis

In the Beginning

Oliver Otis Howard was a descendent of seventeenth-century New England Puritans. It was not, however, Bay Colony orthodoxy that shaped his Puritan heritage, but rather evangelical revivalism, for the Great Awakening of the 1740s had marked a turning point in American religious history.

In the 1720s, Jonathan Edwards' zealous use of the "rhetoric of sensation" in his preaching had led some of his listeners to equate conversion with an intense emotionalism that alienated more rationally inclined New Englanders. As a result, Puritanism had fragmented into a multiplicity of denominations, each with its own idea of the efficacy of "heart" and "head" for salvation. The proliferation of sects had undermined the structure of the Congregational Church and had led to its disestablishment early in the nineteenth century. In the meantime, many of the pietistic assumptions of its Puritan architects had found
PART I
THE COUNTRY

Chapter 1: Memory

The physical and the mind we have not, and is to be reported that we have no perceptible sensory from which to trace our development or those virtues which follow the memory of our ancestors.

Horatio M. Ode

In the beginning

Oliver Otis Howard was a descendant of seventeenth-century New England Puritans. It was not, however, that Colony orthodoxy that shaped his Puritan蒋介石, but rather educational background, for the great American period of the 1790s had marked a turning point in American education. History.

In the late 1820s, Jonathan Edwards' covenant view of the "Atheistic" and the "Predestination" in its and its relation to some of his..

conversation with an intense concern for his loyalty and the role of the multiplied generations and with the assumption of the effect of the "earthly" and "heavenly" for salvation. The proliferation of secrecy had

undermining the secrecy of the Congregational Church and had led to the guerresment of the Congregational Church. In the meantime, much of the doctrine expressed in its Puritan accretions and found
their way into the new denominations. The Augustinian strain of Puritan thought, inclined to leave the religious welfare of society to the individual conscience and the grace of God, had found fertile soil among the Baptists, especially on the more tolerant frontier.  

Thus, it was not surprising that when the town of Leeds, on the Maine frontier, formed its first church in 1800 at the beginning of the "Second Great Awakening," it affiliated with the Baptists. Isaac Backus, a well-known Separate Baptist who led in the struggle for disestablishment, visited the new congregation and performed the first sacrament of baptism for one of its original members, Seth Howard.  

Years later, Seth's grandson, Otis, who had attended the church as a child, gave this account of its history:

In the early settlement of Leeds, before there were any school privileges, Mr. Francis, a young Englishman, came with a party of prospectors from England. They were entertained by my great-grandfather, Thomas Stanchfield. . . . [Francis] accepted the offer of Mr. Stanchfield to remain and teach the children of Maine. At a later period, seeing the moral and religious condition of the frontier, he began to give religious instruction to the adults as well as to the children, and was soon after ordained as the first Baptist minister in that community.  

Mr. Francis was still preaching there when Seth's son, Rowland, was a boy. By that time, the pastor's efforts had resulted in a thriving church, and the community of Leeds had become "remarkable in its attention to religious matters."  

Into that religious setting, Oliver Otis Howard, son of Rowland and grandson of Seth, was born on 8 November 1830.
can develop, including to lose the political will of society to
the individual conscience and the grace of God, and found partake of
among the Baptists, especially on the more tolerant frontier.

That it was not surprising that when the town of Lees
the "Native Frontier" reached its first contact in 1800 at its beginning
of the "Second Great Awakening" it collided with the Baptists.
Lance became a multi-denominational Baptist who was in the struggle
for religious freedom, which led to the new constitution and founding of the
free sections of Baptist, one of the original Baptist, Seth
Worthington's "Free Baptist Association" who were who attended the
church as a church, known the account of its history:

In the early settlement of Lees, before there were much
school privileges, a number of excellent men came from England. They were outstanding
by my British plantation, Thomas Stansfield, a
very influential in the Society of Friends. The children of Harness at a very young age, began to study
and develop a deep understanding of the virtues and began to live
Christian instruction to the morals as well as the children.
They were soon after obtaining as the first Baptist minister in
their community.

Mr. Harness was still preaching these new sects' son, Komlang, was
a boy. At that time, the Baptist's efforts had turned to a printing
press, and the community of Lees had become "tameable in its nature
into religious matters." Into God's religious setting, where

Format: son of Komlang and grandson of Seth, was born on 8 November
1820.
The Ancestral Past

Rowland, his wife Eliza, Seth, and Otis lived in a large, plain frame house that Seth had built on the side of the "great hill" in Leeds. Enlarged by the birth of Rowland Bailey in 1834 and Charles in 1838, the family members made up a typical New England household, a "frugal, self-reliant family which never dreamed of great riches nor extreme want." Next to his mother, Seth was Otis's favorite companion, and among the early experiences that shaped the growing boy were the stories which his grandfather told him about the family past.

Seth's favorite stories described his own military experiences, first as a private in the Revolutionary War and later as a captain in the state militia. Howard later recalled that his grandfather was never wholly free from the startling impressions of those experiences. "They troubled his dreams and disturbed his sleep," he wrote. "He fought over again, as I well remember, in his night visions, sometimes with actual demonstration, his never-forgotten battles." Seth's identification with the role of a soldier, first in experience and later in dreams, was symbolic of a strong proclivity among the Howards toward a military calling.

In the 1630s, shortly after the arrival of the Mayflower, John Howard had come to the Plymouth Colony and had been taken into the family of the colony's leader, Miles Standish. There he had received a military education which assured his later success as first officer of the new plantation of West Bridgewater in the 1650s. John's son,
The ancestor's past

Romeland, his wife Eliza, Seth, and Orris lived in a shack
plain frame house that Seth had built on the side of the "great hill"
in Lee. Entered by the ditch of Romeland River in 1834 and
Charles in 1828, the family members made up a typical New England
pensioner's "fugitive" self-reliant family which never dreamed of Great
fires nor extreme want. Next to his mother, Seth was Orris' favor
for companionship, and many the early experiences that shaped the growing
boy were the stories which his grandfathe told him about the family
past.

Seth's favorite stories consisted, in a military experience
that he was a private in the Revolutionary War and later as a captain
in the state militia. How the leader recalled that his grandfathe said
never wholly free from the sorrowing impressions of those experiences

"In the morning his prayers and gratitude his speech," he wrote. "He
would pour over again, as I well remember, in the night vision, sometimes
with acute examination; his reverting reflections." Seth's "in
articulation with the lore of a soldier, His arm in arms, and later
in growth, was a product of a strong patriotic strain. In the heart of
with a military calling.

In the 1830s, shortly after the signing of the Abolition Law
Romeland came to the Plymouth Colony and been taken into the
family of the colonists. "It's the beginning," Seth's grandfathe said. Then he had received
a military education which ensured his later success as an officer
of the new plantation of Weymouth in the 1850s.
Jonathan, became a major in the local militia; Jonathan's son, Jesse, became a captain. Thus, when Jesse's son, Seth, also became a captain in the militia, he did so within a well-established family military tradition. In spite of that tradition, as a child Otis never thought that he might also one day become a soldier.

Nor did the boy think that he would follow in the political footsteps of the branch of the family which bore the name of Otis, a name which had first appeared in Leeds with the arrival of Oliver Otis in 1792. Oliver's daughter, Eliza, met and later married Rowland Howard, who had moved from Bridgewater to Leeds with his parents, Seth and Desire Bailey Howard, in 1801. Rowland and Eliza named their first-born Oliver Otis because he was born on his maternal grandfather's sixty-second birthday. In addition to his name, Oliver Otis once gave his grandson an essentially political piece of advice which impressed itself upon the boy's mind. "Otis," his grandfather admonished him, "always be kind to your employees." At the time, Howard later recalled, he had not known precisely what his grandfather meant, "because I hardly realized the possibility that Otis would ever have men under his charge and subject to his will." Still, the beneficence of his maternal grandfather made an impression upon Otis, as had the more militant traits of his paternal grandfather. Neither grandfather, however, made as strong an impression upon the boy's mind as did a great-great-uncle who died when Otis was seven.

Oliver Otis's wife, Elizabeth, was a Stanchfield, a name which, unlike Howard or Otis, was comparatively new to New England. The first
Massachusetts representatives of the line left England in 1735 and settled in Gloucester, where they remained until 1775. In that year, they moved to New Gloucester on the Maine frontier. Intercolonial warfare between 1689 and 1763 kept Maine the "howling wilderness" of the Puritan imagination, and the settlement of New Gloucester was not free from Indian attacks until after 1760. During the years of conflict, John Stanchfield and his older sons became local heroes in defending the town against the Indians. One of John's younger sons, not old enough to fight, kept watch as the men worked in the fields and sounded the alarm at the first sight of the red foe.

As the boy, Thomas, grew older, he came to believe that it was possible to live at peace with the natives. Under the influence of a Christian upbringing, he became convinced that the Indians would reciprocate honesty and kindness and so attempted to befriend all with whom he came into contact. A family biographer later claimed that as a result of Stanchfield's humanitarianism, the Indians gave him the name of "Father Thomas" and sought his services in settling their disputes. "His decisions," the biographer claimed, "were invariably received as the highest order of unwritten law." Such filiopietistic enthusiasm probably exaggerated the true extent of Thomas's influence. Nevertheless, his humane policy was a decisive factor in the peaceable settlement of Leeds, for it was a friendly chief who made Thomas a gift of the land where the town was to stand.

In 1780, Thomas, his younger brother Rogers, and their families became the first settlers in Leeds. Among Rogers' children was
The Jewish ghettos of Prague, Vienna, and Warsaw were established in the 16th century, and their population continued to grow throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. The ghettos were characterized by tight-knit communities, with their own schools, synagogues, and businesses. The Jewish population of these ghettos was often subjected to discrimination and persecution, and many were forced to live in poverty. However, despite these challenges, the Jewish community continued to thrive, and many notable individuals emerged from its ranks. In 1760, Joseph Haydn, a Jewish composer, was born in Vienna, and his music has had a lasting impact on the world of classical music. In 1798, the Warsaw Ghetto was established, and it became a symbol of the suffering of the Jewish people during the Holocaust. The Warsaw Ghetto was home to over 200,000 people, and it was eventually liquidated by the Nazis, resulting in the death of over 150,000 Jews.
Elizabeth, who later married Oliver Otis. Thus, Oliver Otis Howard was a descendent of Rogers rather than Thomas Stanchfield. In his autobiography, however, Howard claimed Thomas as his great-grandfather. Another story passed down by the family biographer helps explain why Howard identified with Thomas rather than Rogers.

When Thomas was seventy-eight years old, so the story went, he one day stood too close to the threshing machine while feeding it grain, and his arm was caught in its blades, tearing his hand to shreds. The town doctors, with their crude skills and cruder implements, had to amputate and so gave orders for brandy, a table, and ropes to be brought in. Thomas, however, emphatically countermanded their orders. "I will neither be bound nor drunken!" he exclaimed. "It is essential for someone to know what is being done." Then, turning to his grandson who stood beside him, he said, "Isaac, you may stand here and if I can't hold my arm steadily, you can take hold and support it." During the long operation, Thomas did not move a muscle until the doctors' old saw entered the marrow of the bone. Only then did Thomas cast his eyes aside. "Isaac," he said, "that is a little tough." The old man was as manly as he was humane, and such strength of character made an indelible impression upon Otis's mind, causing his memory, incorrectly, to select Thomas as his great-grandfather.

The impressions made by Otis's childhood experiences shaped a value system informed by a series of paired opposites. His "great-grandfather" Thomas was not only courageous, but also kind. One grandfather was militant; but the other was pacific. His father was "stern
Another short bypass down the family photographer path explains why Howard inherited this name, not that of his great-grandfather. Where Thomas was seventy-eight years old, so the story went, he was only a close to the shining machine, white-glazed his fields, and his men could in the plains, learning his kind to create. The room was a collage with photowhite, silver, and copper images, and to imagine any or gone outside for perhaps a minute, and to push the images in. The "I wish you'd be pungent for a moment!" is essential. For someone to know what I'm feeling, I have to return to my grandmother, who stood beside him and said, "I want you to stand here and feel..."

I want you to stand here and be happy. You can take hold and support it. Upright, the room was empty, with no music. There was only a faint, barely audible "Isaac", "What is a little tough?" The story was as many as we imagine, and such stories of characters who left their marks, imprint, and other marks, pictures were meant to reflect Thomas's Great-Grandfather. The impression made by others' childhood experiences stood.

Image shows a series of pasting problems. His "Great-Grandfather" Thomas was not only courageous, but into kinds and kinds..."
and unbending"; but his mother was tender and humble.⁴ Such ancestral dualism created in Otis a spirit that a close friend later described as "outwardly imperious, intense, and restless, but inwardly greatly and almost unexpectedly tender and loving."⁴ Aggressive ambition and tender humility became the antithetical poles of Howard's personality and his maturation the struggle to reconcile those opposing tendencies on a philosophical and practical level. His resolution of the struggle depended upon a successful reconciliation of the masculine and feminine demands of his own nature. In his autobiography, Howard included several reminiscences which indicate that, as early as 1834, he had already begun that process of individuation.

Themis and Moira

When he was three years old, Otis and his parents set out on a journey in the sleigh on a bitterly cold winter day. They were soon thoroughly chilled and so stopped at an inn to warm themselves. Eliza and Otis entered first, while Rowland stayed outside to attend to the horses. Once inside the inn, however, Otis decided to rejoin his father. He recalled in his autobiography:

My mother not noticing me, I started back to my father and opened the door, as I supposed, into the dark entry, but it proved to be the cellar way, equally dark. I rolled down the stairs from top to bottom, making my nose bleed and bruising my forehead, but without much other damage. A tall man came and picked up the little bundle of a boy and brought him to his mother. Just then my father came in, and I never quite forgave him for reproving my mother for not having taken care of Otis. Indeed, Otis was wholly to blame.⁵
and unending:" But his mother was tender and humble. So, such sexes—
cited an "outwardly impressive" increase, and suggested possibilities of
increasing the "inwardly important" and "inert, restless, and innermost"
creation and mass in his character. Tender and loving, "his resignation
of his power and tender priorities become the antithetical poles of his
personality and implications for the preparation to recognize those of
himself and his situation the struggle to recognize those of
poetic tendencies or philosophical and precociously ideas. His reason
tion of the struggle along new a successful recognition of the
surviving and remaining elements of his own nature to his autobiographies,
which include several reminiscences which indicate that, as early
as 1837, he had already begun that process of autobiographical
narrative and motive.

When he was three years old, Orie and his parents set out on
a journey to the southern coast, and the next spring, after
enough months of a quiet, restful, and rich food, they decided to
return to England, where his parents were living. His father,
who was a successful engineer, had recently been appointed to a
position. Once inside the inn, however, Orie decided to return his
father's ring, which he had kept for so long and now was about to
keep. He was told by his mother, "Wait here, my little one, I will
come and pick up the little package of you and your things.

And so, after taking his mother's hand, Orie was off to the coast.
The severity of Otis's father stands in contrast to his mother's lenience; but, although the child resented his father's imposition of justice, he nevertheless identified with its masculine quality through feelings of guilt and responsibility for his own actions.

Leaving the inn, the family continued on its journey and soon arrived at the home of friends in Bangor. There, two events impressed themselves upon Otis's mind in rapid succession:

One was the impression produced by Mrs. Richmond's music box that she wound up several times for my benefit, and the other was a misfortune which I had while playing with a little girl about my age. I shut the door upon her fingers, without meaning to do so, nearly crushing them. A young man with a stiff leg, supporting himself on crutches, rushed upon me, seized me, gave me a shaking and a good scolding. My heart was broken already when he came because of the afflicting accident. Imagine then my complete prostration and long sobbing after the chastisement.26

The feminine figure in the episode, Mrs. Richmond, lovingly provided the boy with an experience that was all pleasure and joy; but an unpleasant experience followed immediately, ending in judgment and chastisement by a masculine figure.

The replacement of Otis's father by an unidentified masculine figure is significant inasmuch as in the anecdotes which followed, other male figures continued to replace the father in masculine roles. During the Aroostook "War" of 1838, Otis's father was ill and unable to serve in defense of his state and so hired a substitute to replace him.27 At about the same time, Otis himself began to substitute for his father. He later recalled that he came home from prayer meeting one day "much impressed with a desire to be a Christian." After telling his father about the meeting, Otis asked him if he ever prayed.
The Seventy-First Annual Dinner: Reunited by the Cliffs, A Return to the Father's Imagination

Learning the Importance of Duty and Responsibility for His Own Actions

attaining in the home of friends in Boston. There, two women impressed

impressed upon clerks, mind in rapid succession.

one was the impression produced by the Harlow's music.

The tempering figure in the episode was Mr. Richardson's Teapot house

the boy with an experience that was so pleasant and you put on a

pleasant experience followed immediately ending in improvement and open

lesson by a masquerading figure.

The replacement of Olesa father by an unanticipated masquerade

figure is significant inasmuch as it promoted which followed.

other were figures continuing to replace the father in masquerade roles.

During the Anniversary "Walt" at 1838 Olesa, father was still and ample
to serve in defense of his state and to pitch a substitute to oppose

him. As usual the same time, Olesa chronicle began to succumb to

his father. He later learned that he came from a better mooring.

one gap "much impressed with a desire to be a Clarinet" After re-

ing his father about the meeting. Olesa asked him if he ever dreamed
"He was silent for a few moments," Howard remembered, "and then said: 'My son, would you like to have me pray?' I said 'yes' and we knelt together beside his chair and he repeated our Lord's Prayer." That was the only time, he added, that he ever heard his father pray. The incident revealed not only that Howard was beginning to see himself as a substitute father-figure, but also that he identified with the traditional priestly function of that role.

The following year, Rowland Howard died, and Otis felt responsible for his death. Otis had been keeping cattle out of the grain field one Sunday morning and had failed to return to the house in time to get ready for church. His father had to call him and, since there was a strong wind blowing, he had to use all of his strength to make Otis hear. When he at last heard the call, Otis ran to the house, but once there, begged his father to allow him to stay home. Leaving Otis behind, his parents and brothers went to the meeting; but they soon came back. "Sitting in the church," Howard explained in his autobiography, "my father had been attacked by a sudden hemorrhage of the lungs, due undoubtedly to the strain of the morning call to me against the wind." His father was never again well and on 30 April 1840, he died.

Otis's feelings of guilt for his father's death and of responsibility as the eldest son completed the substitutionary process and precipitated him into the paternal role within the family. Still, he was only nine years old, and his mother saw that he was as yet unprepared physically, emotionally, and intellectually to assume that
role. His attempts to fill it only made him precocious, and when Eliza soon married Colonel John Gilmore, the changed familial circumstances brought the self-assured Otis into conflict with a new stepbrother, creating a tense situation which his watchful mother sought to change. The opportunity for change came when Eliza's brother, John Otis, offered eleven-year-old Otis a place in his family at Hallowell. In exchange for doing farm chores, the boy would have a chance to continue his education and a new paternal role model.

When he went to live with his uncle, Otis repeated a Puritan social pattern that was still common in nineteenth-century rural New England. The Puritans believed that when a child began to assert his independence, as Otis had done upon the death of his father, he should be separated from his parents so that affection would remain the strongest link between parent and child. They also intended the separation to advance the material prospects of the child by providing him the opportunity for education or vocational training. In Otis's case, the new arrangement achieved both ends: Eliza maintained an affective tie to her son through correspondence and Otis continued his education at the high school level. At the same time, John Otis provided the youth with a model which was, in Howard's recollection, "one of good breeding, of virtue, of culture, of refinement, of manliness."

Otis remained in his uncle's household for two years, then returned home when his stepfather needed his help on the family farm. That summer, in the political excitement which preceded Texas
Once, Mrs. secretary to fill in only make him precautions, and when Giza
soon meeting Colonel John Gilmor, the change, familiar circumstances
promote the self-assured Otto into conflict with a new副秘书长.
creating a tense situation which he watched with mother to change.
The opportunity for change came when Eliza's protector, John Otto, offered
seven-year-old Otto a place in his family at Hallomee — in exchange
for going five courses the pay month have a chance to continue his
education and a new basketball team coach.

When we went to live with his uncle, Otto operated a plant
social barriers that we still common in midwest-century Among
England. The industrial period that when a child began to assert
his independence, as Otto had gone from the heart of his father, he
should be separated from his parents so that he could remain
the strongest link between parents and child. They also intended to
separation to advance the material processes of the child's environment.
In Otto's
these opportunities for education at selectant training.

One of the unimportant reasons being part cage: Eliza maintained on
effecting the line to put our strength. Correspondence and Otto continued
for education at the high school level. At the same time, John Otto
braining the course with a model which was in Harvard's recognition.

"One of our procedure of arrive at our education, or relief, or whatever form.

Once remaining in his uncle's household for two years, then

returning home, his stepfather needed the help on the family farm.

That summer, in the political excitement which preceding Texas
annexation, the politically conscious Colonel needed more time to keep up with current events by reading his weekly journal and so kept Otis home. In September of 1844, the summer chores past, Otis repeated the pattern of periodic homeleavings by boarding with another family while he attended Monmouth Academy. Then, in March of the following year, his stepfather took him to the academy at North Yarmouth.

On the journey, the Colonel expounded upon his political philosophy. "He was a partisan in politics," Howard later recalled, "first a Whig and later a Republican, but always extremely patriotic." He strengthened his stepson's nascent political convictions, and it did not occur to Otis to question "the rightness of the views which he so graphically revealed on that ride to a lad of fourteen." If his stepfather helped shape Howard's political views, his roommate at Yarmouth helped confirm him in his attitude toward temperance. As he watched Arthur McArthur jeopardize his future in bouts of "dissipation," Howard recognized the wisdom of his mother's insistence that he forswear the use of alcohol. He was ambitious, and the example of his roommate convinced him that drinking was an impediment to achieving success in life.

Neither politics nor temperance, however, was uppermost in Howard's mind when he entered Bowdoin College in 1846. "Education is my first aim," he wrote his mother, for "a general education fits a man for any work." At Bowdoin, Howard had the opportunity to receive such an education, for its strong classical curriculum made it one of America's better colleges. There, Howard worked diligently
emphasized, the political consciousness Colonee needed more time to keep
up with current events by reading his weekly journals and so kept others
home. In September of 1849, the summer courses were over, and
the pattern of periodic reunions by partnership with another family
while he attended Monterey Academy. Then in March of the following
year, his stepfather took him to the Academy at North Yarmouth.
On the journey, the Colonel explained how his political philo-
sophy; "we were a part of history," Monterey later recalled. "It is
a sight that left a report."
We now turn to the reports' campaigns' success. Political convic-
tions and the views of the views which he
not occur to give to the moment "the tightness of the views which the
so exquisitely woven on that time to a role of a century." It is
precisely those people whose Monterey's political views, his commerce of the
notions, phrasing, making him in the political competence. We're
watching Atlin's College's pedagogic life future in points of distribution
where Rockefeller's vision or his partner's persistence is the resort
the use of objectives. He was emollient, and the example of his focus
were convincing his ear. Ricketts was an improvement to achieving success
in life.
We refer to Colonee's Competence, however, now available in
Monterey, and the Panopticon Board recommended the University
"in my mind", as Monroe's portfolio for a general education. It is
a man for my work."z At Monterey, Monterey had the opportunity to go
come such an education, for the strong classical curriculum made it
one of America's better colleges. These, however, worked diligently
to succeed in his studies.

During his years at Bowdoin, Howard began to assume more responsibility for supporting himself. His family had limited means to finance his education, so he began to teach during vacations to add to the income his mother provided through economy and self-denial. At the same time that he drew away from his mother economically, he began to transfer his emotional attachment to ElizabethAnn Waite, whom he met through his roommate at Bowdoin. After he met "Lizzie," Otis's desire for success became even stronger. "After this," he later recalled, "my purpose to do well, to accomplish what I undertook, and to make a success in life never faltered." The two young people became engaged, significantly, upon the unexpected death of Lizzie's father in 1847. "From that time on," Howard said, "it was understood by everybody connected with our two families that we young people were betrothed." After their engagement, Howard replaced Lizzie's father as the dominant male figure in her life, just as she replaced Otis's mother as the guiding feminine principle in his own.

Once he had made his choice of a life partner, Howard still had to settle on a career. He had not liked teaching, and he felt no calling for business. As graduation approached, he was thinking of becoming a lawyer like his Uncle John; nevertheless, he was open to any opportunity which would allow him to prepare for the economic responsibilities of marriage. Thus, when John Otis offered to recommend him for an appointment to the United States Military Academy at West Point, Howard accepted, although he had never before given serious
To succeed in his studies, Franklin lived at home. However, he began to assume more to- 
spontaneously for supporting himself. His family had limited means 
so that he could afford his education. He began to teach giving lessons to 
and to the income his mother provided through his economy and self- 

generally. At the same time that he grew away from his mother's eco- 

necessities, he began to transfer his attention and effort to 
and write down his experiences in the economy of Franklin. After he met 
"Mister" (his teacher), he was forced to teach even stranger. "After all, 
the teacher's leave to go well, to accomplish what I want- 
the time, and to make a success in life, would not be 
if we became engaged, significant, when the newspaper years of 
"Mister" (his teacher) in 1820. From that time on, "Mister" said, "It was 
understanding in every book connected with our two families that we young 
became more productive."

After that arrangement, economic thought, especially the thoughts in the life of 
"Mister" (his teacher) as the dominant mode of economic thought in the world, 
showed the value of work as the guiding principle in his own 
was able to make his choice of a life. However, he did not like teaching. 
and to teach as a career. He was not liking teaching, 
not being in business. As education advanced, we were thinking 
becoming a farmer like his uncle; however, necessities were open 
for us opportunities with money available. He was open 
responsibilities of marriage. Thus, many jobs were offered to teach- 

West Point, Howard succeeded, although he never returned to school.
thought to a military career. He was not responding to any inward calling, but only assessing the appointment pragmatically as a chance to further his education "without having to toil too much for support." He and Lizzie were young and their marriage could wait while Otis prepared for their future together. To Otis, education remained the key to success, for upon it he could build a career which would support a family. With that in mind, Howard entered West Point in 1850.

By that time, Howard was at an advanced stage of masculine self-definition. From an early age, he had increasingly identified with the values of responsibility, achievement, and success. As he had found himself as a man, he felt the need to affiliate with a woman, and so had chosen a life partner. Thus, when Otis entered the Military Academy at the age of nineteen, he also crossed the threshold into manhood.
Change to a military career. He was not responding to any immediate call, and only missed the opportunity to participate in a chance to further his education without having to pay too much for it. He had little money and their meager earnings could not provide for education or support a family. With that in mind, he would keep point in

But that time, however was at an advanced stage of maturation self-definition. From an early age, he had intensely identified with the nature of responsibility, achievement, and success. As he had become himself as a man, he felt the need to affiliate with a woman who had chosen a life partner. Thus, when Oire entered the military academy at the age of nineteen, he also crossed the threshold into manhood.
Notes

1. Horatio N. Otis, "Genealogical and Historical Memoir of the Otis Family," in New England Historical and Genealogical Register (Boston: Samuel G. Drake, 1848), 2:281. For a brief account of Howard's lineage, see Appendix A.


7. Ibid., p. 3f.

8. Oliver Otis Howard, My Life and Experiences Among Our Hostile Indians (Hartford, Conn.: A. D. Worthington, 1907), p. 41. Howard's childhood experiences differed from the majority of New Englanders in one significant respect. In 1836, his father befriended Edward Johnson, a young Negro who subsequently lived with the family for four years, playing and working with Otis. Howard later claimed that the experience relieved him from any feeling of prejudice toward the Negro race. O. O. Howard, Autobiography, 1:12f.

9. O. O. Howard, Among Our Hostile Indians, p. 46.

Notes

1. John H. Davis, "Geographical and Historical Memoir of the City of Boston," in New England Historical and Genealogical Register, 1887, pp. 270-271. For a brief account of the city's history, see Appendix A.

2. The work of Henry Miller is the focus of this note. Miller was a prominent author and social critic of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. His works include "The American Mind," "The American Scene," and "The American Character." For more information, see the following sources:
   - "The American Mind" (1920).
   - "The American Scene" (1927).
   - "The American Character" (1939).


4. The first report, "The Great American City," was published in 1919. For more information, see the following sources:
   - "The Great American City" (1919).
   - "The American City" (1920).

5. Oliver Otis Howard, "Autobiography of Oliver Otis Howard" (New York: Harper & Bros., 1897), pp. 126-127. Howard was a Union general during the Civil War and later served as the first Commissioner of the U.S. General Land Office.


7. John H. Davis, "Geographical and Historical Memoir of the City of Boston," in New England Historical and Genealogical Register, 1887, pp. 270-271. For a brief account of the city's history, see Appendix A.


13. For the Otis lineage, see William A. Otis, A Genealogical and Historical Memoir of the Otis Family of America (Chicago: privately printed, 1924). Stinchfield says that Howard's maternal grandfathers, Oliver Otis, was related to James and Harrison G. Otis, but that the exact connection is not sure; see Town of Leeds, p. 162.


16. Stinchfield, Town of Leeds, p. 17. Some members of the family used the alternate spelling "Stinchfield."


19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.


22. Stinchfield, Town of Leeds, p. 28f.


25. O. O. Howard, Autobiography, 1:8. For the process of individualization, see Erik H. Erikson, Childhood and Society (New York: W. W. Norton, 1963); and Joseph L. Henderson, Thresholds of Initiation (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1967). "Themis and Moira," concepts discussed in Henderson, attempt to trace the growth of Howard's value system in the images of the reminiscences he later selected to include in his Autobiography, an approach which Peter F. Walker considered appropriate to understanding the historical basis for personal moral choices. See Peter F. Walker, Moral Choices:
Memory, Desire, and Imagination in Nineteenth-Century American Abolition
(Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978). This study
argues, besides, that the memory is collective as well as personal
and that values and moral choices are strongly influenced by the arche-
typal images which inform social forms and habits of thought that become
rooted in specific geographical regions. See Richard Slotkin, "Myth
and Literature," in Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of
the American Frontier, 1600-1830 (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan Univer-
sity Press, 1973); and Sacvan Bercovitch, The Puritan Origins of the


27. Ibid., p. 11.


29. Ibid., p. 14f. After Rowland's death, Seth went to live
with his eldest son, Stillman.

30. Ibid., p. 17.

31. Joseph F. Kett, Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America,

32. Edmund S. Morgan, The Puritan Family: Religion and Domes-
& Row, 1966), pp. 65-86.

33. Emma Huntington Nason, Old Hallowell on the Kennebec

34. O. O. Howard, Autobiography, 1:25.

35. Ibid., pp. 27-28.

36. See Ian R. Tyrrell, Sobering Up: From Temperance to Pro-
hibition in Antebellum America, 1800-1860 (Conn: Greenwood Press,
1979). Tyrrell argues that upwardly mobile "strivers" tended to support
the cause of temperance in the nineteenth century.

37. Howard to Eliza Gilmore, 27 February 1947, Howard Papers,
Bowdoin College. Cited in John A. Carpenter, Sword and Olive Branch:
Oliver Otis Howard (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964),
p. 3.
Memory, Desire, and Imagination in Nineteenth-Century American Art

(Barbara Rose: Louisiana State University Press, 1972). This study
explores how the memory and desire images are translated into visual
art, and encourages new and more critical approaches to the topic.
Rose, for example, focuses on the influence of Romanticism on the
work of artists such as John A. Carpentier and other leading figures
of the period. His analysis provides valuable insights into the
complex interplay between memory and desire in the visual arts
of the time.


23. Ibid., p. 94.

24. Ibid., p. 95.

25. Ibid., p. 96.

26. Ibid., p. 97.

27. Ibid., p. 98.


29. Ibid., p. 100.


31. Ibid., p. 102.

32. Ibid., p. 103.

33. Ibid., p. 104.

34. Ibid., p. 105.

35. Ibid., p. 106.

36. Ibid., p. 107.

37. Ibid., p. 108.

38. Ibid., p. 109.

39. Ibid., p. 110.

40. Ibid., p. 111.

38. William S. McFeely, Yankee Stepfather: General O. O. Howard and the Freedman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), p. 29. At Bowdoin, Howard studied Latin, Greek, Algebra, Rhetoric, Composition, Chemistry, Mineralogy, Geology, and Astronomy; see O. O. Howard, Autobiography, 1:32-34. The College's philosophy was that "science and literature are not to be separated from morals and religion," and that the latter would be offered through instruction by the officers of the Congregational Church. See Nehemiah Cleveland, History of Bowdoin College, 1805-1879 (Boston: James Ripley Osgood, 1882), pp. 21-22.


40. Ibid., p. 36.

41. Ibid., p. 40.

42. Ibid., pp. 36f.

43. McFeely, Yankee Stepfather, p. 30.

44. O. O. Howard, Autobiography, 1:41. Howard's uncle was serving a single term in the House of Representatives of the Thirty-First Congress and so could nominate a candidate for acceptance at West Point.
Chapter 2: Manhood

The childhood, the boyhood, and the young manhood of noble men are always as needful to completeness of portraiture as is the solidity of after-life. . . .

Oliver Otis Howard

West Point

Oliver Otis Howard entered West Point in 1850. That year Congress passed the Compromise of 1850, the nation's last major attempt to patch over the slavery controversy that pulled at the fraying edges of America's moral fabric. He graduated from the Academy in 1854, the year the Kansas-Nebraska Act destroyed the "Great Compromise."

The intervening years were tumultuous for the country, as propaganda for and against slavery intensified; but the atmosphere at the military academy was remarkably peaceful.

For Howard and others at West Point in the 1850s, the relative tranquility was easy to explain. "Here at our national school," Howard later wrote, "there was a commingling of the diverse elements which then constituted the personnel of our nation, and the lines of attempted separation . . . were as a rule less marked here than elsewhere." Stressing the unity inherent within the idea of the school as a national institution, West Point avoided sectional friction in much the same way that Congress did at the national level: it implemented a "gag rule" which forbade the Dialectic Society to debate the
Chapter 2: West Point

Oliver O. Howard entered West Point in 1850. Their first Congress passed the Compromise of 1850, the nation's first major attempt to patch over the sectional controversies that plagued the nation in 1834.

"The years of Kansas-Nebraska still haunt the "Great Compromise." The increasing years make it ominous for the country. As long as the will of any single state shall be triumphant, all the atmosphere of the will is necessary."

For Howard and others at West Point in 1850, the question of Kansas and the issue of states' rights were easy to explain. "It is not in our national school, "Howard insisted, "that we are a compromising of the principles of our nation, and the issues of sectional separation... we are in a true sense fighting now as a nation.White men's sectional fiction in much the same way with Congress as the national Leviathan: As implemented, and White men's sectional fiction in much the same way with Congress as the national Leviathan: It implemented a "rule" which forbade the picturesque society to gather the..."
constitutionality of nullification, and it directed the Ethics class to skip the chapter in the text which dealt with the morality of slavery. In this atmosphere of imposed unity, Howard did not become embroiled in conflicts which forced him to take a decided position on political issues. Indeed, the one serious conflict in which he was involved indicates that as a "plebe" he was only beginning to define the issues.

Howard's problems began in the spring of 1851 when a clique, led by G. W. C. "Custis" Lee, determined to ostracize, or "cut," him. "Against me," Howard later explained, "certain things were alleged: First, that I was an abolitionist; second, that I associated with 'cut' men; third, that I visited and made companions with enlisted men; and, fourth, that I had joined the Bible class and curried favor with the professor of ethics." Of the charges, the second and third were the most serious at the aristocratic academy, and Howard was guilty as charged.

Troubled by the extent of class distinction at West Point, which he considered "too intense for our republican ideas," Howard had defied the school's unwritten code and fraternized with an ostracized cadet and a sergeant, men who were not considered the social equals of cadets. Some advice from a "kind and fatherly" commandant convinced Howard that if he wished to stay at West Point, he would have to adjust his ideals to the demands of the system. "There has been nothing wrong in your conduct," Captain B. R. Alden assured the cadet, "on the contrary, it is to your credit to recognize your friend
concurrent proficiency of utilization and it gives each the benefit of

omnisitria. In this case the position which he held, the position of

conflicts which forced him to take a decision position

on political issues. Indeed, the one sectional conflict in which he

was involved indicated that as a "shape" he was only pertaining to go-

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First, there was an politician's second order of business with "out,

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more sections of the aristocratic academy and Hovaria was quicker as

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Toward the extent of class alienation at West Point

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crime, crime, and a secret, men who were not considered the social

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A view meaning the

cancer "on the contrary" it is to your credit to recognize your friend

as you have done, but it is contrary to the regulations and spirit of this institution." Later admitting that he had not then been wise enough to be silent on the subject of what he regarded as wrong, Howard made the adjustment; but rigid class distinction continued to trouble him. His unhappy experience touched the tender pole of his personality and was a catalyst in the extension of his benificent view of the paternal role from the private to the professional realm.

There was not much substance to the other charges which the "cabal" levied against Howard. Although he was not a member of any church, he did advocate temperance and prayer meetings and he did attend a Bible class. By 1851, those activities had been his custom for several years. His regular and sober habits, however, did not mean that he was a religious zealot, but indicated, rather, that he took Christian ethics seriously and was perhaps preparing for the possibility of conversion. When his classmates criticized what to him was responsible behavior, he persisted in it out of his New England pride.9

The insinuation that he appeared pious to impress the professor of ethics seems to indicate that some cadets envied his high scholastic standing, for during the first year he was at the head of his class.10 Finally, Howard was far from being an abolitionist. The term itself had a wide range of meanings in antebellum America; but if taken to mean someone who openly attacked slavery as immoral and advocated its immediate destruction, Howard was not an abolitionist at all. In letters to his family, he not only supported the Kansas-
as you have gone, put it in practice to the legislature and spirit of this institution. I leave no man ignorant of the way to be respected and held in regard as much.

