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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Stretched like a thread through this little volume will be found references to the majority of the scores of individuals, government departments and officials, historical societies, public libraries, publishers, etc., who have assisted in every way to assemble the data used in preparing this work, and whose many courtesies are hereby gratefully acknowledged. And while I feel that an enumeration would unnecessarily tire the reader, yet I desire to make special mention of those who have so kindly contributed the illustrative matter, without which the *opus* would have been incomplete.

These latter include Mrs. Mary Saunders Harrison, of Omaha, Neb.; Mr. John Gribbel, of Philadelphia, Pa.; Mr. William H. Seward, 3rd, of Auburn, N. Y.; Mr. Sherwood Rollins, of Boston, Mass.; Mr. Emanuel Hertz, of New York City; Mr. William Selby, of Elkton, Md.; Mr. Thomas F. Madigan, autograph dealer of New York City; Dr. Louis A. Warren, Director of the Lincoln Historical Research Foundation, and Mr. Ross McCulloch, of Fort Wayne, Ind.; and the Library of Congress, the Adjutant General's Office of the War Department, Col. U. S. Grant, 3rd, Director of Public Buildings and Public Parks, and Mr. Lewis G. Reynolds, Custodian Lincoln Museum, all of Washington, D. C.

Allow Mr. Arthur
& friends to come in
at 9 - AM. to mor.
now
A. Lincoln
April 14. 1865.

"Lincoln's Last Autograph." Undoubtedly the last paper to which the martyr President affixed his signature.—Courtesy of Library of Congress.

FURTHER LIGHT
ON
LINCOLN'S LAST DAY

A Study of the Attendant Circumstances
Being the third of a series of Monographs

by

JOHN W. STARR, Jr.

Author of "LINCOLN'S LAST DAY,"
"NEW LIGHT ON LINCOLN'S LAST DAY," ETC.

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LINCOLN Room

FOREWORD

In the preparation of this monograph I have been reminded many times of a statement made by a reviewer of "Lincoln's Last Day," that "the author has secured a few new grains of wheat by sifting many bushels of chaff." In the process of assembling data for the present work, literally hundreds of letters have been exchanged with the hope of gathering some new memoranda, and the results have often seemed inversely meagre. And notwithstanding the fact that all likely leads have been followed up from various angles, I am satisfied that there are to be had additional data if one knew where to go. That last day of President Lincoln's life was an extremely busy one. And in contra-distinction to a remark once made to me by the late Judd Stewart, to whom I had shown the first draft of the original manuscript on the subject, that he did not see that so many incidents could have transpired, it has been a source of wonder to me why more of those who called at the Executive Mansion did not leave for posterity some account of their interviews, and those who have done so more detailed narratives. Contemporary accounts tell us that, after the morning call of Schuyler Colfax, the President "had an interview with Mr. Hale, Minister to Spain, and several Senators and Representatives." Why was Hale silent, and who were these members of Congress?

Colfax has told of his important morning and evening interviews; we can visualize and appraise that last Cabinet meeting; we know some of the details of the afternoon drive; and can reconstruct the events of the evening prior to leaving for the theatre. But why the relative silence as to the afternoon transaction of business in the Executive offices? L. E. Chittenden, Register of the Treasury, recounts that "I left Washington on the afternoon of April 14th. * * * * I went to the Executive Mansion to take leave of the President. So many were waiting, the President seemed so much occupied with pressing business, that I came away without sending in my card." And there is corroborative evidence of this press of business from other sources. Why the paucity of first-hand authentic data? I know that Nicolay and Hay state that Lincoln "denied himself generally to the throng of visitors, admitting only a few friends," but all the evidence I have tends to show the reverse to have been the case. Lincoln "closed shop" early that afternoon, but the time preceding was crowded with incident.

Why do we not have, somewhere, an account of the doings of the Chief Executive that day, by some member of his official family? On this day, of all days, why did not the versatile John Hay, probably the only one in a position to do so, leave his recollections of the movements of his Chief that Good Friday? We do not hear from him, nor of him, until after the President was shot. Pendel, the doorkeeper, says that after hearing the news he informed Robert Lincoln, who said,

"Go and call Major Hay." "Major," said Pendel, "Captain Lincoln wants to see you at once. The President has been shot."

Hay, says Pendel, "was a handsome young man with a bloom on his cheeks just like that of a beautiful young lady. When I told him the news, he turned deathly pale, the color entirely leaving his cheeks. He said to me, 'Don't allow anybody to enter the house.' I said, 'Very good, Major, nobody shall come in.' And thereupon Robert Lincoln and John Hay left immediately for the theatre."

As stated by Dr. Barton in his biography, a copy of the John Hay diary, proper names being represented by initials only, is on file in the Library of Congress. But Dr. Martin, Acting Chief of the Division of Manuscripts, reports that no reference is found therein as to President Lincoln's or John Hay's actions that day, a large gap appearing in the diary at that period, and neither does the library contain any relevant Lincoln or Hay data.

And as further stated by Dr. Barton, "the Massachusetts Historical Society has an even more precious document, a photostatic copy of the original of Hay's diary, which was made for 'Thayer's Life of John Hay,' " access to which may be obtained only by special permission.

This permission I secured through the kindness of Mrs. James Wadsworth, Jr., daughter of John Hay, and a later report by Mr. Julius H. Tuttle, Librarian, but confirmed the findings of the Congressional Library. "Our photostat copy of the John Hay diary," says Mr. Tuttle, "does not have any entries between December 18, 1864, and September 25, 1866." And furthermore, Mrs. Wadsworth informs me that she has no knowledge of any of her father's papers which would throw any light on the subject, and that she does not remember even hearing her father speak of President Lincoln's last day.

Miss Helen Nicolay, daughter of Secretary Nicolay, states that "my father was not in Washington at the time of Mr. Lincoln's death. He had been away on a short trip to Cuba and saw the shipping at half-mast as he approached land. That was his first intimation of the tragedy, which was of course a terrible shock to him as well as a deep personal sorrow." And she adds she cannot account for the hiatus in the Hay diary.

"Sometime before Mr. Lincoln's assassination," continues Miss Nicolay, "it had been arranged that with the beginning of the new term my father should go to Paris as American Consul, and John Hay enter the diplomatic service in the same city as Secretary of Legation.

"It was quite natural that after four such strenuous years in Washington, the two young men should desire fresh scenes and new experiences; and Mr. Lincoln was the last man to insist upon keeping them at his side.

"We must not forget that at the time the plan was made Mr. Lincoln's new term seemed likely to be happy and comparatively easy. Mercifully, the horror of the assassination and the difficulties of reconstruction were alike hidden from mortal eyes."

William O. Stoddard, the third of the secretarial triumverate, who handled the President's mail and signed the land patents, has left on record many interesting accounts of the Lincoln administration. However, in 1864 he had been succeeded by Edward D. Neill, whose sole contribution to Lincoln literature seems to have been his address on "Reminiscences of the Last Year of President Lincoln's Life," delivered many years ago before the Minnesota Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion. His daughter, Miss Minnesota Neill, who still survives, is unable to add anything to what her father said upon that occasion. I append what Chaplain Neill said in connection with the subject under investigation:

"The last interview I had with him (Lincoln) was between three and four o'clock of the last afternoon of his earthly life. A Colonel of a Vermont regiment, who had been on a furlough during his absence from the Army of the Potomac, had been made a Brigadier-General. Upon his return he stopped at the War Department for his commission, and was told that it had been sent over to the President for his signature. Coming to the President's house, he told the doorkeeper of the office the occasion of his visit, and he was brought to me. That afternoon there had been a Cabinet meeting, and an interview with General Grant, and I went to see the President, and found that he had retired to the private part of the house for a lunch. While I was looking over the papers on his table to see if I could find the desired commission, he came back, eating an apple. I told him for what I was looking, and as I talked he placed his hand on the bell-pull, when I said, 'For whom are you going to ring?' Placing his hand upon my coat, he spoke but two words,— 'Andrew Johnson.' Then I said, 'I will come in again.' As I was leaving the room the Vice-President had been ushered, and the President advanced and took him by the hand. * * *

"On Saturday, Slade, the messenger, came to me and said he was very unhappy, and asked me if I had noticed as I crossed the hall to the President's room on Friday afternoon that he was listening to the Vice-President, and nodding assent as he conversed. I told him I had observed him. He then said, 'It is what I said to Mr. Johnson that makes me feel miserable.' The Vice-President had expressed his respect for Mr. Lincoln, but said he thought if he were President he would not make it too easy for the rebels, and Slade, having African blood in his veins had nodded assent, and expressed the wish that at some future day he might be President."

JOHN W. STARR, JR.

Millersburg, Pa.

December 31, 1929.

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PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S DAILY ROUTINE

SEVERAL of the attaches of the White House during the Lincoln administration, have left on record their testimony as to President Lincoln's daily habits during his residence there.

Secretary Hay has given us what is probably the best account. Writing in 1891 he stated that "the President rose early, as his sleep was light and capricious. In the summer, when he lived at the Soldiers' Home, he would take his frugal breakfast and ride into town in time to be at his desk at eight o'clock. He began to receive visitors nominally at ten o'clock, but long before that hour struck the doors were besieged by anxious crowds, through whom the people of importance, senators and members of Congress, elbowed their way after the fashion which still survives. On days when the Cabinet met, Tuesdays and Fridays, the hour of noon closed the interviews of the morning. On other days it was the President's custom, at about that hour, to order the doors to be opened and all who were waiting to be admitted. * * *

"At luncheon time he had literally to run the gauntlet through the crowds who filled the corridors between his office and the rooms at the west end of the house occupied by the family.

"The afternoon wore away in much the same manner as the morning; late in the day he usually drove out for an hour's airing; at six he dined. * * * His breakfast was an egg and a cup of coffee; at luncheon he rarely took more than a biscuit and a glass of milk, a plate of fruit in its season; at dinner he ate sparingly of one or two courses. * * *

"Mr. Lincoln's life was almost devoid of recreation. He sometimes went to the theatre, and was particularly fond of a play of Shakespeare well acted. * * *

"Mr. Lincoln spent most of his evenings in his office, though occasionally he remained in the drawing-room after dinner, conversing with visitors or listening to music, for which he had an especial liking. * * * In his office he was not often suffered to be alone; he frequently passed the evening there with a few friends in frank and free conversation. * * *

"Where only one or two were present he was fond of reading aloud. He passed many of the summer evenings in this way when occupying his cottage at the Soldiers' home."

FURTHER LIGHT ON LINCOLN'S LAST DAY

Secretary Stoddard testified that Lincoln "was an early riser, and was apt to be at his toil before the humblest clerk on the national pay-rolls had eaten his breakfast. That of the Chief Magistrate was very frequently brought to him in his office that he might lose no time, for now, as always, from his log-house cradle, he was a hard student." At another place the same writer, using the present tense, said that "he was always an early riser, and it is a good habit to have in these over-worked times. He is apt to come striding along the hall at farm hours, as if he were in haste to get here and finish something left over from last evening, or attend to some crisis which came in the night, before the daily procession of visitors can set in." And he makes particular mention of "the large room where he worked through all the days and half through all the nights." And Arnold, Lincoln's old Illinois friend, in speaking of his office said, "here in this plain room, Mr. Lincoln spent most of his time while President. * * * Here, day after day, often from early morning to late at night, Lincoln sat, listened, talked and decided."

In the volume prepared by Miss Nicolay from her father's papers, she states in connection with the Presidential drives, that they "could hardly be called diversion, since his objective point was apt to be one of the earthworks which circled Washington, or one of the military hospitals;" that "his day began early, and ended only when physical weariness drove him to his bed. Frequently at night he could not sleep, and rose to wander from room to room." Also, "one of his wearisome and unavoidable tasks was signing commissions sent over every day from the War and Navy Departments. Every appointment and promotion in the regular army, as well as many in the volunteer service, necessitated a new commission. These, made out on heavy parchment, very oiled and hard to write upon, would be placed on his desk in piles six or eight inches high, and he would sit working away at them with the patient industry of a laborer sawing wood."

