

The Personal Memoirs of  
Ulysses S. Grant

THE COMPLETE ANNOTATED EDITION





## ULYSSES S. GRANT

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# The Personal Memoirs of Ulysses S. Grant

THE COMPLETE ANNOTATED EDITION

EDITED BY John F. Marszalek

WITH David S. Nolen & Louie P. Gallo

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In Memory of  
**MICHAEL B. BALLARD**



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## *Preface*

Ulysses S. Grant discovered his uniqueness while serving a nation at war with itself. He told that story in his *Personal Memoirs*, composed during his final race against death in the mid-1880s. Rather than the *Memoirs* being a Greek tragedy, however, it is an American epic poem, the tale of a soldier-spouse-father who became a democratic leader and died as a citizen of the world. It was through Ulysses S. Grant that the rest of the world came to see the meaning of the new American hero.

Working side by side with Abraham Lincoln, his commander in chief, the “hero of Appomattox” saved the Union. He did not emulate the aristocratic veneer of George Washington, but instead fought in tandem with his civilian frontier president. They were two of a kind—poetic leaders and warrior writers. Like Lincoln, Grant was the no-nonsense American who could naturally separate fact from fiction, whether aiming weapons or words.

The critic and author Edmund Wilson referred to Grant’s *Memoirs* as “a unique expression of the national character. . . . Perhaps never has a book so objective in form seemed so personal in every line. . . . Somehow, despite its sobriety, it communicates the spirit of the battles themselves and makes it possible to understand how Grant won them.” And Grant’s fellow warrior and friend William T. Sherman wrote about the *Memoirs*: “Other books of the war will be forgotten, mislaid, dismissed. Millions will read Grant’s *Memoirs* and remember them.”

The Ulysses S. Grant Association began in 1962 to publish thirty-two volumes of *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant*—with all the volumes now in print, digitized, and available at [www.usgrantlibrary.org](http://www.usgrantlibrary.org). What began under the leadership of John Y. Simon and Ralph G. Newman continues under the new leadership of John F. Marszalek and Frank J. Williams. In 2012, the Ulysses S. Grant Association created the Ulysses S. Grant Presidential Library at Mississippi State University, which, in 2017, will move to a state-of-the-art facility in the Mitchell Memorial Library.

Based on this history, the Association feels an obligation to provide readers with a definitive annotated edition of Grant's *Memoirs* to renew, as it has in the past, his unique democratic legacy to our country and its unique place in the world.

We are indebted to Harvard University Press for working with us to keep this literary gem in print and understandable to both a modern reading public and the scholarly community. The Association owes, too, deep gratitude and appreciation to Mississippi State University, Interim Presidents Vance Watson and Roy Ruby and President Mark Keenum, and Mississippi State University Libraries dean Frances Coleman for welcoming us into their university home.

FRANK J. WILLIAMS, PRESIDENT, Ulysses S. Grant Association

## *Introduction*

Prior to 1885, Ulysses S. Grant was a complete unknown as a writer. It is true that he wrote exceedingly clear orders while leading the U.S. Army to victory in the Civil War, but few Americans were aware of this talent. To most people, he was a hard-driving general but one of few words, known more for his silence than for any ability with oral or written prose. Writing was the last thing anyone could imagine him doing.

Yet, after his presidency, more than a few publishers approached him about giving the public insight into his life and career. They did so not because they thought he had any particular writing skills but because they thought the public, already captivated with him, would eagerly purchase whatever he put down on paper. When *Century Magazine* editors Richard W. Gilder, Robert U. Johnson, and Roswell Smith approached him about participating in their Civil War series, he showed no interest. Similarly, when Samuel Clemens, better known as the irrepressible Mark Twain, wanted him to write his remembrances for publication, he once again said no. He insisted that he could not write, and any resultant book would simply not sell. Besides, he said repeatedly: “It’s all in Badeau,” referring to the three-volume book about his role in the Civil War that he had helped an aide, Adam Badeau, write.

Grant hated public speaking and, when forced to get up before a crowd or even a small group, he grew nervous and quietly stammered, his eyes cast down. Consequently, the art of writing, which contemporaries tied so closely to oratory, seemed beyond Grant’s reach. Besides, he had no financial reason to take on such an onerous task; he was busy with a variety of other pastimes. He was constantly in demand to attend veterans’ reunions, political meetings, family weddings, and public and private gatherings of all sorts. In 1881, he became president of the Mexican Southern Railroad Company, meant to tie Mexico to the United States and thus open a variety of economic possibilities for both nations. But it failed.