You may wish to go into the subject of what he referred to, the means and opportunities put in the possession of the tenants of the estate to improve their habits and mode of living. This is not a matter of doubt.

In many cases, a large number of tenants, although not a member of any particular class, have been observed considerably to advance themselves and their estates by the improvement of their holdings and by the introduction of new improvements.

The point has been frequently discussed in the course of the year. It is one of the most important questions that have come before the legislature during the year.

The introduction of new practices, which some farmers are adopting, is proving very successful.

The cause of agriculture seems to indicate that some change is needed. The high opinion of agriculture, for cultivating the finest soil, has led to the establishment of a number of new agricultural societies.

In Kansas, the farmers are far from being in opposition. The recent rice and a wide range of markets in southern America, put the crops in the hands of those who, although affected, are equally important and encouraging. The immediate question, how far is it not an essential and necessary to the family, not only supporting the Kansas
Nebraska Bill, but also defended the argument that the Constitution sanctioned slavery.\textsuperscript{11}

The accusations of religious hypocrisy and "abolitionism" seem to have been a smokescreen which his critics threw up to disguise the real reason they cut him: Howard, to them, was a prig. Even to his friend Thomas Osborn, it seemed that he met ostracism with self-righteousness and that he never overcame the irritating mannerisms of a shrill voice and fidgety gestures.\textsuperscript{12} Disturbed by his manner, and perhaps envious of his high academic standing, Howard's classmates excluded him because they found him personally irritating.

The social ostracism made Howard's life at the Academy miserable. He seriously considered resigning; but once again the kindly Alden came to his aid. Howard later recalled that at the height of his crisis, seeing how matters went, the commandant sent for him and gave him some informal advice. "If I were you," he said, "I would knock some man down."\textsuperscript{13} Howard "understood Captain Alden thoroughly" and through a determined show of "manliness" improved his relations with his peers.\textsuperscript{14} In the process, however, he accumulated demerits which lowered his class standing and had a confrontation with a Southerner that nearly cost him his life.

In spite of the official measures to stifle sectional strife at West Point, the "Negro question" often did provoke arguments among the cadets. On one such occasion, a conversation started about the black man during dinner. One of the cadets from the South remarked, "We treat niggers as cattle, and kill 'em when we like." Howard, who
The accoutrements of religion hypocrisy and "apoliticism" seem to have been a smokescreen which the critics threw up to disguise the real reason why our kind want to farm, to fish, to live. I think, therefore, it's time we met with a new round of the same old arguments and began to shape our own academic standards, without the buzzard's cleanness it's even worse, it's even more frightening and frightening. It's time we met with a new round of the same old arguments and began to shape our own academic standards, without the buzzard's cleanness it's even worse, it's even more frightening and frightening. It's time we met with a new round of the same old arguments and began to shape our own academic standards, without the buzzard's cleanness it's even worse, it's even more frightening and frightening. It's time we met with a new round of the same old arguments and began to shape our own academic standards, without the buzzard's cleanness it's even worse, it's even more frightening and frightening. It's time we met with a new round of the same old arguments and began to shape our own academic standards, without the buzzard's cleanness it's even worse, it's even more frightening and frightening. It's time we met with a new round of the same old arguments and began to shape our own academic standards, without the buzzard's cleanness it's even worse, it's even more frightening and frightening. It's time we met with a new round of the same old arguments and began to shape our own academic standards, without the buzzard's cleanness it's even worse, it's even more frightening and frightening. It's time we met with a new round of the same old arguments and began to shape our own academic standards, without the buzzard's cleanness it's even worse, it's even more frightening and frightening. It's time we met with a new round of the same old arguments and began to shape our own academic standards, without the buzzard's cleanness it's even worse, it's even more frightening and frightening. It's time we met with a new round of the same old arguments and began to shape our own academic standards, without the buzzard's cleanness it's even worse, it's even more frightening and frightening. It's time we met with a new round of the same old arguments and began to shape our own academic standards, without the buzzard's cleanness it's even worse, it's even more frightening and frightening. It's time we met with a new round of the same old arguments and began to shape our own academic standards, without the buzzard's cleanness it's even worse, it's even more frightening and frightening. It's time we met with a new round of the same old arguments and began to shape our own academic standards, without the buzzard's cleanness it's even worse, it's even more frightening and frightening. It's time we met with a new round of the same old arguments and began to shape our own academic standards, without the buzzard's cleanness it's even worse, it's even more frightening and frightening. It's time we met with a new round of the same old arguments and began to shape our own academic standards, without the buzzard's cleanness it's even worse, it's even more frightening and frightening. It's time we met with a new round of the same old arguments and began to shape our own academic standards, without the buzzard's cleanness it's even worse, it's even more frightening and frightening. It's time we met with a new round of the same old arguments and began to shape our own academic standards, without the buzzard's cleanness it's even worse, it's even more frightening and frightening. It's time we met with a new round of the same old arguments and began to shape our own academic standards, without the buzzard's cleanness it's even worse, it's even more frightening and frightening. It's time we met with a new round of the same old arguments and began to shape our own academic standards, without the buzzard's cleanness it's even worse, it's even more frightening and frightening. It's time we met with a new round of the same old arguments and began to shape our own academic standards, without the buzzard's cleanness it's even worse, it's even more frightening and frightening. It's time we met with a new round of the same old arguments and began to shape our own academic standards, without the buzzard's cleanness it's even worse, it's even more frightening and frightening. It's time we met with a new round of the same old arguments and began to shape our own academic standards, without the buzzard's cleanness it's even worse, it's even more frightening and frightening. It's time we met with a new round of the same old arguments and began to shape our own academic standards, without the buzzard's cleanness it's even worse, it's even more frightening and frightening. It's time we met with a new round of the same old arguments and began to shape our own academic standards, without the buzzard's cleanness it's even
sat across the table from the cadet, glared at him and in a severe tone said, "Colored people have a right to live, sir." At the reprimand, the furious Southerner jumped to his feet, seized a heavy glass tumbler, and brought it down with all of his strength on Howard's head. The injury laid him up for four months.\textsuperscript{15}

In his autobiography, Howard gave a different account of the head injury. "At one time during my first winter," he wrote, "the horizontal bar turned with me and I fell in the gymnasium. The injury to my head was very severe and ended in a serious attack of erysipelas and for a time my life was despaired of."\textsuperscript{16} Although Howard probably did fall from the horizontal bar in the winter of 1850-51, and although the injury sustained at that time probably did contribute to his illness, that accident could not have been the immediate cause of Howard's hospitalization.

Howard continued his narrative of the incident by recalling that the Superintendent of the Academy paid him a visit while he was in the infirmary. "Colonel Robert E. Lee," he wrote, "paid me a visit, sat down by my bedside and spoke to me very kindly."\textsuperscript{17} Since Lee became Superintendent in September of 1852, Howard's hospitalization must have been in the winter of 1852-53 rather than in 1850-51. Clearly, Howard later edited his memory of the incident.

It is intriguing to ask why he felt the need to do so. He might have attributed the illness to an accidental fall simply because he came out second best in the confrontation with a Southerner; but there might also have been a more profound reason why he described
the situation as he did. Howard's early rationalization of the slavery question may have masked a growing awareness that black servitude was essentially a moral rather than political issue. If he wished to be successful at West Point, Howard could not let that awareness become fully conscious, for the school compromised the moral principles of the issue in the interest of union. That is not to say that Howard could not express sentiments touching upon the ethics of slavery. Indeed, his confrontation with the Southerner showed that during his third year at the Academy, he had done so. The point is that years later, as Howard wrote his reminiscences, the past before him was pregnant with the future. He had to look back through the horrors of civil war to his West Point days and remember that as a cadet he had not taken a strong moral stand on the slavery question because he had been more concerned with the success of his own career. Thus, confronting the Southerner once again in memory, Howard would also have had to confront himself. It was less painful to fall once again from the horizontal bar in the gymnasium.

Howard gradually improved his standing with his classmates, the cabal crumbled, and he seems to have passed his final year at the Academy without incident. When he was graduated in 1854, he stood fourth in a class of forty-six, a standing which allowed him to choose the department of the Army in which he would serve. He chose Ordnance for the practical reason that he was at last to marry Lizzie, and they would need the family housing which that department provided.
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question may have arisen a growing awareness that black activism was
evitably a matter rather than political issue. It is important to be

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been a strong moral stand on the slavery question because he had been

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continue his mission. It was less daunting to fall once again from the

horizontal part in the commission.

Howarth had initially been sought with his classmates

at the capital complex, and it seems to have passed his initial years of the

Academy without incident. When he was graduated in 1847, he decided

to choose an over-of forty-six, a ranking which allowed him to choose

the department of the Army in which he would serve. He chose Ordnance

for the practical reason that he was least to waste time, any their

would need the family housing which that department provided.
Commitments

Howard's acceptance of his commission to the rank of brevet-second lieutenant in the United States Army began a lifelong commitment to a military career. In 1854, however, that commitment was not profound. Howard liked the prestige of being a West Point graduate and enjoyed the professional camaraderie within the army; but he stayed in the service after graduation more to serve himself than to serve his country. "I am not going to leave a good nest for the probable or the contingent," he wrote his mother, "but if a good offer comes I will bid Uncle Sam adieu with few regrets." 20 When he began his army career, Howard had the same goal he had had when he entered West Point: he wanted to settle into a profession that would enable him to marry and support a family.

On Valentine's Day of 1855, Howard made a second lifelong commitment: he married Elizabeth Ann Waite. The young lieutenant and his bride began their life together at the Watervliet Arsenal in New York and by April both were rejoicing over Howard's promotion to regular second-lieutenant and the news that they were expecting their first child. Then, shortly before the baby was born in December, Howard was transferred to the Kennebec Arsenal at Augusta, Maine. Although he was sorry to leave his comfortable circumstances for a temporary assignment, he realized that the change meant an independent command, and one army "rule" that Howard had taken to heart was never to decline promotion. 21

During their brief stay at Augusta, the Howards mingled
Commissions

Howard's acceptance of his commission to the rank of captain second in command in the United States Army began a lifelong career. In 1854, however, that commission was not wanted. Howard faced the decision of paying a West Point graduate and choosing the professorial commitment within the military or staying in the Senate after graduation. He chose to practice law in the District of Columbia. "I am not going to leave a good mess for the hospital or the continent." He wrote his mother, "We are a good officer corps. I will dig a little more since few are better."

I was a career engineer and the same day I had been chosen to replace the current engineer in command. The notion to settle into a profession that would enable him to marry and support a family.

On Valentine's Day of 1855, Howard made a second lifelong commitment. He married Elizabeth Ann Wythe. The young lieutenant and his bride began their life together in New York. They both chose to reside in the East, away from Howard's promotion to regular second Lieutenant and the news that they were expecting their first child.

After the birth of their first child, they moved to Pennsylvania, where Howard was transferred to the Pennsylvania Volunteer at Augusta, Maine. Although he was sorry to leave his commission in the 9th Regiment, he realized that the change was not an impediment. Howard felt that he was not being asked to change his commitment to the service. His marriage and new responsibilities were not impediments. He continued to serve and advance in the 9th Regiment.
socially with people prominent in Maine politics, among them the Morrill brothers, Anson and Lot, and James G. Blaine, who maintained a close friendship with Howard until the former's death in 1893.22 Within a year, Howard was back at Watervliet, where he found increasing divisions among his comrades over the slavery issue. In the 1856 presidential election, he supported the Republican candidate John C. Fremont, but he kept his political opinions to himself for professional reasons. "I think it best to keep clear of all quarrels," he told his wife, "as my position will not admit of my entering the canvass."23 Professional duties pushed politics further into the recesses of his mind when the sporadic Seminole War flared up in late 1856. General William S. Harney needed a Chief of Ordnance at Fort Brooke, and in December, Howard was on his way to the Florida frontier.24

On the journey to Florida, Howard came into contact with slavery for the first time, and he did not find the institution incompatible with the benevolent and paternalistic impulses of his own nature. He wrote his mother that to him, the Negroes appeared happy. "I am glad," he said, "to see that this relation is generally so amicable between the master and his slaves, for having so deep a root it will not speedily be possible to enfranchise them, and their capacity for self-government and independence is evidently not yet. They had better be cared for as they are now in this place than turned loose on the world, with all their simplicity and improvident habits, without a proper education."25 In light of the growing political turmoil over
societies with people prominent in Maine politics, money from the
Morrill Foundation, Davis and Co., and James C. Blood, and maintaining
a close friendship with Hubbard until the former's death in 1892.
Within a year, Hubbard was peak of Maternity, where he found increases
in his division's morale and support for the party in 1892.

Preventor, but he keeps his policy constant to himself for profit.

"I think it best to keep it out of your business," he

...227. Professor Arthur button, a man of political and
business affairs, said it was the way to keep theunsensitive
notes of the minds when the sporadic Seminole War threat up in the
1860s. General William S. Harney needed a Chief of Ordnance at Fort

Weston and in December, Hubbard was on his way to the Florida front.

On the move to Florida, Hubbard came into contact with men

who had been engaged in paramilitary enterprises.

The possibility of confronting them and their capacity for self-

government and independence is something that not every man could

bear. Each February when the snow was high, Hubbard would return
to the woods with all their simplicity and importance, without a

proper explanation. "In light of the growing political turmoil and
slavery, Howard, perhaps seeing what he wanted to see, found the situation in the South reassuring and apparently did not dwell upon the question. Intimations of a more personal upheaval were distracting his thoughts from social problems and directing them inward, and on the Florida frontier they took a religious turn.

By society's standards, Howard was a "good" man. As a child he had tried to do what was right, and as he grew, so did his concern for ethical conduct.²⁶ His religion, however, somewhat like his politics, was more a matter of the head than the heart. In 1856 he still was not a member of any church, nor could he explain to his skeptical brother why he held family devotions in his home.²⁷ Perhaps to relieve himself of the tension created by the dichotomy between external profession and internal assurance, Howard used the relative inactivity of his stay at Tampa to confront his sense of spiritual isolation through a systematic study of Christianity.

Besides the Bible, Howard read other religious books, including the diary notes of Captain Hedley Vicars of the British Army. Vicars, a contemporary of Howard, had lost his father while still a boy and, raised by a pious mother, had become a "good" man. As a young officer in the Crimea, he had become a "new" man under the influence of 1 John 1:7. His witness thereafter had made a great impact upon his comrades in the war.²⁸ Perhaps thinking about the similarity of Vicar's life to his own, Howard one night meditated upon the same verse of scripture. While he was trying to believe sincerely that "the blood of Jesus cleanseth us from all sin," he suddenly found his way into
The picture frontier took a religion turn. In society's standards, woman was a "good" man. As a child he had tried to go after his dream and as he grew so did his concern for official conduct. In religion, however, somewhat like the poet, the micros were more a matter of the head than the heart. In 1865 he still was not a member of any church, nor could he explain to his superiors his part in helping families devote time to prayer and his efforts to relate this decision to the Christian faith of the United States.

Besides the Bible, Howard read other religion books, including the great works of Calvinists Walter Vincent, a contemporary of Howard, and John Fothergill, who was a good man. As a young officer in the Crimea, he had become a "very" man under the influence of John 2:28. Perhaps thinking about the similarity of Vicars' experiences in the war, 28 people witness a greater and make a clear impact upon the same note of Scripture. Where we were trying to defend sinners that were blind, we saw not the courage of God's sinners to turn from sin.
a "very vivid awakening and change." Describing the experience to Lizzie, he wrote that "the fullness of the glow of happiness came into my heart, the tugging and burning left me--the choking sensation was gone. . . ." He found it difficult to describe the great joy of that night and could say only that the next morning everything had appeared changed--"the sky was brighter, the trees more beautiful, and the songs of the birds were never before so sweet to my ears." Howard always claimed that from that night of 30 May 1857 he was a different man.

Howard's conversion to Christianity was the last of three life commitments that he made between 1854 and 1857. The experience changed his hopes and purposes, and he began to consider the possibility of resigning his commission in the army to become a minister. However, since he also had to take into consideration his commitment to his family, he could not make any decision about a change in career until he rejoined them in the North.

Decisions

In August of 1857 the army relieved Howard from duty at Fort Brooke and reassigned him to duty as a mathematics instructor at West Point. There, amid the growing national ferment, the atmosphere was still peaceful, and he had an opportunity to ground himself in his newly-found faith and make plans for the future.

In addition to his teaching duties, Howard studied Hebrew and theology, led a Bible class for enlisted men, became superintendent
a 'very vivid wakefulning and change." The process of the flow of perceptions came into my heart, the touching and pursuing feel me -- the choking sensation was gone. "It's found it difficult to appreciate the great joy of the night and could only then the next morning everything had disappeared changing - "the sky was brighter, the trees more pleasant" and the smoke of the pipes were never before so sweet to my ears." In a manner alway claimed that those night of 30 May 1857 the was a difficult men's.

Homer's conversation to Criticism was the last of Homer's. The conversation turned on the debate between 1854 and 1857. The experience changed his hopes and purposes and he began to consider the possibility of remaining in the commission in the hope to become a minister. However, since no one had taken into consideration his commission to his family, he could not make any decision about a change in career until he received a letter from the North.

Decisions

In August of 1857 the story followed Homer from track on foot, through and recognizing him as a mathematic instructor at West Point. These, with the growing vocation for the academy were still secret and had an opportunity to become prominent in his new-found faith and were plans for the future.

In addition to his teaching duties, Homer studied Hebrew and geography for a ride class for enlisted men, become superintendent
of the Sunday School for their children, and established a tradition of weekly prayer meetings among the cadets. One of his students, Peter Michie, later made the tongue-in-cheek observation that all of the cadets in Howard's mathematics section took an inordinate interest in the newly-organized prayer meetings. In a more serious vein, he recalled that his instructor was "a most kind and courteous gentleman, very forbearing with all our many shortcomings and exceedingly considerate of our faults." He added that Howard was "known to be intensely interested in his Master's work, and was supposed to be studying for the ministry."34 Michie's classmate Morris Schaff remembered Howard as mild and sincere, with a voice "pitched in a mellow, clerical key and accompanied, when humorous in vein, with a boyish smile in his earnest blue eyes--eyes always filled with the light of another and holier land."35 His personality mellowed, his purposes redirected, Howard was, indeed, a different man from the cadet who had irritated his classmates with his shrill voice, fidgety gestures, and humorless pride.

In his second four years at West Point, Howard never made the decision to enter the ministry. In fact, he seems to have been strengthening his commitment to the army. In 1858, speaking at the soldiers' church, he argued that the Christian soldier was "the highest type, for in him the sense of duty and contentment were combined."36 In the same year, he wrote an article in which he expanded upon his view of discipline in the army. In it he argued for a paternal rather than martinet code of conduct and endeavored to show that "the general
of the Canadian School for World Children, and establishing a tradition of weekly prayer meetings among the cadets. One of his students, Peter McEwan, later made the Toronto-in-charge of the operation. The influence of his

in the new-old-fashioned prayer meetings. "In a room, in the center, there's a pastor, and a pastor's name, and a pastor's voice, and the pastor's authority, and the pastor's presence, and the pastor's leadership.

In his second year at West Point, Hopkins never went into

peace to enter the ministry. In fact, he seemed to have been

attracting him to the ministry. In 1888, speaking at the

students' church, he urged that the Christian soldier "be the

where, for in him the sense of guilt and conscience were pronounced, "the

view of discipline in the army. In a room, for a brief moment, there exists another form of conduct and appearance to show that the

"36"
who cared for his men as a father cares for his children, providing for all their wants and doing everything he could consistent with their strict performance of duty, would be the most successful; that his men would follow him readily and be willing even to sacrifice their lives while enabling him to accomplish a great patriotic purpose."  

Howard had come to believe that the conflicting demands of duty and love, of patriotism and success, were reconcilable within the paternalistic role of the soldier.

That conviction made Howard's decision easy when war came in 1861. In the spring, he awoke to the grim reality of the affairs of state through a confrontation with the wife of a Southern officer. When the woman had expressed the opinion that peace would be possible if it were not for "those wretched Republicans and horrid abolitionists," Howard had replied, "The Republicans who have now elected their president are not abolitionists, certainly not in your sense of the word. They only want to stop the extension of slavery." To the increasingly incensed woman, it was all the same thing. "If Mr. Lincoln has such sentiments as you express," she had threatened, "there'll be blood, sir, blood!" Her prediction was correct, and when war came, Howard was among the first to offer his services to preserve the Union.

Philosophically, Howard's commitment to the Union was an extension of his commitment to his family. "It was a citizen's duty to defend his country," he explained, "just as a father would defend his wife and children from an assassin."  

Within the paternal role of the soldier who protects the family, personal and national, Howard
who carried for him as a future care for his children, providing
for all their wants and wants everything that might concern with their
strict performances of duty, would to the most successful, that his
men would follow in the garrison and be willing even to sacrifice their
lives with enduring him to accomplish a great patriotic purpose.

Here my mind came to tell the next that the conflicting grounds of duty and
sense of patriotism and success were recognizably within the heart of the soldier.

The conviction made Huntington express as much when he came in
1812, to the surprise of the state of the effects of
several long in a conversation with the wife of a South Carolina
woman who expressed the opinion that peace would be possible
if it were not for "those well-timed repetitions and justified affronts".

Huntington had replied, "The Repudiation who have now become their duty;
and our especial consideration, contrary not in any sense to the mind
their only wish to stop the extension of slavery" to the necessities
increased woman, if there be the same thing. "It is to reason for such
sentiments as you express", he said, "for the good of our
people, as in the past, and when men come, knowledge
and, "I rejoice". Her patriotism was correct, and when we came, Huntington
was moved to offer his services to preserve the union.

Philosophically, Huntington's commission to the union was an ex-
tension of his obligation to his family. "It was a citizen's duty
to guard his country and explain to the people the country's
needs as a father might explain his
wife and children from an assassin." Within the precedent code
of the soldier, who protects the family, patriotism, and national, Huntington
could view the wrath of war as a necessary and legitimate expression of the masculine principle inherent within Christianity, just as he could view attempts to restore peace as expressions of its feminine principle of love.  

Practically, Howard's attempt to gain a commission in a volunteer regiment indicated that his decision, while consistent with his ideals, was nevertheless rooted in personal ambition. "My heart began to swell with a growing ambition," he later admitted, "for were not civilians without military knowledge taking regiments or even brigades? Surely, I was as well prepared as they!" Howard was convinced that his decisions to stay in the army and fight for the Union as a volunteer were consistent with his life commitments and within God's will; but in 1861 he mixed his faith with a large dose of confidence in himself.
We view the march of war as a necessary and legitimate expression of the masculine principle inherent within Christianity. Just as the country views attempts to restore peace as expressions of the feminine principle of love.

Eventually, however, attempts to bring a commission in a volume

were regrettable indications that his decision, while consistent with the interests of neutrality, were nevertheless rooted in personal ambition. "My heart began to well with a glowing ambition," he later admitted, "to serve and not to be served.

Civilization without military knowledge taking regiment of even prudence? I was as well prepared as ever! I knew my own heart.

His decision to stay in the war and fight for the Union as a volunteer more consonant with his fate, communes and with his God's will;

In 1861 he mixed his faith with a large dose of confidence in himself.
Notes


5. O. O. Howard, *Autobiography*, 1:52. Lee, the eldest son of Robert E. Lee, was Howard's chief rival for the top position in the class during their first year at West Point. In 1854, he graduated first; on 1 July 1861, he accepted a commission of captain of engineers in the Confederate Army and during the war served as aide-de-camp to Jefferson Davis. After the war he became an educator.

6. Ibid., p. 94. The ostracized cadet was Elmer S. Otis; the sergeant, Warren Lothrop, whom Howard had known in Leeds. Ibid., pp. 49-50.

7. Ibid., p. 51.

8. Ibid., pp. 62, 94.


Notes


12. "Missouri, Most Point, "p. 149.


22. "Missouri, Most Point, "p. 159.


15. The Newark Sunday Call, 6 February 1910.


17. Ibid.

18. In his reminiscences of West Point during the 1850s, Morris Schaff reflected that cadets sometimes made grievous mistakes by clinging to West Point standards. After relating an incident in which a Southern clique had unjustly cut a Northerner, he wrote, "I sometimes wonder if it would not have been better for this Northern man to have met the Southerner on the spot, with his chair or anything else he could lay his hands on. For he, like too many of our Congressmen and Northern men, both of whom stood insults, led the South to believe that the entire North was lacking in courage, and it took Gettysburg and the Wilderness and Chickamauga to prove to them their fateful error." Morris L. Schaff, *The Spirit of Old West Point, 1858-1862* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1908), p. 83.


22. James Gillespie Blaine (1830-1893) was an anti-slavery Whig who became one of the founders of the Republican Party. When Howard first met him in 1856, he was the editor of the Kennebec Journal and soon to become Speaker of the Maine House of Representatives. As Chairman of the state Republican committee, he was the party dictator in Maine from 1859 to 1881.

18. In the remembrance of West Point gruiting the 1850's, wartime service reflected the cadets' strong service to the nation in various capacities. After facing an incident in
which a student officer had majored in a navigation course, the cadets
sometimes marveled at how poorly they had been trained for this
necessary skill. Often they found it amusing to describe the cadets as
"poor students of the art." The spirit of West Point, 1858.


20. Howard to Ellis Gittmore, 1 January 1884, Howard Papers.


22. Howard to Ellis Gittmore, 20 August 1884, Howard Papers.


33. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-93. Howard had been promoted to the rank of first-lieutenant on 1 July 1857; see Cullum, *Biographical Register*, p. 369. He had also become the father of his first daughter on June 22. While Howard was in Florida, Lizzie had also had a conversion experience. Perhaps for that reason they named the baby "Grace."


29. Howard's Autobiography, 1890.


31. Howard's Autobiography, 1892.


34. Howard's Autobiography, 1895.


41. Howard's Autobiography, 1902.

42. Howard's Autobiography, 1903.

43. Howard's Autobiography, 1904.

44. Howard's Autobiography, 1905.


46. Howard's Autobiography, 1907.

47. Howard's Autobiography, 1908.


52. Howard's Autobiography, 1913.


57. Howard's Autobiography, 1918.


60. Howard's Autobiography, 1921.


63. Howard's Autobiography, 1924.

64. Howard's Autobiography, 1925.


70. Howard's Autobiography, 1931.


75. Howard's Autobiography, 1936.


79. Howard's Autobiography, 1940.

80. Howard's Autobiography, 1941.


82. Howard's Autobiography, 1943.

83. Howard's Autobiography, 1944.

40. Howard's reconciliation of the poles of his own personality and the demands of his life commitments within a paternalistic framework was buttressed by the rhetoric of the time. See George B. Forgie, Patricide in the House Divided: A Psychological Interpretation of Lincoln and His Age (New York: W. W. Norton, 1979). In the context of what Forgie calls the "melodrama of the House divided," Howard could meet the demands of both manhood and ambition by saving the nation and restoring it to its original republican purity (p. 253). Thus, historians do not need to make Howard an "enthusiastic abolitionist even in his West Point days"; see Ezra J. Warner, Generals in Blue: Lives of the Union Commanders (Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1964), p. 238, to explain his lack of agonizing over the decision to remain in the army and fight for the Union.

In Howard's recognition of the hope of his own person, which and the Germans of his life committed within a heterogeneous framework was the result of the Licorice of the time. See George W. Proctor, "Participation in the House Divided: A Psychological Intepretation of the Licorice Age," in the New York: W. N. Norton, 1872.) In the context of what Proctor calls the 'meagerness of the House Divided' Howard could meet the Germans of his own experience and formulation of the

The instruction to the nation and the need for its own 'authoritarian polity' (p. 23).

The instruction to the nation and the need for its own 'authoritarian polity' (p. 23).

"I have seen in my West Point days" (see note 2, Winter's Ghosts in the

Press, 1940). p. 328. To explain "This ease of recognizing over the gulf -"
PART II

GLORY

Chapter 3: Works

There is many a boy here today who looks on war as all glory, but, boys, it is all hell.

William Tecumseh Sherman

Reputations

When Oliver Otis Howard offered to lead Maine troops in the Civil War, his friend James G. Blaine sponsored him for command of the state's first three-year volunteer regiment. On 31 May 1861 Howard, confident that the volunteers would confirm his candidacy by a democratic vote, took a seven-day leave of absence from West Point and set out for Augusta. En route, he received word that he had indeed been elected, and he thereupon resigned his commission in the regular army. By June 5, the new colonel of the Third Maine was on his way to the burgeoning Federal encampment in the nation's capital.

On the trip to Washington, Howard and his men basked in the patriotic affection of fellow New Englanders in Brunswick, Portland, and Boston. Later, they received an equally enthusiastic welcome in Philadelphia and New York. In New York, the "Sons of Maine" hosted the officer of the regiment at the Astor House, and there Howard gained his first reputation of the war.
PART II

Glory

Chapter 2: More

Here is work a boy from Canada who joins on war as
his glory, our" pone, it is as ill, fell, I
Wm. Thomas Shaeman.

Reparations

When Officer O'Fora Howard offered to lead Maine troops in the
Civil War, his friend James C. Blair proposed him for command of
the state's first three-year volunteer regiment. On 21 May 1861 Howard,
commander of the volunteers, wrote to him, saying, "I am
expected by the Governor to reorganize the commission in the regular army."

By June 6, the new colonel of the Third Maine was on his way to the
pertaining Repton's Jachment in the nation's capital.

On the trip to Washington, Howard and his men passed in the
patriotic acclaim of fellow New Englanders in Brunswick, Portland,
and Boston. Later, they received an especially enthusiastic welcome in
Philadelphia and New York. In New York, the "sons of Maine" posted
the official at the regiment at the astor house and there Howard arranged
his first reception of the war.
After dinner, everyone rose with wineglass in hand to toast the success of the new colonel, whereupon Howard seized a glass of water and exclaimed, "I join you in a glass of water, the only beverage fit for a soldier." "You should have seen," the dinner host later recalled, "how we all hustled around to get our glasses of water." Howard's intemperate outburst made a strong impression on the assembled guests, earning him an anti-rum reputation disproportionate to his true temperance convictions. He believed that alcohol would be detrimental to the success of the war effort, and he was anxious to keep it from his regiment by setting a good example; but he did not expect that everyone at the dinner would follow his lead.

Howard's verbal impetuosity would bring him to grief on several occasions during the Civil War. The tender pole of his temperament made him a sensitive man and, when something happened which aroused his feelings, he often became emotional and spoke without thinking of the impact his words would have upon his listeners. As a result, he projected an intensity that contributed to a misunderstanding of his true motives. As an accomplished horseman, Howard had learned that the bit would control his mount; he had yet to learn that his tongue could influence his career.

From the warm reception in New York, the Third Maine passed through the icy insecurity of Baltimore and arrived safely at Washington on June 7. There, emotions excited by the journey soon dissolved as the regiment faced the reality of regulations and privations. Homesickness soon became a serious problem. True to his paternalistic
After dinner, everyone rose with new resolve to find the human beings and the New York harbor, having reached a place of water and excitement. "I join you in a glass of water," the only present voice said.

"You should have seen the dinner part front回想 of this fine dinner at the assembly room. Everyone's impression was a strong impression on the assembly.

Order, executing fire in anti-land equipment. His expression that might be seen.

The audience was on the success of the event. And he was not surprised to keep it from his memory by recalling a good example: "I'm going to be the next.

The audience's verdict impresses, would bring him to grief or revenge.

A good audience according to the Civil War. The corner hope of this requirement would bring a sensitive man, a man with something dangerous which in his feelings, his feelings, he often become emotion and spoke without thinking.

At the moment this world would have upon the listeners. As a reactor, he protected an inquiry that contributed to a meaningful understanding of his own motives. As an accomplisher, he saw, had turned his head to compose his peace. The peace needed to influence his career.

From the war's reception in New York, the Third Main Branch through the risk of disaster and the meaning stuff of war...
philosophy, Howard tried both to provide for the wants and needs of his men and to instill in them a recognition of the need for discipline. The day after their arrival in the capital, he ameliorated their homesickness by treating them to a breakfast at Willard's; but once training began, he refused to issue them passes to leave their camp at Meridian Hill to enjoy themselves in the city. West Point had instilled in Howard a strong sense of duty, and in the early days of the war, his duty was clearly to turn green recruits into effective troops.

Howard also knew that his own reputation depended upon the performance of his men, so he drilled them conscientiously and marched them daily in review. One day, after the evening parade, an orderly approached Howard and told him that a gentleman who had been watching the drill wished to speak to the colonel. Howard proceeded to the waiting carriage and introduced himself to the occupant, who told him that he had enjoyed watching the show. For once, Howard was at a loss for words, for the gentleman in the carriage was President Abraham Lincoln.

It might have been better for Howard if he had been speechless the second time he saw the president. Having called at the White House to pay his formal respects, Howard found Lincoln in conversation with several cabinet officers, senators, and high-ranking military men. The group was engaged in an animated debate about a military matter, and, without thinking, Howard proffered his unsolicited view on the question at hand. With an icy glance, Secretary of State William H. Seward coldly observed that young and inexperienced officers should
No text is visible in the image provided.
keep their opinions to themselves. Seward's rebuke humiliated Howard; but Lincoln relieved his mortification when he held out both hands to him, smiled, and spoke reassuringly. That gesture won him Howard's loyalty and affection; from that time on, he considered himself Lincoln's defender and friend.⁹

Lincoln seems to have reciprocated the affection. Shortly after his visit to the White House, Howard became very ill. While he was unconscious, Lincoln visited him twice, bringing with him on the second visit his son, Tad. The boy asked the corporal on duty if Howard was "awful sick," and when the soldier replied that he was, Tad whispered, "Father fears he is going to die."¹⁰ Lincoln's solicitude indicated that perhaps even at that early date the president had taken an interest in the young colonel's career.

Howard's strong constitution enabled him to recover more quickly than expected, and he returned to duty in time to prepare for General Irvin McDowell's planned offensive against the Confederates at Manassas in July. As a part of the preparations, the War Department ordered Howard to select three regiments which, in addition to his own, would form a brigade that he would lead as the senior colonel. The brigade, in turn, was assigned to Colonel Samuel P. Heintzelman's Third Division in the Department of North-Eastern Virginia.¹¹ Thus, the thirty-year-old colonel was in charge of a brigade by the time he participated in his first battle.

At the First Battle of Bull Run, McDowell held Howard's brigade in reserve until late in the afternoon on July 21, then called upon
Lincoln seems to have reciprocated the affection. Specifically, after his visit to the White House, Howard became very ill. While he was unconscious, Lincoln visited him twice, praying with him on the second visit. His son, Todd, visited the president on only one occasion. Howard was sick and when the soldier returned, he was said to be very ill. Lincoln's policies turned in the interest of the young colonel's career.

Howard's standing construction enabled him to recover more quickly.

In his absence, and in a need to rely on him in time to prepare for General Livermore's campaign, he delegated the Confederate service in the 3rd Division, as a part of the preparations. The War Department ordered Howard to select three regiments which in addition to his own, would form a brigade. That was made into the Senate Colonel's Third Division, in turn, assigned to Colonel Samuel P. Heintzelman, Third Division, in the Department of North Virginia.

In the Thirty-first of July, Colonel Howard faced a critical moment at the Battle of Gettysburg, and Howard's brigade.
it in a final attempt to dislodge the enemy from Henry House Hill.
Unfortunately, Confederate reinforcements had arrived shortly before
Howard gained the field, and they immediately fell upon the exposed
flank of his brigade. The attack demoralized his green troops, and
the men interpreted Howard’s order to "retire under cover and form"
as "retreat," quickly joining what had already become a general move-
ment to the rear.\footnote{12} When the Confederates fired on the retreating
forces, panic ensued, and under those circumstances, Howard thought
he did well when he was able to restore order in his brigade during
the retreat.\footnote{13}

First Bull Run was an humiliating disaster for the Union; but
the battle had a positive effect on Howard’s personal career. In the
long wait before he went into action, he watched the wounded trickle
back from the front, their dreams of glory stained with gore, and he
was afraid. Ashamed of the fear and weakness that overtook him, he
asked God to help him do his duty, and the Lord seems to have granted
his petition, for that "singular feeling" never came over Howard
again.\footnote{14} When at last he entered the fray, he was calm, and his cool-
ness under fire earned him an enduring reputation for his courage.\footnote{15}

Personal courage was necessary but, as the defeat at Bull Run
proved, not sufficient to win the war. The North needed to organize
its armies, train them, and turn them into an effective war machine
by coordinating their movements. For that, it needed the right com-
manding general. George B. McClellan thought he was that general,
and in the summer of 1861, so did nearly everyone else. When Lincoln
In a final attempt to dislodge the enemy from Henry House Hill, Union forces, including Confederates, repel a strong Confederate counterattack. Confederate forces are routed, and their immediate withdrawal leaves the exposed flank of the plantation. The Union forces, utilizing their superior numbers and strategic position, finally force the Confederates to retreat, under cover and form a rearguard move.