William H. Crook, one of the personal bodyguards at the time of the assassination, within recent years has recalled that "the daily life of Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln usually commenced at eight o'clock, and immediately upon dressing the President would go into the library, where he would sit in his favorite chair in the middle of the room and read a chapter or two of his Bible. * * *

"At about eight-thirty he would join Mrs. Lincoln and little Tad in the small unpretentious dining-room for breakfast, where a plain but sufficiently hearty meal was served by two waiters who were white men. * * * There was little formality about the meal; the President loved to joke with his wife and son, and for the time being put aside the cares of his great office and his anxiety for the country. As soon as breakfast was over, the President would go to his office and commence the ceaseless toil of his busy day.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S DAILY ROUTINE

"So great was the pressure on the President's time and thought that he had little chance for pleasure and recreation, except for an occasional horseback ride to the Soldiers' Home. * * * When the President and his wife went to the theatre, they would step into a carriage at the White House and drive directly to their destination. * * * On arriving in front of the playhouse Burke, the big, burly Irish coachman, would pull up his horses, and the footman, Charley Forbes, would swing down to the sidewalk and open the carriage, whereupon Mrs. Lincoln and the President would step out, being met at once by a body-guard whose business it was to be on hand when they arrived.

"Without any ostentation or display whatever the President and Mrs. Lincoln, followed by the body-guard, and led by an usher, would quietly walk into the box which had been reserved for them, and as they did so the audience would rise and stand in silence until the President acknowledged this mark of respect with a dignified bow, in which recognition Mrs. Lincoln joined by a graceful inclination of her head. They would then seat themselves in the box and the audience would seat itself throughout the house. * * * At the conclusion of the play, Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln and their guard would retire from the box, and quietly leave the theatre. Such of the audience as were in the aisles simply made way for them. They would then step into their carriage, Forbes would close the door and regain his seat beside Burke, who would speak to his horses and away the carriage would roll toward the White House as a score of carriages were rolling in other directions from the theatre. * * *

"Mrs. Lincoln and the President usually attended the morning service in Dr. Gurley's Church. * * Sometimes they would drive there, but frequently they would walk, accompanied by a guard. * * *

"During the time that I was serving as personal body-guard to Lincoln, he and Mrs. Lincoln usually dined at seven o'clock in the evening—a leisurely meal, well cooked, well chosen, with special reference to the President's dislike of elaborate dishes and 'frills' in general.

"After dinner, at about eight o'clock, the President would rise from the table and go at once to the War Department to get the latest news from the front, except on Thursday evenings, when he waited until the regular levee had been held. * * * Lincoln usually was able to return to his wife, waiting in the living room for him, by eleven o'clock or a little later, and he would tell her the news from the front. They would discuss the battles, the retreats, the victories, the defeats, * * * and although they generally finished this concluding part of their daily program shortly after midnight, yet sometimes it was quite late when they could do so and retire.

FURTHER LIGHT ON LINCOLN'S LAST DAY

"As he went upstairs and entered his own room, Lincoln's last act was to turn to the guard on duty in the corridor, and wish him good-night. Then he would enter his room, and close the door."

There was one important part of the daily routine, however, which Hay and some of the other writers failed to mention—his regular visits to the War Department. David Homer Bates, one of that little coterie of telegraphers in the War Department, once stated that "during the Civil War the President spent more of his waking hours in the War Department telegraph office than in any other place, except the White House. * * * During the last four years of Lincoln's national career, even until the day before its tragic ending, the writer was fortunate in being able to see him and talk with him daily, and usually several times a day; for he visited the War Department telegraph office morning, afternoon, and evening, to receive the latest news from the armies at the front. His tall, homely form could be seen crossing the well-shaded lawn between the White House and the War Department day after day with unvaried regularity. * * * He seldom failed to come over late in the evening before retiring, and sometimes he would stay all night in the War Department."

In referring to the Good Friday under investigation, Nicolay and Hay make the statement truthfully that "the day was one of unusual enjoyment to Mr. Lincoln," and then add what I have previously quoted, that "he denied himself generally to the throng of visitors, admitting only a few friends." Certainly with the early transaction of business; the unusually long time spent at the breakfast table; the two visits to the War Department; the morning interviews with the political leaders; the lengthy Cabinet meeting; the long drive; the hour's chat preceding dinner; the preparations for attending the theatre and the evening conferences of an hour's duration, there necessarily would not have been as much time left to attend to the "peepul's" business as ordinarily, but the testimony is all against such a statement. It should be borne in mind that these same authorities also state that "Grant had arrived that morning in Washington and immediately proceeded to the Executive Mansion, where he met the Cabinet," an error as we know, Grant having arrived in the city the day before.

Herewith is appended President Lincoln's probable itinerary for April 14th, 1865:

7:00 A. M.	Arose
7:30 A. M. to 8 A. M.	Transacts business in office—dispatches notes to General Grant and Acting Secretary of State Seward; answers letter to Van Alen, etc.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S DAILY ROUTINE

- | | | | |
|-------|----------------|-------|---|
| 8 | A. M. to 9 | A. M. | Breakfast; Robert home from front. |
| 9 | A. M. to 10 | A. M. | Interview with Colfax, Cole and Howard. |
| 10 | A. M. to 10:30 | A. M. | Interviews with Creswell, Hale, Senators and Representatives; also Yates and Kellogg, and probably Singleton. |
| 10:30 | A. M. to 11 | A. M. | Visit to War Department—three minute walk each way. |
| 11 | A. M. to 1:30 | P. M. | Cabinet meeting, General Grant present. |
| 1:30 | P. M. to 2 | P. M. | Light luncheon; at close sees Neill, Secretary. |
| 2 | P. M. to 3 | P. M. | In office; just before leaving sees Dana. |
| 3 | P. M. to 5 | P. M. | Drive with Mrs. Lincoln and Tad. |
| 5 | P. M. to 6 | P. M. | Relaxation in office with Illinois friends. |
| 6 | P. M. to 6:30 | P. M. | Dinner; Brooks calls at close. |
| 6:30 | P. M. to 7 | P. M. | Trip to War Department. |
| 7 | P. M. to 7:30 | P. M. | Preparing for theatre. |
| 7:30 | P. M. to 8:30 | P. M. | Interview with Colfax and Ashmun, etc. |

TALES THAT GROW WITH THE TELLING

IN the preparation of this study I have come across many data of an erroneous and conflicting nature, good examples of the manner in which a great deal of "history" is made. Many writers have done future historians an injustice by writing into the accounts hearsay evidence, gossip, and what not, without taking the pains to examine the testimony or make an impartial and thorough study. Wielding a facile pen seems to have been their forte and no time has been devoted to serious research work.

Attention was directed in the first volume of this series, to a few of the more glaring errors and inconsistencies which have crept into even the works regarded as standard, but here I wish to call attention to a few instances in which the same authority contradicted himself at various times.

In David Homer Bates' *Lincoln in the Telegraph Office*, appearing in 1907, he gives an excerpt from an address delivered by Charles A. Tinker, one of the telegraph operators in the War Department, on October 11th of the previous year, before the annual banquet of the Military Telegraph Corps at Washington, D. C., in which Mr. Tinker stated that he "had the pleasure of hearing what in all probability was the last anecdote ever told by Mr. Lincoln in the telegraph office, early on the morning of April 13, 1865, the day before his assassination."

Mr. Bates' little volume of *Lincoln Stories* published in 1926 a few months after his death, contained the same anecdote but prefaced thus: "The last story told in the telegraph office vouched for by Cipher-Operator Tinker is as follows: 'On April 14, 1865, the day Lincoln was shot, he came to the telegraph office while I was transmitting a cipher dispatch,' " etc.

Here are two discrepancies in dates; but this is not all. Here is what Tinker said during the course of his remarks at the unveiling of a painting of Lincoln at the Lincoln Club of Brooklyn, on February 12, 1907, as given in his *Simple Tribute*, transcribed for me by the Dean of us all, and my friend of long standing, Mr. Joseph B. Oakleaf, from the copy in his collection:

"The last time I saw Mr. Lincoln alive was in the *afternoon* of April 11th, 1865, three days previous to his assassination. He made a brief visit to the office about five o'clock and after reading the dispatches was reminded of a story which he told, and to illustrate its finale gathered his coat tails under his arms and with

TALES THAT GROW WITH THE TELLING

long strides passed out of the office laughing loudly and leaving me convulsed by the amusing story and his ludicrous performance. That evening I was taken ill and was not able to return to the office again for duty until the morning of the fifteenth, when he had died by the bullet of the assassin."

This latter account is undoubtedly correct; it bears the earmarks of authenticity. It was the only one of the three reported for publication under his supervision. I gather that the Washington story was taken from a newspaper report, while the later Bates' account was culled apparently from his own recollections of Tinker's story. But when the Tinker address in Brooklyn was prepared for publication, care would be taken undoubtedly to insure its accuracy. Tinker kept a diary during the war, and a reference to it would give the exact date as well as mention of his subsequent illness.

With reference to Bates, I am curious as to what became of the manuscript of a Lincoln volume he was working on in 1912; it has never been published. At that time, at his request, I had forwarded for his examination a draft of my original *Last Day* volume, and in returning it he made mention of another book he was compiling, on *The Closing Days of Lincoln's Life, From the Peace Conference to the Assassination*.

In the early years of this century, George P. Floyd, who claimed to have kept a hostelry in Quincy, Ill., at the time of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, was the author of a series of Lincoln articles appearing in various publications, all of which contained practically the same subject matter. I have three in my files. Both through residents of Quincy, and the publishers of the various periodicals, I have tried to locate either Mr. Floyd or some member of his family, but without result.

About 1900—I do not have the exact date—the *Philadelphia Inquirer* published an article by Mr. Floyd headed *Unpublished Stories of Abraham Lincoln*, which closes with this excerpt: "On April 25, 1865, while in Montgomery, (Ala.), I received a personal letter from Mr. Lincoln requesting me to attend to a little matter between Mrs. Lincoln and her brother, which I did. That letter is dated April 14, 1865. That night at 10 o'clock President Lincoln fell by the assassin's hand."

The Kansas City Star for July 12, 1905, contained an article which was, in the main, a condensation of his former paper, on *Lincoln's Rum Sweat*, but making no mention of this letter. However, *McClure's Magazine* for January, 1908, carried still another monograph from the pen of Mr. Floyd, similarly titled as the last, with this closing paragraph:

"Mr. Lincoln's wife was Miss Mary Todd of Kentucky. Her brother,

FURTHER LIGHT ON LINCOLN'S LAST DAY

Thomas Todd, lived in Alabama during the war. In April 1865, while I was at Montgomery, Alabama, I received a personal letter from Mr. Lincoln requesting me to attend to a little matter concerning Mrs. Lincoln and her brother, which I did. That letter was dated at Washington, D. C., April 10, 1865. Four days later Lincoln was assassinated."

I believe the latter account to be correct. Writing an article for a magazine of the standing of *McClure's* with its long line of Lincoln research and the approach of the Lincoln centenary, would render accuracy of statement more necessary, and I am inclined to think it would have been in order to take a look at this letter to refresh the writer's memory, which would show him to have been in error in his former statement.

THE MYSTERIOUS VAN ALLEN LETTER

THERE is a mystery, as well as a lack of any authentic data, concerning the alleged "Van Allen" letter which President Lincoln is stated to have written April 14th, 1865, in response to a communication from "General Van Allen," who, as Oldroyd says in his history of the assassination, had written Mr. Lincoln asking him "not to expose his life unnecessarily, as he had done at Richmond, and assuring him of the earnest desire of all his countrymen to close the war he had so successfully conducted." Oldroyd refers to it as "probably his last letter." But was it? Thayer in his *Pioneer Home to the White House* places the time of writing as the morning. Is this true? In point of fact, was it written at all?

The two volume edition of Nicolay and Hay's *Complete Works*, published by the Century Co. in 1894, contains no reference to it; nothing dated after April 12th appears therein. But the enlarged twelve volume set of the Gettysburg edition, issued in 1905, does. Volume eleven includes a letter "to General Van Allen" as follows:

Washington, April 14, 1865

My dear Sir: I intend to adopt the advice of my friends and use due precaution. * * * I thank you for the assurance you give me that I shall be supported by conservative men like yourself, in the efforts I may make to restore the Union, so as to make it, to use your language, a Union of hearts and hands as well as of States.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

A footnote states that "General Van Allen wrote Lincoln, requesting him, for the sake of his friends and the nation, to guard his life and not expose it to assassination as he had by going to Richmond. The above reply was written on the very day Lincoln was assassinated. Its discovery is due to the enthusiastic research of Mr. Gilbert A. Tracy, of Putnam, Conn."