On Christmas Eve 1883, the sixty-one-year-old Grant had further bad luck. He returned home from a holiday gathering, got out of his horse-drawn coach,

and began walking into his home at 3 East 66th Street in New York City. He was practically inside the door when he realized that he should give the driver a Christmas gift. He walked back down the stairs, gave the coachman some money, and suddenly slipped on the icy pavement, landing hard on his left leg. His injury was so severe that he never got over it. For the remaining two years of his life, he had to limp along with a cane.

Undeterred, Grant became interested in another endeavor, a Wall Street venture that promised untold riches to all investors. Grant's son Buck and Ferdinand Ward, the latter widely reputed to be the most successful wheeler-dealer on Wall Street, were partners in an investment business. Ward and the young Grant encouraged the former president to join them and tie the prestige of his name to the company. The firm of Grant and Ward was born. Grant invested his money and that of many others in his family, and the interest and dividends began to pour in. Grant saw himself becoming a millionaire, accumulating financial security equal to his wealthy friends. It seemed too good to be true.

It was. Ward was no financial wizard; he was a cheating scoundrel, operating what later would be known as a "Ponzi scheme." The money he paid out in purported dividends to Grant and others was actually money he was receiving from new investors. Grant did not realize what was happening; all he did was sign documents placed before him when he visited the Grant and Ward offices.

On May 4, 1884, the financial enterprise collapsed. Ward came to Grant and said that the bank he was using in his transactions was experiencing difficulties. He asked the former president to let him have \$150,000 for a few days to tide the bank over. It was all just a technicality, Ward assured Grant. Unsuspecting, Grant immediately paid a visit to an old millionaire friend, William H. Vanderbilt, president of the New York Central Railroad Company, and asked for and received a check for the amount he requested. He handed over the bank draft to Ward, but, on May 6, Grant came to realize that the bank and the firm were bankrupt—and so was he. The only money he and his wife Julia had was in his pocket and in her purse, and it was not much.

Grant was shocked and embarrassed. On May 7, he went to Vanderbilt expressing his willingness to sell all the assets that he and Julia possessed to pay off the loan. He even gave Vanderbilt the many gifts and trophies that he had received during his career and world tour. Vanderbilt later excused the entire loan and donated all the collateral artifacts to the Smithsonian Institution.

Meanwhile, Grant had to look for other sources of income. In June 1884, the editors of *Century Magazine* approached him again to ask him to contribute



articles to their Civil War series. He was still hesitant about his ability to write but consented to take on the task. He needed the money, and \$500 an article for four articles was just too good to refuse. He agreed to write about Shiloh, Vicksburg, the Wilderness, and Appomattox. Ultimately, he wrote about Chattanooga instead of Appomattox.

The first article he sent to *Century* seemed to corroborate his insistence that he could not write. The magazine's editors were shocked at how bad the submitted article was. It read like a battle report; it was stiff and dull. Robert U. Johnson hesitatingly brought it back to Grant and suggested, as carefully as he could, that Grant retell the story of Shiloh but, this time, do so in a conversational tone, as if he were talking to friends. Grant took the carefully phrased criticism well and revised the manuscript. He improved it immensely and, even more importantly, came to realize that he enjoyed the process of writing.

But it was not to be that simple. On June 2, 1884, as if his injured leg and his bankruptcy were not enough, Grant found that he had a more formidable enemy. He was eating lunch with his family, two weeks before the *Century* editor Johnson's visit to his summer home at Long Branch, New Jersey, when he bit into a peach. He bolted straight up and said he thought something on the peach, perhaps a bee, had stung him in the back of his mouth.

Water only made his throat feel like it was on fire, so when the pain persisted for days, Julia wanted him to see a doctor. He refused. A doctor came to visit a friend next door, and when he looked at Grant's throat, he immediately advised him to see his family physician. Grant ignored that advice too. He did not return to New York until the fall, but his family doctor was traveling in Europe at the time. Finally at the end of October, about four months after the peach incident, he and his longtime doctor met, and the doctor quickly sent him to a leading throat specialist, Dr. John Hancock Douglas.

Dr. Douglas had been a leader in the Civil War's United States Sanitary Commission and had known Grant during the conflict. He looked carefully in his former general's mouth. When he finally finished, Grant inquired: "Is it cancer?" Grant had made his own diagnosis, and it was correct. He had what modern doctors call carcinoma of the right tonsillar pillar. The only treatment for such a cancer in the nineteenth century was to gargle with a mixture of permanganate, potash, and brewer's yeast or to apply codeine, morphine, brandy, or a cocaine solution. Such treatment, however, only eased the pain temporarily.