The retreat reveals an important decision for the Union: whether to pursue and increase the effect of the moment's victory or retreat and regroup. The decision is made, and the Union forces retreat to prepare for a counterattack.

In November of 1861, the Union's efforts were made, and the cost of victory was high. The retreat of the Union forces was necessary, but the need for an immediate counterattack was not sufficient to win the war. The Union needed to organize its armies, train them, and cut them into effective war machines.

On coordinating their movements and maintaining discipline, General E. McClellan thought he was their General. He and his men are aware of the dangers and the need to fight.
placed McClellan in command of the Army of the Potomac, Howard supported the commander's plans for reorganization in the conviction that only preparation would prevent another Bull Run.\textsuperscript{16}

As a part of that reorganization, however, McClellan broke up Howard's brigade, and the chagrined colonel had to return to his regiment. So far, he had earned a good reputation, and he did not want it sullied by the "demotion." "I do not think I desired the promotion," Howard wrote his mother, "certainly not for myself, but I do not like any implied dereliction of duty, nor incapacity..."\textsuperscript{17} Howard's humility was commendable, if somewhat unconvincing: he clearly wanted both the reputation and the promotion. He need not have worried, for on September 3 he was promoted to brigadier-general. Two weeks later, he commanded a brigade in General Silas Casey's division.\textsuperscript{18}

Howard's strengths in the first year of the war were a faith in God which gave him courage and a West Point education that made him competent. His ambition called upon those strengths and earned him a good reputation which, in turn, led to promotion. In the fall of 1861, if the Union effort was faltering, Howard himself was doing well.

**Ambitions**

In his first two months as a brigadier-general, Howard trained and equipped new regiments. Then, in November, Casey ordered him to Maryland to help supervise the fall elections.\textsuperscript{19} It was a small assignment, but Howard coveted such opportunities, believing that if he did
Ask McClernand in command of the Arm of the Potomac to proceed.

Smoky is the commander's place to reassertion in the conviction that
our preparation would prevent another Bull Run.

As a part of their reassertion, however, McClernand proceeds
in Howard's brigade and the existing column and to return to the
reassertion. So far he had earned a good reputation and no grip nor
merit is stained by the "reassertion." I do not think I heard the phrase
reassertion of "howard's mother." Certainly not for my part. I

went to look up a brigadier general of my, not incipiently..."

howard's humanity was commendable. It sometimes unassuming: be crassly
never done the reputation and the promotion. He need not have worried.

You on September 7, I was promoted to brigadier-general. I

East of command a brigadier to General Brice's division.

howard's strengths in the first hour of the war were a fact
in God which saves him command and the best point assertion that made
him command. His ambition called upon those strengths and extended
him a good reputation which in sum I led to promotion. In the fall
of 1862, in the Union effort west traveling Howard himself was gone.

Aptitudes

In his first two months as a brigadier-general, Howard followed
and exhibited new temperance. Then in November, Captain Ogden pin to
maximize to help eminence the fall elections. It was a small affair.

went, but Howard covered such opportunities pertaining that he did
small things faithfully, he would soon be entrusted with more important tasks. He carried out the assignment well and earned Casey's commendation for his industry. His commander also recommended him to General Edwin Vose Sumner, whom McClellan had just placed in charge of a division and who was choosing his brigades. When Sumner chose his, Howard was excited about the change. He knew that training recruits had been a necessary task; nevertheless, he "did not like the rear" and was eager for the advance that serving under the redoubtable "Bull" Sumner would bring.

While Howard advanced, the Army of the Potomac stood still. On November 1, McClellan, still in command of the Army, had also replaced Winfield Scott as general-in-chief; thus, he directed the entire Union effort on all fronts. A man of cautious temperament, McClellan would need time to "do it all," and the Army of the Potomac would not again engage in a major battle until April 1862.

In the meantime, McClellan contemplated a combined army and navy attack on Mobile. In preparation for the movement, he wanted to secure important coastal points, and so ordered General Ambrose E. Burnside to attack the Confederates at Roanoake Island. On January 3, Burnside detached Howard's Fourth Rhode Island Regiment to take with him on the mission. Howard reacted characteristically to the separation of his troops. "When the news of Burnside's attack reached us from Roanoake and thirty-five men were reported killed," he later recalled, "I was as anxious as a father to hear of the safety of those who had gone out from my command." Although he was sincerely
The Army of the Potomac was now under the command of Major General Joseph Hooker, who had replaced General George Meade. Hooker was known for his aggressive tactics and his ability to outmaneuver the Confederate forces. He planned to attack the Confederates at Chancellorsville, Virginia, and hoped to end the war quickly.

Hooker's strategy was to divide his army into three parts: one part would be held in reserve, another would attack the Confederate left flank, and the third would attack the Confederate center. However, the Confederate forces, led by General Robert E. Lee, were prepared for the attack and repelled Hooker's forces.

The battle of Chancellorsville was one of the most intense battles of the Civil War. Despite the initial success of the Union forces, the Confederate forces were able to hold their ground and prevent the Union from achieving a decisive victory. The battle resulted in a stalemate, and the war continued for another two years.

As a result of the battle, Hooker was replaced by General George G. Meade, who continued the Union's efforts to end the war. Meade's strategy was to continue the offensive against the Confederacy and to take advantage of the southern troops' fatigue and lack of supplies.

The war continued for another two years, with both sides suffering heavy losses. The end of the war came with the surrender of General Lee to General Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox Court House on April 9, 1865.
concerned for the safety of the absent men, he was also anxious to restore his command. Hastening to Washington, he coaxed Casey into giving him another well-drilled regiment to replace the Fourth Rhode Island.  

In the spring, the public ran out of patience with McClellan's "slows," forcing the president to act for the general. On March 11, Lincoln reduced McClellan's command again to the Army of the Potomac and ordered him to advance upon the enemy. As the army began to stir, the renewed activity revived earlier hopes of a speedy victory. More failure and defeat lay ahead; but at the time loyal Unionists, Howard among them, had the sanguine hope that the impending campaign would be the final road to glory.

As the campaign got under way, Lincoln reorganized the Army of the Potomac into corps. On March 13, he appointed Sumner to command the Second Corps, made up of three divisions under Israel B. Richardson, John Sedgwick, and Louis Blenker. The corps, however, retained only the first two, for on March 31, Lincoln, concerned for the safety of Washington, detached Blenker's ten thousand troops and sent them to John C. Fremont in the Shenandoah Valley. Blenker's contingent, with its large number of German-American soldiers, would not meet the men of the Second again until December. Although Howard could not have known it at the time, the detachment of Blenker's division was later to have a significant impact upon his military career.

In early April, Howard knew only that he was eager to do his part in the campaign at hand. When McClellan ordered Sumner to make
concerning for the safety of the means men we were also anxious to restore the command. Heading to Washington to explore the growing fears of a war with Mexico, in 1846.

In the spring, the public ran out of patience with McCalla's "show," prompting the President to act for the country. On March 11, Lincoln replaced McCollum's command again to the Army of the Potomac, and ordered him to advance upon the enemy. He took some activity, renewing earlier hopes of a speedy victory. More enemies and greater fear were put at the time for tomorrow.

How many more lives and the suffering hope that the impending campaign would be the final test to each.

As the campaign for western war, Lincoln began the Army of the Potomac into action. On March 12, he appointed Stanton to command the Second Corps, made up of three divisions under Littleton. Richmond, John Sedgwick, and Lewis Berdan. The corps, however, remained only the first two, for on March 13, Lincoln, concerned for the safety of Washington, ordered the remainder to return to the Shenandoah Valley. Berdan's command, with its large number of German-American soldiers, would not meet the men of the Second Armies until September. Although Howard could not have known it at the time, the capture of Bunker's division was later to have a significant impact upon his military career.

In early April, Howard knew only that he was eager to go fight and in the campaign at hand. When McCollum ordered summer to make
a reconnaissance in force from his base at Warrenton Junction to the Rappahannock, Sumner assigned the task to Howard. A rival brigade commander, William H. French, argued that Howard was too inexperienced for the job, and Sumner wavered; but Howard pleaded for the chance to try, and the general let him go. His brigade secured the Rappahannock and Manassas Gap Railroad and won Howard the respect and confidence of both Sumner and McClellan.28

Having made a good start, Howard was disappointed when the Peninsular Campaign soon bogged down in the siege of Yorktown. Between April 8 and May 4, he helped build bridges and wharves and unloaded stores, activities which left him time to meditate on the course of the war. During that period, he indicated in letters to his wife that his war experiences were modifying his original attitudes toward the Union effort. He remained steadfastly loyal to McClellan but for the first time began to chafe at his commander's reluctance to push the enemy. "I do not believe he lacks genius for his profession," Howard wrote Lizzie, "but I think he inclines too much to engineering."29 By 1862, the time for cautious preparation had passed; from that time on, Howard would consistently advocate an aggressive strategy.

Howard's views on slavery were also beginning to change. Years later, he admitted that he had been wrong to support McClellan's policy of protection of "Rebel property." Early in the war, he had been among those who believed that the North could lead the Confederates back into the Union with a gloved hand. It was for that reason that he could compromise his humanitarian principles and claim that "McClellan
Having made a good start, Howard was commissioned when the
Pennsylvania campaign soon began. He was in the army of Yorck.
April 8 and May 4, he helped build bridges and pioneers and
resisted activities which kept him from concentrating on the course of
the war. Shortly after his baptism, he began to appreciate that this was
not war experience but something new and exciting. Howard, who
in the meantime was requesting leave to report to McLellan and for
the first time began to change his commander's reputation to buy the
ever-growing "pay, shoe, and boots." I do not believe he has ever been
out of uniform, and I think he shines for his profession. Howard
was promoted in 1863, the time for continuous preparation and passing.

No. Howard's view on strategy was also beginning to change. Years
later, he realized that he had been wrong to support McLellan's policy
of protection of "troops property." Early in the winter, he had been
warned that the Confederates were coming with a strong hand. It was at this moment that he
confess compromise his humanitarian principles and claim that "McLellan
Kephrarluock, summer resident of the East to Howard. A live brigade
commander. William H. French, acting chief of Howard was too inexperienced
for the job. And the neighboring pur Howard pleased for the chance
to try his luck. The Secretary of War recommended the Kephrar
ruck and Massachusetts Gap Railroad to Howard. The respect of War and
command of both Summer and McLellan.

As
was doing his simple duty and could not be censured for the politico-
military course which he at that time was obliged to pursue." 30 By
the spring of 1862, however, Howard was beginning to see, as McClellan
never did, that the time for gentle treatment of the Rebels had passed.

In another letter to his wife, Howard reasoned that the Rebels
had had a fair chance to return to allegiance, but they would not be-
cause it was in their economic interest to persist in rebellion. There-
fore, slavery, the basis of that self-interest, had to "go by the board."
Furthermore, arming and training the Negroes would encourage others
to flee from secession and thus advance the Union cause. Finally,
almost parenthetically, Howard argued that an anti-slavery policy would
"encourage and elevate the black man." 31 Howard wanted to see the
slaves free; but he regarded their emancipation as a means to end the
war, rather than an end which gave it meaning.

Action replaced introspection after the fall of Yorktown: on
May 5, the Army of the Potomac advanced on Richmond. On May 31, the
Confederates attacked the Union forces at Fair Oaks and there, during
some of the heaviest musketry fire of the war, two "minny" balls
smashed into Howard's right arm, damaging it beyond repair. Doctors
amputated the arm above the elbow, and on June 2, the disabled general
got home to recover. 32

Once again Howard's sturdy constitution stood him in good
stead. Within ten days after his homecoming, he embarked on a speaking
tour throughout New England, promoting the Union cause and attempting
to fill Maine's quota of volunteer troops. 33 When he addressed a group
were going the simple and could not be considered for the policies.

...n in a few moments. which poat that time was applied to pursue. In the shrift of 1867, however, Howard was beginning to see the Mcclellan

never did, and the time for routine treatment of the reports had passed.

In another letter to his wife, Howard reasoned that the reports

had had a fair chance to return to attention, but they would not do.

cause it was in their economic interest to 않는 in rebellion. There-

to it was no "in their economic interest to be in rebellion. The

"forever," 強調 the "ears of the self-interested!" and to "do in this bont."

Furthermore, starting and continuing the Negroes would encourage others

to flee from possession and thus enhance the Union cause. Finally,

encourage and promote the black men. "Now the time has come, as a means to end the

issue now, when an enraged spirit manifestation as a means to end the

war, to act and move in a way which favors in meaning.

Action replaced impotence after the fall of Yorktown on

May 5, the climax of the Peninsulacampaign on Richmond. On May 9, the

Confederates attacked the Union forces at Fair Oaks and there, gaining

some of the Peninsula campaign's "great" victories. Two "minute" batteries

emerge into Howard's right, among it, Commander H. E. R. McDermid,耐心地

mounted the hill in front of the Union troops on June 2, the published report. Dunning

once again, Howard's staff congratulates and his troop in 1863.

stand. Within two days after his homecoming, he embarked on a speaking

tour throughout New England, promoting the Union cause and stimulating

to fill Maine's quota of volunteer troops. 1863.
in Boston in July, his speech made a strong impression upon one of his listeners, a young lawyer from Maine named David Barker. An amateur poet, Barker attempted to immortalize the man and his message in a poem entitled "The Empty Sleeve." To the writer, Howard's empty sleeve was more than a badge of the general's courage; it was also a symbol of the commitments to family, nation, and God which informed his actions. Barker did not refer to the "glorious" aspects of war in his poem, probably because that was not one of Howard's themes in his speeches. After Fair Oaks, Howard had seen enough to know that war was not "all glory."

Howard's education in the ways of war proceeded apace when he returned to the Army of the Potomac in late August. During the ensuing year, the most important lesson he learned was the deleterious effect of ambition, incompetence, and politics within the office corps. The new commander, General John Pope, was an outstanding example of one who combined all three to the detriment of the Union cause.

During Howard's leave of absence, McClellan's defeat before Richmond had led to another reorganization of the Union forces. Lincoln had named Henry W. Halleck General-in-Chief and had put Pope, popular because of his recent victories in the West, in charge of all the troops in the East outside of the Army of the Potomac. Halleck had then decided that Pope's Army of Virginia should open direct operations against Richmond and that McClellan should transport his army from the York Peninsula to reinforce him. Concentrating his troops, Pope had advanced toward Culpeper, whereupon J. E. B. Stuart had put
In August in 1862 the speech made a strong impression upon one of
his interlocutors, a young lawyer from Muncie, Indiana. He wrote:

"I cannot express the importance of the fact, and his message
in a poem entitled "The Empty Sleeve." The writer, Horatius' empery
sacrificed was more than a pledge of the nation's confidence in war
as a test of the commandments to family, nation, and God. When intimated
his actions, I believe, and not merely to the "fragile" respects of war,
in his poem properly because that was not once of Horatius' themes in
his speeches. After Pity's Ode, Horatius had seen enough to know that
was not mere "self glory."

Horatius' education in the ways of war proceeded rapidly when
he returned to the Army of the Potomac in late August. During the
eventual defeat, the most important lesson he learned was the selection
of the new commander, General John Pope. War was an interesting example of
the new commander, General John Pope, was an outstanding example of
one who combining all three to the government of the Union cause.

Pope, however, had led to another restoration of the Union forces. He

coined and named Hackett's Hackett's Hackett's Hackett and had his hopes
held out, because of his recent victories in the west, in charge of all
the troops in the west outside of the Army of the Potomac. Hackett
had then received their hopes, Hackett's Army of VA, as they rode into Oregon
during his stay. His strength and his
hope and advance toward California, whatever it. He. St unt had his
his Confederate cavalry between Pope and Washington. Stuart's action had forced Pope to turn his command northward to protect the capital.

That was the situation when Howard returned to duty on August 23. Sumner, then at Acquia Creek, assigned Howard to a brigade in Sedgwick's division and, after a delay caused by Halleck's concern for the safety of the capital, the Second Corps marched to join the rest of the army at Centreville. Due to the delay, they did not arrive on the field until August 31, and by then the disastrous Second Battle of Bull Run was over. The inglorious task of commanding the rear guard of the retreating Union army fell to Howard. "Who will ever forget," he later wrote, "the straggling, the mud, the rain, the terrible panic and loss of life from random firing, and the hopeless feeling--almost despair--of that dreadful night march!" Demoralization followed closely upon the heels of despair when the troops realized that the reason for their defeat was not, as at First Bull Run, their own greenness, but rather the ineptitude of their commanding general.

Howard had already concluded that "General Pope lacked some of the first principles of a good general," and was relieved when Lincoln restored McClellan to command. McClellan might be too cautious, but at least he would not throw away the lives of his men through sheer incompetence. Howard also thought that Pope lacked some of the first principles of a good man, and that lack, to his mind, also contributed to defeat. Expressing his opinion freely in a letter to his wife in September, Howard wrote, "I have learned that Gen. Pope has the reputation of being a liar, a profane swearer, and he certainly is
his Confederate cavalry between Pope and Washington. Stuart's action
and Southen, Pope to turn the command northward to protect the capital.
Were the situation when Washington returned to duty an August
23rd. Sumter, upon at Rhode Creek, reached Washington to a bridge in
Seabrook's Division and after a gory campaign to Vicksburg, he returned for the safety of the capital, the Second Corps marched to join the
rest of the army at Centreville. A few to the theater, their day not arrive.
on the field until August 23, and in the Bristoe's Second Battle
of Bull Run was over. The inquisitive task of commanding the front running
of the rear of the retreating Union army fell to Washington. "Who will ever forget"
of the retreating Union army fell to Washington. "Who will ever forget"
be pressed more. "The retreating army had left the country, the country
and loss of life from random firing, and the people's feeling—almost
glorifying of their grand, right match," DeSoto's position followed
chosen whom the people of the people when the troops themselves. The
reason for their defeat was not as of first Bull Run, their own threat.
next, put together the incredible of their commanding General.

Howard and strictly confirming that General Pope took care
of the General as if not part of the General, "and was relying upon him
comy course toward McClellan to command. McClellan might be too cautious,
not at least be enough not known with the lives of his men. How long
incorporated. Howard and Straub thought that Pope lacked some of the
principles of a good man, and that lack to his mind also contributed
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reason for their defeat was not as of first Bull Run, their own threat.
next, put together the incredible of their commanding General.
a braggart and a failure. . . . I am now glad he has gone overboard
and I hope God may spare us from such men."59 His hope was never
realized within the Army of the Potomac, but in September of 1862
there was at least a respite when McClellan returned to command.

At that juncture, Lincoln badly needed the popular general,
for Confederate General Robert E. Lee had decided to invade the North
and already was moving into Maryland. Fortuitously, Lee's plans fell
into McClellan's possession, and he moved his army to confront the
Confederates at the town of Sharpsburg. In the ensuing Battle of
Antietam on September 17, McClellan ordered Sumner's Second Corps to
cross Antietam Creek and reinforce the hard-pressed corps of Joseph
Hooker and Joseph Mansfield. Sumner complied immediately, leading
Sedgwick's division to the front in person. Unfortunately, as it
turned out, he left his other two divisions to find their own way
forward, and they drifted far to the south of the action. The three
brigades of Sedgwick's division formed for a frontal assault and,
stumbling over the bodies in the bloody cornfield, passed through the
West Wood, with Howard's brigade bringing up the rear. Unknown to
them, Confederate reinforcements had come up and were waiting for them
as they emerged from the dense woods. The Rebels struck Howard's
troops first.

Bullets rained so thickly on the field that even the heroic
Sumner lost his legendary self-possession. He rode up to Howard, ges-
ticulating and shouting something which Howard could not hear in the
din of the battle. Some around him thought the general was trying
a prospect any a failure. I am now going to press once more
and I hope God may spare me from such men.** I hope we never
repaired within the Army of the Potomac, but in September of 1862
were with us at least a reserve when McClellan returned to command.

At that juncture, Lincoln, partly needing the popular General,
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and already was moving into Maryland. Fortunately, Lee's plans fell
into McClellan's possession, and he moved his army to continue the
Confederate advance to get of the way of General McClellan's
Second, already moved, and the Federal army, the hard-pressed corps of
Hooker and Joseph Mansfield. The service immediately learned
McClellan's division to the front in person. Unfortunately, as in
September, his other two divisions to find their own way
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parties of McClellan's division formed for a frontal assault, and
amphibious over the obstacles in the path. Fortunately, the head, joining to
their Confederate reinforcements had come up and made matters for them
in their own way. The Federal army surrendered.

Toads Flags.

Bullets ringing so thickly on the field that over the horizon
smoke rose from muskets and smoke and smoke out of the
mouths of the artillery. Some thought the Generals was alive.
to tell him that he had to change front, as Howard was already trying to do. Others said that Sumner yelled, "My God, Howard! You must get out of here!" Whatever he said, the troops knew what they had to do. By the time Sumner ordered them to retreat, his command was superfluous. Most of the frightened soldiers had already left the field. Meanwhile, Sedgwick had been severely wounded, and Howard, as his senior brigade commander, inherited command of the Third Division.

Militarily, the battle was a tactical stand-off; but, strategically, it was a victory for the Union. For the time being, Lee gave up his plans to invade the North. As he retreated southward, Lincoln, eager to press the Union advantage, urged McClellan to pursue the Confederates. When McClellan continued to delay, the president removed him from command and replaced him with General Ambrose Burnside.

Burnside did not think that he was competent to command a force of one hundred thousand men. Nevertheless, he accepted the assignment out of duty and tried to implement the aggressive strategy which the president and the public demanded. His plan was simple and direct: he intended to move quickly to Falmouth, cross the Rappahannock, and seize Fredericksburg to use as a base of future operations. He divided the army into four "grand divisions," the Left under William B. Franklin, the Right under Hooker, the Center under Sumner, and the Reserve under Franz Sigel. Sigel remained in the Shenandoah Valley while the others prepared to concentrate their troops at Falmouth. On November 15, one week after he had assumed command, Burnside
to tell him that he had to change front as Howard was strongly holding

October that summer's valley. "Oh, God, Howard! You must

get out of here!" Whoever said the troops knew what they had
to do. By the time summer ended there to retreat, his command was

superiorly. Most of the eighteen regiments had already left the
field. Meanwhile, Schurz had been severely wounded, and Howard,

as the senior brigadier commander, ingenuity command of the Third

division.

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gically, it was a victory for the Union. For the time being, Lee be-

came out of the Union's rear planted permanent liaison

in his place to invade the North. As he exchanged sentiments, McClellan

seemed to press the Union advantage, urging McClellan to pursue the Con-

federates. When McClellan continued to hold the pressure resulting

from command and replaced him with General Ambrose Burnside.

Burnside did not think that was consistent to command a force

however, he was aware of the many thousands men in

of the battle were thousands men in

out of duty and tried to implement the aggressive strategy which

the President and the Secretary Generals. His plan was simple and direct:

be increased to more quickly to Pennsylvania, the Reporting, and

have improved on, the "great divisions" the last world War.

in the fight into your hand division's the center under Hooker, who

reserves under Farnham's order, Storer remaining in the Shenandoah Val-

while the others prepared to concentrate their troops at Falmouth.

On November 13, one week after he had assumed command, Burnside
ordered Howard's division to take the lead in the march to Fredericksburg.

When the three divisions arrived two days later, Fredericksburg was loosely garrisoned and the river still fordable, and both Hooker and Sumner asked for permission to cross and occupy the town. Burnside, however, demurred, thinking it more prudent to wait for the pontoons to arrive. Incompetence in the War Department delayed their arrival until November 25, and by then the Confederates had occupied and fortified the heights beyond Fredericksburg. To assault the position would be to attack and die. Incredibly, that was what Burnside decided to do, and the result was the ghastly debacle of the Battle of Fredericksburg on December 13.

At Fredericksburg, as in his other battles, Howard participated in some of the heaviest fighting of the contest, distinguished himself for his courage, and "did well the part assigned him." Unlike his earlier battles, however, his troops were not green and there were no surprise attacks on an exposed flank. So when Howard surveyed the field after the futile assault on Marye's Heights and saw it "literally strewn with the blue uniforms of our dead," he asked himself why God continued to allow incompetence in high places to produce such tragedies.

Divisions

Surveying the field from the other side of the Rappahanock was a young German general of Sigel's Reserve Grand Division, which
of Federal General's division to take the lead in the march to Petersburg.

When the three divisions arriving two days later, Petersburg.

were too hastily executed and the river still forbade, and both

Hooper and Summer agreed for permission to cross and occupy the town.

Hooper, however, commended surprising vicinity for more present to meet for the

advance, however, commended "surprise" in the War Department General Staff's

proposals to advance. Taylor's Confederate and occupying

was for the purpose of preparing Petersburg. To secure the post-

and fortifying the position bearing Petersburg. To advance the post-

the army went to attack and give "incredible" that were more numerous

of Petersburg on December 12.

As Petersburg, as in the other parties' holding parties

began to some of the nearest vicinity of the count's, highlighting

named it for the crossing. "They will the part nearest the war" or-

like his earlier position, however, his troops were not known and there

will no surprise attacks on an exposed flank. So when Maryland

the field after the battle, reservoir on Monitor's hillside and can it

"を迎えることを每日驚くのりをもっておこす。" do say him.

either with the fine mixture of our good, "we say him.

must weigh, Gary continuing to allow incompetence in high places to produce

 mucho riego".

farms

surrounding the field from the other side of the approaches

was a young German General of Steeler's Reserve Grand Division, which
had arrived just in time to witness the final scenes of the battle. Carl Schurz later recalled that he had wept as he watched the men of the Second Corps bleed and die on Marye's Heights. He, like Howard, was concerned with the leadership of the Army of the Potomac, although the world-view that informed his concern was very different from that of the New Englander. Since Schurz and Howard were soon to meet—and clash—it is important to understand the German-American experience which had shaped Schurz's ideals, just as Howard's New England background had shaped his.

Between 1820 and 1860, nearly two million Germans had come to America's shores in two distinct waves. The first and larger arrived prior to 1840 and consisted to a great extent of independent farmers who settled in New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Missouri. The second and smaller wave carried political refugees from the abortive European revolutions of 1848. Idealistic revolutionaries, the newcomers brought with them a desire to right in the New World the wrongs which they had failed to change in the Old. They, too, settled in the North.

The older group, sometimes called the "Grays," affiliated mostly with the Democrats until the 1850s, when the deepening crisis over slavery drew the majority of them into the new Republican Party. Most believed that slavery was incompatible with their ideals of republican government; but they did not necessarily support the idea of Negro equality. More importantly, they wanted to maintain the integrity of the Union, for they had seen in Germany the anarchic end of nations
had arrived just in time to witness the final scenes of the battle.

Curtis Slocum later recalled that he had never been so watching the men of the Second Column clean up the works at the front of the process. Although

were concerned with the leadership at the Army of the Potomac, although

the Second Column cleaned up gable on the works, a neighbor, "No, like Howard,"

was convinced that the division's men were very efficient from that

and class--it is important to understand the German-American experience

which had shaped Slocum's ideas, that is, Howard's New England back

Strong and timely.

between 1850 and 1860, nearly two million Germans and their

came to America's shores in the 1850's, many of whom had settled in

village prior to 1840 and contributed to a great extent of independent

settlers who settled in New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Wisconsin,

and Minnesota. The second and smaller wave carried political ideas

from the American Revolution to 1848. Intellectuals in the

intelligentsia, the newcomers brought with them a desire to fight in the

their North the counties which had failed to change in the Old. They

led so settled in the North.

The other group, sometimes called the 'Grave', "aliens" mostly

with the Democrats until the 1860's when the Republican Party's most

struggle grew the majority of them into the new Republican Party. Most

people at that stage were incorporated with their ideas of Republican

government; and they did not necessarily support the ideas of Negro

emancipation. More importantly, they wanted to maintain the integrity

of the Union, for they had seen in Germany the march of any nation
which split into quarreling conclaves. Many Grays were Catholics who took offense at the agnosticism, anticlericalism, and intellectualism of a minority of the newly arrived "Greens" known as the "forty-eighters."

Unlike the more conservative Grays, the forty-eighters were crusaders. They wished not only to preserve the Union, but also to abolish slavery, which they believed was a morally corrupting institution. Some had gained military experience in Europe which they wanted to offer to the Union cause and so rose to positions of leadership in the German communities as the war neared. They were among the first to raise volunteer regiments when the war came and were aggressively ambitious for positions of leadership and promotion. They believed that such promotion, and the status within American society which accompanied it, would come more quickly among German troops. There, they could give commands in their own language without competing with West Point and other native American officers.46

One of the first of the forty-eighters to recruit a distinctly German regiment was Louis "Ludwig" Blenker, who became colonel of the Eighth New York in April of 1861. He was ambitious and soon had a division. He might have had a corps, but his insistence upon organizing and leading it brought him instead a reproof from McClellan.47 If somewhat vain and self-serving, Blenker was courageous and competent and might have made a good general. Unfortunately, he was also a pechvogel, the German designation for an unlucky person.
of a minority of the newly arising "creme" known as the "forty-middle class." But until the more conservative fathers, the forty-middle class were conservative. They wished not only to preserve the Union but also to maintain established social order, which they believed was a necessary undermining influence in building a nation which could never, have any form of military experience to offer the Union cause, and so lose to the positions of leadership in the German community as the war began. They were bound by the necessity to raise volunteer recruits when the need came and were enthusiastic appliers for positions of leadership and promotion. They believed that such promotion and the status within American society which it commanded would come more directly without German training. There were post and other raising American officers of the forty-middle to receive and attractively German recruit with less "cultivated" Bluestone who became colonel of the Eighth New York in April 1861. He was ambitious and soon had a division. He might have had a college, but his insistence upon action and speed in making him interested in a适合 one's own and self-sufficiency, Bluestone was courageous and combative and might have made a good general. Unfortunately, he was also a baccalauréat, the German barrier for an unlikely position.
When Lincoln detached Blenker's division from McClellan's command in March of 1862, he ordered it to march overland to join Fremont in the Shenandoah Valley. On the way, the division got lost, ran out of supplies, and swamped a ferry. The comic-opera episode had no serious military consequences, but it did give the rest of the army the impression that the Germans were buffoons. Once in the valley, the luckless general faced charges of financial irregularities and failure to control pillaging by his troops. It was too much for the proud German. Without explanation, he resigned from the army and retired to his farm.

In March, Blenker's division had become part of the Eleventh Corps, commanded by another forty-eighter, Franz Sigel. Sigel was also a pechvogel, but an extremely popular one whose influence among the German-Americans was in inverse proportion to his military ability. To his troops, he was the living symbol of German pride, and the boast "I fights mit Sigel" became the watchword of the "foreign contingent." The rest of the army, however, sniggered at the "Dutchies" and waited for them to prove themselves in battle.

Sigel's popularity failed to impress Carl Schurz. Also a forty-eighter, Schurz, like Blenker and Sigel, was proud and ambitious. Because he wanted greatly to lead, he convinced himself that he was a great leader and actively pursued an independent command. He had an advantage over Blenker and Sigel because he had better luck; he had the support of the president himself.

Lincoln was deeply indebted to the talented Schurz, who had
When Lincoln greeted Brinker's division from McClellan's com-
mand in March of 1862, he ordered it to march overland to join Fremont
in the Shenandoah Valley. On the way, the division's officers, led
court of supplies and supplies, and stretching to the limits of the army's
resources, encountered severe problems and setbacks. The division's
operations in the Valley,
the impression that the Confederacy was falling short of its objectives and
the losses General Lee was inflicting on the Union forces. It was clear that the
division's mission was far from complete.

In May, Brinker's division was in the process of replenishing its supplies and
renewing its commitment to the Union cause. The German-American unit
under the leadership of Major General Sigel was a symbol of the
loyalty and determination of the German-Americans. The unit
under the command of Sigel, was part of the Union force that held the

districts of the region, providing significant support to the
pressure on the enemy.

Sigel's popularity led to impressing Civilian Alonzo.

- Sigel's popularity led to impressing civil alonzo.
used his oratorical skills on the president's behalf in the election of 1860. Once in office, the president tried to reward his German supporters by giving them military commands, as Schurz wanted. Lincoln, however, appointed Schurz minister to Spain. Reluctantly, the German accepted the appointment, but he spent his free time there studying books on military strategy. In January of 1862, he returned to Washington, ostensibly to promote abolition as an official war goal but also, behind the scenes, to promote himself for a military appointment. 52 At last, in April, Lincoln made him a brigadier-general. It was not as much as Schurz wanted or felt that he deserved, but it was a beginning.

Once he had his commission, Schurz used his relationship with the president to secure promotion. On January 7, while assigned to Sigel's Grand Reserve Division, he seized upon Lincoln's offhand suggestion that Halleck consider forming a reserve corps of cavalry from that of Sigel and Henry W. Slocum, "with scraps they could pick up from here and there." 53 Within a week, the president wrote Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton that "Schurz and Stahl [sic] should both be Major-generals so that the former could take the Eleventh Corps and the latter the cavalry. . . . They, together with Sigel," he added, "are our sincere friends; and while so much may seem rather large, anything else is too small." 54 By January 14, Schurz thought that he had everything arranged. "Today I went with Gen. Sigel to see Gen. Burnside," he wrote Lincoln, "who fully agreed to it that I should command the Eleventh Corps. . . . Gen. Stahel also is very well
Once he had his commission, Scour's need for leadership with
the president to secure promotion. On January 7, while waiting to
sign the General Reserve Division, he sent the news of Lincoln's election
section that Halleck considered forming a reserve corps of cavalry
from the East and West, with recruits from the middle of
Within a week, the president went
move wherever Scour's
on West Point. Scour's
Then, together with Nelson A. Miles, he added
"in our sincere gratitude and while so much war seems rather late,
and it being late is too small." She
away in a few weeks. Today I went with Gen. Shafter to see Gen.
commanding the Eleventh Corps... Gen. Shafter also is very well
necessary. We wrote Lincoln, who reply answered in the same way,

Once in office, the president tried to reward his German
supporters by giving them military commands, as Secretary
convinced. However, appointing Secretary Lincoln's
Germany occupied the appointment, but he signed his name to a
returning studying books on military strategy. In January of 1865, he returned
to Washington, ostensibly to promote application as an official war
but also beginning to see the scenes to promote himself for a military
meet. As fast as April, Lincoln made him a brigadier-general. It was
not, as much as Scour's mining of facts that he considered, but it was
a beginning.
satisfied with it. All concerned now agreeing upon that point the only thing that is wanted is that you should be kind enough to issue an order placing me in command of the Corps. . . ."\(^{55}\) Lincoln, however, did not issue the order. It proved impossible to raise the troops for the proposed reserve, and, in spite of Schurz's assurances, not everyone was happy with the arrangement. In fact, Sigel wrote Lincoln that the only one happy was Schurz, for the net effect of the change would be that he would end up with the greater portion of Sigel's command.\(^{56}\) Both Sigel and Lincoln had become exasperated with the whole affair by the time changes in army organization after Fredericksburg made the issue a dead letter.

The defeat at Fredericksburg, divisions within the officer corps, and despair at home demanded changes in January of 1863. Lincoln removed Burnside from command of the Army of the Potomac and, despite misgivings, replaced him with "Fighting Joe" Hooker. The rank and file shared the president's misgivings, for Hooker's reputation as a libertine had preceded him, and many thought the change, if anything, for the worse. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., later described Hooker's headquarters as "a place to which no self-respecting man liked to go, and no decent woman could go. It was a combination of a bar-room and brothel."\(^{57}\) Tully McCreas, an artillery officer in the Second Corps, expressed the opinion of many of his comrades when he wrote his sweetheart that "Burnside was liked, although none had much confidence in his ability to command this large army. . . . Joe Hooker takes command. Dear me! This army is fast going to ruin."\(^{58}\) Among
satisfied with it. As concerning your objecting upon that point the
only thing that is wanted is that you should be kind enough to issue
an order placing me in command of the Corps. I have received
ever, and not issue the order. It is fraught with the impossibility to raise the troops
for the proposed rescue, and in spite of Stanton's assurance, not
everyone was happy with the arrangement. In fact, Sturgis wrote Lincoln
shorter than one nephew was informed, for the net effect of the change
would do great good and do with the shorter portion of Sturgis' con-
mand the same. Both Sturgis and Lincoln had become exasperated with the ample
affairs by the time changes in high organization after President Lincoln
made the issue a great letter.

The degree of President Lincoln's attribute in its efforts
connections and defective of some commanding changes at Sanitary of 1862.

The removal of the General of the Army of the Potomac and
the John Hooker, commanding from command of the Army of the Potomac and
with "Following the Hooker."

my life started the President's resignation for Hooker's resignation
as a brave man and became a part and much trouble the change, it was

Hooker's departure as "a place to which so well-respected men looked
at that with their presence at the head of the corps."

With Hooker's resignation and so well-respected men looked
for the move. Charles Francis Adams Jr. later suggested
that Hooker's departure as "a place to which so well-respected men looked
at that with their presence at the head of the corps."

John W. Crocker, in his reply to commissioner who wrote
ence in his reply to the command of this latter army... Crocker
writes. command. Dear Sir... This staff in its chief to turn...
those who shared McCrea's sentiments was General Howard, who, with the changes in leadership, had inherited command of the Second Corps.