This letter appears verbatim with above, including the marks indicating deletion, in the National Edition of the *Writings* of Lincoln, edited by Arthur Brooks Lapsley, published in 1906, a footnote indicating it was taken from the *Sunday Morning Chronicle*, April 23, 1865.

FURTHER LIGHT ON LINCOLN'S LAST DAY

Now there is no doubt that Mr. Tracy was an enthusiastic research worker, but why did this alleged letter apparently remain hidden so long, when references had been made not once, but many times, by contemporary newspapers and earlier writers?

I have come across it in the *New York Post* for April 21st, 1865; possibly it was copied in many journals of the period. Morris' *Memorial Record*, published in 1865, contains the letter, and Shea's *Lincoln Memorial*, of the same year, makes mention of it; Thayer's *Pioneer Home*, already referred to, published in 1882, makes similar reference, and Oldroyd's work, issued in 1901, includes it.

Mr. Tracy, editor of the volume of *Uncollected Writings of Lincoln*, published in 1917, is now dead, but his daughter, Mary Clemmer Tracy, of Passaic, N. J., very kindly gave ear to my importunities. Her final report follows:

"My father died in April 1918. I have a dim recollection of his mention of that letter many years ago. When I went through father's papers after his death I did not find any copies of letters except those in the volume he edited. That portion of his library which was not disposed of in accordance with his will is still at Putnam, Conn. I went through practically all of my father's papers there without result so far as answering your query is concerned. I think there is a possibility that the letter to which you refer was published in some newspaper about the time of Lincoln's assassination."

With reference to the addressee, we find that there was no unanimity among the earlier writers as to who he was, and usually no first name was given. Shea and Morris called him "Gen. Van Alen," the latter spelling it with two "l's", while Thayer referred to him as "Gen. Owen Allen of New York;" Oldroyd refers to the individual as "General James H. Van Alen of New York."

Assuming the latter to be correct, for a man with the prominence which he undoubtedly possessed at one time, biographical and historical works are singularly silent. I have examined many reference works and cyclopedias in the State Library at Harrisburg, and could find no reference whatever to a General Van Alen. And this examination included the *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Biography of New York*, a mammoth set of six volumes, issued from 1878 to 1890—mark the dates of publication.

The New York City Library advises me that "Our genealogy division reports that nothing has been found about General Van Alen or his descendants. They are not mentioned in the Van Alen genealogy."

THE MYSTERIOUS VAN ALLEN LETTER

Mr. Wyer, Director of the New York State Library at Albany, is of the opinion that the individual referred to was "Brigadier General James H. Van Allen, at one time General Hooker's Chief of Staff, and formerly Colonel of the Third New York Cavalry. His home was in New York City. He died at sea in 1886 and a newspaper account says that he left a son, desperately ill, and three grandchildren."

Neither the State Adjutant General's Office in Albany, the Adjutant General's Office in Washington, nor the Bureau of Pensions is able to furnish any clues as to where any living descendants of General Van Allen might be, the latter stating that "the records in the Bureau fail to show the name of General James H. Van Allen, who served during the Civil War, either as a pensioner or as an applicant for pension."

One or two leads furnished by Mr. Wyer I have tried to follow to a conclusion, and in this I have had the cooperation of my friend Mr. Charles T. White, of the *New York Herald Tribune*, but to no avail. Nevertheless, I am hopeful that some day the truth of the story may be arrived at. But in the absence of sufficient verification I believe we should for the time lay aside this pleasing little incident, although I am not inclined to believe that it will go eventually into the discard of the Lincoln "Ananias" stories and statements.

LINCOLN'S FORGOTTEN MICHIGAN CALLER

HON. Schuyler Colfax, then Speaker of the House of Representatives, was both the first and last caller which President Lincoln had that day. While eating breakfast Lincoln heard that Colfax was in the Executive Mansion, and sent word to him that he would see him immediately in the reception room. According to Hon. Cornelius Cole, then Member of Congress from California, he accompanied the Speaker.

And it was Colfax, together with George M. Ashmun, who was with him when he and Mrs. Lincoln left for the theatre that evening. Both of these interviews I have dealt with in my former monograph.

However, it has been my privilege recently to examine the original manuscript of Colfax's lecture on Lincoln which he delivered in various parts of the country in the seventies. First prepared about ten years after the close of the war it immediately became famous and in great demand, but never have I seen it, or any part of it, in print. One incident was particularly interesting.

Towards the close of his lecture Colfax said: "In his (Lincoln's) last conversation, the very day of his murder, with Hon. W. A. Howard, of Grand Rapids, Mich., and myself, he announced his merciful intention towards the rebel leaders, whom he said he intended, to quote his own phrase and pronunciation, '*to skeer out of the country*,' rather than to exact any penalty for their treasonable misdeeds; adding, however, with prophetic emphasis, 'they have so poisoned the public mind of their followers, that I fear there *can be* no restored love of the Union South, while they are there.' "

This information was new to me at the time, but I have since found mention of it in O. J. Hollister's *Life of Colfax* published in 1886. The biographer was the husband of Colfax's half-sister and had access to the Colfax papers. According to Hollister, Howard entered the room during the morning interview while Lincoln had gone out for some papers, and was present during the remainder of the time Colfax was there. Yet I cannot refrain from remarking, in view of the oft repeated and well known views of the liberal Lincoln, that the concluding part of the quotation attributed to him by the Speaker of the House, was in part colored by his own views. Undoubtedly Lincoln would have liked the deposed southern leaders to be "skeered" away, or the vexatious problem disposed of in

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some other unofficial manner, yet he had no place in his great heart for any sort of malicious thoughts.

The name of William A. Howard of Michigan is practically unknown to our present generation, yet at one time it was of prominence in his adopted state. From Dr. George N. Fuller, of the Michigan Historical Commission, Mr. George B. Catlin, Librarian of the *Detroit News*, Mr. C. M. Burton, of the Burton Abstract and Tile Co., Detroit, and Mr. W. R. Shelby, formerly Vice-President of the Grand Rapids and Indiana Railway Co., I have secured the following information relative to Mr. Howard:

He was born in Vermont in 1813, of poor parents, and his early life was a continuous struggle. In early youth he emigrated to Albion, N. Y., where he learned the trade of a cabinet maker. At the age of nineteen he attended an academy at Wyoming, N. Y., and then entered Middlebury College, where he graduated in 1835. After teaching school in Genesee County for several years, in 1840 he went to Detroit where he commenced reading law while tutoring in mathematics in a branch of the State University. From 1842, when he was admitted to the bar, until 1854 he was in active legal practice, interesting himself in local politics. After serving as City Attorney and City Treasurer he entered national politics, representing his district at Washington as Congressman from 1855 to 1861, and taking a leading part in the legislative proceedings. In the latter year he was appointed Postmaster at Detroit by President Lincoln, serving for over five years, when he was removed by President Johnson, and in 1869 declined the post of Minister to China. Later locating at Yankton, Dakota, he was appointed territorial Governor in 1878, and died in Washington, D. C., two years later.

Mr. Howard was a man of many and varied activities. While making his home in Detroit he engaged in various business enterprises; was Land Commissioner for several railroads; delegate to three National Republican Conventions, Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee from 1860 to 1866, and for several years a member of the National Republican Committee.

He was married to the daughter of Matthew W. Burchard, of Detroit, who lived to the ripe old age of 101 years, and who thought so much of his son-in-law that when he built a hotel at Griswold and Congress Streets, N. E., he named it the Howard House.

Says Mr. Catlin: "Mr. Howard was a noted orator and a powerful campaigner. He was genial, of fine character, and very popular." And Mr. Shelby testifies

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that "I knew Mr. Howard intimately, both in a business way and as a neighbor. Like Lincoln, he could relate a story or incident impressively."

In trying to run down the occasion of the visit of Mr. Howard to Washington in April 1865, I have encountered difficulties. While all of the parties approached are willing enough to furnish what information they may possess, it is meagre indeed.

Both Mr. Howard's son and son-in-law are living. The former, Mr. James B. Howard, states that "my father never in my presence, that I remember, spoke of his being in Washington on the day of President Lincoln's assassination, but I heard it spoken of repeatedly by others in the family about as follows:

"Mr. Howard had been in Washington some time previous to the fatal day, on government business, particulars of which I never heard, had arranged to return to Detroit on that day, called on Mr. Lincoln to say 'good-bye,' and was invited to attend him to the theatre that evening, but begged to be excused because all his arrangements for departure on that evening's train were made, and in due time took the train and started for home.

"The train had not gone very far, Harrisburg I think, when news of the tragedy overtook it, and he returned to Washington on the first available train.

"I know there was something said about the interviews with President Lincoln which father had while in Washington at this time, and got the impression that they were regarded as important, but never got the details and was too young, if I did, to understand their importance."

Mr. Thomas J. O'Brien, who married a daughter of Mr. Howard, has served his country at various diplomatic posts in Europe and Asia. It was he who secured the statement from Mr. James Howard and adds that "he probably heard the story directly from his father, because it is practically the same state of facts which Mr. William A. Howard told me. Indeed he may have heard it at the same time, as they both were residents of my house at the time."

It will be recalled that Howard was serving as Postmaster at Detroit at the time. An inquiry directed to the Department at Washington, asking if there were on file any data which would explain Howard's presence in Washington in connection with his governmental position, elicited the information that "the papers in connection with happenings in the Post Office at Detroit during the time Mr. Howard served as Postmaster have long since been destroyed."

"When I am confronted with a query like yours," says Mr. Catlin of the

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Detroit News, "I am always reminded of the faults of the newspapers of other days. They seemed to have no idea of news values and regarded local news as not worth printing, assuming that everybody would know all about local news. I would presume that Howard's call to Washington for conference with President Lincoln was with regard to an appointment to some foreign mission—but that is mere guess-work. He was so able a man and had done such brilliant work on the stump in two Lincoln campaigns, that I suspect that Mr. Lincoln thought the postoffice at Detroit was but a poor recognition of his service and merit. If such were the case, of course the interview would have been private and confidential, without figuring in any press reports. Lincoln was still engaged in framing up his important appointments when he was assassinated."

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AN examination of the files of various newspapers of the period reveals that many of them, a few days after the assassination, contained a brief stereotyped account of the movements of the late President the day he was shot, evidently emanating from the same source. Referring to the forenoon, after mentioning the interview with Colfax, the article continues: "afterward he had an interview with Mr. Hale, Minister to Spain, and several Senators and Representatives." Many of the memorial and biographical volumes called forth by Booth's deed followed closely the article above referred to.

It seems strange that few, if any, of the National legislators have given to posterity their recollections of these morning interviews, in view of the fact that they would have been of more than passing interest.

But more than passing strange is the fact that John P. Hale, of Maine, usually so loquacious, should in this instance have proven so taciturn. Was it because the far-seeing President, knowing his new Minister's prophensy, should have given him some needed and friendly counsel, such as he had once given a new military commander, the dashing "Joe" Hooker? Or was it because in a few short hours Minister Hale should find his daughter's name bandied about, not only by the garrulous Mrs. Grundies of the period, but also by reputable newspapers, as they coupled her name together with the brilliant actor whose crime had shocked the civilized world?

I have exhausted all available means I know of, to try to gain some knowledge of any written or verbal mention Hale may have made concerning this interview, but without success. The New Hampshire Historical Society has examined the John P. Hale papers now deposited with the society, but can find nothing relevant to the subject; the Library of Congress makes a like report after looking through both the Hale and Chandler papers in its Manuscript Division: William E. Chandler, Cabinet Member and Senator, was a son-in-law of Hale. And several descendants whom I was able to locate know nothing as to the interview.

John P. Hale was born in Rochester, N. H., in 1806; admitted to the bar in 1830, he almost immediately plunged into politics. From 1843 to 1845 he represented his state in the National House of Representatives, and from 1847 to 1853 served as United States Senator. Here he distinguished himself as "the first

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zealous opponent of slavery in that body," and in 1852 was nominated by the Free-Soil party as its candidate for President. Although a hundred and fifty thousand votes were polled, the ticket was not strong enough to get a single electoral vote. But from 1855 to 1865 he again served as United States Senator, and from 1865 to 1869 as Minister to Spain. The latter appointment, by President Lincoln, was what in modern parlance would have been termed taking care of a "lame duck." At the time of the appointment Lincoln had known Hale for almost two decades, dating back to the time he served his single term in Congress, when he undoubtedly knew the aggressive Democratic anti-slavery Senator from Maine, at least by sight and reputation.