While suffering from an increasingly serious throat cancer at least four months old, he had several teeth extracted because doctors worried that these diseased molars were causing the mouth problem. As he had to deal

simultaneously with his cancer, his left leg injured the previous Christmas, neuralgia for which he had to wear a skull cap, his long-recurring migraine headaches, and a bankruptcy of major proportion, Ulysses S. Grant began to seriously consider doing what he said he would never do: write his memoirs. He needed the money.

At first, he labored on the articles he had promised to *Century*, but he also began composing his memoirs. The *Century* editors had not only urged him to write such a remembrance, but they had also prepared a contract for his signature. He seemed ready to sign. On the very day that he saw Dr. Douglas for his throat pain, he visited the Century Company offices in New York and, for all intents and purposes, indicated that he wanted to publish the book with that company.

Samuel Clemens had been watching all of these developments from a distance. He knew that Grant was writing the articles for publication and that he was willing to write his memoirs, too. Shockingly to him, the Century Company was going to publish both. Clemens hurried to Grant's home. He wanted to learn: Was Grant really going to publish with Century?

He confronted Grant, whom he knew and enjoyed smoking cigars with. He was appalled when he read the contract Century had given the ailing general. It was an insult, he said. Century was offering Grant only 10 percent royalty, the same amount they would routinely offer any new writer who might sell a few thousand copies. Clemens was convinced that Grant's memoirs would sell several hundred thousand copies, so the size of his royalty should be correspondingly higher. Clemens said that his publishing firm, Charles L. Webster and Company, would do much better than Century, if only Grant would let him do the publishing.

The Century Company still thought that they had the inside track because of Grant's apparent steadfastness in wanting them to publish the memoirs. Clemens and Webster kept the pressure on the Old Hero, however, and finally, on February 27, 1885, Grant decided that he would publish with Clemens. When the author-publisher asked Grant whether he wished to be compensated 20 percent of sales or 70 percent of the profit, Grant chose the latter. He wanted to share the risk with Clemens.

Grant's writing of his memoirs proved to be a heroic venture. It was a difficult task in itself, but the increasing growth of the cancer at the rear of his mouth put horrific pressure on his already ravaged body. When Sigmund Freud later suffered from a similar cancer in the twentieth century, then called squamous cell carcinoma of the palate, he bore the pain and suffering as long as he could, over sixteen years, but then, in 1939, he had his doctor euthanize him. Grant

would not allow any such treatment. No matter the pain, he had to stay alive and complete his writing in order to leave Julia and the family with the financial means to continue their lives.

To achieve what became his obsession, he maintained a disciplined regimen. Most of the text was written in his New York City home, in the library lit by one window and warmed by a single fireplace. Here he sat at his desk or in his chair, his cane nearby, and a pencil racing across the paper. While he was still able to speak, he dictated to a clerk. He also had many helpers around him: son Fred and sometimes sons Buck and Jesse, his longtime military aide Adam Badeau, and his African American servant Harrison Terrell.

His doctors were also frequently present. At first, he broke into his writing time to visit Dr. Douglas twice a day for treatment of his painful mouth. Julia was never far away, and daughters-in-law and grandchildren came to his room when they could, much to his delight. Meanwhile, homes on his street became filled with newspaper reporters filing updates on his condition. Even four-year-old Ulysses S. Grant III was accosted by these newsmen, when he stepped outside the house, for information about his grandfather.

No matter any disruption, Grant spent five to seven hours every day writing. His helpers checked facts, even though his sharp memory recalled information with amazing precision. Clemens's and Grant's helpers did none of the writing; it was all Grant. He utilized his *Century* articles and made but few alterations in them. Despite his painful illness, he kept writing and making progress on his book. Death was always hovering nearby, but he had to finish his memoirs before death conquered him.

Several times he came close to dying from overwhelming coughing and gagging caused by his cancer, and, as time passed, he grew increasingly sicker. His work became his respite, however; his determination to finish his memoirs overrode the horrible physical pain. On June 16, 1885, as the weather grew hot and humid, he was moved to a friend's summer home atop Mount McGregor, near Saratoga, New York. The hope was that the cooler weather there might make his life more bearable. Here, however, he could find little peace and quiet because complete strangers frequently gawked at him or approached when he tried to sit on the cottage porch.