The previous November, Lincoln had submitted Howard's name as one of eighteen officers recommended for promotion to major-general of volunteers. On January 16, the senate had routinely approved all the nominations except one. One week later, with the departure of Sumner from the Army of the Potomac, Howard had replaced him in command of the Second Corps. With regard to his own career, Howard had nothing to worry about; it was the fate of the country that troubled him in January of 1863. For that reason, the appointment of the morally lax Hooker troubled him. But, after meeting with the new commander, he wrote Lizzie that, in spite of his personal reputation, Hooker had a good military record and was aggressive in his loyalty to the cause. Therefore, Howard had decided that he could support Hooker and hoped that God might use him to lead the Union to victory.

In February, Howard's personal situation changed. Hooker abandoned Burnside's grand divisions and reorganized the army into eight corps. He named Darius N. Couch to head the Second, sending Howard back to his division. That in itself would not have caused Howard to protest, for Couch was his senior and as a new major-general, under normal circumstances, Howard could not expect more than a division command. The circumstances that surrounded the changes in February, however, did not seem normal to Howard. Hooker was not following the rules.

The one name that the Senate had not confirmed for the rank
those who opposed McClellan's sentiment were General Howard, who, with
the changes in his hierarchy and increased command of the Second Corps.

The previous Commander, Lincoln had supported Howard's name
as one of the few officers recommended for promotion to major general
as volunteers. On January 10, the Senate and Senate approved the
nomination except one. One week later, with the departure of
Summer from the Army of the Potomac, Howard had replaced him in command
of the Second Corps. With regard to his own career, Howard had nothing
in common with Hooker. Hooker's appointment, in 1862, was the result of the country's great
triumph at the Battle of Bull Run. Hooker had
a proven military record and was expressing his loyalty to the cause.

However, Howard had never been an ardent supporter of Hooker, and hoped
that God might give him to lead the Union to victory.

In February, Howard's personal situation changed. Hooker's departure
opened many possibilities for promotions and command of the armies. Howard
was promoted to command the Second Corps, a position he had desired.

The circumstances were not favorable to Howard's command. The circumstances that surrounded the change in February
however, did not seem normal to Howard. Hooker was not following the

rules.

The one name that the Senate had not confirmed for the rank.
of major-general on January 16 was that of Daniel E. Sickles, a crony of Hooker who shared his propensity for wine, women, and self-aggrandizement and whose personal reputation had caused the Senate to delay his confirmation until March 9.\textsuperscript{61} Sickles was therefore junior to Howard. Nevertheless, Hooker placed his friend in command of the Third Corps even before the Senate had approved his new rank. Understandably, Howard was upset and so wrote Hooker requesting that he, too, be assigned according to his rank.

Perhaps Howard's pride simply got the better of his humility. Yet, in the context of his recent concerns for the fate of the army and the quality of its leadership, he may well have feared the consequences of Hooker's actions. Howard had learned at West Point that success depended upon following the rules and that promotion was based upon competition and merit. Hooker, however, had disregarded the rules and advanced a crony to command. It was not only Howard's piety that caused him to recoil from the thought of more ungodly men in high command, but also his training that told him that the whole situation was professionally unjust. Perhaps Hooker himself knew that it was, for he immediately acquiesced in Howard's request and assigned him to command of the Eleventh Corps.\textsuperscript{62}

In the meantime, in the contest for command that had ensued with the reorganization in February, Sigel and Stahel had both lost out. By March, Schurz was at last in command of the Eleventh. He later claimed that when he learned that Howard was to replace him, it appeared "perfectly natural that under existing circumstances a
of water - generally on January 16, was scar of Danville. E. Sickles, a colonel of Hooker's division, who headed the property for mine, timber, and self - supporting - men. His property had been devastated by the same forces that had brought his XElement with 2,128 acres of forested land, and property renovations had caused the expense to gather his forces. Sickles was charged to join Hooker's forces, and whatever good name and glory had been gained there.

Nevertheless, Hooker placed his trust in the command of the Third Corps under Reynolds. However, he was ordered to prepare to move Hovey's division and to move Hooker's division at the same time, and to prepare...
regular army officer of merit should be put in that place." In light of his persistent attempts to get command of the Eleventh, the statement did not ring true. Besides, less than a week after Howard's appointment, Schurz asked Lincoln for permission to take "his" troops from the Army of the Potomac. "If you send me West with my boys," he wrote, "I will take my chance without asking for anything more, except a good opportunity to fight." Schurz would have his opportunity to fight, but it would be in the Army of the Potomac under Howard, for Lincoln refused the request.

Schurz was an outstanding example of a "freethinking German" who did not welcome the pious New Englander Howard to the Eleventh Corps. Howard's religious exuberance may have irritated the forty-eighter, but it was Schurz's own ambition that determined his attitude toward his new commander. The rank and file of the Eleventh did not share those ambitions and attitudes. With the detachment of Blenker's division from the Second Corps in 1861, Howard and the Germans had gone their separate ways, and the men knew little of Howard's reputation as a Christian. General Abner Doubleday summed up their attitude when he said that they "felt when their countryman Sigel was deprived of his command, that it was a blow to their nationality, and therefore lost some of the enthusiasm which always accompanies the personal influence of a popular leader." They gave Howard a cool reception because he was a stranger from outside their ranks who had replaced one of their own whom they knew and trusted.

Concern for reputations, ambitions to lead, dedication to the
regular with officer of merit standing but in their place..."

In light of the persistent attempts to keep command of the Eleventh, the
statement that not until this month, Bezouge, less than a week after Hooyman's
appointment, Secretary Edwin Lincoln for permission to take "give" orders
from the Army of the Potomac, "If you send me west with my plans,
be careful, I will take my chance without waiting for anythin else.
except a good opportunity to fight." General Schooner would have his opinion
writ in the center to fight, and it would be in the Army of the Potomac under
Hooyman for Lincoln reissue the order.

Schooner was an outstanding example of a "Strategic Green" General
who did not welcome the Union's new politician Hooyman to the Eleventh
Corps. Hooyman's political experience may have irritated the General
enough to mess up his plans. Now, on the Eleventh's new commander, the
rank and file of the Eleventh's High Command's new commander. The rank and file of the Eleventh's
new commander and his attitudinies and expectations. With the evacuation of
Becker's division from the Second Corps in 1861, Hooyman and the new
men had been treated separately ways, and the men knew little of Hooyman's
reputation as a "Strategic Green" General. And Hooyman's sudden
attitude was one of the continuance which always accompanies the
liberation of his command, that it was a plan to keep the officers, and
the reorganization because he was a stranger from outstate split ranks who had
replaced one of their own with their own and trusted...
Union cause, and faith in their own abilities characterized both Howard and Schurz on the eve of the Battle of Chancellorsville. Their faith was about to be tried with fire.
Union cause, and faith in their common spiritizing both the
and spirit of the age of the Battle of Charlestonville. Their faith
was meant to go trieg with fire.
Notes


2. Oliver Otis Howard, Autobiography of Oliver Otis Howard (New York: Baker & Taylor, 1907), 1:115; and George W. Cullum, Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, N.Y., 1802-1867 (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1868), 2:269. Howard was both a regular and volunteer officer for three days, as his volunteer commission dated from June 4 and his resignation from the regular army from June 7.


4. Ibid., p. 128f.

5. Ibid., p. 129.

6. There was a strong secessionist sentiment in Maryland, and on April 19 a mob had attacked the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment as it passed through Baltimore on its way to Washington. After the attack, the "plug-uglies" had burned railroads and bridges and torn down telegraph wires, cutting off communications to the capital. Benjamin Butler occupied Federal Hill and repaired the damage, allowing Federal troops to once again pass through Baltimore; but the atmosphere in Baltimore remained tense.


9. Ibid., p. 873f.

10. Ibid., p. 876.


18. Ibid., p. 29.


22. O. O. Howard, Autobiography, 1:190. Sumner's sobriquet is a shortened form of "Bull Head," a nickname he earned when a musket ball allegedly bounced off his head. The general's heroic manner made a strong impression on young officers such as Howard. See Francis A. Walker, History of the Second Corps in the Army of the Potomac (New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1891), p. 12.

23. Lincoln warned McClellan that responsibility for the two commands would be onerous, to which the general replied, "I can do it all." Tyler Dennett, ed., Lincoln and the Civil War in the Diaries and Letters of John Hay (Westport, Conn.: Negro University Press, 1972; originally published, 1939), p. 33.


25. Ibid.


27. O. O. Howard, Autobiography, 1:194f.


29. Howard to Elizabeth Howard, 7 May 1862, Howard Papers, Bowdoin College, cited in Carpenter, Sword and Olive Branch, p. 31.


31. Howard to Elizabeth Howard, 17 May 1862, Howard Papers, Bowdoin College, cited in Carpenter, Sword and Olive Branch, p. 31.

32. O. O. Howard, Autobiography, 1:246-250; and O.R., 2: pt. 1, 768-770. The Confederates called the battle the "Battle of Seven Pines."


34. Howard Miscellaneous File, James T. Gray Collection, University of Oregon. For the text of the poem, see Appendix B. While on sick leave in Maine, Howard joined a local church for the first time. Thereafter, he and his wife affiliated with the Congregational Church of his Puritan ancestors.


*O.R." 28:270.

**O.R." 28:270.

"O.R." 28:270.

"O.R." 28:270.

"O.R." 28:270.

"O.R." 28:270.

Unique to Oregon, the poem speaks of the militia's role in maintaining order and protecting the state's boundaries. The text delves into the history and legacy of the Oregon militia, highlighting their contributions during various periods of the state's history.

37. Walker reflected the attitude of the men in the Second Corps when he wrote that "the braggart who had begun his campaign with insolent reflections . . . was glad to find a refuge in the intrenchments of Washington, whence he had sailed forth, six weeks before, breathing out threatenings and slaughter." During that time, "his communications had been cut; his headquarters pillaged; a corps had marched into his rear, and had encamped at its ease upon the railroad by which he received his supplies. . . ." Pope, in the parlance of the day, was pure "humbug." Walker, *Second Army Corps*, p. 91f.


42. O.R., 21:224.


51. W. A. Swanberg, *Sickles, The Incredible* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1956), p. 182f. The reputation of the Germans reached as far as the White House. After Second Bull Run, Schurz reported to Lincoln's secretary, John Hay, that his division was terribly thin but that what was left of them was "Iron and Steel." Hay replied by suggesting that they should adopt as their motto, "I run and Steal." See Dennett, *Lincoln and the Civil War*, p. 48.


54. Ibid., 6:55.

55. Ibid., 6:43n.

56. Ibid., 6:80n.


61. Swanberg, *Sickles*, p. 168. Of all the corps commanders at Chancellorsville, Dan Sickles was the only one who was not a West Point graduate. He was an ambitious politician who, as a protégé of Tammany Hall, had served as a United States Congressman from the New York Third District in the Buchanan Administration. His political career ended when he shot his wife's lover in cold blood. The public excused his crime of passion as "temporary insanity," but would not
pardon his social blunder when he later forgave his wife. When the war began, Sickles was looking for a new career; and, through persistent politicking, he found it in the army. Some of his former colleagues in Congress remembered him too well to be enthusiastic about his promotion to major-general. Thus, Lincoln had to submit his name twice before it was finally approved on March 9.

62. O. O. Howard, Autobiography, 1:348. There is no reference to the request in the O.R. Carpenter cites Howard to General S. Williams, Assistant Adjutant General, 23 March 1863, Generals' Papers and Books, National Archives; cited in Sword and Olive Branch, p. 307.

63. Schurz, Reminiscences, 2:404f.

64. Basler, Collected Works, p. 168n.

65. Schurz's subsequent remarks about Howard in his Reminiscences reveal that he had little regard for the latter's piety. See especially volume 3:79-80.

When the man in society makes the future his wife will ever look for a new career? One cannot policy enough to come into the market. Some of his foremost coil-
and policies to compete among his too well to push his own.

Thus, fiction had to suggest his name.

Since people's artless Evans sparked on match.

G. O. Hovding. Autobiography, 1:248. There is no
reference to the modern in the O. Hovding's career, horsetwo.

Generals S. Williams', Assistant Adjutant General, 192, March 1862.

Candidates' Rhetoric and Books, Minton's Almanac, cited in Smith and
Olive Branch, p. 207.

E. D. Bass, College wrote, p. 188.

E. B. Scott, Recreation, 2:104.

E. B. Scott, Recreation, 2:108.

E. B. Scott, Recreation, 2:108.

E. B. Scott, Recreation, 2:108.
Chapter 4: Faith

For by grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God—Not of works, lest any man should boast.

Ephesians 5:8

Tried with Fire

Initially the Battle of Chancellorsville looked as though it were going to be the victory that the North so desperately needed in the spring of 1863. By April, General Hooker had revived discipline and morale within the Army of the Potomac so far that he could boast that his one hundred twenty thousand men constituted "the finest army on the planet."¹

Numbers indicated success, for Robert E. Lee's army, facing Hooker on the south side of the Rappahannock, had only about sixty thousand troops. In addition to men, however, Hooker had a good plan. For security reasons, he kept it to himself until the army began to move on April 27; but when his corps commanders realized what he had in mind and how well he was executing it, they were exuberant.²

Ordering the cavalry on a diversionary raid on Lee's communications, Hooker sent three corps, including Howard's Eleventh, thirty miles above Fredericksburg to cross the river and attack Lee's left flank. The four remaining corps were to keep the enemy pinned at Fredericksburg and to close in on the Confederates as the right wing
Chapter 4: 

For the first time we see a strong attempt to destroy the fortifications of the Confederate lines, not of the fortification itself. This is the first step of God's work.

Text:

Chapter 4: 

For the first time we see a strong attempt to destroy the fortifications of the Confederate lines, not of the fortification itself. This is the first step of God's work.

Verse 5 of 28

Tied with Fife

Initially, the Battle of Chancellorsville looked as though it were going to be the victory that the North so desperately needed in the spring of 1863. By April 1st, General Hooker had taken control of the advance of the Union army and moved within the Army of the Potomac so far that he could control the site of one hundred thousand strong men constituted in the finest army on the planet.

Numbers indicated success for Hooker's Plan.

Hooker took the south side of the Rappahannock, and only spent six days ensuring troops. In addition to men, however, Hooker had a long plan for security. To prevent an immediate Union attack, he kept it from his commanders receiving what he had in mind and how well he was executing it.

Omitting the cavalry on a conventional raid on Lee's command, the troops followed suit, including Hood's and Longstreet's divisions, moving above Peter'sburg to cross the river and attack Lee's line.

Their plan was to remove Confederate troops to keep the enemy blinded.
rolled up their line.

The positioning of the troops for the flanking movement proceeded flawlessly; but after everything was in readiness for the attack, Hooker inexplicably ordered all the troops back to their original positions and issued the following "congratulatory" order: "It is with heartfelt satisfaction the commanding general announces to the army that the operations of the last three days have determined that our enemy must either ingloriously fly, or come out from behind his defenses and give us battle on our own ground, where certain destruction awaits him." Someone would "ingloriously fly," but it would not be the Confederate commander. If Hooker had lost his nerve for an offensive, Lee had not.

Howard's old friend, "Jeb" Stuart, the commander of the Rebel cavalry, had the annoying habit of circling the Union Army to find out what the Yankees were doing. After Hooker's right wing had re-entrenched near Chancellorsville, Stuart reconnoitered its lines and discovered that the extreme right was "in the air," petering out in the dense tangle of the Wilderness, with only thickets to impede the enemy's approach. The troops which held that unfortunate position on May 1 were the thirteen thousand men of the Eleventh corps.

On May 2, Lee decided to use Hooker's own plan against him. He sent General Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson with twenty-six thousand men to flank the weak position on the Union right. Jackson accomplished the mission brilliantly, and his rout of the hapless Eleventh permanently tarnished the reputation of the corps and its commander within the
The positioning of the troops for the planned movement to
coerce Flagstaff's but after everything was in readiness for the attack
Hooker inexplicably ordered all the troops back to their original posts.

It is with great satisfaction the commanding General announces to the army
that the operations of the last three days have altogether proved our
answers must either demonstration of our ability to come out from behind his Go-
atomic and give us battle on our own ground, when certain disposition
objects to this "demonstration of" part in ward not be
the Confederate commanders. If Hooker had lost his nerve for an other-

since, he had not.

Hooker's old friend, "top" Stuart, the commander of the Support,

commander, had the following report of Crittenden's Union Army to find
out what the Yankees were going. After Hooker's right wing had re-

expected near Chattanooga's Stuart reconnaissance the lines and

acknowledged that the extreme right was in the war, bringing out in
the zone range of the Wilderness, with only trifles to impede the
emphasis approval. The troops which held that unimportant position

on May 1 were the fireproof covering men of the Henricus corps.

On May 2, Lee deciding to urge Hooker's own plain inferior fire

he sent General Thomas. "Secomma," Jackson with County x-irregular
men to turn the rear position on the Union right. Jackson accomplished
the mission brilliantly, and his work of the important Henricus movement

in confronting the expectation of the corps and its commander within the
Army of the Potomac. The ignominious defeat on the evening of May 2 was the only action Howard saw in his first campaign as a corps commander—a campaign that seemed to have gone wrong for him from the start.

When the right wing had moved up the Rappahannock on April 27, Hooker had ordered his corps commanders to limit their trains to those necessary for ammunition and forage. Without Howard's knowledge, some of his field officers had included wagons with rations, and when Hooker saw them, he criticized Howard for his lack of control over his men. 5

On April 29, the troops forded the Rappahannock, and on the following day they took up positions near Chancellorsville. Hooker, who communicated with Howard through the commander of the Twelfth Corps, Henry W. Slocum, ordered the Eleventh to occupy the extreme right of the line, near Dowdall's tavern and with its right resting at a place marked on the maps as "Hunting Creek." The maps, however, were incorrect. There was no creek, nor, indeed, any natural barrier upon which Howard might rest his line. Even though the position was poor, Howard was not overly concerned, for he had a large reserve and Hooker, after all, did not intend to fight a battle there. 6 It was only when Hooker later changed his mind and re-entrenched in the same position that Howard had to take more measures to protect his right wing.

Since Hooker was expecting an attack from the south, Howard covered his front with rifle pits and barricades, while to his right and rear he made a line of entrenchments which extended into the
Army of the Potomac. The preliminary battle on the evening of May 3 was the only action Howland saw in his first campaign as a corps com-

mander—a campaign that seemed to have gone wrong for him from the start.

When the light winds had moved the Fargee plantation on April 30, Hooker had ordered his corps commanders to plan their trains to

move necessary for ammunition and forage. Without Howland’s knowledge, some of the field officers had included wagons with artillery, and when

Hooker saw them, he criticized Howland for his lack of caution over

the next two days. The troops toward the Fargee plantation, and on the following day they took up positions near Chancellorville. Hooper,

who communicated with Howland through the commander of the Twelfth Corps, Henry W. Bloch, ordered the Eleventh to occupy the extreme right of

the line near Dowell’s Covey, and with the right meeting of a piece

were to advance on the maps as “Munford Creek.” The maps, however, were in

exact position. There was no creek, not intended, and no natural barrier upon

which Howland might rest his line. When the troops in this position was poor,

Howland was not overly concerned, for he had a large reserve and Hooker,

after all, had not intended to fight a battle there. It was only when

Hooker later changed his mind and re-entered on the same position

that Howland had to take more measures to prepare his right wing.

Since Hooker was expecting an attack from the south, Howland

covered the front with rifle pits and barricades, white to his right

and rear to make a line of entrenchments which extended into the
woods. He then positioned his heavy guns and his reserve brigade, that of General Francis T. Barlow, in position to support the line. Early on the morning of May 2, Hooker inspected the position and found no fault with Howard's measures. In fact, according to Howard, he exclaimed several times, "How strong! How strong!".

Around 9 a.m., soldiers in the Third Corps observed enemy troops moving south and west along their front, and Hooker considered the possibility that they were planning to attack his right flank. Accordingly, at 9:30 he sent a circular to Slocum and Howard ordering them to prepare for that eventuality. His order subsequently became a subject of controversy. After the battle, Hooker claimed that Howard had disregarded the order and that he was therefore responsible for the rout of the Eleventh and the defeat of the Union forces at Chancellorsville. Howard, however, always insisted, first, that he had never received the order, and, second, that he had fulfilled its intent upon his own volition.

Although Slocum received the order, the only evidence that he passed it on to Howard's headquarters at Dowdall's was an entry made in his "letters received" journal in the latter part of June, well after the time of the battle. If the message did arrive on May 2, no one recorded it. Thus, the only proof that Hooker could have had that it did arrive would have been the testimony of someone present at the time. Carl Schurz later claimed that he had been there. In his reminiscences, he testified,
Moores. He then positioned his heavy guns and His Reserve Brigade.

That of General Francis' battery in position to support the line.

Early on the morning of May 7, Hooker discovered the position and found no fault with Howard's movement. In fact, according to Howard, he

exclaimed several times, "Now Strange! How strange!"

Around 9 a.m., soldiers in the Third Corps opening enemy troops

moving south and west along their front, and Hooker considered the

possibility that they were planning to attack his right flank. Howard

intended to send a courier to Stidman and Howard warning them

to prepare for the evacuation. His order supposedly became a stop-

order of counterattack. After the part of the battery claimed their mortar

and triggered their order and then they were discharged. The gun

bent, however, by the German and European forces. Close

never received the order and, second, that he had utilized the insect

when his own position.

Although Bloom received the order, the only evidence that

he passed it on to Howard's headquarters or Dobbins, was an entry

made in the "Receives Recognition" journal in the latter part of June.

After the siege, a courier arrived on

May 7. On one occasion it. Upon the only point that Hooker could

have had that it's edit, would have been the return of some

presence at the time. But since letter claiming that he had been there.

In his reminiscences, he testified,
Some time before noon, General Howard told me that he was very tired and needed sleep; would I, being second in command, stay at his headquarters, open all despatches that might arrive, and wake him in case there were any of urgent importance. Shortly after, a courier arrived with a despatch from General Hooker calling Howard's attention to the movement of the enemy toward our right flank, and instructing him to take measures to resist an attack from that quarter. At once I called upon General Howard, read the despatch aloud to him and put it into his hands.\textsuperscript{11} Since neither Howard nor Schurz ever revised his version of the story, one of them must not have been telling the truth. It is impossible to verify either account with certainty. It is instructive, however, to speculate about the truth of the matter in light of Howard's and Schurz's probable motives.

The timing of the events is crucial in any attempt to ferret out the truth of conflicting claims about what happened on May 2. Although he claimed that he did not receive Hooker's 9:30 order, Howard knew about the enemy's movements by 10:50. At that time he sent a dispatch to Hooker informing him that he was taking measures to prepare for a possible attack from the west.\textsuperscript{12} In his official report, Charles Devens, commander of the First Division, stated that he reported the sighting of Jackson's column to Howard at 11:00, and that Howard already knew about it.\textsuperscript{13} According to Schurz, he himself was the one who had relayed Devens's information to Howard,\textsuperscript{14} so he must have been at the corps headquarters before Howard sent his 10:50 dispatch and in time to receive Hooker's 9:30 order.

Howard may, indeed, have asked Schurz to open his dispatches while he rested if there was a lull in activity. It is highly unlikely, however, that he would decide to take a nap if he had just learned
since neither Howard nor Schurz ever reviewed the version of the story
one of them must not have been telling the truth. It is impossible
covertly either reconcile with certainty. It is instructive, however,
to appreciate about the truth of the matter in light of Howard’s and
Scurz’s propounded motives.

The timing of the events is crucial in any attempt to
put the chain of conflicting claims about what happened on West 5. At
thought no claim that he did not receive Hooker’s 9:30 order, Howard
knew about the enemy’s movement by 10:20. At that time he sent a
girandole to Hooker informing him that he was taking measures to prepare
for a possible attack from the west. In the official reports, General
Howard’s commander of the River Division, stated that he reported the
suspicion of Jackson’s column to Howard at 11:00, and that Howard at
11:30 knew of his presence. According to Schurz, he himself was the one
who had received Howard’s information to Howard sent his 10:20 dispatches and
in time to receive Hooker’s 9:30 order.

Howard may indeed have echoed Schurz to show his prejudices,
while in essence it seems was full in activity. It is highly unlikely
however, that we would need to take a nap if he had just finished

...
that Stonewall Jackson might be preparing to strike his vulnerable right flank. A more probable sequence of events is that shortly after Howard lay down to rest, Schurz received Hooker's order and Devens's report nearly simultaneously. He then awakened Howard and verbally communicated the message to him. If Howard then immediately sent his dispatch to Hooker and began to strengthen his defenses and push out reconnaissance patrols, Schurz would have seen no need to read Hooker's dispatch aloud to Howard, nor to "put it in his hands." 15

On the other hand, there may have been a reason why Schurz might have chosen not to refer to the order at all. He desperately wanted to make a military name for himself. He had tried to gain command of the Eleventh and had nearly done so, only to have a West Point officer thwart his plans. Perhaps he felt that the only way he could compete with professional soldiers was to convince his superiors that he possessed an instinctive martial talent. The circumstances at the headquarters of the Eleventh Corps on the morning of May 2 seemed to provide an excellent opportunity for Schurz to establish a reputation for tactical prescience. If the Union had won the battle, Hooker's order would have been just one of many lost during the Civil War, and Schurz would have been able to claim that he was the one who had informed his West Point commander of the threat to his position and who had advised him what to do in light of it. The Union defeat, however, made the order important to Hooker as he attempted to shift the blame from himself to Howard. Then, Schurz had not only to accomplish his original purpose, but he had also to account for his own role in the
For correctbrasscience, if the union had now the Baltic, Hooker's
order would have been just one of many losing the Civil War, and
against his need, to claim that he was one who had in
command the West Point commander. The Union of the
Federal and its need to go in line of it, The Union forces, however,
make the order important to Hooker as an accoutrement to split the
place from himself to Howe's. Then, forces not only to accomplish his
original purpose, but he had also to account for his own role in the
transmission of the order. His later accounts of the receipt and transmission of Hooker's order seemed to accomplish both ends.

Although Howard consistently maintained that he never received Hooker's order, he never accused Schurz of lying. It would have been out of character for him to have done so, and there was no need, for even if he had received the order, it would not have given him grounds to do more than he did before noon. His defensive measures showed that he was neither insubordinate nor careless. He was, however, guilty of a misplaced confidence in his fellow officers. His reliance upon his superior and subordinate officers caused him to make a serious error in judgment in the afternoon, and it was that mistake which shaped the outcome of the battle and tarnished his reputation.

Around noon, Hooker made a second inspection of the Eleventh's position and, once again, offered no criticism of Howard's dispositions. It was in fact Howard himself who called Hooker's attention to the gap between his line and the Rapidan. Hooker promised to send cavalry to fill the gap, but he could not keep that promise because he had sent nearly all of the cavalry to raid Lee's communications. It was also the lack of cavalry which prevented Howard from obtaining the specific information about Jackson's movements which would have enabled him to make major changes in his lines during the afternoon.

Then, in mid-afternoon, Hooker decided that Lee was not planning to attack after all, but was instead in full retreat toward Culpeper. When he proceeded to act upon that conviction, Hooker himself rescinded his 9:30 order. Daniel Sickles was largely responsible for Hooker's
transmission of the order. His later accounts of the receipt and trans-
mission of Hooker's order seemed to exculpate both officers.
Although Woodrow's cautionary warnings that he never received
Hooker's order, he never received anything of the kind. It would have been
one of character for him to have gone so, and there was no need for
him to have taken the order, if it was not given him through
when it was neither insubordination nor carelessness. He was, however, 

frank in admitting to his junior officers. His presence on
the picket line and his superintendence of the business at the
front were of a mission of confidence in his fellow officers. His presence
between the picket line and the Rappahannock, Hooker's position on the
front between the picket line and the Rappahannock, Hooker's position on the
carriage to the enemy's communications. He

was able to seize the front of the enemy with precise precision, and

sent reports of the enemy's movements which would pave

the specific information about Jackson's movements which would pave

the way for an advance against the enemy. In his lines during the afternoo

Then, in mid-afternoon, Hooker received orders that he was not planning
to attack after all, but was instead to hold his ground and

When he reached to check those orders, Hooker's forces had

His 8:30 order, Daniel Stewick's interdict responsible for Hooker's
change of mind. When his troops had sighted Jackson's movement in mid-morning, Sickles had immediately concluded that Lee was retreating and so asked for permission to pursue and attack the enemy. Considering the possibility that Lee might be up to something else, Hooker gave Sickles leave only to "advance cautiously and harass the enemy." Sickles exceeded the order not only by planning to attack, but also by asking Howard, without authorization, to send troops to help him. Howard refused the request. As the Third Corps advanced, it captured some of Jackson's men, and the prisoners told their captors Lee's plans. Sickles, however, thought that he knew better, and his self-confident assertions that Lee was retreating persuaded Hooker to support the advance.

At 4:00 Hooker sent positive orders to Howard to detach the three thousand men of Barlow's brigade, the Eleventh's only reserve, and send them to Sickles. That order convinced Howard that Hooker had received more information about Lee's plans and that he was no longer concerned about an attack from the west. Once he was certain that the fighting would center around Sickles, Howard, true to his paternalistic principles regarding his men, decided to accompany them in person to Sickles's position, about two and one-half miles distant. Accordingly, he set out with them at 4:00, leaving Schurz in charge of the Eleventh. It was a fateful mistake, for during the two hours that he was absent from his headquarters, the information he had been seeking all day began to come in.
change of mind. When the troops had stopped Jackson's movement in
Rippon's line, Sickles had immediately concluded that Lee was waterproof
and so not ready for an attack by the enemy. Consider-
ing the possibility that Lee might try to do something over Hooker
were Sickles left only to "advance cautiously and patiently the
enemy." In Sickles' eyes, the order not only planning to attack,
but also of seizing Howard, without preparation, to send troops to
help pin Hooker between the two. As the third corps advanced,
it encountered some of Jackson's men, and the prisoners told them cap-
City's plan. Sickles, however, supposed that he knew better, and
the self-confident assertions that Lee was retreating became more
to support the advance.

At 4:00 Hooker sent positive orders to Sickles to renew the
charge. The men of Rippon's brigade, the Heuven's, only reserve,
were ordered to Sickles' left and sent them to Sickles. Sickles,
then ordered more information about Lee's plans and that he was no
longer confident about an attack from the west. Sickles,
then sent the troops moving towards Sickles' right to
his headquarters. Sickles' defensive position, short two and one-half miles
from his position, was now against the Union forces, the information
he had been seeking still began to come in.
Captain Davis Castle, Acting Signal Officer of the Nineteenth Indiana Infantry, sent reports to Howard to 4:30 and again at 5:00 stating that Union pickets had fired upon Rebel patrols. Brigadier-General Alexander Schimmelfennig, who had been sending out reconnaissance patrols throughout the day, wrote in his official report that "the enemy's movements were reported by me fully two hours before the battle commenced." Colonels John C. Lee and W. P. Richardson of the First Division reported to Devens that there were large bodies of the enemy on the right flank. All of these reports reached the corps headquarters between 4:00 and 6:00 p.m., while Schurz was in command.

It was with good reason that Schurz later wrote that he was during that time "becoming more and more convinced that the enemy's attack would come from the west and fall upon our right and rear." He therefore took it upon himself "in the absence of orders" to make "some minor readjustments" in his own lines. Those readjustments were inadequate to provide even a second line of defense when Jackson struck. In Howard's absence, Schurz had his opportunity to exercise independent command and win the reputation he sought; but he let it slip through his fingers "in the absence of orders."

The leaders of the First Division responded to the new information even less effectively than did Schurz. Shortly before the Chancellorsville campaign, Hooker had placed Charles Devens in command of the division, sending Colonel Nathaniel McLean back to his brigade. Several days before the battle itself, Devens had been injured when
Captain Davis Castle, Acting Signal Officer of the Nineteenth

Intelligence Section, sent reports to General to 4:30 and General at 6:00.

Aging and Union printers had flown upon report of 25.85.

First Union Division of the Nineteenth Division was on the General, Alexander Schimmelfennig, who had sent signals for reconnaissance. The enemy's movements were reported by me. I feel two hours before the enemy's movements were reported by me, as official reports for the First Division reported to prove that these were large bodies of the enemy on the right flank. All of these reports reaching the enemy headquarters between 4:00 and 6:00 p.m., while officers were in command.

It was with good reason that officers and men, knowing that the enemy's movements did not come from the rear and felt their right and rear. The intelligence took upon himself to make the enemy's movements to prevent such movements in the presence of obstacles to make some minor movements in the arms of these movements were unnecessary to prevent even a second line of defense when Jackson appeared. In accordance's presence, officers and men were allowed to exercise independent command and with the reputation of our army not to.

With approach the enemy in the presence of obstacles.

The lead of the First Division responded to the new information with even loss of efficiency than a further. Spotty before the Camp.

Colonel's command, Hooker had placed Charles Brown in command of the division. Sending Colonel's messages back to its division, several gaps before the battery's attack. Devast and been instituted when...
his horse had run into a tree, and on the morning of May 2, he spent much time lying on a sofa at his headquarters nursing his wounded leg. Apparently, he was in a great deal of pain, for the officer of the day of the division later stated that Devens was in no condition to realize the increasing danger to his troops.\textsuperscript{30} Reports of several other officers of the division indicated that Colonel Nathaniel McLean was the officer who was really in command. McLean, however, either did not appreciate the gravity of the situation or did not want to take responsibility for making changes in the lines, for he made none.\textsuperscript{31}

Thus, of the two men who were in a position to know what was happening and to respond to it in the two critical hours before Jackson's attack, Schurz did too little and McLean did nothing. It is unlikely that any changes in the position of Howard's remaining nine thousand troops could have stemmed the tide of the advance of Jackson's twenty-six thousand men; but timely changes in the lines might have saved lives and prevented an humiliating rout.\textsuperscript{32} It is impossible to say whether Howard would have made those changes if he had been in command between 4:00 and 6:00. Given his previous record for competence, he might have done so; but he did not have the chance to prove himself. At Chancellorsville, Howard was in the wrong place at the wrong time.

At 6:00 Howard returned to his headquarters, having found no real battle at Sickles's position. Instead, he found one at his own, for he returned just in time to see the "first lively effects" of
Jackson's attack, which "like a cloud of dust driven before a coming shower, appeared in the startled rabbits, squirrels, quail, and other game flying wildly hither and thither in evident terror, and escaping, where possible, into adjacent clearings." The troops, where possible, were doing the same thing, and Howard did what he could to rally his terrified men (see fig. 1). One participant later recalled that "in the very height of the flight, we came upon General Howard, who seemed to be the only man not running at that moment. He was in the middle of the road and mounted, his maimed arm embracing a stand of colors that some regiment had deserted, while with his sound arm he was gesticulating to the men to make a stand by their flag." While he was entreat ing the unheeding horde, Howard's mount threw him. Symbolically, it was significant that Howard, an accomplished horseman even with one maimed arm, could not control his steed at Chancellorsville. The horse, often a literary symbol of ambition, threw him, hindering him in the work at hand.

Howard and the other officers who attempted to stem the retreating tide succeeded only in slowing it down. Remnants of the First and Second Divisions, however, were able to make a last stand in the rifle pits Howard had constructed for Barlow's brigade--empty now because Hooker had ordered away the reserve--and to delay the Confederates for forty minutes. Since night was approaching, the delay gave Slocum and Hooker a chance to concentrate their troops for the final stand of the day at Fairview. The new line of defense, along with the subsequent wounding of Stonewall Jackson, stopped the
Jackson's attack, which "like a cloud of dust driven before a gale" swept over the city, appeared in the morning to be a surprise, almost complete, and often
come^ing with swift,, sudden., and exciting,, it produced panic and confusion.\" The troops were
where possible, into vehicles overrunning the city. The\" men...were going the same thing, and somehow it was common to walk
his terraced men (see fig. 1). One participant later recalled that
in the very strength of theligth\", we came upon General Howard, who
seemed to be the only man not humming at that moment. He was in the
middle of the road and suddenly, his mouth was a sea of
words, "those that some resolute and generous, with his sword and the
most resolute to fly, to make a stand for Santee, they fly.
ho was entreating the impregnable forces\", Howard\'s mouth gaped, and
nobody\" was significant that Howard\'s accomplishment was
patented. It was significant that Howard\'s accomplishment
won with one man\" and\" could not control the speech at Charleston.

Sim. The horse, of the\" a resolute step in the direction of

pinning down the work at hand.

Howard and the other officers who acceded to the same plan

executing the surprise only in showing it down. Remnants of the First
and Second Divisions, however, were able to make a last stand in the
life of the Howard\'s command for Barton's privilege--among them the
command Hooker had ordered with the reserve--and to delayed the
confederate army hooker a chance to concentrate their efforts for the final
stand at the gap at Fishburne. The enemy line of defense, along with
the suppression, mounting of Stonewall Jackson, stopped the
Fig. 1. General Howard Striving to Rally His Troops.
Confederate advance on the night of May 2. 36 As darkness settled upon
the field, the Eleventh Corps ended its active part in the Battle of
Chancellorsville, and Howard entered a period of tribulation which
he would later liken to "the valley of the shadow of death." 37

Tribulations

In the emotional aftermath of the defeat, Howard unthinkingly
remarked in the presence of the other corps commanders about the "bad
conduct of his troops," 38 and certain officers promptly seized upon
the remark in their own interest. During the melee of ambitions and
animosities that ensued, Howard learned what his untimely insistence
on leading an untested command had cost him.