Singularly enough, in 1892 a volume containing *Addresses Commemorative of Abraham Lincoln and John P. Hale Delivered by Daniel Hall, of Dover, N. H.*, was published in Concord. Here, if anywhere, should be found some mention of the relations of these two men; but although over a hundred pages are devoted to the two addresses, one hunts in vain for the least coupling of their names.

Col. Hall says in referring to the appointment of Hale as Minister to Spain, that "this was a service suited neither to his temper, his taste, nor his capacity. He had cultivated no drawing room arts, he knew nothing of the assiduities of ante-chambers; he was incapable of intrigue or flattery; he was as free from servility as from arrogance; he had not merely a speculative liking for, but he was a practical exemplification of, democratic principles. The oratorical temperament which he possessed in so high a degree, harmonizes not with the cunning or even the unsleeping and tireless discretion of diplomacy, whose methods were foreign to the guileless frankness of that noble nature. * * * In his new position abroad, his ignorance of the language of the country, and the amiability of his character, involved him temporarily in the toils of an adventurer. * * * I have examined the whole case and others of more authority than I, and I aver that the evidence against John P. Hale of any conscious dereliction of duty, anywhere, or at any time, is lighter and more unsubstantial than the summer zephyrs that float among these tree-tops over our heads; and that, according to all the canons of evidence in such inquiries, in that blameless life, public and private, there was nothing in the face of which he might not hold his head erect before the bar of God!"

It is not surprising, however, that with Col. Hall's conclusions Secretary Welles, of the navy, would not agree, for the doughty Hale was for long a "thorn in the flesh" of the New England Secretary.

His diary teems with uncharitable—albeit probably deserved from a personal standpoint—references to this "lazy, noisy, harlequin, demagogue and Senatorial

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buffoon!" But I cannot go quite so far as Mr. John T. Morse, Jr., who in his introductory preface to the Welles diary, says that if after reading it, "in the improbable event that there are any persons who will care to object to the erasure of Mr. Hale's name from the roll of the country's great men, certainly ample provocation is now given to them for making themselves heard."

Hale was Chairman of the Naval Committee in the Senate, and as such came often into violent conflict with the Naval Secretary. Writing in July 1863, Welles says that "in the entire period of my administration of the Navy Department, I have never received aid, encouragement, or assistance of any kind whatever from the Chairman of the Naval Committee of the Senate, but constant, pointed opposition, embarrassment, and petty annoyance."

In January 1864 Welles notes in connection with a visit of the elder Blair and Governor Dennison to the Executive Mansion, that "it seems some conversation took place in regard to Senator Hale's strange course towards the Navy Department. * * * The President said it was to him unaccountable, except in one way, and that did no credit to Hale's integrity. It was unpleasant to think a Senator made use of his place to spite a Department because it would not permit him to use its patronage for his private benefit."

One of the strange things about the course which Welles states that Hale pursued toward him, is the fact that the latter constantly claimed that he had implicit confidence in Welles himself, but none in the Assistant Secretary, Fox, and other subordinates and officers.

Secretary Hay records that on election day, November 8, 1864, the night of the oyster supper—which will be recounted hereinafter—when the returns showed that Hale and Henry Winter Davis had been defeated for reelection, Fox said that "retribution had overtaken two fellows that have been specially malignant to us." But Lincoln only said, "You have more of that feeling of personal resentment than I. Perhaps I may have too little of it, but I never thought it paid. A man has not time to spend half his life in quarrels. If any man ceases to attack me, I never remember the past against him."

On January 28, 1865, Welles notes that "today J. P. Hale had a tirade on the Department. * * * The poor fellow is having his last rant and ravings against the Navy Department." Three days later he says that "John P. Hale is giving his last venomous rants against the Navy Department." On February 7th he states "J. P. Hale is, as usual, loud-mouthed and insolent in the Senate—belying, perverting, misstating, and misrepresenting the Navy Department. The poor fellow has but a few more days in the Senate, and is making the most of them for his hate."

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On Tuesday, March 7th, after stating that the Cabinet meeting was interesting and the topics miscellaneous, one of them being Andy Johnson's late "infirmity" at the inaugural, Welles says: "The Spanish mission being vacant, it was asked if any of the number wished it. * * * This mission is a sort of plaything in the hands of Seward. The truth is, there is little utility in these legations near the governments of foreign potentates, but they are convenient places for favorites or troublesome fellows who are to be sent away."

Four days later Welles notes that "Hale has been nominated and confirmed as Minister to Spain, a position for which he is eminently unfit. This is Seward's doings, the President assenting. But others are also in fault. I am told by Seward, who is conscious it is an improper appointment, that a majority of the Union Senators recommended him for the French mission, for which they know he has no qualifications, address, nor proper sense to fill. Some of the Senators protested against his receiving the mission to France, but Seward says they acquiesced in his going to Spain. I am satisfied that Seward is playing a game with this old hack. Hale has been getting pay from the War Department for various jobs, and S. thinks he is an abolition leader."

On March 14th, says Welles, the President "was some indisposed and in bed, but not seriously ill. The members met in his bedroom. * * * John P. Hale's appointment to Spain was brought up. Seward tried to gloss it over, wanted Hale to call and see me and make friends with Fox. Hale promised he would, and Seward thought he might get a passage out in a government vessel."

Coming down to 1869, we find that under date of February 2nd, when the trouble alluded to by Col. Hall was being noised about, Welles writes of a letter written by Hale, published in the papers, attacking Seward. Welles says that Hale "probably does S. injustice, but I could not forbear telling Seward that he deserved all the good things Hale might say of him. Seward said he was unfortunate in some of his appointments,—alluding to Hale and Nicolay, Consul at Paris, whom the President inclines to displace." (Why did Seward include Lincoln's former secretary)? Welles then goes on at some length to give Seward his opinion of Hale, saying that "I did not regret that he was manifesting his true character towards the Secretary of State. Seward did not deny, but admitted, that Hale was his selection. When the appointment was made, he put in on Mr. Lincoln, but I never doubted who was the author of that appointment."

Six weeks later Welles notes "John P. Hale, the worthless and worse than worthless Minister to Spain, is continued, and Perry, the efficient Secretary of Legation, is dismissed, provided the Senate concurs."

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And as a fitting finale to his opinions of Hale, on April 15th Welles writes: "Hale is charged with having prostituted his office as Minister to smuggling. The subject is undergoing investigation by the Spanish government," concluding ungrammatically that "villainy and baseness ultimately gets its reward."

I cannot entirely agree with Mr. Welles. Enemy of the Secretary though Hale may have been, there have been other estimates by his contemporaries which do not tally in the least with those of the Connecticut statesman, although he undoubtedly had cause for complaint. Hale would appear to have been continually hounding him for personal reasons.

There were others close to Lincoln also, who have revealed Hale as an enemy of the administration. Lamon has recounted how upon one occasion during his Marshalship at Washington, probably early in 1862, his execution of the existing laws ran afoul of the views of certain members of Congress. President Lincoln commented upon the adverse criticism and told Lamon that it was not the Marshal the critics were aiming at so much as he himself, and added, "as our friend Senator Hale, the other day, said in the Senate, 'we must not strike too high or too low, but we must strike between wind and water; the marshal is the man to hit.' "

Hale entered the Senate as a Democrat—an anti-slavery Democrat. Hannibal Hamlin's grandson and biographer says that when Hamlin entered Congress, John P. Hale was "one of the few avowed Abolitionists of that period, a man whose witty and caustic tongue the slavery men feared, while they could not help liking the frankness, honesty and geniality of the man—chief of the anti-slavery Democrats and Whigs." And in referring to the personnel of the Senate when Hamlin entered it in 1848, the same biographer stated that "in John P. Hale, brilliant and whole-souled, the anti-slavery party had a devoted champion who had stood virtually alone until Mr. Hamlin entered the Senate." It should be noted, however, that when Hale came back to the Senate in 1855, he was elected as a Republican.

"Sunset" Cox, one of the northern Democrats of the period, testified that "John P. Hale was a man of abundant wit and juciest humor."

James G. Blaine, in his *Twenty Years in Congress*, has many references to Senator Hale, and says that it was "in recognition of Mr. Hale's ability and long faithful public service, Mr. Lincoln nominated him to the Spanish mission." Blaine refers to him back in the time when he entered the House as "among the most conspicuous Democrats of the North;" and further says that when Wade of Ohio and Sumner of Massachusetts entered the Senate in 1851, "their joint

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coming * * * was a powerful reinforcement to Mr. Seward, Mr. Chase and Mr. Hale, who represented the distinctively anti-slavery sentiment in the Senate."

The veteran journalist, Ben Perley Poore, in his *Thirty Years in the National Metropolis*, paid many tributes to Hale. "John P. Hale," said Poore, "was a prominent figure in the Senate, and never failed to command attention. The keen shafts of the Southerners, aimed at him, fell harmlessly at his feet, and his wonderful good nature disarmed malicious opposition. Those who felt that he had gone far astray in his political opinions, did not accuse him of selfish motives, sordid purposes, or degraded intrigues. His was the 'chasseur' style of oratory—now skirmishing on the outskirts of an opponent's position, then rallying on some strange point, pouring in a rattling fire, standing firm against a charge, and ever displaying a perfect independence of action and a disregard of partisan drill."

Poore tells us how that as the Southern States began to secede and their representatives left Washington, Senator Clingman of North Carolina, one of the last to leave, compared the seceders to the "ten tribes of Israel."

"Ten tribes did go out from the Kingdom of Israel," said Hale, that "genial hard-hitter" according to Poore, "but the ark of the living God remained with the tribe of Judah," which brought down the galleries.

Yet in view of the strong anti-slavery record of Hale, it should be noted that Senator Browning entered in his diary under date of January 9, 1863, that that night he went to the White House and found Senator Hale there. Before leaving the President said that he wanted to make the two Senators a speech and talked at some length upon the effect his preliminary proclamation of emancipation had had upon the country; the following day Browning met Hale and the latter said "he was now satisfied that we had made a great mistake upon the slavery question, and that it would have been better both for the cause of the Country, and of emancipation in (sic) nothing had been said in regard to the negro since the war commenced." And this from a man who had long been in the forefront in pushing abolition!

I am rather inclined to think that the "pitiless publicity" which followed the mad act of John Wilkes Booth was probably responsible for closing the flood-gates of Hale's verbosity, for almost immediately any personal or patriotic feeling of regret at the assassination, must have been submerged in seeing the fair name of his daughter heralded to the four winds of heaven in connection with the brilliant actor gone wrong. As a matter of fact, the young lady in question, Miss Bessie Hale, afterward married a gentleman from New York state.

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Mrs. Babcock, in one of her latest Lincoln volumes of fiction, *Booth and the Spirit of Lincoln*, treats of this tragic tale, but in order to arrive at a proper perspective of the situation one must turn to contemporary newspaper files.

The *Albany (N. Y.) Evening Journal*, in the issue for Monday, April 24, 1865, said that "the unhappy lady, the daughter of a New England Senator, to whom Booth was affianced, is plunged in profoundest grief, but with womanly fidelity is slow to believe him guilty of this appalling crime, and asks with touching pathos for evidence of his innocence."

The issue of even date of the *New York Evening Post* contained the following, copied from a Boston paper:

Boston, April 21, 1865

The *Boston Advertiser* says: "We are happy to give place to the following note from a gentleman who is entirely competent to give an opinion, and hope it will be copied wherever the original mis-statement has been published.

'To the Editor of the
Boston Daily Advertiser:-

In your paper of this morning you give a dispatch from Cincinnati, stating that J. Wilkes Booth was to have been married soon to a daughter of Senator Hale. There is no truth in the statement nor the slightest foundation for it; and I would request that in justice to Senator Hale and his family you will give this the same publicity you have the statement.' "

Later the *New York World*, with its strong anti-administration bias, it being one of the two New York papers suppressed for two days during the war on account of the publication of a forged proclamation, in the issue for Friday, May 5th, contained the following article, evidently published with malicious glee:

"Some Strictures on Washington Society.—(Washington Correspondence, *Springfield Republican*).—The story that has gained such wide circulation that Booth was engaged to be married to Senator Hale's daughter is fully denied here. I hear there is positive evidence, however, of its truth, but this evidence is in private letters which cannot be used.

"It cannot be denied that Booth was very intimate with wives and daughters of prominent Republican Senators and Representatives at the National Hotel last winter. They must have known that he was not only a secessionist but a gamester and whoremonger. Such was his general reputation, but because he was handsome

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and could spout Shakespeare by the hour, these ladies permitted intimacies that have carried them with the infamous assassin into the newspapers.