But he kept writing, and by July 20, 1885, he laid down his pencil for the last time. Soon after that, he asked to be put to bed, so one was moved into the main room on the first floor of the cottage. He lay there in pain suffering stoically but resigned to his fate now that his book was finished. During his last night of life, thunder and lightning rattled the area. Surrounded by Julia, his children, some of his grandchildren, and his doctors, he died peacefully at

8:08 A.M. on July 23, 1885. Unlike the alleged last words of so many nineteenth-century Victorians, his were hardly memorable. He said simply, “I am thirsty,” and then died. Sadly, although no one knew it at the time, better medical treatment might have saved his life.

Considering his many years of oratorical deficiencies, it made sense to believe that Grant’s writing style would also be weak. Yet just the opposite was the case. During the Civil War, he had been a master military writer when he sent orders to his subordinates. There was no one who received a message from him who did not understand precisely what Grant wanted him to know and to do. When he wrote letters to his wife, family, and political and personal acquaintances, the prose was again clear. He avoided ornate structure and, instead, wrote in a simple, direct way, presenting to the reader an immediacy that was clarifying. Sometimes he lapsed into parenthetical phrases, but, most of the time, his sentences possessed simplicity and thus clarity.

Grant also had the ability to use words accurately and forcefully, sometimes picturesquely, usually mixing the style of the average American of his time with military connotations well known to the post-Civil War populace. When he lapsed into the passive voice or some other problematic prose, the power of his words still pushed the narrative forward.

What made the *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* particularly appealing to readers was Grant’s humility about himself and his infrequent criticism of others. He wrote nothing about the rumors concerning his alleged drunkenness, the difficulties of his life as a citizen just before the start of the Civil War, his relationship with his abolitionist father and slaveholding father-in-law, and his wartime expulsion of the Jews from his then Civil War military district. His *Memoirs* did not deal with his eight years as president and his personal bankruptcy. He did not even write about his world tour, a time in his life of significance and enjoyment. He only briefly mentioned his life in Ohio up to his time at West Point, but he did discuss the Mexican-American War. Most of all, he wrote about his role in the Civil War.

It could be argued that, in this way, Grant was able to talk about successes and ignore failures. In fact, he was giving his audience just what it was most interested in: the story of his successful activities in preserving the Union. He and his publisher, Samuel Clemens, realized the incredible interest in the *Century* “Battles and Leaders” Civil War series and saw clearly that interest in the reminiscences of Grant, the leading figure of that war, would only be greater.

The manufacture of the *Memoirs* was carefully done to be physically attractive, distinctive, and readily available. The *Christian Union* of May 12, 1887,

indicated that, in order to manufacture over 300,000 sets of the Grant *Memoirs* (each containing two volumes), it required some 44,400 square yards of cloth, or over 25 miles of 1-yard-wide fabric. It took 276 barrels (69,000 pounds) of glue, 300,000 reams of paper weighing 1,800,000 tons, and 41 steam presses operated by 1,000 men, day and night, to produce the book. And this was just the basic edition; the deluxe leather edition required even more.

All the effort and all the material would be for naught if the public did not buy the book. In the years after the Civil War, books, like so many other products, were often sold by itinerant peddlers or traveling salesmen. In the towns and especially in the countryside, these men or, in a few instances, women, went door to door selling a variety of products that they convinced the town dweller and the farmer and their wives they could not live without. This form of selling was popular after the Civil War and into the 1890s, eventually being replaced by the Sears and Roebuck catalog, first published in 1893.

There were numerous success stories told about the agents' sale of their variety of products, but their selling of the Grant *Memoirs* is no doubt the most spectacular story of them all. Some ten thousand salesmen, often organized by supervising agents, took to the roads across the nation. Many were Union Army veterans, and they did their selling in uniform. They carried with them a sales manual of thirty-seven pages of small print, instructing them forcefully how to be successful. The advice in this *How to Introduce the Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* was nonflinching, definitive, and insistent. It warned salesmen that, despite the great desire of the nation to buy the memoirs, the job required hard work on their part. On the first page, the manual encapsulated all such advice into a short paragraph:

We believe the intelligent agent will so thoroughly prepare himself before starting out on his mission that he shall not only be fortified to meet and overcome every argument and objection that will be raised against the work, but by his glowing description of its contents he will interest the people, create a desire, and make sales even where they were previously opposed to the book.