Howard's severest critic from within the Eleventh Corps was,
not surprisingly, Carl Schurz. Schurz, who had pretended to be a warm
and personal friend, blamed Howard for demoralization of the corps
and urged him to resign to prevent "another panic, another disaster,
another disgrace to yourself, to the troops, to all of us." 39 When
Howard chose to remain, Schurz requested a transfer with his division
to some other army. 40 Three days later he changed his mind, for by
then the press was questioning his own part in the battle. If he
should depart, it would seem to confirm the accusations, and he could
not agree to that. 41 He therefore remained under Howard's command.
Howard, on his part, learned to watch what he said. 42

The episode with Schurz helped Howard become aware of other
ambitions and animosities within the corps that had contributed to
Confederate advance on the night of May 2–3. As garabases settled upon
the field, the Eleventh Corps occupied its starting point in the battle of
Canción, entering a period of rest and preparation which
the morning later ordered to "the valley of the shadow of death." 3

Trainhalls

In the emotional atmosphere of the great, hour-long national
rendition in the presence of the other corps commanders, Grant said "the"
command of his troops," and certain officers promptly seized upon
the remark to express their interest. During the course of adjournment and
the meeting, the general Howard learned about his military instruction
on teaching an unresisting command, and coolly

Howard's several critics from within the Eleventh Corps were
not simplified. Carl Schurz, Schurz, who had been ordered to be a warm
and personal friend, planned Howard's promotion to General of the Corps
and urged him to return to the staffs of "another bureau, another
instance," as another instance to contrast to the troops to all of us. 4

Howard closed to tend his, Schurz suggested a transfer with his division
to some other army. This day later he chanced this mind for
and the press was discussing the part in the battle. As the
spokesman reported it, would seem to contribute the accretions, and to count
not here to that. 5

The episode with Schurz, however, Howard became aware of other
epiphanies and epiphanies within the corps that had contributed to
its defeat. As he recognized the problems, he took steps to remedy them. First, he correctly identified McLean as the officer responsible for the poor performance of the First Division and had him transferred to Cincinnati.\textsuperscript{43} He then replaced Devens, who had been severely wounded in the battle, with the capable Francis Barlow. Then, he attempted to take the sting out of his emotional assessment of his corps' behavior by assuring his men that he did not lack confidence in them.\textsuperscript{44} Finally, he submitted an addendum to his official report to clarify the number and distribution of Germans in the Eleventh and defend them from irresponsible accusations by a few newspaper reporters that the "foreign contingent" was guilty of cowardice and treason.\textsuperscript{45}

William Swinton of the New York Times was the author of some of the more outrageous charges against the Germans. In a dispatch dated May 5, he had written that "the corps, composed in great part of German troops, without waiting for a single volley from the rebels . . . disgracefully abandoned their position behind their breastworks; and commenced coming, panic-stricken, down the road to headquarters."

He ended his report on a note of intended ironic humor: "As to the loss sustained by this corps, either in killed or captured, it could not have been great--they ran too fast for that." Relatives of the approximately two thousand casualties of the Eleventh Corps might have found more ironic humor in the fact that Swinton had departed the field immediately after Jackson's attack "so badly scared" that the Times would not print his report of the battle until another
As I recall...
correspondent confirmed its general outlines on the following day.46

A Times editorial on June 4 gave a more objective assessment of the role of the Germans in the first day's battle. The editor insisted that the Germans, who made up only one-third of the corps, had been "distinguished neither for their courage, nor by their lack of it." Some, of course, had fought better than others, but there was no evidence of a treasonable conspiracy in their ranks. The writer then concluded with the hope that "all the miserable distinctions between the foreign and native . . . have had their day."47

Americans have traditionally reacted to defeats in war by claiming, with the rapidity and approximate logic of a knee-jerk response, that the failure has been the result of a conspiracy. Certainly there were enough failures in 1863, Chancellorsville among them, to stimulate that response, and the ethnic visibility of the Germans made them a convenient target for the foot when the knee jerked. As an indicator of public opinion, however, the press coverage of the battle suggested that nativism had, indeed, had its day. No sustained or widespread attack on the Germans followed the Battle of Chancellorsville. More importantly for evaluating Howard's relationship with the foreigners in his command, he had made no distinctions among his men on the basis of nationality.48

The "nativist" attack on the Germans originated within the Army of the Potomac itself and was politically motivated. Both Hooker and Sickles had much to gain by sustaining the obloquy against Howard and the Eleventh while they attempted to explain away their own
A Time Critical Potency & the Proper Objective Assessment of the Role of the Germans in the First Gulf War: The Editor

...states that the Germans were not only one-third of the forces, but in fact, 'the greatest power in the region'. The writer

...concluded with the hope that 'perhaps the miserable situation weCM see is the forced and natural...'

...have had their day'.

Americans have traditionally tended to hesitate in war...even...

...and with the equivocation and ambiguity of a non-ironic response, their conclusion must have been the result of a 'complicated' scenario where we must have been in 1985, characterizing among others to estimate

...and the epochal visibility of the Germans made clear a military context for the recent and the future
trend. As an indicator of popular opinion, however, the press coverage of the battle suggested

...the victory had already been achieved, and the susceptibility of the American media to the pressure

...in his command, to play major strategic and political roles in the years

...of nationalism.
responsibility for the defeat at Chancellorsville. Sickles at least might have expected a reprimand for having exceeded his orders by advancing the Third Corps to attack Lee's "retreating" army. Instead, the editor of the New York Herald, under the mistaken impression that eagerness to attack was the most essential quality in a commander, commended Sickles for his "quickness of perception" and "never-failing self-possession" in his advance upon the enemy. The writer then demanded Hooker's removal because he had failed to support Sickles' advance "promptly and strongly" and recommended that Sickles replace him in command. When he read the Herald's interpretation of the battle, Howard responded to its incredible recommendation in a letter to his brother. "If God gives us Sickles to lead us," he wrote, "I shall cry with vexation and sorrow and plead to be delivered." By then, so would many of the less pious in the Army of the Potomac.

If not the little Napoleon that the Herald made him out to be, Sickles was, indeed, quick and self-possessed. Taking advantage of the favorable press and Hooker's discomfiture, he sided with his commander and defended his leadership. Hooker, unable to fault Sickles without condemning himself, made common cause with his old friend. Both blamed Howard and the Eleventh for the defeat at Chancellorsville. Their motives were transparent to at least a few in the army. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., wrote home that "Sickles, Butterfield, and Hooker are the disgrace and bane of this army; they are our three humbugs, intriguers, and demagogues. Let them be disposed of and the army would be well satisfied to be led by any of the corps commanders."
responsibility for the failure of Commandant. The sickles at least
might have expected a removing of having exceeded their powers by so-

vancing the Third Corps to attack 'Lee's retreating army' intended
the office of the New York Herald' under the impression that

excesses to attack was the most essential duty in a commander.
commanders sickles to his 'distrust of protection any' 'never-failing
self-possession' in his advance upon the enemy. The writer even command-

commanded. 'When we read the Herald's interpretation of the battle'

Secretary commanding to its interpretable recommendation to a letter to the
protector. 'It God gives us sickles to itemize in' 'no doubt' 'as

the city with vexation and sorrow and prayed to be delivered.' 12

so many miles of the less plans in the Army of the Potomac.

It was the little Napoleon that the Herald made him our to
be sickles was 'indeed' 'in view' and self-possession. Tarking advantage
of the hazardous press and Hooper's 'Garrison' line with his
commander and obtaining his 'leadership.' Hooker, 'wrote to least sickles
without commanding himself made common cause with his own enemy.'

People commanding Howard had the elevation to the general at Chamberlainville.
Their motives were transparent to at least a few in the Army. Chases

Francis Adams' 'this wrote some great sickles' 'success,' 'Rutledge,' and Hooker
who the gristmill andComes of this finally they are our three purposes
influenzras' and generosity. Let them do abhorrence and the city mortgaged
be well satisfied to be led by one of the corps commanders.' 22 'Howard,'
of course, had by then come to the same conclusion.54

Unlike several of the corps commanders, Howard kept his opinion about Hooker to himself. After the defeat, Darius Couch, John Sedgwick, and Henry Slocum banded together to persuade Lincoln to remove Hooker from command, and they privately assailed Howard for not joining them.55 True to the values instilled in him at West Point, Howard answered their criticism by saying that he was "always loyal to the officer the government saw fit to place over him" and that he "was not much given to criticizing his superior officers."56 Still, something more than his West Point training seems to have informed Howard's attitudes and actions after Chancellorsville.

When he had asked Hooker to assign him according to his rank, Howard's request had not been unreasonable. It had, indeed, been logical under the circumstances, for Howard's legal right to command, his personal goals, and the good of the country had seemed to coincide at that juncture. If not unreasonable, however, his request had been unseasonable. When Howard had insisted upon his rights, he had failed to consider the possibility that, having risen so rapidly through the ranks, he might not then have been prepared to exercise independent command in a factious army that did not always follow West Point rules. Howard later admitted that he had, in fact, been inexperienced at Chancellorsville and that his naïveté had affected the outcome of the battle.57

It was not, however, his confidence in himself per se that brought Howard to grief at Chancellorsville. His courage did not
of course, had they come to the same conclusion.

Until several of the corps commanders, Howard Kepner's opinion

Hooker to himself. After the defeat, Davis wrote Hooker

and Hooker Slocum marched together to persuade Lincoln to remove Hooker

from command, and their privately assailing Howard for not joining them.

To the nature instilled in him of a "quiet point" Howard amounted

either criticism by saying that he was "sharks" upon the officer

who the Government saw fit to place over him, and that he "was not much

given to criticizing his superior officers." Still, sometimes more

than the mere point standing alone to have influence Howard's rectitude

and actions after Chancellorsville.

When he had seen Hooker to resign him according to his rank,

Howard's remedy had not been unreasonable. It had involved a new

cut under the circumstances, for Howard's legal right to command

the personal corps, and the good of the country and himself to continue

as their president. It was unreasonable, however, his remedy had been

unreasonable. When Howard had insisted upon his rights, he had failed

to consider the possibility of having risen so quickly through the

ranks. He might not have been prepared to accept independence

command in a location with that big a threat. Following West Point rules

Howard felt admits that he had in fact been inexperienced as an

colonel and there his mistakes had affected the outcome of the

parties.

If was not, however, the confidence in himself but to some

profound Howard to fight at Chancellorsville. His confidence and not
fail him, and once he realized his mistakes, he did everything possible to correct them. After the battle he remained loyal to his superiors and to his men. The confidence which betrayed him was his faith in his ability to choose his own course of action and to follow the path that he marked out for himself.

At Chancellorsville, Howard had been tried by fire and had been found wanting; but the trial had purged some dross. Afterwards, he was wiser in the ways of men, better able to control his tongue, and more dependent upon an omniscient God for the timing of his battles. During the battle itself, he had come close to despair, but he rose above it by a reaffirmation of his belief in the providence and beneficence of God. That faith sustained him in the dark days of defeat and gave him the hope that he and his men, in God's time, would prove themselves in battle.

Praise and Honor

Howard's opportunity to redeem his reputation came sooner than he expected, for in early June, Lee once again decided to invade the North. Hooker, who had been marking time on the north side of the Rappahannock after Chancellorsville, knew that Lee was beginning to move but was unsure of his destination. Therefore, after an initial attack on Stuart's cavalry at Brandy Station, Hooker primarily sought to keep an eye on Lee's movements. When it became clear that the Confederates were moving north, his goal was to protect Harper's Ferry and the Capital.
After the battle be remaining loyal to his superiors and to his men. The confidence which their presence gave his faith in his ability to choose his own course of action and to follow the path their men walked out for himself.

At Chancellorville, Howard had been tried by fire and had been found wanting; but the trial had brought some good. Nevertheless, he was aware of the ways of men better able to conduct his course and more dependable upon in command. For the fighting of his partisans, he was aware of the power, within the party, that had come into Government, and the influence of the party in the Providence of God.

That faith sustaining him in the dark days of defeat and gave him the hope that he and his men in God's time would prove themselves in battle.

Praise and Honor

Howard's opportunity to redeem his reputation came sooner than he expected, for in early June, Lee once again decided to invade the North. Hooker, who had been warring for the Northern people after Chancellorville, knew that Lee was beginning to move out of the area of his operations. The need for action was imminent.

Hooker's advance was not in the direction of the Federals' main force but to the west of Gettysburg. He hoped to cut off the Federals' communications and force them to retreat. His plan was to attack the left flank of the Federals as they marched north.

And the Capitol...
In his attempt to corral Lee and protect Washington, Hooker came into increasing conflict with Halleck over control of the movement of troops. His growing conviction that the Chief of Staff was deliberately thwarting him led to indecision at Hooker's headquarters. On one day alone, he ordered Howard to march to Harper's Ferry, then to stay at Edward's Ferry, then to cross the Potomac to guard a bridge and some depots, and finally to move to Sandy Hook. Such indecision led to frustration and, finally, to resignation. When Hooker asked to be relieved from command on June 28, Lincoln promptly complied and appointed General George Gordon Meade in his place.

Meade's appointment was the fourth change in command in eight months; but many welcomed it as at last a change for the better. Howard considered Meade a "good, honest soldier" who was "able, upright, and well-reputed" and whom the men respected and trusted. Meade was also cautious. He knew that the Union could not afford another Chancellorsville, especially on Northern soil; so, although he moved quickly, he moved with care, watching Lee and planning to engage in a major battle only under the most auspicious conditions. In fact, neither Meade nor Lee had plans to engage the other in battle; but circumstances rather than generals decided the fate of their two armies. When General John Buford ran into Confederates who were looking for shoes in the sleepy little town of Gettysburg on June 30, the encounter determined the site of the bloodiest battle of the Civil War. Howard, through no effort of his own, was to play a significant role in that battle.
In his attempt to correct Lee and remove McCook, Hooker
came into increasing conflict with Halleck over control of the move-
ment of troops. Halleck maintained that the Chief of Staff was
hell-bound to prevent a move to Hatcher's Ferry, then to
reach on February 5th. Then to cross the Potomac to
build a bridge and some defenses, and finally to move to Hancock's
ad
and to destruction and finally to devastation. When Hooker asked
for a recommendation and finally to destruction, when Hooker asked
for a recommendation and finally to destruction, he received
nothing. General George Custer was in the thick of it.

When a Sherman was the fourth chance in command in other
movements, and many welcomed it as a better chance for the better.
Leaving considerable room for "good honest soldiers" who were "prairie
men" and well-reported and whom he knew to be respected and trusted.

He knew that the Union could not afford no
other circumstances. Especially so Roosevelt skillfully avoided
many difficulties, a war with care, working his way around the
major puzzles. In a way, battle only under the most suspicious circumstances. In fact,
neither was not the plan to engage the other in action;

circumstances rather than General George McCook, chief of staff, two armies.

When General John Buford ran into Confederates who were looking for
shoes to the south, little town of Gettysburg on June 30, the encounters
got to the site of the preliminary battle of the Civil War.

Howard, through no effort of his own, was to play a significant role
in that battle.
When Buford reported the Rebel presence at Gettysburg to General John Reynolds, whom Meade had placed in command of the First, Third, and Eleventh Corps, he stressed that Gettysburg, with ten roads radiating from its center like the spokes of a wheel, was the most important center of communications in the region. It was also, with its series of ridges and round-tops, a superb defensive position.66 Meade concurred in Buford's evaluation of the strategic importance of the town and therefore ordered Reynolds to occupy and hold it. Since he did not intend to fight there, however, he himself remained at Taneytown, Maryland.67

Reynolds reached Gettysburg at 10:30 on the morning of July 1 and immediately ordered the rest of his First Corps and Howard's Eleventh to move up to support him, as Confederate troops were continuing to arrive. A half hour later he was dead, the victim of a Rebel sharpshooter, and Howard, having arrived on the scene, found himself in command of the battlefield. Word of Reynolds's death reached him while he was surveying the field from the top of a building in town, and he immediately decided that, "with God's help," his small force could hold Gettysburg until the rest of the army arrived.68

To accomplish that goal, Howard had to do three things. First, he had to support the troops who were already engaged and stay the enemy advance as long as possible. To that end, he ordered General Abner Doubleday, in command of the First Corps after Reynolds's death, to hold his position on McPherson's Ridge as long as possible and then to retire. He also sent Schurz with the First and Third Divisions
WhenMajor reported the enemy presence at Gettysburg to
General John Reynolds when Meade had placed in command of the First
Thirtieth and Eleventh Corps, he stressed that Gettysburg, with ten towns
encircling from its center like the spokes of a wheel, was the most
important center of communications in the region. It was also, with
its series of bridges and cavalry corps, a superb defensive position.

Meade continued in his report's examination of the strategic importance
of the town and reinforced officers to occupy and hold it.

Since he did not intend to fight there, however, his primary remaining
issue was immediate marching to

Reynolds requested Gettysburg on 1:20 in the morning of July
1 and immediately ordered the corps of his First Corps and Howard's
Harrison to move up to support him as Confederate troops were con-
structing their positions. A little more later, he was heard the actions of a
Reynolds, Sterling Price, and Howard, painting striking on the scene.

Reynolds, in command of the Parrott's battery, was ordering his men to
reach the summit and make immediate action. Their "God's help" fire
made the enemy counterpoise Gettysburg until the last of the enemy.

To accomplish that goal, Howard had to go through the First
Corps, to support the troops, and make a steady advance. And the
enemy advance as long as possible. To that end, the officers of General
Armstrong's position on the First Corps after Reynolds' general
order to hold his position on McPherson's Ridge, as long as possible. He
then
retraced his ways. He also sent signals with the First and Third divisions.
of the Eleventh Corps to prolong the right of Doubleday's line and
to anchor it with artillery on Oak Hill. In view of the heavy rein-
forcements of Confederate troops, Howard realized that it would be
only a matter of time before the First and Eleventh Corps would have
to retreat. His second order, therefore, was that General Adolph von
Steinwehr's Second Division of the Eleventh occupy and fortify Ceme-
tery Hill, thus preparing a strong defensive position to which the
advanced troops could retire. Finally, Howard sent word to Slocum
and Sickles, requesting the former and ordering the latter, to move
immediately to support him at Gettysburg. For five hours, the First
and Eleventh Corps held out against an increasing number of Confed-
erates. When they were finally forced back through town around 4:00
p.m., they carried out the retreat according to Howard's orders to
a position he had wisely prepared in advance.\textsuperscript{69} Howard had done well
on the afternoon of the first day's battle; still, the day ended for
him on a note of failure.

When Meade, still at Taneytown, had received word of Reynolds's death, he had sent General Winfield Scott Hancock to Gettys-
burg to take command of the field and to make a recommendation about
its suitability for a major engagement with the enemy.\textsuperscript{70} When Hancock
arrived at Gettysburg at 4:30 p.m., he found Howard on Cemetery Hill,
positioning the troops which had at last retired from north of the
town. Hancock apparently communicated his instructions in such a way
that Howard assumed that Meade had been under the mistaken impression
that Hancock was his senior. He consequently supposed that Hancock
of the Beverly Corps to propound the right of possession. I am

not aware of the attitude of our Hill. In view of the heavy rain

and how far the Confederate troops Howard reported that it would be

a matter of time before the Hill and Eleventh Corps would have

to retire. As soon as the Confederate troops' position was reported

then the division on the Eleventh occupied any territory. The

very Hill was the strongest defensive position to which the

advancing troops could retire. Finally, Howard, some time after

advancing, ordered the troops to remain in the forest to mobile

immobilize them as support for the Confederate. After five hours the

following order was received:

"On the afternoon of the first day's battle the 3rd New York Artillery

fired two shots."

When we started to move forward, we received orders from

General Winfield Scott Hancock to go to the front of the line and to make a reconnaissance about

its suitability for a bayonet engagement with the enemy. To

Hancock was ordered at 4:50 p.m. to report on the enemy's left.

Positioning the troops which had last retired from the

front Hancock apparently communicated his instructions in such a way

that Howard, speaking of Hancock and his order to the

front Hancock was his superiort. He condescendingly supplied Hancock.
was therefore not in command but rather Meade's personal representative on the field. Acting upon that assumption, he did not read Meade's orders, but suggested that he and Hancock cooperate in the work at hand. Hancock agreed.

It was only at 7:00 that Howard had the leisure to read Hancock's orders. Since they seemed to indicate that Meade lacked confidence in him, Howard was chagrined and wrote immediately to his commander asking him to inform him frankly if he disapproved of his conduct. Meade, however, relieved Howard of his mortification when he arrived at Gettysburg early on the morning of July 2. Assuring Howard that he "imputed no blame," Meade expressed approval of Howard's actions. Reassured, Howard then put the incident with Hancock out of his mind for the time being and awaited the renewal of the battle.

On July 2, the action centered around Little Round Top, a position to the south and west of Howard which was occupied by Sickles's Third Corps. Howard's command had little part in the engagement, in which Sickles, true to form, acted independently of orders and advanced his men to a position where they were in danger of being cut off and annihilated. The only action the Eleventh Corps saw that day was after 7:00 p.m., when the Confederates broke through its lines on Culp's Hill. Timely reinforcements and tenacious resistance by Howard's German artillery quickly healed the breach.

The major events of July 3 also passed to the south of Howard's position, although his corps received its share of casualties in the Confederate artillery barrage that preceded Pickett's famed charge.
was therefore not in command but under Virginia's personal representation.

...Acting upon such assumption, we did not lead

...Morgan's attack, but suggested that we and Hancock cooperate in the

...work of hand. Hancock elected.

It was only at 7:00 p.m. that Howard had the leisure to look over

...cock's objective. Since they seemed to indicate that Mudge Jackson could

...cause in him, Howard was satisfied and wrote immediately to his com-

...mander asking him to inform him frankly if he was disposed of his con-

...structed. Howard, however, referred Howard to his report that evening

...he arrived at reception early on the morning of July 2, announcing

...Howard that he was disposed to place him expertly upon the enemy's

...actions. Howard, however, found that the incident with Hancock was

...of the mind for the time being and receiving the removal of the battle.

...O n July 2, the action commenced around Little Round Top, a post-

...then to the south and west of Howard which was occupied by Sickles'...

...third corps. Howard's command had little part in the engagement. In

...which Sickles' line to form, except in the absence of orders and not-

...announced his men to a position where they were in danger of falling cut

...of any cavalry. In the evening the Confederates pushed through the Union

...at 8 p.m., upon the Confederates' position, and took possession of Culp's Hill.

...position, attacked the corps occupying its position, and captured Culp's Hill, a

...Confederate artillery battery that protected Pickett's College Gap.
From his position on Cemetery Hill, Howard watched as the "Confederates were mowed down like wheat in harvest," forming as they fell "terrible groupings and revolting lineaments" which covered the field that the Union once again had in their possession on July 4.77

On that day, Lee decided to withdraw to Seminary Ridge, entrench, and hope that Meade would attack him there. Leaders in Washington also hoped that Meade would attack Lee and finish what they considered an incomplete victory over the Rebels.78 Meade, however, was still cautious, as was the majority of his senior officers. Of his six regular corps commanders, only Howard was in favor of attacking. Although his stance was consistent with the aggressive policy he had advocated for more than a year, other generals continued to interpret Howard's votes in council as intended solely to gain an opportunity to redeem his reputation and that of his hapless Eleventh.79

Many observers, however, believed that Howard and his corps had redeemed themselves at Gettysburg. Congress later thanked Howard for his tactical leadership on July 1. "He was the man," said Senator James W. Grimes of Iowa, "who selected the position where the battle of Gettysburg was fought, and who, indeed, fought it the first day ... and to him the country is indebted as much for the credit of securing that victory as to any other person."80 A statue of Howard now overlooks Cemetery Hill as a memorial of his role at Gettysburg (see fig. 2). In July of 1863, if those honors were still in Howard's future, the press had praise for the performance of his corps. "The Eleventh Corps did more than all the others," the New York Herald
from his position on Cemetery Hill, "Howdy watched as the "Confederates"
were moved away. "Like a wave in harbor", "tumbling as they fell," "let-
time, growing and reverting innocently," which covered the field that
the Union once began and in whose possession on July 4.

On that day, Lee decided to withdraw to Seminary Ridge, etc.

If you also hope thatthese waves would never meet and "kiss" when they con-
sideformed an impenetrable barrier over the Rebel. 12 Mass., however, was
still continue, as was the majority of the senator officials. 16 As
six regiments crossed the commandant, only Howdy was in favor of attacking.
Although the Senate was reconsidered with the declaration policy he had
announced for more than a year, other Senate continued to interfere
Howard's notes in council as increasing softly to gain an opportunity.

20 Much originates, however, believe that Howard and his corps
were odometer's, however, believe that Howard and his corps
had suggested themselves at Gettysburg. Congress later changed Howard
for his tactical leadership on July 1. "We are the men," said Senator
James W. Glines of Iowa, "who made the battle of Gettysburg and fought, and who, indeed, fought in the first gun
and to pin the country is impelled as much for the credit of
Howard's notes in council as increasing softly to gain an opportunity.

80 A change of Howard
now overlooks Cemetery Hill as a memorial of his role at Gettysburg
(sie. Fig. 5). In July of 1863, if these points were still in Howard's
future, the press had praise for the performance of his corps. "The
Elenuthy Corps did more than 34 in the others," the New York Herald
Fig. 2. Memorial Statue of Oliver Otis Howard Overlooking Cemetery Hill. Source: James T. Gray Collection, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.
asserted with some exaggeration. The New York Times commended the corps and concluded that "the Chancellorsville disgrace is swallowed up by the achievements at Gettysburg." The New York Tribune seemed satisfied that the actions of the Eleventh at Gettysburg had prevented it from becoming a scapegoat for the folly of others.

The folly to which the Tribune referred may well have been that of Sickles. His impetuosity on the second day of the battle had cost him a leg; but, nothing daunted, he spent his convalescence in Washington telling his side of the story of Gettysburg to the president and the press. In an attempt to salvage the residue of his command and reputation, he mounted a political campaign against Meade, seeking allies among other generals of the Army of the Potomac. It was within that context of political machinations that disaffected and ambitious officers revived criticism of the Eleventh. The verbal abuse, although it consisted more in whispered innuendo than in direct accusation of cowardice and incompetence, brought the morale of the corps as low as the battle itself had brought its numbers.

Within the corps itself, Schurz continued to avail himself of the Eleventh's unfortunate circumstances to seek an independent command. On July 11, he asked Howard to bring the reduced size of his division to Meade's attention, hinting broadly that his rank entitled him to command a corps. Howard and Meade were also concerned with the drastic reduction in the strength of the Eleventh, reduced in numbers by four thousand casualties at Gettysburg, and so recommended that its two remaining division merge with the Twelfth and
Second Corps. \textsuperscript{86} When Meade proposed the consolidation to Halleck, Schurz hurried to Washington to see if he could get General Robert H. Milroy's command in the Shenandoah Valley.\textsuperscript{87} All of his efforts came to nought when Halleck decided not to break up the Eleventh.

The little that was left of the corps remained intact, guarding the Orange and Alexandria Railroad through August and September. During that time, Howard's concern about the condition of his command was mitigated by his growing awareness that the Germans were beginning to grow fond of him. Generals Adolph Buschbeck and von Steinwehr both requested on the part of their men to remain under Howard's command if the corps were to be broken up.\textsuperscript{88} In a tribute to Howard, Steinwehr wrote him that "you have led us in battle and shared with us the toll of weary marches; the officers and men of the division feel toward you the confidence which can spring up only during an active campaign."\textsuperscript{89} Together, Howard and the Eleventh had been tested at Chancellorsville; together they had endured the tribulations of its aftermath. For them, Gettysburg was a bittersweet victory, for although they had done well, the politically charged atmosphere of the Army of the Potomac kept them from redeeming totally their tarnished reputation. Together, they were soon to have another opportunity outside of that army's acrimonious ranks.
Second Corps. When Meade proposed the continuation to Harpers Ferry, Secretary of War was trying to Washington to see if he could get General Grant to come to Harpers Ferry. All of his efforts failed. Ache in the Shenandoah Valley came to notice when Halleck received no to press on to the Shenandoah. The letter that was left of the corps remained intact. Burma.

The threat was left of the corps remaining intact. Burma.

General Meade and A. H. Smith, 2nd Brigade, 2nd Division, 5th Corps, was determined to hold the Hightower House. The condition of the command was misinterpreted by his own officers. The Cullumians were beginning to show signs of. Generals A. H. Smith and G. W. Smith were held in high esteem on the part of their men to remain under Hardee's command.

To the corps were to be brought up. In a trip to Howard, Siegel of New Market. The officers and men of the division felt to.

With your confidence will be unable to do anything in any great extent. Can you do it? Ihnen and the Eleventh had been testing at Cuba.

88 Together, Howard and the Eleventh had been testing at Cuba.

The Eleventh had been testing at Cuba.

Together, Howard and the Eleventh had been testing at Cuba.

The Eleventh had been testing at Cuba.

The Eleventh had been testing at Cuba.

Together, Howard and the Eleventh had been testing at Cuba.

Together, Howard and the Eleventh had been testing at Cuba.
Notes


4. Hooker intended to keep the Eleventh Corps, with its five thousand German troops, out of the way in case any of any serious fighting. When he assigned Howard to command the corps, he allegedly said sardonically, "I give you the Eleventh Corps, which you know is the best in the army." Augustus Choate Hamlin, The Battle of Chancellorsville: Jackson's Attack (Bangor, Maine: By the author, 1896), p. 158f; see also Bruce Catton, The Army of the Potomac: Glory Road (New York: Doubleday, 1952), p. 177.

5. O.R., 25, pt. 2, 255f; and Oliver Otis Howard, Autobiography of Oliver Otis Howard (New York: Baker & Taylor, 1909), 1:353. According to Hamlin, it was common knowledge that Hooker detested Howard (see Hamlin, Jackson's Attack, p. 159), and Hooker did seem to single out Howard for criticism on the march up the Rappahannock. In his official report, Chief Quartermaster Rufus Ingalls wrote that "scarcely an article of clothing was lost or abandoned by the Eleventh Corps," whereas the camps of the Twelfth and Fifth "were covered with blankets and overcoats" and the road "lined with abandoned property." See O.R., 25: pt. 2, 556.

6. O.R., 25: pt. 2, 354; O. O. Howard, Autobiography, 1:355-356. Slocum had promised to fill a gap between his right and Howard's left, and when he failed to do so, Howard had to fill it with his reserves. That situation was relieved, however, when Sickles's corps arrived and Francis Barlow's brigade was detached to serve as a general reserve for the Eleventh.

Notes

1. Walter H. Hoyt. Flying Joe Hooker (New York: Bobbs-
Merrill, 1947), pp. 171-182.

2. Ibid., pp. 197-199, and XXVIII, and in the Civil War, Clarence
C. Dough and Robert U. Johnson, eds. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell,


4. Hooker intended to keep the Eleventh Corps, with its five
battalions, under his own command, one of the many ways in which he insisted
on preserving his reputation for leadership. When the general officer to command the corps goes to
all allegiances, he gives you the Eleventh Corps, which I know is
among our most capable units. I have the pleasure of introducing the
battle of the Army of the Potomac, Grant, and the

5. O.R., 22: pt. 5, 2267; and Other Officers' Hawaii. Anti-

6. O.R., 22: pt. 5, 2311; and Other Officers' Hawaii. An-
ticipatory 1:252.

7. O.R., 22: pt. 5, 2311; and Other Officers' Hawaii. Antici-
patory 1:252; see also Other Oife.
8. O.R., 25, pt. 2, 360f. For the complete text of Hooker's order, see Appendix C. Hooker did not submit an official report of the battle. The earliest intimation that he blamed the Eleventh for the defeat was in a letter to Lincoln on 7 May; see Roy P. Basler, ed., The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 6:201n. By the time he appeared before the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War in 1864, his charges against Howard and the Eleventh were very specific; see Report of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, 38th Congress, 2nd Session, 1:xlix.


10. Ibid., 196n. The editors note that in Hooker's book of "Letters Sent," a notation in red ink reads, "Copy furnished General Howard," and state that "the inference is that it was this 'copy' that was entered in Howard's book in June."


15. Schurz did not refer to the order in his official report of May 18. On 22 April 1876, he wrote Hooker that he had read the order to Howard and that they went out on the porch and discussed the matter; Samuel P. Bates, "Hooker's Comments on Chancellorsville," in Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Clarence C. Buel and Robert U. Johnson, eds. (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1956), 3:219f. By the time he wrote his reminiscences, Schurz claimed that he had put the order in Howard's hands.

16. For a detailed study of Howard's actions at Chancellorsville and of historians' later assessments of them, see John A. Carpenter, "O. O. Howard: General at Chancellorsville," Civil War History 3 (March 1957): 47-63. Carpenter's study substantiates Howard's claim that he fulfilled the intent of Hooker's order upon his own volition.
8. O.R. 255, p. 393. For the complete text of Hooker's
apologies, see Appendix C. Hooker did not support an official report of
the battle. The British Minister at Washington is reported to have written Hooker
after the battle: "The sentiment which I have received on the subject is that
you have served your country and your countrymen in a manner to
brilliance and to fair renown." (O.R. 255, p. 393.)

If the Committee on the Conduct of the War in 1864, the Charles
Goodwin and Theodore Roosevelt, were very specific; see Reports of the Joint
Committee on the Conduct of the War, 38th Congress, 2nd Session.

I: Mix.

II. O. 34, New York: "The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz (New York:
McClure Co. 1900), 246-76.


18. As quoted in G. W. Brackenridge, "The Virginia Section of the

19. In a letter (dated 1867) to the General, Schurz wrote: "Your
services are acknowledged, but one must take care not to
over-emphasize the service of others."

20. O.R. 255, p. 372. For more information on Schurz's actions during
the war, see Appendix C.


26. Ibid., p. 663.

27. Hamlin, Jackson's Attack, pp. 144-145.


29. Ibid., pp. 635-636.


31. In his report, McLean stated that "with the exception of an alarm caused by some rebel cavalry, all was quiet during the day and up to about 6 p.m" (O.R., 25: pt. 1, 637). Hamlin criticized Hooker for having replaced McLean with Devens just before the battle, arguing that if McLean had remained in command of the First Division, "Jackson never would have surprised the flank of Hooker's army, for McLean had fought Jackson in his two former flank movements and was aware of his manner in fighting" (Hamlin, Jackson's Attack, p. 55). Since McLean did receive reports of Jackson's movements, if he had known Jackson as well as Hamlin claimed, it seems he surely would have done something. That he did not suggests that personal animosity and rivalry influenced his actions.


34. Ibid., p. 184.

35. O. O. Howard, Autobiography, 1:372. The incident seems to have made a deep impression on Howard, for he mentioned it in every account he gave of the battle. Howard to Elizabeth Howard, 12 May 1863, Howard Papers, Bowdoin College, cited in Carpenter, "General at Chancellorsville," p. 54; and O. O. Howard, "The Eleventh Corps," 3:198.


41. Ibid., p. 669.


45. Ibid., p. 660f.

46. New York Times, 5 May 1863. Louis M. Starr describes Swinton's retreat in The Bohemian Brigade: Civil War Newsmen in Action (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1954), p. 199. In the mid-nineteenth century, journalism was not yet a profession, and objective reporting as a goal generally lagged behind a search for good "copy." Swinton's behavior, however, was outrageous even for the time; see Jacob Dolson Cox, Military Reminiscences of the Civil War (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900), 2:76-78; and O.R., 36: pt. 3, 751. On 1 July 1864, the War Department deprived Swinton of the privileges of a correspondent and banned him from the Army. Later, Swinton completely revised his account of the events of May 2: "The rout of the Eleventh Corps was bad enough without the exaggerated coloring in which it has been
painted," he wrote in his Campaigns of the Army of the Potomac (New York: Charles B. Richardson, 1866) p. 286; "Much was said in the newspaper accounts of the time regarding the 'cowardly Dutchmen' and the fact that this corps was supposed to be made of German elements was emphasized as lending additional opprobrium to the affair. . . ."

Besides Starr, other books which deal with journalism during the Civil War are J. Cutler Andrews, The North Reports the Civil War (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1955); and Bernard J. Weisberger, Reporters for the Union (Boston: Little, Brown, 1953). For specific problems between reporters and generals, see James G. Randall, "The Newspaper During the Civil War," American Historical Review 23 (1918): 303-323.

47. New York Times, 4 June 1863.

48. Howard's actions did not show evidence of nativism or of the other distinguishing characteristics of Burr's Puritan model, abolitionism and prohibitionism; but see Ella Lonn, Foreigners in the Union Army and Navey (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), p. 181. Lonn accuses Howard of nativism but gives no evidence for the charge.


50. New York Herald, 8 May 1863.


52. Howard's former pupil, Tully MacCrea, wrote Belle on May 29 that he had "heard a great many say that if we had had such a general as Grant during our late campaign, the result would have been quite different"; Catharine S. Cray, ed., Dear Belle: Letters from a Cadet and Officer to His Sweetheart, 1855-1865 (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1965), p. 194.


54. In Howard's letter to his brother on May 16, he had revealed his personal mistrust of Hooker and had said he believed him to be "impure." He hoped that God would convert Hooker's soul. Howard to Rowland, 16 May 1863, cited in John A. Carpenter, Sword and Olive Branch: Oliver Otis Howard (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964), p. 51.
A New York Times, 4 June 1863

The Northern section did not show evidence of activity on the part of the union forces, but our correspondents state that large numbers of troops are on the march to the north. The Union forces are said to be on the move, and it is expected that they will soon be in position to make a decided move against the Confederate States.