"All I can say is, served them right; good enough for them. When our women, married and unmarried, are so coarse and reckless and so wicked that they like to dally with temptation, that they rather enjoy intimacies with scoundrels, let them take the consequences. They are none the worse for being found out.

"This may seem harsh judgment, but the abominations of 'high society,' not only here but in other cities of our land, are infamous, and some of the dreadful events of the time may be judgments for this class of vice."

As a matter of fact, both Booth and the family of Senator Hale were boarding at the National Hotel. And if the statements of some witnesses are to be credited, the fascinating young actor had the entree to high society. A writer friend of mine who has accumulated a vast amount of data in connection with the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, has furnished me with a copy of an unpublished letter alleged to have been written by the mother of Booth and addressed to him at Ford's Theatre, postmarked March 13, 1865. I here submit it for what it is worth. After a few introductory remarks the lady writes:

"The secret you have told me is not exactly a secret, as Edwin was told by someone you were paying great attention to a young lady in Washington. Now, my dear boy, I cannot advise you how to act. You have so often been *dead in love*, and this may prove like the others, not of any lasting impression.

"You are aware that the woman you make your wife you must love and respect beyond all others, for marriage is an act that cannot be recalled without misery if otherwise entered unto, which you are well aware of. To be united to a woman that you only think you love is not the thing. You are old enough and have seen so much of the world to know all this—only a young man in love does not stop to reflect, and like a child with a new toy only craves the possession of it.

"Think and reflect, and if the lady in question is all you desire, I see no cause why you should not try to secure her. Her father I see has his appointment. Would he give his consent? You can but ask. Just be well assured she is really and truly devoted to you. Then obtain his consent.

"You know in my partial eyes you are a fit match for any woman, no matter who she may be, but some fathers may have higher notions. God grant if it is to be so it will be a source of happiness to you both."

It will be noted that while no names are given, the alleged Mrs. Booth states

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that she has seen that the father of the lady in question has "his appointment." The issue of the *New York Times* for March 11th, two days previous to the writing of the letter, contained a dispatch from Washington dated the 10th which says that "Senator Hale, who today was appointed Minister to Spain, was a candidate for the French mission. The President, it is said, does not intend to make any appointment at present to the latter place."

While I believe that Booth and Miss Hale were acquaintances—possibly on a friendly footing—I am not prepared to say that this had broadened into an engagement. The gentleman who gave me the letter says that the stories afloat at the time may have been inspired by the idea of giving Booth a social standing to which he was not entitled.

Senator Hale was among those present when Chief Justice Chase administered the oath of office to Andrew Johnson in the Kirkwood House the morning of April 15th.

THE TWO KELLOGG APPOINTMENTS

THERE is on file today in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, a note from President Lincoln addressed to the Attorney General, dated April 13, 1865, requesting that he be sent a commission appointing "William Kellogg to be Judge in Nebraska in place of W. P. Kellogg resigned."

The President

Dated & filed Apr 13. 1865

*Direct a Commission for W^m Kellogg
as Ch. Justice Nebraska Ter-*

Requestion made Apr 13. 1865

Executive Mansion.

Washington, April 13. 1865

Attorney General

Dear Sir,

*Send me a Com-
mission for William Kellogg,
to be Judge in Nebraska in
place of W. P. Kellogg resign-
ed.*

Yours truly

A. Lincoln

Note from President Lincoln to Attorney General Speed, requesting commission be issued appointing William Kellogg as Chief Justice of the Territory of Nebraska, dated April 13, 1865.—Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

The first published account of this document appeared simultaneously in various newspapers of the country shortly after Lincoln's birthday in 1923, and incidentally in connection with a lengthy article of a more general nature. According to the account Harry Daugherty, then Attorney General of the United States, had made an accidental discovery of "rare State documents, long hidden among musty bundles of ancient papers in the possession of the Department of Justice."

These documents ran as far back as the year previous to the establishment of that Department. Many interesting papers and incidents are given in the article, but only with the one mentioned above are we concerned.

After quoting the letter from Lincoln, a facsimile of which accompanied

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the story, it was stated that "the endorsements on the back of the letter show that the appointment was that of a Chief Justice for the territory of Nebraska. The 'W. P. Kellogg' who resigned and the 'William Kellogg' appointed were one and the same person. Mr. Kellogg was appointed Chief Justice of Nebraska by Lincoln in 1861 but was granted leave of absence to raise a regiment and participate in the war. He resigned as Chief Justice in 1865 and was reappointed, as the autograph letter indicates, as 'William Kellogg.'"

However, as will appear later, I was aware that (W)illiam (P)itt Kellogg had, on April 13, 1865, been appointed Collector of the Port of New Orleans.

An inquiry for the purpose of straightening out this obvious anomaly, directed to the Department of Justice, elicited the information that the records of Presidential appointments in that branch of the government prior to 1888 were filed in the State Department. I was advised by the latter that "the records indicate that William Pitt Kellogg of Illinois was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Nebraska Territory on March 27, 1861, upon confirmation by the Senate. On April 17, 1865, Judge Kellogg was reappointed (recess appointment) and was confirmed on January 15, 1866."

But this did not reconcile the conflicting statements. Moreover, when Mr. Paul M. Angle, secretary of the Abraham Lincoln Association of Springfield, Ill., showed me the manuscript of a forthcoming volume of uncollected Lincoln letters, the last item of which is the note referred to, and I had mentioned the subject, he stated that undoubtedly the W. P. Kellogg who had resigned and the William Kellogg who was appointed were two different individuals. In addition, a reference to the document in question did not bear out the implication that the endorsement disclosed W. P. Kellogg and William Kellogg as being "one and the same person" as will be seen from the facsimile reproduced herein. Furthermore, biographical reference works clearly showed that two Kelloggs were involved in the communication from the Chief Executive.

All of these factors were brought to the attention of the State Department, together with my own views, and after much correspondence and further research, in which both Dr. Tyler Dennett, Historical Adviser of the Department of State, and Mr. Edward C. Wynne, Acting Historical Adviser, took a personal interest, the report was finally made that the conclusion that W. P. Kellogg and William Kellogg were two different persons was obviously correct. Moreover, I was informed that "the Department records show that William Kellogg of Illinois was appointed Minister Resident at Guatemala on April 21, 1864, and that he declined the appointment. The records also show that he was appointed Consul at Val-

TWO KELLOGG APPOINTMENTS

paraiso, Chile, April 3, 1865, and likewise declined the appointment. It also appears from the records that he was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Nebraska Territory on April 17, 1865."

Both of these Kelloggs had interesting political careers. William, born in Ohio in 1814, settled in Illinois in 1837. He served in the state legislature from 1849 to 1850, and was Judge of the Circuit Court from 1853 to 1856. From 1857 to 1863 he was a Member of Congress and according to the *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* was a "close friend and associate of President Lincoln." So it is no cause for wonderment that the administration wished to give him a good berth, as evidenced from the State Department records.

William Pitt Kellogg was born in Vermont in 1831. He, too, emigrated to Illinois and in 1860 was the state's delegate to the convention that nominated Lincoln for President, afterward serving as Presidential elector.

Appointed by President Lincoln as Chief Justice of Nebraska, at the outbreak of the war he returned to Illinois and raised a regiment of cavalry. After taking part in several prominent battles, ill health compelled his retirement, and he resumed his duties in Nebraska until January 1863, when he returned to active military duty.

Hon. Richard Yates, Congressman from Illinois and a son of the War Governor of that name, in an address on "Lincoln" delivered in the House of Representatives on Lincoln's birthday in 1921, gave an interesting anecdote related by W. P. Kellogg shortly before his death.

"On the morning of the day of the (Lincoln) assassination," said Yates, "a visit to the White House was paid by Yates (the elder), then a Senator, and another Illinoisan, who had been a presidential elector, and later a Federal Judge, and later a Colonel of the Seventh Illinois Cavalry. Yates said: 'Mr President, here is the man you want.' The President said: 'That's so, he'll do,' and added, 'I am going to send you, Kellogg, to New Orleans, to be United States Collector of the Port—you will have 2000 employes under you, all northerners, because substantially all southerners are disfranchised; but I want you to make love to those people down there.' It is of interest to record that at this interview the President, for some reason, said, 'I want this commission issued now,' and did not rest until the commission was delivered—sent over by the Secretary of the Treasury—and the two Illinoisans walked out with the last commission ever signed by Lincoln. That night they sojourned at the old National Hotel—room 12—and Yates, who had been at the theatre, rushed in, very pale and shouted, 'Oh, Kellogg, the President has been shot.'

FURTHER LIGHT ON LINCOLN'S LAST DAY

"And," continued Yates, "Kellogg said to me, 'So we walked the streets all night, a hundred thousand men—never went to bed at all—and in the morning I stood across the street and watched them carry out the body of Abraham Lincoln, with his last commission *warm* against my heart.' "

My collector friend, Mr. James W. Bollinger, of Davenport, Iowa, is much interested in this story of the Kellogg commission. His mother was a cousin of William Pitt Kellogg and many times in her lifetime Mr. Bollinger has heard her tell the story of Lincoln having made this appointment in the *afternoon* before he was shot. But where is the commission now?

Mr. Yates has no knowledge of its present whereabouts and neither has the executor of the Kellogg estate, to whom he referred me.

"I have often heard," says Mr. Edward J. Stellwagen, President of the Union Trust Company at Washington, D. C., "the late Governor William Pitt Kellogg, who was my close personal friend, say that his commission as collector of the Port of New Orleans was the last commission signed by President Lincoln.

"All of his effects passed through our hands as his executor, but the commission in which you are interested was not among them."

The Treasury Department at Washington makes the following report:

"According to the records of this office William Pitt Kellogg was given a temporary commission as Collector of the Port of New Orleans April 13, 1865. This commission was made permanent February 8, 1866."

According to the account given by Mr. Kellogg himself, the commission was received by President Lincoln the morning of the 14th, at which time it was presumably signed by the President. And if we are inclined also to credit the story of the Saunder's commission hereinafter referred to—and we have no reason to doubt its correctness—the latter must have been signed after Saunders' departure from Washington the afternoon of the 14th. Therefore, on this hypothesis, the Kellogg commission must have antedated that of Saunders by several hours at least.

With reference to the date of appointment, it should be stated that it was a not uncommon practice for the Departments to issue commissions on a certain date which were not presented to the President for his signature until a day or two later. From which it will readily be seen that it is quite probable that President Lincoln signed the Kellogg commission on April 14th.

TWO KELLOGG APPOINTMENTS

The later life of W. P. Kellogg is of interest. After he went to Louisiana he speedily rose to political position in that state. He represented it in the United States Senate from 1868 to 1871. From 1868 to 1877 the political condition of Louisiana was quite turbulent: in January 1872 two rival legislatures convened, and a year later two Governors were inaugurated, Kellogg and McEnery. Both administrations continued to operate, independently of each other, for some time, when the administration at Washington took a hand and recognized the Kellogg regime. Kellogg served as Governor until 1876 and the following year he was again elected Senator, holding this position until 1883, after which he served a term in the National House of Representatives. Kellogg was a delegate to every National Republican Convention from 1868 to 1892. He died in 1918.

NOTE: Since writing the above, Mr. Thomas F. Madigan, of New York City, has issued his incomparable catalogue of *Lincolniana*, in which is listed "the commission of William Pitt Kellogg as Collector of the Port of New Orleans." Through the courtesy of Mr. Madigan a facsimile appears in this volume.

Abraham Lincoln

President of the United States of America

TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME, GREETING.

Know ye, That, reposing special trust and confidence in the integrity, diligence, and discretion of William P. Kellogg
I DO APPOINT HIM *Collector of the Customs for the District of New Orleans in the State of Louisiana*
and do authorize and empower him to execute and fulfil the duties of that office according to law; and to have and to hold the said office,
with all the rights and emoluments therunto legally appertaining, unto him, the said *William P. Kellogg*
during the pleasure of the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES for the time being, and until the end of the next session of the Senate
of the United States, and no longer.