The rest of the manual was just as specific in all of its instructions. The text told the salesman the proper way to introduce himself and how to clinch an order by countering negative arguments. Then, in order to drive home the detailed argument, the manual included a section entitled "Aids and Arguments," followed by a similar section entitled "Hints and Helps." For example, the brief paragraph "Can't Subscribe for Anything To-day" states simply but

forcefully: “This declaration should not bluff you in the least, for those who say so are very likely to subscribe, if the salesman does his duty.”

And many salesmen did just that. They sold over 300,000 sets of the *Memoirs* at a cost of \$7 a set for the standard cloth edition and \$25 for the leather version. They made these sales at a time when the average carpenter made only \$2.57 a day for a 6-day, 60-hour week. In February 1886, Charles L. Webster, the head of Samuel Clemens’s publishing company, sent Julia, the deceased author’s wife, the largest royalty check then ever written—\$200,000. In all, Julia Grant received \$420,000 to \$450,000. In 2017 dollars this translates to over \$11,000,000.

Such success was accomplished despite the fact that, as a letter to the editor of the *Chicago Tribune* in August 1885 warned, “unscrupulous agents” were tricking people into purchasing fake memoirs under such names as *The Personal History of U. S. Grant*, *The Life and History of U. S. Grant*, and *The Life and Times of U. S. Grant*. How many of these fake books were sold is unknown, but imposter agents were certainly hawking them. Charles L. Webster and Company, the publishing company, R. S. Peale and Company, the distributor, and Grant, before his death, were so concerned about these fraudulent editions that they wrote letters to newspapers warning the public of the scam. Peale and Company said their only concern was to “protect a mourning widow,” and they wanted all newspaper editors to “aid in exposing a rascally attempt to rob Mrs. U. S. Grant.”

The press was certainly willing to talk about the *Memoirs*. The major newspapers covered the publication, of course, but, more significantly, so did the smaller ones. For example, the Biddeford (Maine) *Journal* wrote: “No review of this remarkable work can do it justice; the book is its own review.” The *Miami Helmet* of Piqua, Ohio, said the book was “not only for the present generation but for future generations” too. The *Mobile Register*, a southern newspaper, did not let its sectionalism distort its view and called the *Memoirs* “really and morally great.”

The *Southern Historical Society Papers*, the organ of the South’s Lost Cause, was not as kind. An article published there showed its pro-Confederate bias and called the memoirs “a book full of blunders and flat contradictions . . . utterly unreliable and untrustworthy.” The *Spectator* of London was more even-handed, but it still curbed its enthusiasm. The *Memoirs*’ “view is great,” it said, “but it ought not to be exaggerated.” The *British Quarterly Review* marveled at how Grant “held off the King of Terror until the last chapter was complete.” The *Chatauquan* praised “its manly, straightforward, very modest style,” while the *Unitarian Review and Religious Magazine* compared the book to the writings of

nineteenth-century favorite Sir Walter Scott. “Grant’s success, materially, and intellectually . . . was much greater than Scott’s,” the publication insisted.

From the time that the *Memoirs* were first published in 1885–1886, they have never been out of print. In 1895 Grant’s son Frederick D. Grant published an edition that included the first, although brief, annotations of the original text. Later came other editions, including those edited by E. B. Long, James M. McPherson, Brooks D. Simpson, Michael Fellman, and perhaps the most famous edition of all, the Library of America publication prepared by William S. and Mary McFeely. They all utilized the first-edition text and added annotations, but they did not do so in any thorough manner. None clarified all the uncertainties contained within. However, most included a perceptive introduction.

Over the years, then, the Grant *Memoirs* have continued to intrigue their readers. They have attracted the interest and praise not only of the general reading public, but also of many of the leading literati of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Many have considered the *Memoirs* to be one of the greatest pieces of nonfiction in American literary history.

Not surprisingly, the leading praise for the *Memoirs* came from its publisher, Samuel Clemens, and from Grant’s friend William T. Sherman. Leading twentieth-century historian Lloyd Lewis summarized their evaluations: “Grant’s superb style of writing is what Sherman and Mark Twain thought it—the best of any general’s since Caesar.” Henry James found the *Memoirs* “as hard and dry as sandpaper” but then added: “Great is the name . . . when so great a bareness practically blooms.” Matthew Arnold attacked Grant’s grammar, but he also said that he found the Grant in his *Memoirs* to be “a man of sterling good sense as well as of the firmest resolution.” William Dean Howells said that “we have heard a lot about what the American was to be in literature when he got there. What if this were he—this good form without formality, this inner dignity, this straight forward arrival, this mid-day clearness.”