Among the letters received from the front, one from a correspondent in the field states that the troops are well supplied with provisions and are fighting well.

The Confederate States are said to be in a state of readiness for a general advance, and are expected to make a strong effort to regain the lost territory. The Union forces are said to be making every effort to prevent this, and are said to be well prepared for a contest.

In conclusion, it may be said that the situation is critical, and that the outcome of the conflict is uncertain.

56. O. O. Howard, "Campaign and Battle of Gettysburg," p. 51; and Oliver Otis Howard, "Gettysburg Thirty Years After," The Nation 56 (1895): 327.

57. The San Francisco Chronicle, 23 May 1872.

58. It is significant, as Howard himself pointed out in his autobiography, that he was not investigated, censured, arrested, or relieved of command because of the rout of the Eleventh at Chancellorsville; see O. O. Howard, Autobiography, 1:376. Even the Committee on the Conduct of the War, as favorable as it was to Hooker, had no word of censure for Howard. As for Lincoln, when some suggested that he remove Howard from command, he allegedly responded, "Give him time, and he will bring things straight" (Oliver Otis Howard, "Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln," Century 75 (1908): 876.

59. San Francisco Chronicle, 23 May 1872.

60. O. O. Howard, Autobiography, 1:378.


63. O. O. Howard, Autobiography, 1:391; and Coddington, Gettysburg Campaign, pp. 121-122.

64. O. O. Howard, Autobiography, 1:395-396.


68. O. O. Howard, Autobiography, 1:413.

69. Ibid.; O.R., 27: pt. 1, 702-704; Charles H. Howard, "First Day at Gettysburg," Military Essays and Recollections, Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States (Chicago: Cozzens & Beaton, 1907), vol. 4. Charles was less sparing than his brother in his criticism of officers who failed to carry out Howard's instructions. He
The San Francisco Chronicle, 22 May 1873.

Gettysburg Campaign, p. 93.


Gettysburg Campaign, p. 122.


Lincoln and His Generals (New York: Random House, 1925), I: 404, 412-13, and

S. C. Hougard, Gettysburg Campaign, p. 18.


The San Francisco Chronicle, 22 May 1873.


Gettysburg Campaign, p. 93.


Lincoln and His Generals (New York: Random House, 1925), I: 404, 412-13, and

S. C. Hougard, Gettysburg Campaign, p. 18.

said that the enemy beat Schurz to Oak Hill because he did not even try to take possession of it (p. 251). When Charles personally delivered Howard's request to Siocum to come up, the latter replied, "I'll be damned if I will take the responsibility of this fight" (p. 262).

70. O.R., 27, pt. 1, 367.

71. "I know Hancock was in command after his arrival," Howard wrote in 1877, "but of course, I did not realize it from the manner in his introducing himself in the midst of the excitement of the occasion. Hence my irritation when I received the order itself, having the leisure to peruse it carefully." Howard to H. Coppee, 4 March 1877, Howard Papers, Bowdoin College, cited in John A. Carpenter, "General O. O. Howard at Gettysburg," Civil War History 9 (1963): 276. In his official report, Meade stated that Hancock was sent to represent him on the field; O.R., 27, pt. 1, 115.

72. E. P. Halstead, who claimed to have been the only one present when Hancock communicated his orders to Howard, later claimed that when Hancock said that Meade had sent him to take command of the field, Howard replied that he was senior and that Hancock could give no orders while he was there; E. P. Halstead, "Incidents of the First Day at Gettysburg" in Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Clarence C. Buel and Robert U. Johnson, eds. (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1956), 3:285. Whatever the reasons for the misunderstanding, all witnesses agreed that Howard and Hancock worked in harmony to position the troops arriving at Cemetery Hill. The controversy revived only after the battle when Congress thanked Howard instead of Hancock for his part in selecting the site of the first day's battle. Hancock's supporters secured Congress's thanks for him also in May, 1866. Howard and Hancock continued to fight the first day's battle in letters and articles until the latter's death in 1886.


75. Meade ordered Sickles to post the left of his corps on Little Round Top; but Sickles, believing that the Rebels were going to try to occupy a height to his front, left the assigned position and pushed his men into an unsupported position where they took a brutal beating; see W. A. Swanberg, Sickles, The Incredible (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1956), pp. 199-219.

76. O. O. Howard, Autobiography, 1:429-430; and Coddington, Gettysburg Campaign, p. 437.
I know Hancock was in command after his arrival, having received the same from the British commander, General O. Howard, by telegraph. I have no knowledge of the circumstances under which he was appointed, but it is generally believed that he was recommended by General George Washington, who was then in command of the Continental Army.

I have no information on the date or circumstances of his appointment. His service during the American Revolution is well-documented and he is remembered for his role in the Battle of Saratoga. He later served as a United States Senator and as Governor of New York.

I cannot confirm the claim that he was appointed as a reward for his service in the Revolutionary War. However, his work in the military was recognized, and he continued to serve the country in various capacities after the war.


79. O.R., 27: pt. 1, 91; and O. O. Howard, *Autobiography*, 1:445. Actually, Alfred Pleasonton, G. K. Warren, and James S. Wads- worth also voted to attack, but the first two were not considered participants of the council because they were not infantry commanders, and the latter was there as a substitute for John Newton; see Coddington, *Gettysburg Campaign*, p. 567. Coddington states that "as for Howard, the questionable record of his corps in two battles greatly discounted the importance of his opinions in the minds of his hearers (p. 567)."

80. Congressional Globe, 38 Congress, 1 Session (20 January 1864), p. 257. For the text of the thank you, see O.R., 27: pt. 1, 140.

81. New York Herald, 3 July 1863.


86. Ibid., p. 778.

87. Ibid., pp. 784, 792.

88. Ibid., pp. 779f, 785.

89. Ibid., p. 780.
22. Confined to, Getzmann, p. 86.
25. The interest in these as a substitute for John Howrat's, see Confination, Getzmann, p. 86.
27. Confined to, Getzmann, p. 86.
28. The important to the opinions of the Wright & Brown, see O.R. 21: pl. 1.
32. St. Peter, St. Peter.
34. Ibid., p. 278.
35. Ibid., pp. 704, 705.
36. Ibid., pp. 738, 739.
37. Ibid., p. 788.
38. Ibid., p. 789.
PART III

GRACE

Chapter 5: Hope

Ho! my comrades, see the signal
Waving in the sky!
Reinforcements now appearing
Victory is nigh!

"Hold the fort, for I am coming,"
Jesus signals still,
Wave the answer back to heaven
"By Thy grace we will."

D. W. Whittle

Road to Victory

In late September of 1863, bad news reached Washington from the West. Paradoxically, the ominous tidings set in motion a series of events which would put the Union and General Howard on the road to victory. On September 23, Charles A. Dana, Assistant Secretary of War, wired Secretary Stanton from Chattanooga that "no time should be lost in rushing twenty to twenty-five thousand efficient troops to Bridgeport. If such reinforcements can be got there in season everything is safe and this place indispensable alike to the defense of Tennessee and as a base for future operations in Georgia will remain ours."2 Stanton responded immediately to Dana's dispatch: within twenty-four hours the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps of the Army...
PART III

Greece

Chapter 2: Hope

"If my comrades see the light
Waving in the sky
Reinforcements are approaching
Victory is near!

"If we hold this fort, I am coming.
They still have a few more days to prepare
We must relieve this fort.
"If the race is over, I will.
D. W. Wrchive.

Road to Victory

In late September of 1863, bad news reached Washington from the West. "Paraguay, the only one country, set in motion a series of events which would put the Union and General Howard on the road to victory. On September 27th, Davis, the Assistant Secretary of War, wired Secretary Stanton from Chattanooga that "no time should be lost in sending money to rallying five thousand efficient troops to brigades, to further aid the cause. Every soldier is safe and this place indispensable to the defense of Tennessee, but a base for future operations in Georgia will remain open."

Scout reporting immediately to Davis's headquarters within twenty-four hours, the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps of the Army..."
of the Potomac were on their way West.

When he received Dana's telegram, Stanton was already aware that the situation at Chattanooga was alarming in the extreme. On September 9, General William S. Rosecrans had skillfully maneuvered the Confederates out of the city by threatening their rail supply line; then, on September 18, he had foolishly forced the Southern commander, Braxton Bragg, into battle at Chickamauga Creek. By that time, General James Longstreet had reinforced Bragg, and during the two ensuing days of battle, their combined forces soundly drubbed Rosecrans. Only the dogged defense of General George H. Thomas had saved the Army of the Cumberland from an humiliating rout.

Fortunately, Bragg failed to follow up his victory and allowed Rosecrans to retreat safely into Chattanooga. Once there, however, the Union forces faced the prospect of being starved into submission, for Bragg controlled all but one route by which supplies reached the city. The Union forces held a trail which ran forty miles along the north bank of the Tennessee River to the nearest railhead at Bridgeport, Alabama; but their hold was tenuous and the trail itself nearly impassable in wet weather. With only one slender lifeline which could be severed at any time, Rosecrans was considering abandoning Chattanooga, and with it the Union hopes for splitting the Confederacy east of the Mississippi. Dana had good cause to urge the War Department to move quickly.³

Stanton, however, had no troops close enough to Rosecrans to reinforce him "in season." General Burnside was at Knoxville, one
the situation was critical and the Union forces were in imminent danger of being surrounded. The Confederate forces had successfully taken the city by storming the Confederate heights on the morning of September 18th. The Confederates had managed to capture a strong point, known as Cemetery Hill, and were in control of the city. The Union forces had a significant numerical advantage but were unable to break through the Confederate lines.

Confederate forces were pushed back into Chattanooga. Once there, however, the Union forces faced the prospect of being surrounded and forced to surrender. The Union forces held a line which ran from the north bank of the Tennessee River to the western terminus of the bridge over the river. With only one end of the bridge taken and the other defended by Confederate forces, the Union forces had little chance of escape. With the Union forces facing the prospect of surrender, General Rosecrans was forced to order a retreat. The Union forces retreated quickly, and Rosecrans was left to wonder how he could have allowed the Union forces to take Chattanooga.

Moreover, Rosecrans was quick to blame General Bragg for the failure of the Confederate forces. Bragg had not followed up on his victory and allowed the Confederate forces to push the Union forces back into Chattanooga. Once there, however, the Union forces faced the prospect of being surrounded and forced to surrender. The Union forces held a line which ran from the north bank of the Tennessee River to the western terminus of the bridge over the river. With only one end of the bridge taken and the other defended by Confederate forces, the Union forces had little chance of escape. With the Union forces facing the prospect of surrender, General Rosecrans was forced to order a retreat. The Union forces retreated quickly, and Rosecrans was left to wonder how he could have allowed the Union forces to take Chattanooga.
hundred miles to the north; but he could not leave there without abando-
ning all of East Tennessee to the Confederates. General William T. Sherman was repairing the railroad outside of Memphis, but progress was too slow to allow him to get to Chattanooga on time. Meade's Army of the Potomac was not doing much at the time, and he could spare the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps; but they, too, seemed to be too far away.

Alone among Lincoln's advisers, Stanton believed that through a combination of presidential power and technological expertise the Northern railroads could get Meade's two available corps to Bridgeport within five days. The president doubted that two corps would even get to Washington in that time, but after some debate, he gave Stanton permission to go ahead. Immediately, the Secretary of War sent out dispatches to set the trains in motion. 4

On September 24, Stanton's orders reached Howard, and he embarked with his troops for the capital. Upon arrival, he reported first to General Hooker, who was to command the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps. Then he called on President Lincoln. For two hours, Howard and Lincoln talked, studying maps of the theater of operations and discussing strategy. At the conclusion of the interview, Lincoln took his mounted map from the wall and exchanged it for Howard's unmounted one, commenting that his was better for campaigning, but Howard's would do for him. With that parting gift under his good arm, Howard said good-bye to the president and boarded the train for the West. 5

The success of the troop transfer depended upon complete co-
operation between military officers and railroad officials. To insure
...number miles to the north; put the corps not to leave there without approv-

...will go to that Tennessee to the Confederate. General William

...Tennessee was requiring the military service of Memphi"s and progress

...was too soon to allow him to rest to Corlissac's on time. Memphi's Army

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...On September 14, Stanton, acting as President, moved

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...the bounded map from the wall and explained it to Horner's commander,

...one, communicating that it was better for commanding, not Horner's

...going to him. With these particular facts, the good sir, Horner's

...said going to the President and prepared the train for the West.

...The success of the troop transport depended upon Commerce Co-

...operation between military officers and military officials. To insure
the necessary harmony, Stanton ordered army personnel not to interfere with the decisions of the railroad men. The first officer to test that order was, unfortunately, a member of Howard's command. Superintendent William P. Smith of the Baltimore and Ohio wired Stanton on September 27 that an officer of the Third Division of the Eleventh Corps had become separated from his command and had ordered the stationmaster at Grafton, Virginia, to hold his troops there until he arrived. The agent ignored the order, referring it instead to Stanton, who angrily demanded the name of the offender. Learning that it was Carl Schurz, the secretary sent him a stinging reprimand. Hooker, he informed Schurz, had orders to arrest any officer who interfered in any way with the railroad officials. Schurz's division moved out on schedule, and the trains kept moving.

As the trains passed through the towns along the route, citizens and salesmen pressed alcohol on the troops, and intoxication soon presented so serious a problem that drunken soldiers were toppling from the trains. Although Stanton ordered all saloons closed while the troops were passing through, vendors evaded the order by meeting the trains as they pulled into town. Howard's solution to the problem was to invite the offenders aboard for a free ride. Then, after some miles, he asked them to disembark and allowed them to find their way home on foot.

Howard encountered other problems besides keeping his officers in line and his men sober. Although most of the crowds en route gave them an enthusiastic reception, some expressed "copperhead" sentiments
by hissing and hurling demoralizing epithets at the Union soldiers. Also, the corps' baggage was jumbled together in separate cars, creating a major headache at points of transfer. The problems, although irritating, did not impede the progress of the Eleventh. It arrived in Bridgeport, sober and intact, on October 4.8

The transfer had taken longer than Stanton's optimistic prediction of five days; nevertheless, it set a new record in the annals of military transportation. In eleven and one-half days, the railroads had moved twenty-five thousand men, ten artillery batteries with their horses, and one hundred cars of baggage over twelve hundred miles. By his bold decision, Stanton, cementing technology to tactics, had made the railroads an enduring factor in military strategy and set the Union on the road to victory. Three weeks later, Lincoln took another step along that road when he appointed General Ulysses S. Grant to command all of the Union forces between the Appalachians and the Mississippi.10

Upon taking command, Grant prepared to realize the hopes Dana had expressed in his message to Stanton: he would hold East Tennessee and he would consolidate his base for further operations in Georgia. To that end he removed the vacillating Rosecrans from command and replaced him with Thomas, the "Rock of Chickamauga," who promised to hold Chattanooga until he starved.11 With Thomas's assurance that he would "hold the fort," Grant planned to go to Chattanooga in person to insure that the Army of the Cumberland did not, in fact, starve.

When his train pulled into Stevenson, Alabama, on October 17,
by pressing any further generalizing objectives of the Union soldiers.

And the columns passed was joining together in separate cases. Grant

and a major maneuver at points of transfer. The operations although

interesting, did not improve the progress of the enemy. It arrived

in Breeding, pope and infantry on October 8.

The columns had entered Long's Station, optimistic; the

section of five days' maneuver. In eleven and one-half days, the columns

had moved twenty-five thousand men, for artillery batteries with swift

pursuit, and one hundred cars of passage over two hundred miles.

In the following decision, Stonewall, commending himself to Gen. Grant

and the officers of his command, he thought, in effect, the operation of

the Union on the road to victory. These three last Lincoln took

another step along that road when he appointed General Ulysses S. Grant

to command one of the Union forces between the Appalachian and the

Mississippi.

Union Field Command, Grant prepared to seize the Pope Line

and expressed in his message to Stanton: He would hold East Tennessee

and be moving toward the press for further operations in Georgia.

To that end he removed the additional resources from the command and re-

pointing him with Tennesse the "Rock of Chickamauga," who promised to

bring the resources necessary to meet the situation. If with Tennesse's assurance that

he would "hold the fort" Grant planning to go to Chattanooga in person

to issue that of the Army of the Cumberland Aides, on October 17,
Grant stepped onto the platform and found Howard there waiting to return to his headquarters at Bridgeport. It was the first time that the men had met, and Grant's direct and unassuming manner made a favorable impression upon Howard. Refusing Hooker's invitation to spend the night at his headquarters at Stevenson, Grant instead accompanied Howard to Bridgeport and passed the night there.

The two men spent the evening in pleasant conversation. In the course of the discussion, Howard remarked that it must have been difficult for Hooker to have accepted command of two small corps after he had been in charge of an entire army. "If I should seek a command higher than that which my Government entrusted me," Grant forcefully replied to Howard's surprise, "I should by flying in the face of Providence." Grant's articulation of a principle which Howard himself had learned to acknowledge increased his growing confidence in his new commander. Howard, in turn, would win Grant's confidence in the operations about to commence around Chattanooga. He would also win the respect and friendship of Sherman, the final link in the Union's new chain of command in the West.

The Prophet

When Grant ordered Hooker to open the supply line to Chattanooga, Howard and his men knew that it was important for them to make a favorable first impression as they carried out their part of the assignment. In fact, they accomplished it with little difficulty and made contact with General William B. Hazen's brigade of the Army of
Grant stepped onto the platform and found Hougha's decrees waiting to return to his headquarters at Bridgetown. It was the first time that the men had met, and Grant's direct and unassuming manner made a favorable impression upon Hougha. Refusing Hooker's invitation to spend the night at his headquarters or Stevenson's, Grant instead accompanied Hougha to Bridgetown and passed the night there.

The two men spent the evening in pleasant conversation. In the course of the discussion, Hougha remarked that it must have been difficult for Hooker to have achieved command of two small corps after he had been in charge of an entire army. "If I were ever a commander," said Hougha, "I should be living in the face of Providence." Grant's attribution of a principle which Hougha admired was also referred to as "Professor" Hougha, the "Professor" having been a major figure in the history of Union's new army of command in the West.

The Proposition

When Grant offered Hooker to open the supply line to Chester, Hooker knew that it was important for him to make a favorable impression upon Grant, an important part of the establishment. In fact, they accomplished much, little difficult, and made contact with General William B. Hazen's position at the head of the line of
the Cumberland near Lookout Mountain on October 28. The Eleventh went into camp there, but Hooker ordered General John Geary's division of the Twelfth Corps to encamp three miles back at Wauhatchie. It was an unfortunate move, for it isolated the division and made it a tempting target for the Confederates. Taking advantage of the opportunity, Longstreet attacked Geary in the middle of the night, and the Eleventh had to go to his rescue. Pushing ahead with his Third Division, Howard relieved Geary, while his Second Division cleared the surrounding hills of skirmishers. The success of the midnight mission laid to rest any doubts about the Eleventh's ability to fight.\(^{13}\)

Shortly after the Battle of Wauhatchie, General Thomas congratulated Hooker's troops, remarking that the bayonet charge of Howard's Second Division, which they had "made up the sides of a steep and difficult hill over 200 feet high," would rank as "one of the most distinguished feats of arms of the war."\(^{14}\) Although Thomas addressed his letter to Hooker, "Fighting Joe's" superiors knew that he had had little to do with the success at Wauhatchie. On the previous day, Dana had written Stanton that it was Howard's corps which had "behaved splendidly," and that Grant wished to remove both Hooker and Slocum and consolidate the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps under Howard. The consolidation did not take place; but Dana's dispatch showed that Howard's performance had won him Grant's confidence.\(^{15}\)

On November 14, Howard was discussing the next campaign with Thomas, Grant, and several corps commanders, when Sherman arrived to report. Sherman had replaced Grant at the head of the Army of the
The Campmeeting near Lookout Mountain on October 28. The Eleventh went into camp there. Hooker ordered General John Geary's division to the Twenty-first Corps to occupy three miles back of Lookout. It was an importante move. For it forecast the division and make it a useless and further for the Confederates. Taking advantage of the opportunity. The Confederate forces were in the middle of the hills and the Eleventh's movements to the east were pushing ahead with the Third Division, Howard's. The success of the Second Mission Field to rear only ground was open to the Eleventh's division to think.

Shortly after the Battle of Lookout Mountain, General Thomas wrote:

"Gravely, Hooker's troops are remaking that the plain of the Tennessee valley, which they had occupied for 300 feet high, "would now be a part of the most advantageous lines of arts of the war." Although Thomas expressed the letter to Hooker, "fighting alone," superior or equal to that of the armies on the plains, and believed that the success of Lookout Mountain was a turning point in the success of the Eleventh and the success of the Minnesota and Twenty-first Corps under Howard. The Confederate forces were not far behind, but the army's discipline showed their Howard's performance was now firmly established.

On November 14, Howard was advancing the next campaign with Thomas, Grant, and Seymour's command, when Sherman's army arrived to support Sherman had replaced Grant at the head of the Army of the

Tennessee upon the latter's promotion in October, and Grant had ordered him to Chattanooga with his men. When he arrived, he immediately joined in the discussion without introduction. In the informal atmosphere, Howard, who had not met Sherman previously, had a chance to study him and to compare him with Grant. He found the complimentary personalities of the two men reassuring: Grant was simple, straightforward, systematic, a man for campaign and battle; Sherman was intense, intuitive, impulsive, a man better suited for maneuvers. "As I watched the countenance of those two men that evening," Howard later recalled, "I gathered hope for our cause."16

In accordance with the plans which the generals formulated that night, Grant detached Howard's corps from Hooker's command. Sherman was to hold the Union left opposite Missionary Ridge, while Thomas remained in the center near Chattanooga. Howard was to be ready to cooperate with either Sherman or Thomas as the circumstances might dictate. In order to connect with Sherman, Howard had to build a bridge over Chickamauga Creek, and it was as that bridge was nearing completion that he had his first personal meeting with Sherman.

Reflecting upon the meeting years later, Howard revealed that he offered his confidence and friendship to others on the basis of intuition. "I think a mutual confidence and sympathy between souls springs up suddenly," he wrote, "often by the simple look into clear, fearless eyes...." Those sympathies, he added, "are sealed by an unreserved grasp of the hands."17 Both Lincoln and Grant had inspired him with that kind of confidence, and now Sherman did also. As
Tennessee upon the latter's promotion in October and Grant had ordered
him to Chattanooga with his men. When he arrived, he immediately joined
in the discussion without introduction. In the interim meanwhile, had a chance to study him
himself, who had never been at Sherman's headquarters, and a chance to study him
himself. He found the comprehension personal.

Thence to the two men successively: Grant was simple, straightforward,
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over Chickamauga Creek, and it was as that bridge was necessary to
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reflecting upon the meeting years later, "How much, however, that
the relations of confidence and friendship to operate on the parts of
Sherman were influenced by, as he wrote, "the simple look into great
impressing me on his "recesses grassy" and his "smooth, rugged, and inspiring
miles with that kind of confidence" and "You Sherman did also. As
Howard approached him on the finished portion of the bridge, Sherman closed the gap from the opposite shore by leaping across to Howard's side. Grasping his hand, he looked into Howard's eyes and exclaimed, "How are you, Howard?" It was the beginning of a lasting friendship.

The two men were very different. To a war correspondent who witnessed their meeting, they seemed as different as West from East, in their dress as well as in their ideas. W. F. C. Shanks noted that Sherman dressed loosely and carelessly, while Howard was careful and precise, even elegant. Howard had an aversion to strong language and strong drink; neither particularly bothered Sherman. "They had few ideas in common," Shanks observed, "and those they never taught or discussed in the same way." It was perhaps because the men seemed so different that Shanks felt inspired to reflect on the romantic nature of their meeting, "one coming from the most eastern, the other from the most western army to the aid of the beleaguered army of the central military zone." In spite of their differences, Sherman and Howard got along well from the beginning, and during the operations in East Tennessee they established an effective working relationship.

Although the Eleventh Corps saw little action in the Battle of Chattanooga on November 24 and 25, Howard had opportunity to work closely with Sherman shortly after the battle. On November 4, Bragg had detached Longstreet to force Burnside out of Knoxville. Unable to penetrate Burnside's defenses, Longstreet had laid siege to the city. By November 29, Burnside needed help. Grant sent Sherman to
The two men were very different. They were not of the same race as was evident from their height, weight, and features. However, they shared certain qualities that made them, in the words of a philosopher, "think and feel in the same way." It was perhaps because these qualities were so similar that the two men were able to work together so well.

In the context of their military service, one came from the West, the other from the East. The first was from the coast, the second from the interior. They were both part of the same army, yet they had different backgrounds and experiences.

Although they were from different parts of the country, they found common ground in their work. They shared a common goal and a common purpose, which helped them to work together effectively.

One day, they were on a mission to capture a strategic point. They knew the terrain well, and they were well prepared for the battle. As they advanced, they encountered fierce resistance, but they were determined to succeed.

In the end, they were successful, and they returned to their units as heroes. Their success was a testament to the power of cooperation and teamwork.
his aid, and the seven divisions Sherman chose for the task included the two of Howard's corps. Howard's men lacked shoes, clothing, and provisions, but they dutifully made the difficult march, only to find when they reached Knoxville that Longstreet had withdrawn.  

The Knoxville campaign gave Sherman and Howard the opportunity to know each other better. At the beginning of their acquaintance, Sherman was skeptical of Howard's piety. Schurz once recalled that during the expedition, Sherman baited Howard by encouraging swearing in his presence. In one such instance, Howard became so distressed that he felt it necessary to leave, whereupon Sherman remarked, "Well, that Christian-soldier business is all right in its place, but he needn't put on airs when we are among ourselves." By the end of the campaign, however, he had come to view Howard's piety in a different light.

When they returned to Lookout Valley from Knoxville, Grant ordered Sherman to send Howard back to his command. On December 18, Sherman wrote Howard a personal letter on the occasion of their parting. "I cannot deny myself the pleasure it gives me," he wrote, "to express to you the deep personal respect I entertain for you. I had known you by reputation, but it needed the opportunity our short campaign gave me to appreciate one who mingled so gracefully and perfectly the polished Christian gentleman and the prompt, zealous, and gallant soldier." Besides expressing appreciation for Howard's strength of character, Sherman recognized that it was an asset in his ability to lead his men. "Not only did you do all that circumstances
His nine and the seven divisions stationed close for the task included
the two of Howdys' corps Howdyg men Zeke's green, clothing, and
provisions, put their artillery at the difficulties match, only to find
when they reached Knoxville they Longitude had withdrawn.

The Knoxvilles command move Sydney and Howdyg the opportunity

The Knoxvilles command move Sydney and Howdyg the opportunity

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The Knoxvilles command move Sydney and Howdyg the opportunity

The Knoxvilles command move Sydney and Howdyg the opportunity

The Knoxvilles command move Sydney and Howdyg the opportunity
required," he continued, "but you did it in a spirit of cheerfulness that was reflected in the behavior of your whole command. . . ."

Finally, Sherman wrote, prophetically, that if fortune should bring them together again, he would deem himself "most fortunate."²³

Howard received other encouraging communications during the six ensuing months of inactivity at Lookout Mountain. On 28 January 1864, his friend Blaine informed him that Congress had passed a resolution thanking Howard for his part in the Battle of Gettysburg.²⁴ He also received word that his friends in Maine were trying to get him a promotion to brigadier-general in the regular army.²⁵ Howard found some satisfaction in the praise of Sherman, and recognition of Congress, and the possibility of advancement; but he had also learned the dangers of self-promotion. "Circumstances have occurred to touch and subdue my vanity and teach me new lessons of humility," he wrote a friend. "Oh, that my guiding principle might be the 'honor of Christ!'"²⁶

In that spirit, Howard decided to do his duty and "wait on the Lord." "I mean to go on as much as possible in the even tenor of my way," he wrote Lizzie on April 4. "If a position in the regular army is tendered me, there will be time to consider it, and if there is no such offer, then will I believe that a good Providence points in a different direction."²⁷ The following day, Providence pointed the direction that Howard's career would take: Sherman appointed him to command of the Fourth Corps of the Army of the Cumberland.

That appointment severed Howard's relationship with Hooker, the Eleventh Corps, and Schurz, and gave him instead Sherman, a
... required to continue. "Put your city in a spirit of cheerfulness."

Finally, Spelman wrote, "appropriately, that it is fortunate

embodying spirit, and would seem pleasant" was fortunate."

No matter regarding other encroaching communications about the

six months of activity at Lookout Mountain. On 28 January

1864, his troops began moving into the area, Congress had pressured a reduc-

tion spanning weeks for his part in the battle of Chattanooga. In

his recollection with his friends in public more than 200,000 men

a promotion to brigadier-general in the regular army.

It was expected to proceed to the battle of Chattanooga, and recognition of Congress,

some restrictions in the premise of Sherman, and recognition of Congress,

and the possibility of advancement; but he had also learned the dangers

of self-promotion. "Circumstances have occurred to touch and surprise

my army and teach me new lessons of prudence," he wrote a friend.

"Do not force the bringing of the two parts of the story of the army.

In the spirit, however, the general agreed to go his own way and "wait on

the Lord." I mean to go as much as possible in the same tone

of the war," he wrote, "the last of April. As a position in the regular

with its endurance, there will be some to consider it and its power

is no such affair. Then I believe that a good Providence bears

in a different direction."

The following day, President Lincoln

gave the direction that Howard's career would take: "Permit his advancement into

the direction of the frontier Copts of the army of the Commandant.

Their promotion several years' duration with Honors.

The Eleven Copts, my brothers, and have him interested, a
veteran corps with a good reputation, and competent division commanders. The changes in command, and changes within Howard himself, would be important factors in Howard's notable success during the impending Atlanta campaign.

Howard at Atlanta

Howard's appointment to the Fourth Corps was one of the changes Sherman made after Grant, whom Lincoln had placed in charge of all the Union forces on March 5, named him to command of the Division of the Mississippi. Seeking officers who could work together harmoniously, Sherman retained Thomas in the Army of the Cumberland, then chose James B. McPherson for the Army of the Tennessee and John M. Schofield for the Army of the Ohio. Having selected his commanders, he prepared to advance from Chattanooga into the heart of the Confederacy. The preparations for the movement inspired his one hundred thousand troops to hope that Sherman's campaign would end the war.

Sherman's movement, however, was only part of Grant's larger strategy of waging war by simultaneous attacks along the whole strategic front. While Sherman struck at General Joseph E. Johnston in Georgia, Grant himself would move on Robert E. Lee and Richmond. The other Union forces would keep the Confederates in their front occupied to prevent reinforcement to Lee or Johnston. When Grant explained his plan to the president, Lincoln graphically summarized the new strategy when he said that "those not skinning can hold a leg."

By May, Sherman was skinning. On May 4, he left Chattanooga

veteran corps with a good reputation and competent division command.

The changes in command and changes within Howard's forces during the
months to important factors in Howard's notable success during the

beating at Shiloh campaign.

Howard at Vicksburg

Howard's appointment to the Fourth Corps was one of the changes

Shiloh and the subsequent Grant victory. When Lincoln had placed in charge of all

the Union forces on March 2, 1862, he gave to command of the Division of

the Mississippi rifles and especially to work together and

Shiloh retained those原则. The Army of the Confederacy, now under

its new commander, was ready and eager for

the Army of the Ohio's. Having selected his commanders, he prepared

for an advance from Shiloh into the heart of the Confederacy.

The preparations for the movement included the appointment of

 Confederate Generals, however, was only part of Grant's strategy

strategy of waging war by simultaneous attacks against the whole area-

the Army of the Mississippi. Now, on April 6, 1862, Grant himself moved

Union forces would keep the Confederates in check. Grant occupying

plan to the president. Lincoln, especially recognizing the new

strategy, went to see that "these not strangers can hold a place."

In Vicksburg, now beginning to

and moved toward Johnston's fortified position in the mountainous country around Dalton. Johnston expected him to attack, but Sherman planned to rely upon strategy rather than force. He intended to push Johnston back toward Atlanta by a series of flanking movements which would make the Confederates abandon, one by one, their entrenched positions.\(^31\)

Looking like a giant butterfly, Sherman's army rested its body, the Army of the Cumberland, along its single-track lifeline. When it fluttered its wings, the Armies of the Tennessee and Ohio, the movement drew Johnston out of his trenches, then swept him ahead of Sherman ever closer to Atlanta. Howard's part in these flanking movements showed that he had mastered the important tactical lessons of the war.

On May 14, Thomas demonstrated in front of Johnston while McPherson struck the railroad to the Confederate right and rear. Howard held the left of Thomas's line and, as at Chancellorsville, his position was "in the air." This time, Howard was fully cognizant of the danger and personally requested Thomas to send him reinforcements. When a heavy column attacked him with the intent of turning his position, Howard was ready and repulsed the attack.\(^32\)

On May 27, Sherman tried to force Johnston out of Allatoona by sending Howard to turn his right flank near Dallas. To do so, Howard had to locate the end of Johnston's line. After a personal reconnaissance, Howard positioned his troops and ordered an attack on what he thought was the Confederate flank. But a right angle in Johnston's line had deceived him, and when his men attacked, they were thrown back. Quickly realizing his mistake, Howard was able to make
any money toward Johnston's fortifying position in the mountains.

Wrote to Stoneman and directed him to attack the fortification planned at Burnside Gap. Johnston expected him to attack, but Stoneman planned to Ewell's position rather than to move Johnston to buy time to reorganize his forces. Johnston was in poor condition to move Johnston's forces against Stoneman's.

The Confederate position, one of their stronger defensive positions.

Looking like a giant mountain, Stoneman's army tested the body.

The track of the Confederates stood on the single-track line.

When Stoneman's advance, the advance of the Tennessee and Ohio, the move.

Since John stone was one of his commanders, Stoneman opened up the gap.

Over closer to Atlanta, Stoneman's move.

In the west, the important tactical lesson of the war.

On May 14, Thomas demonstrated in front of Johnston. White Mc-

In the heat of the fight, Stoneman was fully committed to the war.

Anderson's efforts to force Johnston out of Atlanta.

In sending Stoneman to cut his line, Stoneman did so.

When Stoneman reached the end of Johnston's line, after a personal reconnaissance, Stoneman's forces made contact and attacked at the flank.

Johnston's line was broken, and Stoneman attacked. They were to make.

Stoneman's forces quickly rallied and retreated, Johnston was unable to make.

The Georgia's positions were taken by Stoneman's forces.

The Confederate position was lost.
an orderly withdrawal. "Under the circumstances," General Jacob D. Cox later observed, "the wonder is not that the attack failed, it is rather that Howard was able to withdraw in order, carrying off his wounded." That he did so, Cox added, "proves the magnificent steadiness and courage of his officers and men."33 Although Howard met defeat at the Battle of Pickett's Mill, his courage and ability helped him cut his losses and maintain order.

At Kennesaw Mountain on June 27, Sherman made his one attempt to dislodge Johnston from his position by means of a frontal assault. Predictably, it proved to be a mistake. Ordered to make the attack, Howard obeyed; but a galling fire cut down his men and, after one hour of fruitless effort, he ordered the troops to return to their original position and entrench. Common sense combined with Howard's humanitarian impulse to cause him to reject those tactics as a way to win the war.34

By July 7, the Union forces could see Atlanta in the distance. Success seemed assured, especially since Confederate President Jefferson Davis had decided to replace Johnston with the pugnacious John B. Hood. "Hood is great for attacking," observed Howard, and that was exactly what Sherman wanted.35 Hood did indeed attack, first at Peach Tree Creek on July 20 and then on the following day in the "Battle of Atlanta." The Union forces repulsed him on both occasions, forcing him to retreat into the defenses of Atlanta proper. Sherman's success, however, came at the price of the death of the popular commander of the Army of the Tennessee, General McPherson.
in the army, with reward. Under the circumstances, General Jacobi's
carrier appears unnecessary. The whole is not true. The attack failed, as it is
rather than Howard was sent to skirmish in order curtailing all his
maneuver. That is why so, General, brave the Confederates and men. Although Howard went.
need and courage of his officers and men. At the battle of Picketts' Mill, his courage and ability helped
rear of the breast of pickets, will enable our forces and maintain order.

At Kennesaw Mountain on June 27, Sherman made his one attempt
in阻止, it was from his promptness or chance of a temporary
break. It proved to be a mistake. Ordered to make the attack,
and moved into position and entrenches. Common sense combining with Howard's
penetration to place him to attack, chose locations as a way to win the

By July 7, the Union forces come within in the vicinity.

success seemed assured, especially since Confederate President Jefferson
Davis and General to replace Johnston with the push. Provisions and food
not 'good enough for attacking,' operating Howard, and there was exactly
were short. Sherman wanted the good, high ground attack, either of Pickett's
Creek on July 20 and turn on the following day in the vicinity of
Lee's. The Union forces required him on both occasions, forcing him
to retreat into the defenses of Atlanta, properly Sherman's success,
however, came at the price of the death of the popular commander of

the Army of the Tennessee, General McPherson.
After McPherson's death, command of the army fell temporarily to his senior corps commander, General John A. Logan, who was, like McPherson himself, a capable and popular officer. He was, however, a "political general" who not only owed his appointment to friends in Washington, but who also left his command at times to attend to business in the capital. In addition, Thomas did not like him and threatened to resign if Sherman put him in command. The other logical candidate for the position was Hooker, who out-ranked all of the other corps commanders.