In testimony whereof, I have caused these Letters to be made Patent, and the Seal of the Treasury
Department of the United States to be hereunto affixed

Given under my hand, at the CITY OF WASHINGTON, this *thirteenth* day of April
in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and *sixty five* and of
the INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA the *eighty ninth*

BY THE PRESIDENT

Abraham Lincoln

Hugh S. Bunch
Secretary of the Treasury

Commission appointing William Pitt Kellogg Collector of the Port of New Orleans, dated April 13, 1865, but probably signed by President Lincoln the day of the assassination.—Courtesy of Mr. Thomas F. Madigan, famous autograph dealer of New York City.

LINCOLN'S MARYLAND VISITORS

UP to the present time two distinguished Marylanders have been recorded as having had interviews with President Lincoln the day he was assassinated, but to these must now be added a third.

Dr. Andrew S. Draper, the educator, in an article headed *Lincoln's Parable*, which appeared in *Harper's Weekly* for October 26, 1907, gave an account of Hon. John A. J. Creswell's conference with Lincoln the morning of the 14th, which Creswell had related to him twenty years before. However, a similar account, but not as circumstantial, had appeared in Lamon's *Recollections of Abraham Lincoln* edited by his daughter, published in 1895.

According to the story, Creswell called on the President in the interest of a friend, who, enlisting in the Confederate army, had been captured and held as a prisoner.

He found Lincoln in good spirits at the near approach of the cessation of all hostilities and quite willing to endorse his "affidavit" in favor of the imprisoned soldier, and listened with interest to the President's humorous story of a "Maying" party out in Illinois to illustrate his point that "you fellows will get one man after another out of the business until Jefferson Davis and I will be the only ones left on the island."

"Then," said Creswell, "he took my affidavit, and wrote a brief word upon it, something like 'Do this. A. L.' and gave it to me. I carried it over to the War office, and, after the usual fuss got the order issued. Then I went out into Maryland to attend to some business through the day, and got back into the city late at night to find everything in an uproar over the assassination."

Creswell was a notable son of Maryland. He served as Assistant Adjutant General of the state from 1862 to 1863, and as Congressman from 1863 to 1864; and, according to the Librarian of the Maryland Historical Society, "having distinguished himself as an earnest friend of the Union, was elected as a Republican to the United States Senate in March 1865, to fill the unexpired term of Thomas H. Hicks." He later served as Postmaster General from 1869 to 1874 in the Cabinet of Grant, and died in 1891.

A careful study of the incident as reported by Dr. Draper reveals many discrepancies, but I am convinced that in the main the story is correct.

LINCOLN'S MARYLAND VISITORS

To begin with, in the article appearing in *Harper's* the caller's name is spelled wrongly. Draper wrote it "Cresswell," whereas it was spelled "Creswell," both in other published accounts and according to his own signature, specimens of which I have examined.

Then again, Draper makes it appear that the prisoner was "a good friend, a collegemate; there are not many men who will not do what they can for a collegemate," Creswell said. Creswell was a graduate of Dickinson College, at Carlisle, Pa., and from evidence which appears later, the name of the individual in which he was interested was Benjamin F. Twilley, but Dr. Sellers, the present Dean, informs me that while "General Cresswell was a member of the college class of 1848, the name of Twilley does not occur in the class roll. Indeed, there is no record of any student by the name of Twilley as ever having been a student at Dickinson College. * * * Of course, it might be that name is omitted from our records through error; or it might be that the boy attended the 'Grammar School' connected with the college, or the 'Classes in Law.'" Therefore, we must conclude that, taken in a literal sense at least, there is no evidence that Creswell and Twilley were college classmates.

Then too, Creswell is made to recall that President Lincoln in his enthusiasm showed him a telegram received from General Sherman assuring "the President of the culmination in the Carolinas."

This is obviously an error. The faithful Welles, in his account of the Cabinet meeting held after the Creswell interview, states that special inquiry was made whether "any information had been received from Sherman." None of those present had heard anything, and General Grant said that he was "hourly expecting word." And it was this remark of Grant which induced the President to say that "word would come, and come favorably," thereupon narrating his famous dream of the night before "which had preceded nearly every important event of the war," in which he seemed to be in the same "singular and indescribable vessel moving with great rapidity toward a dark and indefinite shore." Welles further states that Stanton, "who makes it a point to be late," had not arrived yet, but as no mention is made of any further news when the iron "Mars" came, we must naturally conclude that he had nothing to offer on the subject.

But if any additional corroboration of the non-arrival of news from Sherman is necessary, it can be found by referring to Serial No. 97 of the Official Rebellion Records. At 7 P. M. April 15th, the day following the assassination, in the course of a telegram to General Sheridan, Grant states from Washington that "Sherman expected to occupy Raleigh on the 13th, but does not say which way the enemy is moving. I hope to hear from him almost any hour, and will inform you when I do."

FURTHER LIGHT ON LINCOLN'S LAST DAY

Almost immediately thereafter word must have been received from the missing Sherman, for a half hour later Grant forwarded to Sheridan for his information the following message received from Raleigh, N. C., dated the 13th:

"General U. S. Grant: I entered Raleigh this morning. Johnston has retreated westward. I shall move to Asheville and Salisbury or Charlotte. I hope Sheridan is coming this way with his cavalry. If I can bring Johnston to a stand can soon fix him. The people here had not heard of the surrender of Lee, and hardly credit it. All well. W. T. Sherman."

The contemporary military telegraph service at that time must have been most uncertain, for as an interesting aside it might be noted that on April 16th Grant relayed to Sheridan a message from Sherman dated the 12th, acknowledging receipt of the news of the surrender of Lee, and which evidently had just been received at Washington.

We should not criticise too severely either Dr. Draper or Gen. Creswell. It is but another evidence that everything which has come down to us by word of mouth should be scrutinized carefully before accepting as absolute truth. It should be remembered that Dr. Draper stated he had heard the story from Creswell twenty years before he published it, which in turn would be twenty-two years after the incident itself occurred. But Creswell's memory was right as to the date of the interview.

Mr. William Selby, administrator of the Creswell estate, and now living at Creswell Hall, Elkton, Md., at the writer's suggestion made a thorough examination of the papers left by Creswell, and after weeks of searching brought to light the long lost document.

*I respectfully ask that the within named
Benjⁿ F. Trilley be discharged on the usual terms
A. A. J. Creswell*

Set it be done.

A. Lincoln

April 14. 1865

The long-lost Lincoln endorsement on the Creswell petition, dated April 14, 1865.—Courtesy of Wm. Selby, executor of the Creswell estate, and Emanuel Hertz, Esq., present owner of the document.

LINCOLN'S MARYLAND VISITORS

It is in the form of a letter written by a captured Confederate soldier to one of his relatives, accompanying two other communications from the prisoner addressed to Creswell himself, requesting the latter's "assistance" in obtaining his freedom on taking the oath of allegiance and hoping he "will Respond to my feeble request." On the back of this letter was Creswell's endorsement: "I respectfully ask that the within named Benj. F. Twilley be discharged on the usual terms," and beneath this the President had written: "Let it be done. A. Lincoln." The date is April 14, 1865.

And it was done. The War Department at Washington informs me that there are on file records pertaining to two Benjamin F. Twilleys, or two distinct records of one Benjamin F. Twilley, whichever may be correct.

In 1861 a Benjamin F. Twilley enlisted in a company of Virginia Infantry which was soon disbanded; in February 1862 he enlisted as a Corporal in another Virginian Infantry Company and was discharged June 10, 1862, "per Special Order 84 of General Mahone." So much for this case.

"The records also show," states the Department, "that one Benjamin F. Twilley, Corporal, Company G, 2nd Maryland Infantry, Confederate States Army, enlisted September 11, 1862; was captured August 19, 1864, and was released May 14, 1865. No further record of him has been found.

"No record has been found to show that President Lincoln issued a pardon in the case of either of these men." Presumably Twilley took the required oath of allegiance and secured his freedom. The original document located by Mr. Selby is now in the possession of my friend Emanuel Hertz, of New York City, that indefatigable Lincoln enthusiast and collector.

The second prominent Maryland caller of whom we have record was the then Governor of the state. Rev. Joseph P. Thompson, of New York, in a sermon preached April 30, 1865, stated that on the afternoon of April 14th the Governor of Maryland called with a friend to pay his respects. They found the President in a very cheerful frame of mind over the state of the country, and at the close of the interview one of them asked for a small favor for a friend. "Anything now to make the people happy," said Lincoln as he wrote the necessary order.

Augustus Williamson Bradford was the War Governor of Maryland, serving from 1861 to 1866. From his son, Mr. Samuel W. Bradford, of Bel Air, I have been given many interesting facts in connection with his public career.

Governor Bradford was born in Bel Air in 1806, and admitted to the bar at

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the age of twenty-one. Five years later he removed to Baltimore, where the balance of his life—except for an interim of another residence of six years in the town of his birth—was spent. A Whig in politics, he was one of the state electors in the campaign of 1844, and the defeat of Henry Clay so disheartened him that he lost all interest in politics until 1860. However, in 1845 Governor Pratt appointed him Clerk of the Baltimore County Court, which position he filled in a highly creditable manner.

In February, 1861, he served as one of the Maryland delegates to the ill-fated Peace Conference in Washington. At the approach of hostilities he so distinguished himself as an ardent supporter of the Union that on the first ballot he was nominated for Governor by the newly organized Union party and was elected by an overwhelming majority. During his term of office he labored diligently for the restoration of the union and in 1864 the state abolished slavery by constitutional enactment. As Chief Executive of one of the Border States, Governor Bradford was placed in a trying position. At one time, during a raid by Confederate soldiers, his home near Baltimore was burned to the ground. When the famous Governors' Meeting was held in Altoona, Pa., in September 1862, Bradford was chosen to preside.

He was appointed Surveyor of the Port of Baltimore by President Johnson in 1867, and in 1874 President Grant offered him the position of Appraiser in the Baltimore Customs House, which was conscientiously turned down on the grounds of inexperience. Governor Bradford died in 1881.

Mr. Bradford has furnished me with an interesting story in connection with the reelection of President Lincoln, which for many years remained unknown. Its first appearance, according to my informant, was in Matthew Page Andrews' *History of Maryland* published some months ago, having been brought to his attention by Mr. Bradford.

"My father was so intimately connected with the incident that it may be of interest to you," says Mr. Bradford. "Horace Greeley and other prominent editors of the New York press had not endorsed the reelection of Mr. Lincoln. On September 2, 1864, a joint letter marked 'Private and Personal' and signed by Horace Greeley, Parke Goodwin and Theodore Tilton, editors respectively of the *New York Tribune*, the *Evening Post* and the *Independent*, was addressed to my father asking his views as to the wisdom of reelecting Mr. Lincoln as President. My father at once replied, advocating Mr. Lincoln's reelection and stating that if he 'could not be elected no one can.' On September 6th Horace Greeley came out boldly for Mr. Lincoln in the *Tribune*.

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"I have, among my papers in the Maryland Historical Society, that original letter and also a copy of my father's reply, written in his own handwriting and left within the letter by him."

Concerning the alleged interview, however, Mr. Bradford is unable to add anything definite to the statement of Rev. Thompson, although he has some recollection of the event.

"I was but a young boy between eight and nine years of age when Mr. Lincoln was killed," he says. "I remember distinctly the next morning, when my first knowledge of his having been shot filled my boyish mind with horror. I was told about it when I came down to breakfast, by other members of the family. My father had received a telegram notifying him of the assassination early in the morning before he had arisen.

"I was too young, of course, to retain in memory all the details which may have been told at the time. Whether my father had been with Mr. Lincoln on the day he was shot, I do not know, but I do remember that comment was made in the family that morning that Mr. Lincoln should have been shot so shortly after my father had seen him: whether he saw Mr. Lincoln on the day of the shooting or the day before, I do not know—I should be very glad to know definitely about it."

Mr. Bradford informs me that he finds nothing among his father's papers relative to the incident, and the Maryland Historical Society which has the remainder of his literary effects, has never come across any statement pertaining to it.

The telegram referred to was presented by Mr. Bradford to an autograph collector in New York City, now deceased, and a further search reveals that after his death the collection was sold at auction and the present whereabouts of the telegram cannot be ascertained.

We now come to the third caller. Mr. John Gribbel, of Philadelphia, owner of the famous Singleton pass, referred to hereinafter, has in his collection another interesting document of which little or no mention has been made.

This is a letter dated Washington City, April 13, 1865, addressed to President Lincoln, "Hon. Sir," and signed "S. D. Herron," requesting "executive clemency" for a younger brother, and bearing the endorsement of the President, April 14, 1865.