Early twentieth-century writers were similarly effusive about Grant and his *Memoirs*. Sherwood Anderson and Gertrude Stein wanted to write a book together about Grant, and Sinclair Lewis hoped to do so with Stein too. Anderson obsessed about the idea for years, pointing out that his father allegedly knew Grant in the army and later was a seller of his *Memoirs*. Stein even held Grant superior to Lincoln and included him in her book *Four in America*. American poet Robert Frost told a friend: “You have to concede him [Grant] rank with the greatest our rank has had.”

Writers of a more modern period have agreed. Leading presidential historian Henry Graff has stated, with no equivocation, that “the best autobiographical

writing by a President was done by Ulysses S. Grant.” Critic Edmund Wilson compared the *Memoirs* to Henry David Thoreau’s *Walden* and Walt Whitman’s *Leaves of Grass*, while Gore Vidal said, “It is simply not possible to read Grant’s *Memoirs* without realizing that the author is a man of first-rate intelligence. . . . His book is a classic.”

Consequently, soon after its publication and throughout the history of its many republications, important writers have considered the *Memoirs* not only a major piece of war literature, but also a classic of all American literature. They place Grant at the pinnacle of American nonfiction, and they do so enthusiastically.



## *Editorial Procedure*

This edition of the *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* is the first completely annotated edition ever produced. The text and punctuation are those of the first published edition from 1885–1886, but the editors correct acknowledged errors and other typographical errors. The text is presented here in one volume, although the original edition was published in two volumes, with the second volume starting at Chapter 40. The editors provide thorough annotation of the text, but they do not add any extensive explanation for data that the general reader can easily find. The purpose of the annotations is to provide details that casual readers can use to understand the context and that scholarly researchers can use to track down further information.

An excellent way to explain the editors' role is to recall the conversation between *Century Magazine* editor Robert U. Johnson and Ulysses S. Grant when the editor was trying to tell Grant how he might improve his manuscript on the Battle of Shiloh for the magazine's Battles and Leaders of the Civil War series. Johnson told Grant to write as though he were speaking to a group of friends after dinner. Consequently, if Grant is accurate in the substance of the details, or in citing a date, or is making an evaluative comment that might even be debatable, the editors do not interrupt. They only interject their own words to identify a named or unnamed individual or place not readily identifiable in Grant's narrative, or if a supplied date is not clear. If Grant makes a mistake in citing a particular fact, the editors provide an annotation to correct the misstatement.

The editors try to identify every person Grant mentions in the *Memoirs* the first time he or she appears. Such notes include full name, date of birth and death, a geographic identifier, and, if in the military, highest rank and date of rank at the moment in the narrative. When the editors rely on genealogy websites or sources that are difficult to verify, they identify birth and death dates with a "c." for "circa." A lack of dates or a question mark in a biographical entry indicates no reliable dates were found. Any special relationship to Grant is also noted, as are unusual or outstanding facts about the individual.

Named places that still exist and are readily identifiable are not annotated. On the other hand, places that no longer exist or whose names have changed or are now unknown are annotated to explain their location.

The editors present estimates of distances from place to place. Rather than trying to guess at possible routes, the editors give straight-line (as the crow flies) mileage.

The editors do not include the appendix, which is Grant's final report. In the few instances when the *Memoirs* reference a letter in the appendix, the editors cite the *Papers of Ulysses S. Grant*.

Because the original maps in the *Memoirs* are not clear and thus not helpful to the reader, the editors do not include them in the text.

Original notes from the first edition are rendered as footnotes but distinguished from the editors' annotations. Source entries are in alphabetical order by the name of the source author or title.

The thirty-two volumes of *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant (PUSG)* provided the editors of the *Memoirs* and its readers a highly accurate base of information for annotating or further researching the annotations. *PUSG* is cited when the text of the *Memoirs* mentions or quotes Grant's correspondence, but does so without notation, or refers to communications from others that are buried in the *PUSG*'s extensive notes. However, *PUSG* is not cited when Grant gives the name/date of his own correspondence. The format as a whole follows *The Chicago Manual of Style, 16th edition*.

With this edition completed, work will proceed in earnest on a digitized version that will display, as only that medium can, the procedure that Grant followed in writing and editing his remembrances. The digital edition will allow the scholar to see clearly the various versions Grant created from his articles in *Century Magazine*, how he chose his words and sentence structure, how he organized the text, and how he used Adam Badeau, Fred Grant, and all his other assistants. In brief, clarifying the content of Grant's thoughts is the purpose of this hard copy edition; understanding how Grant wrote his manuscript is the purpose of the later digitized edition.

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