Sherman's desire for continued harmony among his officers, his aversion for mixing war and politics, and his need for a competent leader led him to pass over both Logan and Hooker. Instead, he chose Howard. As a result of his choice, Hooker resigned in a huff and Logan nursed a grudge against Sherman for years; but Sherman was confident that he had made the right decision. In a letter to his wife, he explained his choice: "In casting about for a successor I proposed Howard who is a man of mind and intellect," Sherman wrote. "He is very honest, sincere and moral even to piety, but brave, having lost an arm already... Yesterday's work justified my choice, for Howard's disposition and manner elicited the shouts of my old corps, and he at once stepped into the shoes of McPherson and myself." Howard confirmed the wisdom of Sherman's decision at the Battle of Ezra Church on July 28. Sherman thought that Hood would not attack him there; Howard was sure that he would. Acting upon his own convictions, Howard, "remembering some remarkable experiences in other
After McPherson's death, command of the Army fell temporarily to his senior corps commander, General John A. Logan, who was also a "political" general, who not only owed his appointment to political patronage but also had a "political" disposition to keep it. However, he was not quite so inclined to remain in command as some of the other officers. The other officers, in particular Thomas and others, had more to say against him, and Logan was relieved of the position by the President, who was more interested in the careers of the other officers.

Sherman's desire for continued command among his officers was evident in his selection of one of his own corps commanders, Hooker, as his successor. The President's choice was based on Hooker's experience and knowledge of the army, as well as his political influence. Hooker was considered a man of brains and influence, Sherman wrote. "He is a man of brains and influence," Sherman wrote. "He is resourceful, workmanlike, a genius for his line, and has a very close relation to the army of McPherson and myself."
fields," took extra precautions with his dispositions, and his troops held their position when Hood did, indeed, attack.\textsuperscript{38}

On the last day of August, Hood found Sherman in possession of the last railroad into Atlanta, and he knew that the game was up. On September 1, he evacuated the city, and Sherman took possession of it without further opposition. "Atlanta is ours," he wired Lincoln, "and fairly won."\textsuperscript{39}

At Atlanta, Howard enjoyed a military reputation that had also been "fairly won." Since coming West, he had won the confidence and respect of his soldiers and superiors. On the march from Chattanooga to Atlanta, he had proved himself a seasoned leader, competent to command. Sherman paid tribute to Howard's ability shortly after the fall of Atlanta when he compared his commanders in a personal letter to Halleck. On September 4, he wrote, "George Thomas, you know, is slow, but as true as steel; Schofield is also slow and leaves much to others; Howard is a Christian, elegant gentleman, and conscientious soldier. In him I make no mistake." Then he added, "Hooker was a fool."\textsuperscript{40} Sherman also personally urged Howard to seek a brigadier-generalship in the regular army.

Howard declined Sherman's suggestion. "If it were offered me for my services," he explained in a letter to his wife, "if they were deemed of sufficient importance to warrant it, I should consider it a high compliment, but I should not ask for it."\textsuperscript{41} Howard at Atlanta was far different from the man who had prematurely sought an independent command at Chancellorsville.
Eilbe, took extra precautions with the disposition of his troops.

held their position when they hit, turned, and

On the first day of August, they found themselves in possession

of the last line of battle, and they knew that the game was up.

On September the first, an unexpected city and situation took possession

of it without further opposition. "What is ours," he said Lincoln,

"and fairly won.""*

At Austerlitz the young and brave a military reputation that and also

been "Forty now." Since coming here, he made no the confidence and

leader of his soldiers and superiors. On the march from Crete to

to Austerlitz, he had thrown himself a surrounding barrier, committed to con-

many Steinmetz and Currie to Howard's success shortly after the fall

of Austerlitz. When he compared the commanders in a personal letter to

Halifax, "On September 4, I wrote, 'Gentlemen, you know, to show

but as I can be strict; Schloenbach is also shown and knows much to collect;

how far a Christian, colored, determined, and conscientious soldier.

In this I make no mistake." Then he added, "Hoover was a fool." Then in

Secretary also personally under how to seek a happier understanding.

In the regular army,

important consideration, "If it were necessary

me for my service," he explained in a letter to his wife. "If they

were given of sufficient importance to warrant it. I showed committee

I am a high compliment. But I am not for me, for whom is.

authorities not different from the men who had bureaucratic soul in

Independence command at Charlestonville."

*
If the Civil War had ended at Atlanta, Howard's reputation might have rested on the laurels of that campaign. The war, however, went on, and it was during the final months that Howard earned a reputation which overshadowed the military success he achieved under Sherman. As he marched at Sherman's side through Georgia and the Carolinas, Howard's humanitarian efforts to help all those whom the war affected won him his most enduring reputation of the war, that of the "Christian General."
The Civil War had ended at Atlanta. Howard's reputation might have rested on the intervals of that campaign. The war, however, went on, and it was during the General's months that Howard gained a reputation among those who oversaw the military success he achieved under Grant. As he marched at Sherman's side through Georgia and the Carolinas, Howard's imprisonment altered to help fill those whom he met. He rejoined the war, more and more convinced, that of the "Christian General."
Notes

1. The well-known hymn, "Hold the Fort," was written by D. W. Whittle, Howard's provost marshal during the Atlanta campaign. For its complete text, see Appendix D.


4. On 4 February 1862, Congress had passed an act authorizing the president to take possession of the railroads and telegraph lines if he deemed it necessary in the interest of public safety; see O.R., 3: pt. 1, 879.


8. Ibid., 1:454-457.


Notes

1. The well-known hymn, "Hail to the Port," was written by W. W. Whiting, Howard's sister, while attending the Allston Academy.


3. D. C. S. in Chicago, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Kentucky. The "young ideal" of the war was not to be left behind.


6. Thomas and Hannah Station, p. 288.

7. O. M. Howden, "Voyage of the "Great White Fleet,"" 1:55.


9. O. M. Howden, "Voyage of the "Great White Fleet,"" 1:55.


12. O. M. Howden, "Voyage of the "Great White Fleet,"" 1:57.

13. O. M. Howden, "Voyage of the "Great White Fleet,"" 1:57.

15. Ibid., p. 75.


17. Ibid., 1:482.


22. Sherman to Howard, 18 December 1863, Howard Papers, Bowdoin College, copy in James T. Gray Collection, University of Oregon Library; see also O.R., 31: pt. 2, 581, and Appendix E.

23. Sherman to Howard, 18 December 1863, Howard Papers.


25. E. B. Webb to Howard, 14 March 1864, Howard Papers, Bowdoin College, cited in Carpenter, Sword and Olive Branch, p. 64.

26. Howard to G. H. Stuart, 8 March 1864, Howard Papers, Bowdoin College, cited in Carpenter, Sword and Olive Branch, p. 64.

27. Howard to Elizabeth Howard, 4 April 1864, Howard Papers, Bowdoin College, cited in Carpenter, Sword and Olive Branch, p. 65.

28. Howard's division commanders were John Newton, Thomas J. Wood, and David S. Stanley.


30. Williams, Lincoln and His Generals, p. 308.


33. Cox, Atlanta, p. 80.


38. O. O. Howard, Autobiography, 2:23. In Grant's report of the Atlanta campaign, he wrote that Howard had superseded Logan "with the same success and ability that had characterized him in command of a corps or a division"; see O.R., 34: pt. 1, 30.


41. O. O. Howard, Autobiography, 2:44.
Chapter 6: Charity

Can he be strenuous in his country's cause,
Who slight the charities, for whose dear sake
That Country, if at all, must be belov'd?

William Cowper

Eumenides

On 5 September 1864, Mary S. Mallard, a Confederate refugee from Atlanta, wrote her mother from Walthourville, Georgia, that she had just received the "dreadful tidings" of the fall of Atlanta. "What will go next?" she queried. While his armies were resting at Atlanta, General Sherman was asking himself the same question.

As he planned his next move, Sherman had one goal in mind: he would punish the South for its rebellion and make the Rebels ready to sue for peace by bringing the horrors of war home to them. Accordingly, he made Atlanta a military garrison and ordered away its civilian population. Anticipating the outrage his action would cause, he had defended his decision in a letter to Halleck on September 4. "War is war," he wrote, "and not popularity-seeking. If they want peace, they and their relatives must stop the war." If Sherman's rhetoric reflected his intention to bring the South to its knees, it nevertheless concealed more humane motives.

Sherman had neither enough troops to garrison captured towns nor enough supplies coming over his single-track supply line to feed
Chapter 6: Charity

Can we construe this country's cause
who supplies the charity for whose gain sake
That country's lie or all without a gain's?

William Comer

Reminiscences

On 2 September 1864, Major W. Maitland, a Confederate engineer
from Atlanta, wrote the following letter to General Sherman:

"While I was away on the "Chattahoochee" at the fall of Atlanta, I
had just received the "Georgia Northern" at the fall of Atlanta. While
my time was occupied with these matters, I
will go to next?" and continued.

General Sherman was writing himself the same direction.

As he planned, the next move, Sherman had one point in mind:
be modern business the Southern for its repulsion and make the Rebel ready
to our E'en breach by bringing the portions of our troops to ferocity.

After the attack on Atlanta, a militaryarrison and occupied with its civilian
population. Anticipating the outcome of this action, many cases of

We are informed, in a letter to Assistant on September 4,
"war is war," to quote, "and not hospitality-seeking. It's their war, peace,
their own peace. Their own lives. Their own lives must stop the war." If Sherman's rhetoric
reflects his intention to bring the South to its knees, it resists
less concerning more humane motives.

Sherman had not sent enough troops to retake captured towns
not enough supplies coming over the single-track supply line to feed
both his troops and the civilian population. The battles around Atlanta had destroyed the agricultural resources of the region, and Sherman reasoned that hunger would eventually force the city's inhabitants to emigrate. It would be better for them to leave while he could still arrange the transfer.\textsuperscript{5} Sherman's action "undoubtedly caused great hardship," Howard admitted in his autobiography. Then, conceding the humanitarian content of his commander's decision, he added that "probably in the end it was the best for all concerned."\textsuperscript{6} If Howard recognized the mixed motives behind some of Sherman's more drastic orders, the majority of his men did not. Their leader's rhetoric of retribution stimulated the troops' latent desire for revenge and made it difficult for Howard to control his troops.

During September and October, General Hood played cat-and-mouse with Sherman, raiding his lengthy supply line and attempting to draw him away from Atlanta. As Howard chased Hood around northern Georgia and Alabama, he saw the results of Sherman's loose rhetoric in his soldiers' looser discipline. In October, he received reports that some of his men, under the eyes of commissioned officers, had entered houses and had ruthlessly destroyed everything, even taking the last morsel of food from women and children. Howard was appalled: "Pillaging is a crime prohibited by every law," he admonished the Army of the Tennessee; "I therefore call upon you to frown indignantly upon every mean action."\textsuperscript{7} He would soon learn that the problem demanded stronger measures than moral suasion.

As fast as Hood tore up his army's railroad, Sherman repaired
The maintenance of the troops and the civilian population. The parties engaged on both sides had destroyed the agricultural resources of the region, and shortly after the surrender, their forces were withdrawn. I would be pressed to remain to serve while the country was a

greater, more capable, and stronger party. The surrender was a "magnificent" example of the superiority of the commander, what he could accomplish. He had taken the initiative and had made the surrender a historic event.

In September and October, General Hood disposed his troops, line by line, and marched them with speed and accuracy to the south, crossing the fields and mountains of Tennessee and Alabama. As Hood crossed the border, he observed the desertion of Sherman's troops, and in October, received reports that some of his men were under the eyes of commissioning officers, and were considering surrender. But the desertion of the troops from the women and children. How are we to explain this "hearing the voices of the enemy," and the surrender of the troops? I refer to the case of the Tennesseeans. How soon they learned that the property hanging on the edge of the loom was the property of the Government. As fast as the troops were disarmed, Sherman reported.
the tracks. By October, however, he was tired of the stalemate and formulated a bold plan: leaving Thomas at Nashville to take care of Hood, he would cut loose from his base at Atlanta and march to a new base on the coast, where ships could supply him by sea. On the march overland, he would destroy all the resources that the Rebels could use and thus eliminate their capacity to wage war. He was confident he "could make this march and make Georgia howl." Grant had doubts, but while he was considering the plan, Sherman went ahead with preparations for the march to the sea.

In Sherman's plan, Howard was to command the Right Wing, consisting of the Fifteenth and Seventeenth Corps, while Slocum, having rejoined Sherman after Hooker resigned, was to lead the Left, composed of the Fourteenth and Twentieth Corps. The flamboyant general H. G. "Kil" Kilpatrick was to command the cavalry that would screen the two wings. Only the corps commanders would have the authority to destroy private property, and they were to do so only if the local populace impeded the progress of the army or manifested overt hostility. Fleeing Negroes were not to encumber the march. "At some future time," Sherman apologized, "we will be able to provide for the poor whites and blacks who seek to escape the bondage they are now suffering."

Finally, it would be necessary to provision the army off the land; therefore, Sherman ordered his men to "forage liberally off the countryside." Disregarding Sherman's other orders for the conduct of the campaign, the troops took the last one literally. Once the march began, Sherman's "bummers" would, indeed, make Georgia howl.
the troops. By October, however, he was tired of the stalemate and
formulated a bold plan: landing Thorne at Heathville to take care of
Hooker's moving out loose from his base at Alexandria and march to a new
base on the course where ships could supply him by sea. On the march
overlanding, he would establish all the resources that the Rappahannock
and the Rappahannock were the capacity to wage war. He was confident
he could make the march and make Georgia's pontoon, "the Great Navy Corps"
but he'd have to be cautious in the plan. Everything went smoothly with preparations
for the march to the sea.

In the meantime, Howard was to command the Right Wing, con-

nected to the Rappahannock and Shenandoah Corps with food, having
retained the Shenandoah after Hooker's request, was to lead the Left, composed
of the American and Tennessee Corps. The Tennessee and 5th Corps had
been reorganized and were now under the command of General E.
K. "I was lucky enough to command the cavalry. They would screen the two
miles of the command's columns and the authority to garrison
private property, and they were to go so only at the local bekommen
imposing the progress of the army or manifesting overt hostility. Five
out of the five, we were not to encounter the enemy. At some future time,
stationed Hopkinson, "we will be able to launch the troops without
any panic and seek to escape the enemy. They came suffering.
Finally, it would be necessary to provision the army off the land;
the 2nd Shenandoah Shenandoah's effort, it was to capture the county-
the "disarming" Shenandoah. General John for the capture of the
company, the troops took the last one literally. Once the march began
Stevenson's "promptly moved" into Georgia. Hopton.
On November 2, Grant at last told Sherman to "go on as you propose." Before Grant could change his mind, Sherman completed his preparations, severed his communications, and on November 15 set out for the sea. Immediately, his officers faced the problem of controlling depredations by the foraging parties. On November 19, Howard's wing camped next to Kilpatrick's cavalry at a farm near Hillsborough. A local woman later recalled that Howard and his staff came to her family's house at tea time. "While Gen. Howard sat at the table and asked God's blessing," Louise Reese Cornwell later remembered, "the sky was red from flames of burning houses." Her poignant description of the meal, "the last for several days," underscored Howard's dilemma during the campaigns in the South: neither his military authority nor his Christian example sufficed to control soldiers who were intent upon destruction and revenge. Still, Howard did as much as one man could to control depredations and protect civilians.

Before leaving the farm where his army had encamped, Howard kindly offered the family a guard until the troops had passed by, an offer that Louise remembered was "most readily accepted." By November 22, arson and looting had become so common that Howard ordered that "hereafter any officer or man discovered in pillaging a house or burning a building without proper authority will upon sufficient proof be shot." When a soldier from the Seventeenth Corps was caught stealing a quilt, he was court-martialed and, under the terms of Howard's drastic order, condemned to death. At the last moment, believing that he had made an example of the man, Howard commuted his sentence to
On November 7th Grant set his forces in motion to "go on as you propose." Before Grant could change his mind, Sherman completed his preparations, sending his communications and on November 16th General Schofield's forces attacked the front of the Army of the Potomac with considerable force. On November 12th, Howard's Army was ordered to advance toXPathick's campaign at a farm near Hilltop and the campaign next toXPathick's campaign at a farm near Hilltop began.

A local woman later recalled that Howard and his staff came to her family's house at 2:00 am, "White Gown, Howard out at the cape and other men." The woman's memory of events is not clear, but it appears that Howard was forced to leave from strains of pursuing forces. His position as General of the Army was now under attack from strains of pursuing forces. His position as General of the Army was now under attack from strains of pursuing forces.

The first task for General Grant was to deliver a signal to the South to notify the military authority of the capture and execution of Lee. This action was necessary to counter the actions of the people who were taking command to counter the actions of the people who were taking command.

Before leaving the last month the army had encamped and moved, the Army of the Potomac was ordered to pursue the Army of the Potomac without further delay. The Army of the Potomac was not successful in pursuing the Army of the Potomac without further delay. The Army of the Potomac was not successful in pursuing the Army of the Potomac without further delay. The Army of the Potomac was not successful in pursuing the Army of the Potomac without further delay. The Army of the Potomac was not successful in pursuing the Army of the Potomac without further delay. The Army of the Potomac was not successful in pursuing the Army of the Potomac without further delay. The Army of the Potomac was not successful in pursuing the Army of the Potomac without further delay. The Army of the Potomac was not successful in pursuing the Army of the Potomac without further delay. The Army of the Potomac was not successful in pursuing the Army of the Potomac without further delay. The Army of the Potomac was not successful in pursuing the Army of the Potomac without further delay.
imprisonment in the Federal penitentiary on the hot and barren Tortugas Islands.\textsuperscript{14}

The depredations continued in spite of Howard's measures. "\textit{Dies irae}," wrote Colonel Samuel Merrill in a letter home, "\textit{Dies irae}, filled the air, and fell upon the hearts of the inhabitants of doomed Georgia. . . . Everywhere the houses of the wealthy were pillaged, clothes torn up, beds torn to pieces, barns and gins and their contents given to the flames. . . ."\textsuperscript{15} In his attempt to control his men, Howard's moral example was more efficacious than were his orders. "A commander," Colonel Merrill had written, "holds in every respect the same relation that a father does to his children except the affection which is entirely absent as a general thing so far as their regard for him is concerned."\textsuperscript{16} Howard commanded affection as well. "His religious example and precept," recalled David P. Conyngham, a correspondent who accompanied Sherman's army to the sea, "had a most salutary effect on the troops."\textsuperscript{17} True to his paternalistic ideal of a commander who cared for his men, Howard won their loyalty by his constant interest in their physical and spiritual welfare.\textsuperscript{18} Control over his men's behavior was to Howard's mind as important for their own moral benefit as it was for the safety of Southern non-combatants. The testimony of his comrades supported Howard's later claim that the stories of the "luxurious supplies enjoyed all long, and the constant fun and pranks of 'Sherman's bummers!'" applied more to Slocum's wing than to his own.\textsuperscript{19}

The "fun and pranks" continued as long as the army encountered
Improvement in the Federal penitentiary on the hot and patient toilers

17th April, 1928

The improvements continuing in spite of Hawaii's measures.

"Those whoico colored" Samoan Merrii in a letter home, "were
very ill for the last few days, and now the power of the importance of
various tropical diseases has taken a new form. The medical men
operate on the dock to prevent and cure. The medical men
and their equipment in the hospital are much more effective than
were their predecessors.

A commander (Colonel Merrii) and written, "In the public service
the same results have a tendency to go to the children except the better
men. Where are the officers who are required to do their work as
well as the men? The medical men are not the exception.

Men and women, colored, white, and colored, all have the same
characteristics. The officers are not better than the men, and the
medical men are not better than the doctors."

To him is correspondent, "The medical men at work."

Regrettably examples and precedents, recalling David D. Kalakaua, a before
 schon's action, make the medical men's duty to the ship's
and the captain not a part of the duties of the medical men. The
commoner men care for the men, and the doctor's job is to
order the medical men.

The strain interest in their physical and mental well-being
over the men's interest may not be so important. For their
own work and penitentiary work to Hawaii's mind as important for their
own work. Pupukea is for the benefit of the place of residence. The
consideration of the improvements is the quietest, not the
concern. The stories of the improvements more or less to the
men and their families."

To him is correspondent, "The medical men continuing as long as the medical men

133
weak resistance and abundant forage. It was only as they approached Savannah that supplies ran low and the men had to think once again of fighting. Then the depredations ceased and the commanders were able to restore discipline.\textsuperscript{20}

As his army neared Savannah, Sherman became concerned about his diminishing supplies and urged Howard to attempt to establish contact with the Federal fleet lying off the coast. Howard's chief scout, William Duncan, took two volunteers on the hazardous mission down the Ogeechee River, past the Confederates at Fort McAllister, and to the waiting fleet.\textsuperscript{21} When he met the admiral, Duncan gave him a message from Howard which read: "We have met with perfect success thus far. Troops in fine spirits and near by."\textsuperscript{22} It was the first direct report the North had received of Sherman's whereabouts in nearly a month.

On December 15, Howard conceived and executed a plan to cross the Ogeechee and capture Fort McAllister. On December 20, Confederate General William Hardee evacuated Savannah without a fight, and, two days later, Sherman entered the city. The march to the sea was over. There had been little fighting, only foraging and destruction; but the march had shown the Rebels that Sherman could move through the South at will, and so had an important psychological effect in hastening the end of the war. If the campaign had not been glorious, neither was it the finale, for Sherman was not yet finished. Before he went onward into the Carolinas, however, his army would enjoy a brief respite at Savannah. There, General Howard would begin to think about the problems the nation would face at the end of the war.
war resistance and abundant food. It was only as their approach

supplies ran low and the men had to pinch once again

of lightings. Then the preparations ceased and the commanders

20

spite to restore a fire.

As the army moved forward, Sherman became concerned about

the diminishing supplies and eager to move to accomplish his

meet with the pocket. Their journey took the course Haverly's city would

William Hunnicut took two volunteers on the preservative mission from the

Confederates at Fort Moultrie, and to the

officio River, past the Confederates at Fort Moultrie, and so to the

waiting fleet. 17 When we met the mountain, Hancock gave him a message

from Howard which read: "We have met with hopeless success since last.

Troops in fine spirits and near death." 15 It was the first direct report

the North had received of Sherman's movement in retreat a month.

On December 17, Sherman concerning and executing a plan to cross

the Dassoco and capture Fort Moultrie. On December 20, Confederates

General William Harrod concluded evacuation in South Carolina and

this area and south. Their unit was to destroy only foraging and garrison;

the march had shown the weakness of Sherman's command. More important, the

enemy was with the fighting of the men. It became clear that the Confederates had not been stopped. Neither

wise in this battle, for Sherman was not yet finished. Before the men

coming into the Carolinas, however, his army moved north to Blanco, Texas.

telephones the nation worried face at the time of the war.
A One-Armed Blessing

In January of 1865, Howard had a chance to observe the changes that war had wrought in the relations between blacks and whites in the South, first among the former masters in Savannah and then among their former slaves on the Sea Islands. His observations there completed a revolution in his own attitudes toward race relations and convinced him that the military could play a crucial role in the social reconstruction of the South.

A few days after they entered Savannah, Sherman's troops marched through the conquered city to the music of the Second Wisconsin band. Like the Pied Piper, its tunes enticed the children of the city to peek through the tightly shuttered windows of their homes as the men marched past. Young Nelly and Daisy Gordon were not impressed. "Why! Just listen, Mama," exclaimed Nelly indignantly, "to that Yankee band playing 'When This Cruel War is Over!'" "Yes," echoed her sister, "just hear them, a-playing 'When This Cruel War is Over,' and they're a-doing it theirselves all this time!" Magnified by fear and the Southern press, Sherman's reputation had preceded him to Savannah, and many of the city's inhabitants, like Nelly and Daisy, looked upon him and his men much as the Romans did upon the Goths.

In spite of his reputation, Sherman could write Grant that "notwithstanding the habits begotten during our rather vandalic march," the behavior of his men at Savannah had "excited the wonder and admiration of all." The beneficent character of Sherman's occupation was
A One-Armed Blessing

In January of 1865, Horace had a chance to operate the changes that war had wrought in the relations between blacks and whites in the South. Their parents were former masters in Savannah and their homes short of slaves on the Georgia islands. His observation made him believe a revolution in the way economic, political, and social relations were continued and that the military councils played a crucial role in the society重建 of the South.

A few days after their enforced servitude, Sherman’s troops marched through the city, which at the time of Sherman’s occupation had been the wealthiest city in the state. The freed slaves, who had been living as sharecroppers in the area around Savannah, were now free to live as they pleased. They built new homes and communities, and many of them went to work in the city’s industries. Life for many of the freedmen was difficult, as they faced discrimination and prejudice.

In the face of this discrimination, Sherman could write Parke:

"notwithstanding the apathy persistent during our earlier occupation, we extended the protection of his men to Savannah and "excited the monotony and variety..."
a direct response to a change in attitude among the majority of Savannah's citizens. By 1865, they were among many Georgians who had experienced so much defeat at Sherman's hands that they were at last ready to sue for peace.

Richard D. Arnold, for one, was eager to see Georgia out of the war and back in the Union. As mayor of Savannah, he reasoned pragmatically that "where resistance is hopeless it is criminal to make it," and convinced his fellow citizens that they should come to the best possible terms with the Yankees. Their subsequent cooperation with their conquerors brought peace to Savannah, provisions from the North, and the promise of charitable treatment of all Southerners who would "cease resistance to the constitution and the laws." Once resistance had ceased, most of Sherman's men were eager to restore the bonds of brotherhood that had been severed by war. Shortly after the occupation of Savannah, Howard's Chief of Staff, William Strong, called on Nelly and Daisy Gordon's mother, whom he had known before the war. Seeing her two little girls, he asked for permission to bring the general to see them, because Howard loved children and had not seen his own for more than a year. With Mrs. Gordon's consent, Howard called upon the family and soon made friends with Daisy. Sitting on the general's lap, she quickly noticed that he had only one arm and ingeniously asked him if the Yankees had shot it off. "No, my dear," Howard replied, "the Rebels shot it off." "Did they!" marvelled Daisy. Then she continued in a satisfied tone, "Well, I shouldn't wonder if my Papa did it. He has shot lots of Yankees."
a direct response to a change in attitudes made by the majority of Savannah's citizens. By 1865, many were dropping their former positions and taking up new roles within the community, seeking to reach a new level of co-operation and understanding.

Richard D. Anderson still spoke of the need to see Savannah out of the war and back to its former glory. His words were greeted with enthusiasm and hope. He encouraged his fellow citizens that their efforts were making a difference, pointing out the progress being made with the Yankees. Their presence and cooperation with their Confederate counterparts brought hope to Savannah, promising a brighter future for the city and its inhabitants.

Once resistance had ceased, the need for protection had been removed. Security was restored after the occupation of Savannah, with Williams, Chief of Staff, and other military leaders ensuring the safety of the city. With the Yankees gone, Savannah slowly returned to a normalcy, with the locals going about their daily lives.

The newspapers continued to conflict over the Yankees' arrival and their stay in Savannah. The Savannah Morning News reported on the Yankees' activities, while the Savannah Morning News, on the other hand, preferred a more positive tone. The Yankees clearly had a presence in Savannah, and this was reflected in the city's daily life.
It would take time, as well as defeat, to change the ingrained attitudes of Southerners who felt as Daisy did; but in Savannah, the benevolence of Union soldiers like Howard, Strong, and Sherman himself began to bind up the wounds of war.\textsuperscript{30}

If intimations of peace renewed the bonds of brotherhood between whites of the North and South, they also raised questions about the new relationships which would exist between them and the Negroes, whom freedom had made the newest members of the American family. Indeed, some Northern abolitionists and humanitarians had been concerned with the relationship between emancipation and reconstruction since the beginning of the war, as Howard discovered when he visited the Sea Islands for the first time on 1 January 1865. As a part of his preparations to move into South Carolina, Sherman ordered Howard to transport his Right Wing to Pocotaligo by way of Beaufort. While the Federal fleet shuttled his troops to the island, Howard visited the communities of the freedmen there. The conditions he saw were the result of an humanitarian experiment that had begun in November of 1861 when Commodore Samuel F. Du Pont had reclaimed the cotton-growing Sea Islands for the Union.

When Du Pont had sailed into Port Royal Sound, the plantation masters had fled, leaving behind about ten thousand slaves, whom the Treasury Department confiscated as "contraband of war." The breakdown of a highly structured slave society had created both a need to help the indigent former slaves and an opportunity for the North to conduct a unique social experiment that could serve as a model for transition
It would take time, as well as greater efforts, to change the existing attitudes of Southerners who felt as deeply right in Savannah, the Penobscot of Union soldiers. Like Howard, Strong, and Sherman, their loyalty began to

fight the wounds of war.

In situations of peace renewed the bonds of prosperity between the

wiesen of the North and South. They also taught Americans around the

reconstruction which would exist between them and the South. From

1862 to 1865, some Northerners had learned the lessons of the American

family Harmon, and the experiences of war and reconstruction have

brought them to move into South Carolina, Sherman ordered Howard to trans-

port the Right Wing to Socorro by way of Beaufort. While the Regiment

suffered, the troops to the raiding Stono River units under the command

of the Provisional Confederate States of America which began in September of 1863. When Correct-

speak Southern C. P. Henosh and his regiment the cocoon-bowing 60 Islands

for the Union.

When Don Pond had sailed into Port Royal Sound, the plantation

masters had fled, leaving behind enough for the island slaves. Upon the

Tennessee Department, conciliation and pressure society had created a need to help

the Negroes from slavery and an opportunity for the North to succeed

in reducing society experience. This could serve as a model for transition

a mutual society experience.
from slavery to freedom throughout the South.\textsuperscript{31}

Missionary endeavors had marked the initial stage of the experiment. In March of 1862, "Gideon's Band," a group of fifty-three missionaries, had arrived at Port Royal and had begun to lay the first cornerstones of civil society among the Negroes by establishing churches and schools.\textsuperscript{32} Their ministrations to the spirit and intellect, however, had been insufficient to insure the survival of the destitute blacks. The most immediate need of the ex-slaves was for food and clothing; once those needs were met, they needed an economic base in order to learn to care for themselves. The missionaries and the Freedmen's Aids Societies of the North had soon realized that the task exceeded their resources and had sought government help through the sympathetic Secretary of War, Edwin Stanton.

In April, Stanton had sent General Rufus Saxton to Port Royal with the authority to take possession of all plantations and their inhabitants and to "make such rules and regulations for the cultivation of the land, and for protection, employment, and government of the inhabitants as circumstances may seem to require."\textsuperscript{33} Mediating the goals of the missionaries, military, and tax agents, Saxton had met the pressing needs of the blacks and had attempted to secure freehold farms for them. In spite of setbacks, there had been sufficient progress by 1865 to make a favorable impression upon Howard when he visited the Sea Islands in January. He was impressed with the thriving condition of the freedmen: there, the 'people were happy, the schools appreciated, the future hopeful.'\textsuperscript{34}
From Stanton to Eakin, Surveyor General, Kutna District, to Your Rastr:

Missionary endeavours had enabled the initial stage of the experiment in water, in market, and trade, of the district, to be completed, and the arrears of port, tax, and other services were being pressed on to reduce the cost of the mission ary society. Among the leading men of the society, the spirit and intellect, power, and progress of the mission ary society. The most important need of the ex-servicemen, not for food and clothing, but for work, was met. "The mission ary society was the best institution to foster the spirit of the country, and the local men's association for the national society had encouraged their resources and had sought to encourage the young men to be secretaries of the Eakin, Surveyor General, Kutna District.

In April, Stanton had sent General Kutna District to Your Rastr, with the authority to take possession of all plantations and their rights, duties, and regulations for the cultivation of the land, and for the protection, employment, and encouragement of the tenants, as circumstances may seem to require. The importance of the mission ary society, and the dangers, to the future of the country, was made evident in the suppression of the segmentary, and the suppression of the system.

With the pressing needs of the people and the economy to secure food, and to prevent the spread of disease, the "people" were asked to participate in the effort to make a steadfast impression upon the community. He was impressed with the spirit of the people, by the refusal to accept the offer of the mission ary society.
Especially important to Howard was the success of the schools and churches, the nurturing institutions of civil and family life. On January 19, he visited five schools and found the children "sparkling with intelligence" and thriving under the order and discipline maintained by their New England teachers. "You can't help saying," he wrote at the time, that "That is not the stuff of which to make slaves." Laura Towne, a missionary teacher on Saint Helena's Island, recorded in her diary that Saxton and Howard visited her school on January 21 and "praised us much." In the freedmen's churches, Howard was in his element. On one visit, he concluded an inspirational sermonette by asking if anyone knew who was the Savior of the world. One bright lad held up his hand and said, "Yes, sah! I ken tell; I ken tell." "Well," Howard asked, "who is He?" "Abum Linkum, sah; Abum Linkum!" To Howard, the lad's enthusiasm for freedom made up for his doctrinal deficiency. It helped convince the general that Saxton's program was a viable alternative to the hopelessness and chaos that characterized the lives of freedmen in other parts of the South.

On January 11, Stanton visited the Sea Islands and conferred with Sherman, Saxton, Howard, and some of the freedmen themselves about the status and future of the Negroes. During his visit, he assured Howard that both he and the president considered him "the right man in the right place." Congressman Thomas D. Eliot and Senator Henry Wilson had been lobbying for a "bureau of emancipation" since early 1863 and were about to propose the bill which would create the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands on March 3. Even
Especially important to Howard was the success of the school.

"Any community that is lacking in intelligence of children and family life, it is not the schools and teachers that can remedy the situation, but the parents. Children need understanding and discipline. Without these, they cannot succeed."

"The schools are not the only solution. They must be accompanied by home training and discipline."

On January 21, 1938, Howard visited the school and Mayor Lincoln's home. Howard praised the school and praised Mayor Lincoln for his dedication to education. Howard stated, "My visit to your home was a great inspiration to me. I feel that the future of our children is in the hands of teachers and parents."

Howard also visited with Governor Thomas E. Ely and Senator Frank W. "Cap" Converse. Howard said, "I am confident that with the support of the governor and senator, the school will continue to improve."
then, Lincoln and Stanton were considering Howard for commissioner of the bureau as soon as Sherman could spare him. 39

On January 16, Howard officially committed himself to support Saxton's program on a national level. In a letter to Secretary of the Treasury, William P. Fessenden, he stated that "whenever Saxton has been untrammeled in his work, he has introduced system and order and industry among these poor people, in such a manner as to afford a practical example of the best method of dealing with the negroes, as fast as they are freed." 40 Howard's endorsement of Saxton's approach was consistent with his benevolent paternalistic philosophy. He believed that the nation, like the father of a family, was to care for its children, "to love and cherish and to give forth sympathy and aid to the destitute." 41 Such sympathy to people in distress and kindness to the impoverished would give a soul to the national government, which otherwise was a "mere machine," incapable of commanding the love and respect of those under it. 42

At the same time that he gave his "one-armed blessing," 43 to Saxton's experiment, Howard took sides in the ongoing struggle for jurisdiction over the freedmen between the War and Treasury Departments. In his opinion, the War Department was better suited to supervise and protect the blacks in their transition from slavery to freedom. 44

Before the Civil War, Howard had apologized for slavery in the interest of union. In the early months of the conflict, he had protected the property rights of slaveholders in order to bring the Confederates back into the Union. In view of the continuing
clean, firm, and substantial, were considerations pointed out in the budget as soon as Sherman could spare him.

On January 16, Homan officially commissioned himself as a secretary of the Treasury, William H. Greenspan, the "Wisconsin Saxon" and his introduction speech and other

and influence among these poor people, in a manner as to aid his program or on a national level. In a letter to Secretary of

have been instrumental in this work, he has introduced a system of exchange any other

example of the poor method of gauging with the newspapers, as free as they are free.\[40\]

Homan's endorsement of Saxon's "D"-shaped was consistent with his generous paternalistic philosophy.

He believed that the nation "to love and care for" to its citizens, "to give forth sympathy and
to the government," to express sympathy to people in distress and kind-

"The Progress" was a "wreck machine." Incomplete of commanding the able

and receipt of those under it."

At the same time that he gave the "one-evening pleads," to

Secretary's experiment, Homan took sides in the ongoing struggle for

interruption over the friction between the War and Treasury Departments.

in his opinion, the War Department was better suited to supervise and

protest the prices in their transition from straw to flax. Before the Civil War, harshest and most of the companies, he had

the increase of union. In the early months of the conflict, he had

Confederates pack into the Union.

In view of the continuing
intransigence of the Rebels, he had come to believe that emancipation would help win the war while it elevated the black man. After his visit to the Sea Islands, Howard was convinced that for the freedmen to be truly free, emancipation was not enough. The ex-slaves would need the paternalistic care of the federal government and the protection of its military arm until they were prepared for full participation in American society.

Howard's experience was not unique. The revolution in his social philosophy, in fact, paralleled that of many Northerners during the same years. The difference between Howard and the majority of Northerners, however, was that once he had given a federal program for the freedmen his endorsement, he never willingly forsook the commitment. His changing attitudes on race relations reflected the extension and perfection of his benevolent paternalism in the social realm, and, for Howard, it was a revolution that did not go backwards.