According to the communication the writer was "a member of the East Balto. Conf., M. E. Church; is now, and always has been, a thorough friend of the government during its recent struggle for national supremacy and now exults with

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yourself in common with all loyal people in the recent triumphs and the present prospect of peace and national unity throughout the land."

He pleads in behalf "of a youthful brother now confined as a rebel prisoner of war and dangerously ill in the hospital at Camp Chase, Ohio. The clemency of your excellency has heretofore been solicited in behalf of this case but lest you may have forgotten the facts thereof I beg leave briefly to rehearse them. He left his native state August, 1862, and joined the rebels in Va. He was captured by General Crooks in Hampshire County, W. Va., in August, 1864. He has been desirous, even anxious to take the oath of allegiance since December, 1864. In January, 1865, he wrote a candid and modest memorial to your excellency which was signed by Union gentlemen of his native place and put in the hands of Hon. E. H. Webster, M. C., to be presented to you in order to secure his release. * * * Of what became of that memorial and of Hon. E. H. Webster's agency in connection with it I know not. Since it was forwarded to him said prisoner has been removed to the prison hospital for medical attention and a letter from him earnestly soliciting interference in his behalf informs me that he is ill with chronic diarrhoea, is scarcely able to walk at all, and cannot possibly endure it beyond a short time in his confinement * * * The prisoner's name is Geo. S. Herron, Co. C., 1 Md. Cavalry."

This endorsement follows the signature of Mr. Herron: "Let this prisoner be discharged on taking the oath of Dec. 8, 1863.

April 14, 1865.

A. Lincoln."

*Let this Prisoner be
discharged on taking
the oath of Dec 8.
1863* *A. Lincoln*

April 14, 1865

Endorsement of President Lincoln, dated April 14, 1865, on petition of S. D. Herron, requesting executive clemency for his brother, George S. Herron, a Confederate prisoner.—Courtesy of Mr. John Gribbel, owner of document.

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The present Secretary of the *American Methodist Historical Society* informs me that "Rev. S. D. Herron was not a member of the Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church:" apparently he was not interested sufficiently to delve deeper into the matter, as I later suggested; but be that as it may, the War Department has a full record of the Confederate soldier, George S. Herron.

"The records show," states the Adjutant General, "that George S. Herron, private, Company C, 1st Battalion, Maryland Cavalry, Confederate States Army, which subsequently became Company C, 1st Maryland Cavalry, C. S. A., enlisted October 11, 1862, at Winchester for three years. He was taken prisoner at Moorfield, Hardy Co., Va., August 7, 1864. Union prisoner of war records show that he was captured August 7, 1864; was received at Camp Chase, Ohio, August 12, 1864, and was released April 20, 1865, by order of the Commissary General of Prisoners, dated April 17, 1865."

Hon. E. H. Webster was another distinguished son of Maryland.

The Librarian of the Maryland Historical Society sums up the salient points in his career as follows: "Edwin H. Webster was born in Churchville, Harford County, Maryland, March 31st, 1829, and died at Bel Air, Harford County, Maryland, April 24th, 1893. He was elected Representative in 1859, of the 2nd Congressional District of Maryland, comprising Kent, Cecil, Carroll and Harford Counties. Reelected in 1861 and while a member of Congress, he declined several commissions as Brigadier General, but in 1862 he recruited the Seventh Regiment Maryland Volunteers and went to the front as its Colonel. He was again reelected in 1863 and resigned his military command. When Lincoln was assassinated, he had in his pocket a list of appointments ready for announcement the following day, among them being Colonel Webster's name as Collector of Customs of the Port of Baltimore. He was appointed, however, by President Johnson and resigned his seat in Congress."

This latter information, interesting if true, Librarian Fickus informs me appears in a reference work dealing with the Counties of Harford and Cecil, and presumably was taken from the *Baltimore Sun* for April 25, 1893, the day after Webster's death.

All that the Treasury Department is able to report is that "Edwin H. Webster was given a temporary commission as Collector at the Port of Baltimore, Md., July 18, 1865; the commission was made permanent February 19, 1866."

A search for the present whereabouts of the belongings of President Lincoln found in his pocket or a verification of the statement made above has accomplished nothing.

FURTHER LIGHT ON LINCOLN'S LAST DAY

Mr. Lewis G. Reynolds, present Custodian of the old Oldroyd Collection in Washington, states that "certain things found in the President's box after the tragedy were first taken charge of by the Police Department but are now in the custody of the Adjutant General." The Adjutant General referred me to the Judge Advocate General, who reports that "there is no record in this office of any such paper."

"Private papers which may have been in the President's pocket, "says Mr. Reynolds, "would not likely be among these articles. Is it not probable that they were taken in charge by the family? The papers you mention may be in that chest which Robert T. Lincoln has left in trust with the Library of Congress—not to be opened until *twenty-five years* after his death."

I mentioned to Mr. Bradford the possibility of Col. Webster being the friend who accompanied his father to the Executive Mansion, and he believes it well within the realm of probability.

"Col. Webster and my father," says Mr. Bradford, "were firm friends—socially and politically. Col. Webster was born a few miles from Bel Air, and my father was born in Bel Air. Col. Webster lived nearly all his life in Bel Air, and my father lived the early part of his life in Bel Air, and then moved to Baltimore. If it is true that my father saw Mr. Lincoln on the day in question, it is most likely that he and Col. Webster saw him in behalf of the Confederate prisoner, and then after Col. Webster left, my father remained to urge the appointment of his friend to the collectorship of the Port of Baltimore—very natural that he should do so."

Through the courtesy of Mr. Bradford I was enabled to get in touch with the descendants of Col. Webster, two of whose daughters are still living. A communication from a son of one of the latter gives all that they are able to contribute to the subject.

"My mother tells me that there has always been a tradition in the family," says Dr. Harrison of Johns Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore, "that grandfather was with Mr. Lincoln the morning of the assassination, and also that the memorandum of his appointment as Collector of the Port of Baltimore, if not the commission itself, was on Lincoln's person at the time of the assassination.

"Grandfather had been a very close and devoted friend of Mr. Lincoln, and he was so affected by the calamity that there was not much discussion of details in the family. Mrs. Hunter, Col. Webster's eldest daughter, however, concurs in her recollections of the above impressions.

LINCOLN'S MARYLAND VISITORS

"My mother informs me that my grandfather applied for quite a number of pardons, and that Mr. Lincoln was always most lenient in his treatment of them. Also, that due to the fact of grandfather having many friends in the Confederate army, a number of the pardons requested were for Confederates."

The endorsement on the Herron petition is in three different hand-writings, the signature only being the President's. From specimens of the chirography of John Hay, as well as for other reasons which will appear later, I am sure that his was the hand which wrote the body of the endorsement. Who penned the date?

Mr. Bradford has sent me for examination the note book which his father carried when he spoke as a Greeley elector in 1872; and Mr. Selby has forwarded a letter of Col. Webster which he found among the papers of Gen. Creswell. These have been examined and compared with the date as written on the endorsement and it is my belief that it was penned by Col. Webster himself; it is clearly not the writing of Governor Bradford. The similarity between the Webster letter and the date appearing on the endorsement is most pronounced.

NOTE: At the autograph sale held by the American Art Association—Anderson Galleries Inc., on February 25th and 26th, 1930, the Creswell petition is listed under the caption "Probably the Last Pardon Signed by Lincoln Written the Day of His Assassination."

LINCOLN'S CABINET AND WHAT THEY HAVE SAID

AT the time of the assassination of President Lincoln his Cabinet consisted of William H. Seward, of New York, Secretary of State; Hugh McCulloch, of Indiana, Secretary of the Treasury; Edwin M. Stanton, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of War; Gideon Welles, of Connecticut, Secretary of the Navy; William Dennison, of Ohio, Postmaster General; James Speed, of Kentucky, Attorney General; and John P. Usher, of Indiana, Secretary of the Interior. An interesting fact in connection with the last named member is that at this time President Lincoln had on file the resignation of Secretary Usher tendered to him in March, to take effect May 15th, and his successor had already been determined upon. The latter, Senator James Harlan, of Iowa, accordingly took his seat in the Cabinet of President Johnson, serving until July 1866. Senator Cullom, of Illinois, is authority for the statement that Harlan secured the appointment at the suggestion of Bishop Simpson of the Methodist Church, who subsequently delivered the funeral oration at the obsequies of President Lincoln in Springfield. In 1868, Robert Lincoln, the President's eldest son, married a daughter of Senator Harlan.

With the exception of two of these Cabinet heads, we are again confronted with a dearth of reminiscence by the participants. Fortunately the heads of two departments, Welles of the Navy, and Frederick W. Seward, Assistant Secretary of State, who represented that branch of the government on account of the serious illness of his father, have put on record good first hand evidence of what transpired there. Primarily are we indebted to the former, who in his diary and an article in the *Galaxy Magazine* for April 1872, has given his recollections very fully, and the latter has published several good briefer accounts. Welles does not mention whether all the members of the Cabinet were in attendance or not, but Seward refers to McCulloch, Stanton, Welles, Dennison, Speed and himself as being present, making no mention of Usher. Of course it is well known that General Grant was present.

By the remaining Cabinet officials but little has been said. McCulloch in his massive *Men and Measures of Half a Century*, has in two instances touched upon it; Stanton in his official capacity had occasion several times to refer to it

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Executive Mansion,

Washington, April 14, 1865
Hon. Sec. of State
Sir.

Please assemble
the Cabinet at 11. A.M. to-day
Gen. Grant will meet with
us.

Yours truly

A. Lincoln

Last call issued by President Lincoln for a Cabinet meeting, written the early morning of April 14th.—Courtesy of William H. Seward, 3d, Esq., nephew of Hon. Frederick W. Seward.

briefly, and an account of Lincoln's premonitory dream given to the English author Charles Dickens by the War Secretary in 1868 was in turn passed on to an English friend; and Speed, whose attention had been called to the Dickens' account by Joseph H. Barrett, disposed of the subject in a single paragraph. Dennison, apparently, said nothing, and neither did Usher.

Welles' and Seward's accounts will not be considered here; that has been done before.

Reverting to McCulloch, as previously stated two references are given in his volume published in 1888: once in referring to Lincoln's "unbeknownst" story, considered later; and again in connection with paying off the discharged soldiers.

"I never saw Mr. Lincoln so cheerful and happy as he was on the day of his death," McCulloch said, bearing out the testimony of others. "The burden which had been weighing upon him for four long years, and which he had borne with heroic fortitude, had been lifted; the war had been practically ended; the Union was safe. The weary look which his face had so long worn, and which could be observed by those who knew him well, even when he was telling humorous stories,

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had disappeared. It was bright and cheerful. As he took me by the hand when I was about to leave the White House, he said: 'We must look to you, Mr. Secretary, for the money to pay off the soldiers.' 'I shall look to the people,' I replied; 'they have not failed us thus far; and I don't think they will now.' A few hours after I saw him unconscious and dying."

Secretary McCulloch contributed a paper in Rice's volume of Lincoln reminiscences published in 1885, but which contained no relevant data.

According to the Official Rebellion Records, Stanton, on April 15, 1865, during the course of a report to Major-General Dix, of New York, referred to the Cabinet meeting thus:

"The subject of the state of the country and the prospects of speedy peace was discussed. The President was very cheerful and hopeful; spoke very kindly of General Lee and others of the Confederacy, and the establishment of government in Virginia."

Also under same date, in making a report to Charles Francis Adams, Minister to England, concerning the activities of the conspirators, he said:

"Yesterday the President called a Cabinet meeting, at which General Grant was present. He was more cheerful and happy than I had ever seen, rejoiced at the near prospect of firm and durable peace at home and abroad, manifested in marked degree the kindness and humanity of his disposition, and the tender and forgiving spirit that so eminently distinguished him."

George C. Gorham's biography of Stanton states that on May 18, 1867, Stanton in the course of his testimony before the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, stated that on April 14, 1865, "there was a Cabinet meeting at which *all* of the Cabinet except Mr. Seward were present;" that "General Grant made a report of the condition of the country as he conceived that it was;" and that "the subject of reconstruction was discussed at considerable length," Stanton, at Lincoln's request, reading a draft of a mode he had prepared whereby "the authority and laws of the United States should be re-established and governments recognized in the rebel states under the federal authority without any necessity whatever for the intervention of rebel organizations or rebel aid." But Gorham also adds that "the Cabinet adjourned without any definite action."