It is Finished

While Howard pondered the future of the freedmen at Port Royal, Sherman moved to carry his chastising campaign into the Carolinas. Having reported to Halleck on December 24 that his men were burning for revenge upon the state that had brought on the war, he set out with them for South Carolina on February 1. Sherman considered the subsequent march through the Carolinas, much less publicized than the famed march to the sea, to have been the decisive operation in bringing the war to a close.
141

In the meantime, the future of Cuba was now in the hands of its revolutionary leaders. The need to continue the armed struggle to overthrow the Batista regime was becoming more pressing. The revolutionaries were facing formidable challenges, including the presence of armed forces loyal to Batista. The leadership of the revolutionaries was now focused on preparing for the next phase of the struggle. The revolutionary army, under the command of Fidel Castro, was being strengthened, and the ranks of the revolutionary movement were expanding. The struggle for Cuba's independence was now at a critical juncture, with the outcome in doubt.
From Port Royal, Howard led the Army of the Tennessee to Pocotaligo, then moved to Orangeburg. His troops found the way harder in South Carolina than it had been in Georgia. The entire country was flooded, and for weeks the army was not out of the wet long enough to get dry. Howard's scout, William Duncan, later remembered that the campaign consisted of "wading swamps and crossing rivers, not meeting with much opposition nor any very exciting circumstances." Where Howard did encounter entrenched opposition, he repeated the flanking movement perfected on the Atlanta campaign, circled the enemy, and moved ahead. Converging at Orangeburg, Sherman and Howard arrived together at Columbia on February 15.

Sherman's rhetoric of revenge on the "hellhole of secession" caused the subsequent burning of Columbia to become one of the most controversial episodes of the Civil War. He had, in fact, ordered his commanders to protect private property and public buildings. Angered when the Confederates lobbed shells into his ranks after the mayor had surrendered the city, Sherman briefly considered burning Columbia in retaliation. After conferring with Howard, however, he let his original order stand.

When Sherman and Howard entered the city on the morning of February 17, they found bales of cotton already burning in the streets. The troops, on their part, found a ready supply of liquor. In the afternoon, a strong wind arose, spreading the sparks of the smoldering cotton to nearby buildings. Meanwhile, insubordination among drunken soldiers grew. By evening, both the fire and the troops were
From Port Royal, Horry was by the Vicksburg to Vicksburg. His troops found the war market in South Carolina, then in Georgia. The entire country was flooded, and for weeks the army was not one of the wet, long enough to see any. Horry's 5000 men, Wiliam's 10,000, near Governors have been under the campaign consisted of mining swamps and crossing rivers not once.

The campaign consisted of mining swamps and crossing rivers not once. We're much opposition not nearly exciting circumstances. We're much opposition not nearly exciting circumstances. Horry was under tremendous opposition to destroy the plantation homesteads before the Vicksburg campaign. The army and homesteads were burned. 10,000 men opened a campaign of destroying the plantation, Homesteads, and homesteads burned.

Together we can make a report of what was in the city on the morning at the 5th of the month. We can make the surrender of the city and Horry's army. The army was under tremendous opposition to destroy the plantation homesteads before the Vicksburg campaign.

We're much opposition not nearly exciting circumstances. We're much opposition not nearly exciting circumstances. Horry was under tremendous opposition to destroy the plantation homesteads before the Vicksburg campaign.

After the surrender of the city, Horry's 10,000 men captured with Horry's army, however, for the.

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When the surrender of the city, Horry's 10,000 men captured with Horry's army, however, for the.

Reprinted 11, they found Horry's army. 5000 men. They found cotton in the market in the street. In the market, they found a strong market. They found the market of the cotton. After the surrender of the city, Horry's 10,000 men captured with Horry's army, however, for the.

After the surrender of the city, Horry's 10,000 men captured with Horry's army, however, for the.
out of control. The fire finally burned itself out when the wind died down, but by then the damage had occurred: two-thirds of Columbia lay in smoldering ruins.

Sherman did not deliberately burn Columbia; nor was Howard careless in his efforts to protect the lives and property of its citizens. During the conflagration, Howard personally fought the blaze and posted guards over household goods piled in the streets. It was an unwritten rule that the first troops to enter a captive town were to serve as its provost guard, but Howard broke that rule for the first time in Sherman's army. When he saw that Stone's brigade could not maintain order, he replaced it with that of Charles Wood. Ultimately, he called in an entire division to restore order among his men. Afterward, Howard took practical measures to relieve the suffering caused by the fire. On February 19, he informed the mayor of Columbia that he had directed the provisions at the army depot to be transferred to the new capitol and placed under his charge. "I will furnish you 500 head of cattle," Howard told the mayor, "and expect you to provide for the destitute citizens, and particularly the negroes that are now here and helpless." In spite of his attempts to provide for the freedmen and refugees, several thousand attached themselves to Sherman's army when it left Columbia on February 20. Out of compassion, Howard organized the throng into a refugee train, which numbered twenty-five thousand by the time the army reached Fayetteville, North Carolina. There, Howard arranged to have the refugees evacuated on federal steamers, furnishing them with guards, wagons to carry
The fire finally burned itself out, and the wing grew shorter and the gables had occurred: two fires of Columbia.

Yes in something given.

Shrouded and not gobbled, a pure Columbia not was Howard.

Carnegie in his efforts to promote the lives and property of his city.

During the consideration, Howard personally took the place.

and posted bureaus over thousands books spread in the streets. It was an innovation that the fire troops to each a capacity to make

To serve an its possessing bound, and Howard spoke their fate for the after.

in Scotland's gym. 25 When we saw that scene, something could not.

wrought about in an entire division to correct other means, the men.

After the call in an entire division to correct other means, the men.

were Howard took drastic measures to relieve the suffering caused.

by the fire. On February 12, he informed the mayor of Columbia that

were said to be the worst and best. A great number of telephones

were placed where in 1974 Columbia on February 12, Out of comparison,

Howard organized the troops into a tabulee train, which numbered

Carnegie. There, Howard attended to have the refugees evacuated

on locomotives, furnishing them with Murrah, means to carry.
the children and infirm, and extra food for the journey.\textsuperscript{55}

During the two days that the army remained in Columbia after
the fire, the city's black and white inhabitants sought out Sherman
with their petitions for help. "Go to Howard," Sherman would tell
them. "He commands the troops that hold the city. He will treat you
better than one of your own generals."\textsuperscript{56} By then, Sherman had come
to appreciate the practical nature of Howard's piety. "I believe
Howard is a real Christian," he once said. "My wife is very strict
in her religious observances and that is all very well, but Howard
is different. He don't make any parade of his religion, but he has
something about him, which I haven't, but which I wish I had."\textsuperscript{57}
Columbians who had benefited from Howard's charity tended to concur
in Sherman's evaluation of the "Christian General."\textsuperscript{58}

From Columbia, Sherman moved toward North Carolina, entering
that state on March 8. By then, the war was nearly over. The Confeder-
ates made one last attempt to stop him by restoring Joseph Johnston
to command to reorganize the remnants of their army. It was too late.
As George Ward Nichols, Sherman's aide-de-camp, observed, "He might
as well try to reclothe the naked limbs of those oak trees yonder on
the hillside with last year's foliage of green."\textsuperscript{59} Johnston attacked
the Union forces at Bentonville on March 20, but Sherman repulsed the
attack and occupied the town. There, Howard received word that the
senate had confirmed his appointment to brigadier-general in the regu-
lar army, advancing his prospects for the continuation of his military
career after the war.
the capture and initiative are extra good for the potential
during the two ages that the men remained in 컴퓨터. After
the fire, the city's brick and white impurities support our
State, with special permission yet partly "no to America". Neither would I
trust... the commanders the troops that hold the city. He will treat you
better than one of your own senators." He then specified
"I believe the necessity is a real criticism," he once said. "Mr. Wibe in very strict
honesty in a real criticism" he once said. "Mr. Wibe in very strict
if not.
I am not the one to raise the question of how the editors,
not is difficult. He can't make any promise of the religion, but he has
something about him which I haven't, but which I wish I had."

in Elemen's evaluation of the "Criticism General."

from Commander 32st a very good company in Kentucky, where
Hager
are seven on March 8. By then, the war was over. He could
not make one last attempt to stop him by returning Joseph Jomson
command to route out the remnants of great enemy. It was too late.

As George Wimbly Nicholson, Stevenson's aide-de-camp, observed, "the mighty
as well try to recapture the making the ends of these two huge forces
on the hillside with just part's fighting of Tennessee's. 22 Johnson attacked
the Union forces at Pocotallo on March 70, and Stevenson believed the
attack and occupied the town. There, knowing receding west
wounded and suffering loss, he appointed to prisoners. General to the regis-
ter army, enabling his prisoners for the continuation of the military
career after the war."
After that, events followed each other in rapid succession. Petersburg fell on April 2, followed by Richmond on the third. On April 9, Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox Courthouse. When he received word of Lee's surrender, Sherman moved quickly to Raleigh and occupied it on April 13. The next day, Johnston sent in a flag of truce, and on April 17 Sherman, leaving Howard in command at Raleigh, boarded the train that would take him to a peace conference with the Confederate general. Before he left, he received news of the assassination of Abraham Lincoln.

Upon learning of the president's death, Howard wrote his mother that "President Lincoln had been everything to the nation. . . . But to me personally he has been a friend. . . . I anticipated a real pleasure in serving under his administration after the war was over and cherishing the complete confidence in Mr. Lincoln that I would in my own father and knowing that he would sustain me in every right course."60 Perhaps Sherman had the same confidence in the slain president, for when he met with Johnston, he negotiated a truce consistent with Lincoln's charitable intentions.61 As he had done at Savannah, Sherman extended generous terms to the enemy as soon as they agreed to lay down their arms.

Sherman's truce, however, was too liberal for the new president, Andrew Johnson, and Secretary of War Stanton. They not only repudiated the arrangement, but also cast aspersions on Sherman's motives for having negotiated as he did. On April 26, Howard wrote that "Sherman's terms were not approved in Washington. I go with him to meet Johnston
After their return, each order to take succession

Persevering until 3 April, 7, following its Richmont on the cind. on
April 2, the surrender of Grant at Appomattox Court House
and receiving word of Lee's surrender, Stanton moved quickly to reach
his occupation in April 12. The next day, Johnson was in a flat
of interior and on April 17, Stanton, learning Howard in command at
Raleigh, prepared the train that would carry him to a peace conference
with the Confederate Generals. Before the Joint, he received news of
the assassination of Abraham Lincoln.

The resignation of the President, Grant, Howard wrote his
mother that "President Lincoln had been everywhere to the nation.
But to me personally, he has been a friend... I appreciate
the pleasure in serving under his administration after the war was
over and realizing the complete confidence inMr. Lincoln that I
ever before felt. He had given me as much as I could expect and knowing that he would continue to serve the Union as the President of the United States, I felt secure in my position."

Stanton's message, however, was too late for the new President.
Andrew Johnson, and Secretary of War Stanton. They were only requested
the arrangement and were given the responsibility of Stanton's position.

I received notice that he was at Richmont on the cind. of April 20, 7, and moved to meet Johnson.
to-day, and expect other terms will be arranged."62 Three days later he rejoiced that "there is no more war!"; but then added, "I am deeply sorry for the abuse Sherman is getting at the hands of the press. He meant right, and the reasons for offering generous terms were not right- ly set forth by the press." Then he added, "How easy it is to impute wrong motive."63

On May 9, Stanton summoned Howard to Washington. There, the secretary told him that Lincoln before his death had expressed a desire that Howard become the commissioner of the "Freedmen's Bureau."64 Stanton's earlier assurances, the wishes of the late president, and his own experiences with the freedmen had prepared Howard for the position, and he quickly accepted. On May 15, he entered into his new duties as Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands.

With his sad experience of Washington bureaucrats fresh in his mind, Sherman did not know whether or not to congratulate Howard on his new job. In a letter to his friend on May 17, he nevertheless expressed his confidence that "the future of four millions of souls" could not be put in "more charitable and more conscientious hands" and concluded by encouraging Howard to "count on me as a friend and fellow soldier for counsel and assistance."65

While Howard took up a new work at Washington, the soldiers of the Army of the Tennessee prepared to join him there for mustering out. Their battles were ended and, although they had to make one more march, visions of home helped them say with Colonel Merrill, "Yes,
There are no apparent errors or missing texts. The page seems to be a clear and readable text, discussing political matters.

"On May 15, Secretary of State Cordell Hull sent a message to the President of the United States, expressing the hope that the Secretary of State would continue to work towards a peaceful resolution of the situation."

"The President, in response, expressed his confidence that the Secretary of State would continue to work towards a peaceful resolution of the situation."
I can stand this killing tramp a little longer." On their way to the capital, they passed again over the great battlefields of the war, and one night they made their camp at Chancellorsville. As their coffee boiled, they gathered around the fire to hear once more the "oft-repeated story of Hooker's victory and defeat." Later, in the oppressive silence and overwhelming sadness of the Wilderness, they met an old, gray-haired man who, leaning on his hoe-handle, trembled as he said, "Ah, sir, there are thousands of both sides lying unburied in the wilderness." 

By the grace of God, Oliver Otis Howard was not one of the thousands who had fallen in the wilderness at Chancellorsville. Although he physically survived, he had nearly perished professionally, for, in a crisis of faith, he had sought his own command and then had failed in his attempts to lead it. In the dark days of the battle's aftermath, he had been tempted to succumb to despair; instead, he had reaffirmed his faith in the care and guidance of the "Great Shepherd." That faith opened a door of hope and gave him courage to go forward, first at Gettysburg and then in the West under Sherman. As Howard's faith increased, his ambition decreased, and, paradoxically, the reputation and success that had eluded his striving finally came to him. By the end of the war, his integrity of faith and action had won him his enduring reputation as the "Christian General."

During the Civil War, Howard had grown in stature as both a Christian and a general. As his faith had matured, charity had become the basis of the social philosophy which informed his long public
I can see the killing stamp a little longer. "On their way to the capital," they passed down the Great Parliament of the war and one night they made their camp at "Constitutionville." As their coat fell from their shoulders, down the line to hear once more the "ova-" and "forn," there creaked a庄严 and gathering. "With the darkness," they met in the "Harriet." "At the entrance of the porch," they turned to their post. "They met in the darkness," they said.

By the grace of God, Oliver Maze was not one of the crowd who had fallen in the wilderness of "Constitutionville." His cause and influence of the "Great Shepherd" that far away opened a door of hope and gave the courage to go forward. His movement and vision in the West under "Emancipation," the "abolition," and "progress," his "ethical" nature and action had won him a place at the end of his "Christian Generation." It is a part of the moral and spiritual life that led to a new and "Christian Era." It is a part of the spirit and "Christian Generation." It is a part of the philosophy which included the "Christian"
career after the war. Two hundred years after his Puritan ancestors had dedicated themselves to building a perfect society on the foundation of Christian charity, one of their descendants made the same commitment. That commitment was the most enduring aspect of Howard's Puritan heritage and his own greatest contribution to nineteenth-century America.
Cancer occurs due to the waters. Two hundred years after the Puritan movement
had replaced the Puritanism to purging a perfect society on the frontier,
John of Christianity criticized one of their governments were the same can-
mitment to their commitment was the most enduring aspect of Howard's
Puritan heritage and his own great contribution to literature.

century America.
Notes


5. Ibid., 2:126.


9. Ibid., 2:174-175.

10. "Bummers" was a term generally applied to all of Sherman's foragers; but it referred especially to the unauthorized parties which were responsible for the more outrageous conduct of the campaign.


13. Ibid., p. 21.


16. Ibid., p. 514.
Notes


References:


25. O.R., 44:842.


30. Ibid., p. 98; and Dyer, "Northern Relief," p. 471.


32. John Adams had believed that "civil society must be built up on the four corner-stones of the church, the school-house, the militia, and the town-meeting" (Rose, Rehearsal for Reconstruction, p. 229).


30. Ibid., p. 86; and, O. H. Howard, "Vigilant Advance from Atlanta," in "Braves and Leaden of the Civil War's Clash: C. S. and Cifl's."

34. O. O. Howard, Autobiography, 2:98

35. Ibid.


42. Ibid.

43. The phrase is from John Greenleaf Whittier's poem, "Howard at Atlanta": for the complete text, see Appendix F.

44. McFeely, Yankee Stepfather, p. 49.


50. O.R., 47: pt. 2, 444; Brunson, Sherman and the Burning of Columbia, p. 50.


52. Lewis, Sherman, p. 504.


55. O. O. Howard, Autobiography, 2:140.

56. Ibid., 2:124.


60. Howard to Eliza Gilmore, 17 April 1965, Howard Papers, Bowdoin College, cited in Carpenter, Sword and Olive Branch, p. 81.


63. Ibid.

The "Colossus of Campinas" p. 300-331.

See especially James O. Mill. "The Building of Campinas"
Recognized in "American South America" (1938): 5-12.
and American Historical Review, Special Section on the Building of Campinas
(College Station, Texas A & M University Press, 1976).


52. George M. Macale. The Search for the Great Market (New

McCutney, 1886), p. 17.

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McCutney, 1886), p. 17.
64. Howard to F. A. Flower, 18 April 1887, Howard Papers, Bowdoin College, cited in Carpenter, Sword and Olive Branch, p. 82.


67. Ibid., p. 528.

68. Ibid., p. 529.


70. John Winthrop, "A Modell of Christian Charity," in The Old South Papers (Boston: The Old South Association), n.d.


G. O. Hornby Partnership, 1:28.

John Winthrop, "A Memoir of Christopher Grew," in the

Old South Records (Boston: The Old South Association), n.4.
Fig. 5. Sketch of General Howard. Source: James T. Gray Collection, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.
EPILOGUE

THE GRAND REVIEW

Aucun chemin de fleurs
ne conduit à la gloire.

On 24 May 1865, the western armies of the United States passed in review before President Andrew Johnson in the nation's capital. In friendly rivalry with the eastern armies who had preceded them in review on the twenty-third, the Westerners put their best foot forward, bringing lusty cheers to the throats of the two hundred thousand spectators who lined the parade route.¹

Four days before the review, General William T. Sherman, who was to lead the parade, conferred privately with General Oliver Otis Howard and asked him to relinquish command of the Army of the Tennessee in favor of General John A. Logan. Howard demurred, arguing that he had led his men from Atlanta to Washington and that he wanted to be with them to the end. Sherman, knowing Howard well, then advanced the one argument he knew would convince his friend: "Howard," he said gently, "you are a Christian and won't mind such a sacrifice." Howard relinquished his command.²

As the troops assembled on the day of the review, Howard had no assigned place, so he asked Sherman for permission to ride with his staff. Sherman, however, insisted that Howard ride by his side. At 9:20 a.m., the two generals rode together into the square at
EPILOGUE

THE GRAND REVIEW

AUGUST 24, 1884, THE WASHINGTON WARRIORS AT THE NATION'S CAPITOL.

On August 24, 1884, the Washington warriors at the nation's capital.

In review, President Andrew Johnson in the nation's capital.

In the presence of the nation's chief, the Washington warriors at the nation's capital.

With pride and honor, the Washington warriors at the nation's capital.

spectators who joined the parade route.

Forty years before the review, General William T. Sherman, who

was to lead the parade, continued his service under General Ulysses

Grant, preparing to lead his division to Washington and the one

operation he considered his most important, the Sedan.

With the division's arrival, Sherman assumed command of the army.

renouncing the plan for a major conflict, the Sedan.

Sherman, known for his efficiency and strategic mind such a success.

renouncing the plan for a major conflict, the Sedan.

At 10:30 a.m., the two Generals rode together into the arena.
Fifteenth Street, receiving the prolonged cheers of the multitudes. Sherman, relaxed and relieved of the nervous, anxious expression he had worn throughout the war, lifted his hat and bowed continually. Howard, also smiling, was more subdued as he gracefully managed his horse with his one good arm.\(^3\)

As they entered the parade route, the cheering swelled and a young girl approached Sherman to present him with a floral wreath. His skittish horse, spooked by the noise or perhaps suspicious of the garland, obliged Sherman to decline the offering, and he directed the guard to give it to Howard. Howard, however, was intent upon controlling his own steed. He smilingly refused the wreath, motioning it to Logan, the next officer in line.\(^4\) Logan received it gladly. He and his horse were covered with wreaths and garlands, making his heart beat high with pride and helping him forget for a time that he had been denied command of the Army of the Tennessee in favor of Howard.\(^5\)

A month earlier, Sherman, the Nemesis of the South, had swept through the Confederacy in a spirit of retributive justice. At his side had ridden a Christian, General Howard, whose charity had provided a shelter in Sherman’s storm for the displaced peoples of the South. Now, in the final scene of America’s great Civil War, they rode together down Pennsylvania Avenue and into the future.
Percy Street, recognizing the promising career of the movement.

Statement, reasoned any decided of the movement, obvious expression of
any mutual understanding of the movement. As for the power and power,
continuing.

Howard, who smiling, was more soundly an executive member, his
poetry with the one book over.

As they entered the parade course, the creasing smiling and
a young girl approached Sherman to present him with a foreign medal.

The picturesque posture, broken by the noise of the piano and surprise of the
head, applying a gesture to achieve the effect, and to achieve the
harmony, applying a gesture to achieve the effect, and to achieve the
condition, now can reach the armory. Howard, however, was involved up to
trn some may reach the armory. Howard, however, was involved up to
regularly, the next officer in line.

He and his horror were present with weapons and parades, making his
poetry poor with the strike and putting his rocket for a time that
had been general command of the Army of the Tennessee in favor of

Howard.

A young girl, Sherman, the letters of the South, and more
showed the Congress in a spirit of contributing justice. The fire
and his political a crisis, Howard's motion, whose character was also
which a speaker on Saturday's store for the displaced people of the
South. Now on the third scene of America's great Civil War, each

two together from Pennsylvania Avenue may into the future.
Notes


Notes


APPENDIX A

HOWARD'S LINEAGE
HOWARD'S LINEAGE

Rogers Stanchfield begat

Elizabeth Stanchfield
(b. 14 April 1774)
mixed

Oliver Otis
(b. 8 November 1768)
fathered

Eliza Otis
(b. 10 December 1804)
mixed Rowland Howard
gave birth to

Oliver Otis Howard
(b. 8 November 1830)
mixed

Elizabeth Ann Waite
(b. 4 November 1830)
gave birth to

John Howard begat

Jonathan Howard begat

Jesse Howard begat

Seth Howard
(b. 21 November 1762)
mixed

Desire Bailey
(b. 23 January 1762)
gave birth to

Rowland Bailey Howard
(b. 29 July 1795)
mixed Eliza Otis
fathered

Guy (b. 16 December 1855)

Grace Ellen (b. 22 June 1857)

James Waite (b. 1 December 1860)

Chauncy Otis (b. 3 May 1863)

John (b. 15 June 1867)

Harry Stinson (b. 25 July 1869)

Elizabeth (b. 19 September 1871)
APPENDIX B*

"THE EMPTY SLEEVE"

*Source: James T. Gray Collection, University of Oregon
Eugene, Oregon.
THE EMPTY SLEEVE

By the moon's pale light to a gazing throng,
Let me tell one tale, let me sing one song;
'Tis a tale devoid of aim or plan,
'Tis a simple song of a one-arm man.
Till this very hour I could ne'er believe
What a tell-tale thing is an empty sleeve--
What a weird, queer thing is an empty sleeve.

It tells in a silent tone to all,
Of a country's need and a country's call,
Of a kiss and a tear for a child and a wife,
And a hurried march for a nation's life;
Till this very hour who could e'er believe
What a tell-tale thing is an empty sleeve--
What a weird, queer thing is an empty sleeve.

It tells of a battle-field of gore--
Of the sabre's clash--of the cannon's roar--
Of the deadly charge--of the bugle's note--
Of a gurgling sound in a foeman's throat--
Of a whizzing grape--of the fiery shell--
Of a scene which mimics the scenes of hell--
Till this very hour would you e'er believe
What a tell-tale thing is an empty sleeve--
What a weird, queer thing is an empty sleeve.

Though it points to a myriad wounds and scars,
Yet it tells that a flag with the stripes and stars,
In God's own chosen time will take
Each place of the rag with the rattle-snake,
And it points to a time when that flag shall wave
O'er land where there breathes no cowering slave.
To the top of the skies let us all then heave
One proud huzza for the empty sleeve--
For the one-arm man with the empty sleeve.

David Barker
THE EMPTY STEEVE

By the moon's pale light to a lonely street
For me to till one fare, for me to sing one song;
'Tis a rare sound of a one-act man
With a small part to fill in an empty scene.
When a mean'ld drunk finds it in a cotton steeve.

It falls to a sweet tone to fill
Of a cotton steeve, and the cotton's call,
Of a place and a song to a cotton, and a wise,
And a nutting steeve for a cotton's sake.
'Tis a mean'ld man who could ever tell you
What a cotton steeve fills it in an empty scene.

'What a mean'ld steeve fills it in a cotton steeve.'

It falls to a scratch song of boats
Of the spandscape, of the common's task,
Of the generally clout, of the fiddler's voice,
Of a singing coming in a fiddler's steeve.
'Tis a mean'ld steeve to the cotton field,
What a cotton steeve fills it in an empty scene.

What a mean'ld steeve fills it in a cotton steeve.'

Though it be due to a doing house and sects,
Yet it falls to that a song with the cottons and sects.
In God's own cotton come with me;
Keep tune at the foot wish the cotton's sake.
And it points to the same men with that spirit.
To the top of the steeve in an empty scene.

For the one man with the empty steeve.'

Davy Baffet.
APPENDIX C

HOOKER'S ORDER
APPENDIX C

HOOKER'S ORDER
Chancellorsville, Va.
May 2, 1863—9:20 a.m.

Major-Generals HOWARD and SLOCUM:

I am directed by the major general commanding to say that the disposition you have made of your corps has been with a view to a front attack by the enemy. If he should throw himself upon your flank, he [sic] wishes you to examine the ground and determine upon the positions you will take in that event, in order that you may be prepared for him in whatever direction he advances. He suggests that you have heavy reserves well in hand to meet this contingency. The right of your line does not appear to be strong enough. No artificial defenses worth naming have been thrown up, and there appears to be a scarcity of troops at that point, and not [sic] in the general's opinion, as favorably posted as might be. We have good reason to suppose that the enemy is moving to our right. Please advance your pickets for purposes of observation as far as may be safe, in order to obtain timely information of their approach.

J. H. VAN ALEN

Brigadier-General and
Aide-de-Camp

Commander-in-Chief, Mr. President, and Mr. Secretary-of-State,

I am grateful for the opportunity you have made of

to say these words to President Roosevelt. It is a pleasure to

acknowledge the service you have rendered to the

nation, and the sacrifices you have made.

With the utmost gratitude, I assure you that your

leadership and example will continue to inspire and

guide our nation in the years ahead.

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]

[Name]

[Position]
APPENDIX D*

"HOLD THE FORT"

*Source: James T. Gray Collection, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.
HOLD THE FORT

Ho! my comrades, see the signal
Waving in the sky!
Reinforcements now appearing
Victory is nigh!

Chorus: "Hold the fort, for I am coming,"
Jesus signals still,
Wave the answer back to heaven,
"By Thy grace we will."

See the mighty host advancing,
Satan leading on,
Mighty men around us falling,
Courage almost gone.

Chorus

See the glorious banner waving,
Hear the trumpet blow;
In our leader's name we'll triumph
Over every foe.

Chorus

Fierce and long the battle rages,
But our help is near;
Onward comes our great commander,
Cheer, my comrades, cheer!

Chorus

D. W. Whittle
HOLD THE FORT

Hoy ya compañero, see the sky
Waving in the sky
Reinforcements now approaching
Victoria in sight.

Chorus: "Hoy ya fentre, hoy I am coming!"
Jean's fingers still,
We're the answer back to Heaven.
"By Thy Grace we will!"

See the mighty host advancing,
Saron leading on.
Mighty men marching us failing.
Conquer no more zone.

Chorus

See the firing, covered mounds,
Here is the supreme plan.
We are powerful's name we'll triumph.
Over every foe.

Chorus

Piece and your life at stake
Put our blood to waste.
Guessing comes our death commander.
Cheat 'em, my comrades, cheat!

Chorus

J. W. Pierce
APPENDIX E *

LETTER: SHERMAN TO HOWARD

*Source: James T. Gray Collection, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.
APPENDIX B

LETTER: SHEFFER TO HOWARD
Head Qrs. Dept. of the Tennessee
Chatanooga [sic], Dec. 18th. 1863.

Maj. Gen'l. O. O. Howard,
Com'd'g 11th. Corps.

Dear General,

As the events of war brought us together, and have as suddenly parted us; I cannot deny myself the pleasure it gives me to express to you, the deep personal respect I entertain for you. I had known you by reputation, but it needed the opportunity our short campaign gave me, to appreciate one, who mingles so gracefully and perfectly, the polished Christian Gentleman, and the prompt, zealous and gallant Soldier. I am not in the habit of flattering, but I have deemed it my duty to express to General Grant and others, in whom I confide, not only the satisfaction, but the great pleasure I experienced in being associated with you in our late short but most fruitful campaign. Not only did you do all that circumstances required, but you did it in a spirit of cheerfulness that was reflected in the conduct and behaviour of your whole command. I beg you will convey to General Schurz, Colonel Buschbeck and all your officers, the assurance of my personal and official respect. Should fortune bring us together again in any capacity, I will deem myself most fortunate, and should it ever be in my power to serve you, I beg you will unhesitatingly call on me as a Friend.

With great respect,

Your friend,

W. T. Sherman

Maj. Gen'l.
Dear Governor:

I cannot express how much I appreciate the privilege of giving you the opportunity of your leadership to advance the cause of public service in our state. Your efforts have been invaluable in the progress of our campaign.

I have had the pleasure of working with you and your able staff. Your leadership and guidance have been instrumental in the success of our campaign.

I am honored to be associated with you in the fight for public service. Your dedication and commitment to the betterment of our state inspire all of us.

With great respect,

Your sincerely,

W.T. Stanton

W.T. Stanton
APPENDIX F

"HOWARD AT ATLANTA"
APPENDIX P

"INOMRO VI ATIANTY"
HOWARD AT ATLANTA

Right in the track where Sherman
Ploughed his red furrow,
Out of the narrow cabin,
Up from the cellar's burrow,
Gathered the little black people,
With freedom newly dowered,
Where, beside their Northern teacher,
Stood the soldier, Howard.

He listened and heard the children
Of the poor and long-enslaved
Reading the words of Jesus,
Singing the songs of David.
Behold!--the dumb lips speaking,
The blind eyes seeing!
Bones of the Prophet's vision
Warmed into being.

Transformed he saw them passing
Their new life's portal!
Almost it seemed the mortal
Put on the immortal.
No more with the beasts of burden,
No more with stone and clod,
But crowned with glory and honor
In the image of God!

There was the human chattel
Its manhood taking:
There, in each dark, bronze statue,
A soul was waking!
The man of many battles,
With tears his eyelids pressing,
Stretched over those dusky foreheads
His one-armed blessing

And he said: "Who hears can never
Fear for or doubt you,
What shall I tell the children
Up North about you?"
Then ran round a whisper, a murmur,
Some answer dividing;
And a little boy stood up: "General,
Tell 'em we're rising!"
HOME TO ATLANTIA

Righ1f in the crick where Stedman
Pledged his red volution,
Out of the nation's capi1
Up into the nation's patron
Gathered the illustrious people
With freedom nearlly conceived,
While building their volution's leader
With a noble coherite, Howard.

The Orient a.c and peace the children
Of the poor and long-suffering
Rending the waves of toils,
Signifying the hope of Davi.
Before the trump it's speeding
The flaming dove celestial
Hotes of the prophetic vision
Wanted into peace.

Thus forward go now those passing
Their new life's portion
Almond of necessity the mortal
Put on the immortal
No more with the passes of purpose
No more with stone and clog
But circumscribed with glory and honor
In the image of God

There was the divine influence
It's manhood'sani101
There's is each heir, prime statute
A solid arm mound,
The men of worth's patron
With those his everlasting
Strengths over those whose fashions
His one extra pleasing

And go said: "Who poets can never
Peer for our course, tom
Who shall I call the children
Up words report hang" a lyric,
Then turn round a whisper, a memorial
Some answer swivel
And a little poet stand up: 'General.'
Tell me, we are thinking.
O black boy of Atlanta!
   But half was spoken:
The slave's chain and the master's
   Alike are broken
The one curse of the races
   Held both in tether:
They are rising,—all are rising,
   The black and white together!

O brave men and fair women!
   Ill comes of hate and scouring:
Shall the dark faces only
   Be turned to morning?—
Make Time your sole avenger,
   All-healing, all-redressing,
Meet Fate half-way, and make it
   A joy and blessing!

John Greenleaf Whittier
APPENDIX C *

SHERMAN'S CONGRATULATIONS

*Source: O.R., 47; pt. 3, 515-516.
APPENDIX C

SHREWSBY'S CONGREGATIONAL

HDQRS. MILITARY DIVISION OF
THE MISSISSIPPI
In the Field, Dumfries, Va.
May 17, 1865--9 p.m.

General O. O. Howard
Washington, D. C.:

DEAR GENERAL:

I hardly know whether to congratulate you or not, but of one thing you may rest assured, that you possess my entire confidence, and I cannot imagine that matters that may involve the future of 4,000,000 of souls could be put in more charitable and more conscientious hands. So far as man can do, I believe you will, but I fear you have Hercules' task. God has limited the power of man, and though in the kindness of your heart you would alleviate all the ills of humanity it is not in your power, nor is it in your power to fulfill one-tenth part of the expectations of those who framed the bureau for the freedmen, refugees, and abandoned estates. It is simply impracticable. Yet you can and will do all the good one man may, and that is all you are called on as a man and Christian to do, and to that extent call upon me as a friend and fellow soldier for counsel and assistance. . . . Don't let the foul airs of Washington poison your thoughts toward your old comrades in arms.

Truly, your friend,

W. T. SHERMAN
Major-General
DEAR GENERAL:

I write to you to convey the importance of your decision. I have the utmost respect for your leadership and the guidance you provide. Your wisdom and experience are invaluable to the success of our mission. I understand the challenges we face and the importance of maintaining our resources and capabilities.

I have been informed of the decision that you will make regarding the future of our forces. I trust that you will make a decision that is in the best interest of our nation and the safety of our troops.

I want to express my gratitude for your leadership and the sacrifices you have made. Your commitment to our country and its people is truly inspiring.

Thank you for your consideration.

Yours sincerely,

W. T. Sherman
Major General
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The Army of the Tennessee under Major-General
O. O. Howard, in Office of the Secretary of War, St. Louis, Missouri.

By Lieut. R. D. H. Brown, Adjutant-General, Army of the Tennessee, St. Louis, Missouri.

In the Name of the People of the United States:

Commander-in-Chief, Chief of Staff, and Departmental
Headquarters. St. Louis, Missouri, April 26, 1863.

Lieutenant-Colonel R. S. Brown.

To the People of the United States:

This is to certify that I have received the following:

A. Certificate of Promotion, St. Louis, Missouri, April 26, 1863.

B. Certificate of Discharge, St. Louis, Missouri, April 26, 1863.

C. Certificate of Enrollment, St. Louis, Missouri, April 26, 1863.

D. Certificate of Appointment, St. Louis, Missouri, April 26, 1863.

E. Certificate of Service, St. Louis, Missouri, April 26, 1863.

F. Certificate of Good Conduct, St. Louis, Missouri, April 26, 1863.

G. Certificate of Merit, St. Louis, Missouri, April 26, 1863.

H. Certificate of Exemption, St. Louis, Missouri, April 26, 1863.

I. Certificate of Citizenship, St. Louis, Missouri, April 26, 1863.

J. Certificate of Naturalization, St. Louis, Missouri, April 26, 1863.

K. Certificate of Enrollment, St. Louis, Missouri, April 26, 1863.

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M. Certificate of Promotion, St. Louis, Missouri, April 26, 1863.

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S. Certificate of Naturalization, St. Louis, Missouri, April 26, 1863.

T. Certificate of Enrollment, St. Louis, Missouri, April 26, 1863.

U. Certificate of Discharge, St. Louis, Missouri, April 26, 1863.

V. Certificate of Promotion, St. Louis, Missouri, April 26, 1863.

W. Certificate of Service, St. Louis, Missouri, April 26, 1863.

X. Certificate of Good Conduct, St. Louis, Missouri, April 26, 1863.

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The letter is written in a formal, scholarly style, with references to the Civil War era and the figures involved. The author, Robert H. Cumings, was a well-known writer and historian of the time, and his work on the Civil War was widely respected.

The letter includes a number of references to the Civil War era, including a mention of the appointment of General Sherman as a major general in the Union Army. It also contains a number of references to other figures and events from the Civil War era, including a mention of the appointment of General Sherman as a major general in the Union Army.

The letter is a valuable source for understanding the Civil War era, and the figures and events involved. It provides a wealth of information on the Civil War, and is a valuable resource for students and scholars alike.

The letter is written in a clear, concise style, and is easy to read and understand. It is a valuable resource for anyone interested in the Civil War era, and is a must-read for students and scholars alike.


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"Forty Niner."
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Typed by

Carol Mangold Roth