Surely it might have been expected that Speed, the Attorney General, and a brother of Lincoln's most intimate friend, would have left on record some interesting data in connection with his superior and the last Cabinet meeting, but here again we are disappointed.

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Barrett, in his *Lincoln and His Presidency*, quotes from a letter he received from Speed twenty years after the event, in which he said that "I cannot attempt to give in better words than Mr. Dickens an account of that Cabinet meeting, although it made an indelible impression upon my memory. Even after the lapse of so many years the picture can be recalled to my mind's eye as clearly as though the circumstances occurred but yesterday; and I fondly cling to the memory of Mr. Lincoln's personal appearance as I saw him that day, with cleanly shaved face, well brushed clothing, and neatly combed hair and whiskers. In fact, the contrast was so great as to cause each member of the Cabinet to remark it. I well remember that Mr. Stanton said to me as we went down the stairs together: 'Didn't our chief look *grand* today?' "

James Speed, a grandson of the elder, at the present time editor of a Southern agricultural journal, in 1914 wrote a volume on *James Speed: A Personality*, which was privately printed, depicting him "as he appeared to his own intimate family and to his most intimate friends; * * * as he revealed himself in his letters to his mother, to his wife, and to his close relatives."

Here, if anywhere, should be found something relative to the subject under discussion. But again a paucity of material confronts us. All that is said concerning the assassination period is included in two brief letters, one to his mother and the other to his brother, dated April 16th and 17th, in both of which he briefly speaks of the death of the President, "who was the greatest and best man I ever knew."

And James Speed, the younger, informs me that "in going over grandfather's letters I was disappointed at not finding any letter which he had written at that critical moment in American history" bearing on the subject.

William Dennison, the "War Governor" of Ohio, and chairman of the Republican National Convention in 1864, had served as Postmaster General since September 24th of that year. He seems to have been a secretive sort of individual. Mr. Galbreath, of the Ohio State Historical Society, who made an extensive investigation at my request, reported that "we have made diligent search in the newspapers of the state for some interview with him or estimate on the life and character of Abraham Lincoln. We have failed to find a single expression from him in regard to the President in whose Cabinet he served."

I have been in touch with several of the descendants of Governor Dennison; of his ten children, but one, a daughter, survives. Practically all memoranda and data left by Dennison are now in the custody of a grandson who informs me that so

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far as he knows his grandfather kept no diary and adds that "I do not believe he was very systematic about keeping letters or records. I know I have tried to obtain information regarding his family and mother has told me that he never seemed to be interested in genealogy or keeping records in any way." However, Mr. Clark the grandson, has given me one interesting piece of information, in that he makes mention of a reason or excuse given by Dennison for not accompanying President Lincoln to the theatre that night, which was different from any of the others advanced by those who have made similar claims.

"I understood from mother," says Mr. Clark, "that President Lincoln invited my grandfather to attend the theatre with him and sit in his box the night of the assassination, but he declined the invitation as it was Good Friday night."

In January 1924, Mr. Stan. V. Henkels, auctioneer of Philadelphia, disposed of the papers of Gideon Welles, listing among them a letter from Governor Dennison to Welles dated March 25, 1874, just after the appearance of the latter's *Lincoln and Seward*, complimenting him on the volume and explaining how incompetent Charles Francis Adams, whose address on Seward had aroused Welles' ire, was to write a memoir of Lincoln. "Mr. Lincoln was a rude, unlettered man, of patriotic impulses," wrote Dennison as quoted by Henkels, "who needed for an intelligent discharge of his executive duties, the constant aid of an experienced and educated man, as he regarded Mr. Seward to be." And this, apparently, is all that we shall learn of William Dennison's estimate of Abraham Lincoln!

In passing it is interesting to note an entry which Welles made in his diary in January 1864. He says that he had a call from Dennison and the elder Blair, and that they "were full of the Presidency." Apparently they were sounding out Welles as to his stand with regard to a second term for Lincoln, but the old Navy Lord stated that "his convictions are and have been that it is best to re-elect the President, and if I mistake not this is the public opinion." And as the callers had just come from the White House, one cannot but wonder whether the astute Mr. Lincoln was not trying to "feel out" Mr. Welles.

We now come to the remaining member of the Cabinet. There are two sons of Secretary Usher still living, the elder being in poor health. The other, now seventy-seven years of age, is Vice-President of a Texas bank.

"In December 1864 I was twelve years old," says the latter, Mr. Linton J. Usher. "We lived on F Street, Attorney General Bates two doors to the east, and Mr. Wendle, Public Printer, two to the west; Ward Lamon lived across the street.

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"My mother and my two brothers, John and Samuel, left for Indiana on the evening train. My father went as far as the Relay House, where we changed cars for the through train over the B. & O., he returning to Washington. Learning of the assassination he drove from the depot to Mr. Lincoln's bedside and was with him when he died. Mrs. Wendle told him the night of the assassination two men on horseback came to our house, and made such a fuss trying to get in, she went out and told them the family had left Washington that evening. In talking to my father years afterward, he said the assassination had so many ramifications, it was hard to tell whom it might involve and where it would end and it would do no good, just harm, and as a long and bloody civil war was drawing to a close it was best to let the country quiet down."

Like McCulloch, Usher contributed a paper to Rice's volume in which no mention was made either to the Cabinet meeting or the assassination. Recently the Union Pacific Railroad Company has issued a pamphlet containing an address on "President Lincoln's Cabinet" by Secretary Usher in 1887, in which he makes the statement that "after Mr. Lincoln was assassinated and after Mr. Seward returned to the Department of State, I called upon him, and he said that if he had been able to be out * * * Mr. Lincoln would not have gone to the theatre that night. It seems that he knew of or anticipated some design or plot against the President."

LINCOLN AND THE NEW BRITISH MINISTER

IN 1865 the American News Company of New York City, at the suggestion of Dr. Francis Lieber, published a worth-while volume entitled "The Martyr's Monument. Being the Patriotism and Political Wisdom of Abraham Lincoln, as exhibited in his speeches, messages, orders and proclamations, from the presidential canvass of 1860 until his assassination." And the publishers chose for the editor of this volume Dr. Lieber himself, referring in the prefatory notice to "the distinguished gentleman whose name it bears."

What interests us particularly in this volume are the concluding data.

After referring to the fact that Lincoln, "on the next day but one after the reception of the news of General Lee's surrender, April 11th, issued the following proclamation, in which he announced to foreign powers that if they continued any longer to place the national vessels of this Republic on the same footing with rebel cruisers, their own vessels would be reduced to the same level in our ports," and giving the Proclamation itself, the volume concludes with an article entitled *Reception of the British Minister*.

"Three days after issuing the foregoing proclamation Mr. Lincoln was no more," said Dr. Lieber. "No public act or speech of his marked the brief interval. But on the very eve of his violent death he wrote one paper which exhibited the candor, the wisdom, and the kindness of his soul in a notable manner, and which showed that the proclamation which was the last to which he signed his name was instituted by no petty spite, no desire to humiliate, no wish to provoke hostile feeling. Lord Lyons had resigned, and Sir Frederick Bruce had been sent to represent the British Government at Washington. He was about to present his credentials; his reception for the purpose of presenting his letters was to have taken place on Saturday, April 15th, and Mr. Lincoln, having received an intimation of what Sir Frederick would say on that occasion, wrote out on the afternoon of the 14th his proposed reply. He never made it. The British Minister did not present his credentials until some days after Mr. Lincoln's death. The speech which the President made in reply impressed the whole country and Europe by its dignity, its good sense, its candor, and its generosity. There is the highest authority for saying that this speech is the one written by Mr. Lincoln, and that being found in his portfolio, it was wisely adopted, with its writer's policy, by Mr. Johnson, and read to

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the British Minister by a secretary. Thus Mr. Lincoln actually stretched out his hand from beyond the grave to guide the course of the Republic which he had done so much to save, and by his services to which he earned his crown of martyrdom. The reply in question here follows:

“Sir Frederick A. W. Bruce—Sir:—The cordial and friendly sentiments which you have expressed on the part of Her Britannic Majesty give me great pleasure. Great Britain and the United States, by the extended and varied forms of commerce between them, the contiguity of positions of their possessions, and the similarity of their language and laws, are drawn into contrast and intimate intercourse at the same time. They are from the same causes exposed to frequent occasions of misunderstanding, only to be averted by mutual forbearance. So eagerly are the people of the two countries engaged throughout almost the whole world in the pursuit of similar commercial enterprises, accompanied by natural rivalries and jealousies, that at first sight it would almost seem that the two Governments must be enemies or at best, cold and calculating friends. So devoted are the two nations throughout all their domain, and even in their most remote territorial and colonial possessions, to the principles of civil rights and constitutional liberty, that, on the other hand, the superficial observer might erroneously count upon a continued concert of action and sympathy, amounting to an alliance between them. Each is charged with the development of the progress and liberty of a considerable portion of the human race. Each, in its sphere, is subject to difficulties and trials, not participated in by the other. The interest of civilization and of humanity require that the two should be friends. I have always known and accepted it as a fact, honorable to both countries, that the Queen of England is a sincere and honest well-wisher to the United States. I have been equally frank and explicit in the opinion that the friendship of the United States toward Great Britain is enjoined by all the considerations of interest and of sentiment affecting the character of both. You will therefore be accepted as a minister friendly and well-disposed to the maintenance of peace and the honor of both countries. You will find myself and all my associates acting in accordance with the same enlightened policy and consistent sentiments; and so I am sure that it will not occur in your case that either yourself or this Government will ever have cause to regret that such an important relationship existed at such a crisis.’

“A few hours after writing this brief speech, Abraham Lincoln received the bullet of his assassin, and never spoke again. His last act was an endeavor to soothe the resentment of his countrymen against a nation whose governing classes had seized a time of sore trial to treat this country with arrogant contempt, and to impress upon that nation the necessity of mutual respect and mutual forbearance if

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they desired the continuation of friendly relations between the two countries. The reader of the foregoing pages will already have thought that such was a fitting close of Mr. Lincoln's career."

Now who was this writer who "spoke as one having authority," and who contemporaneously made a set of definite statements to the effect that the speech to Sir Frederick Bruce supposedly composed by President Johnson, was in reality the product of Abraham Lincoln's brain?

From a reference to many of the authentic biographical dictionaries and encyclopedias it would certainly seem that Dr. Lieber, who was a personage of high intelligence and integrity, should have been in a position to know whereof he spoke.

Dr. Lieber was born in Berlin in 1800 and at the age of fifteen served in the army of Marshal Blucher, taking part in the battle of Waterloo. Pursuing his studies in Germany, on account of his liberal political views he was exiled before attaining his majority, and after participating in the Greek War for independence settled for a time in Rome. Returning to Berlin in 1823 he was seized by the Prussian authorities and thrown into prison. Released through high political influence he again left Germany, this time to return no more. After spending a year in London he came to America in 1827 and at the first opportunity took out his naturalization papers.

Here he found his congenial habitat. From this time on until his death in 1872 he gave the best of his undoubted great talents to his adopted country.

Settling in Boston, for five years he busied himself in the preparation of a thirteen volume *Encyclopedia Americana*, intended as a supplement to the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. In 1832 he took up his residence in New York, but a year later removed to Philadelphia in order to prepare a plan of education for the newly founded Girard College.

From 1835 to 1856 Dr. Lieber served as Professor of History and Political Economy in South Carolina College, at Columbia, S. C. In the latter year he resigned to go to Columbia College, New York City, to fill a similar chair there, and in addition also held down the Department of Political Science in the Law School connected with the same institution. These positions he held up to the time of his death which occurred in October 1872.

Lieber was, as the *Britannica* has well said, "a distinguished publicist and writer on political science." He wielded a facile pen, and the versality of his attainments is shown by a reference to the many works and pamphlets which ema-

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nated from his brain. The writer in the *Britannica* chronicling his career says with reference to his writings, that "they are all written with as much ease and purity of idiom as if English had been his native tongue, a fact not more remarkable than that he, a German, should have become the great American teacher of the philosophy of Anglican political science."

The same reference work says that "during the great war for the preservation of the Union from 1861 to 1865, Lieber rendered services of great value to the government of his adopted country, and was frequently consulted by the Secretary of War. He was one of the first to point out by his pen the madness of secession, and was ever active in supporting the government and upholding the Union. He prepared, upon the requisition of the President, the *Code of War for the Government of the Armies of the United States in the Field*, which was adopted and promulgated by the government in General Orders No. 100 of the War Department. This code has been characterized by many European publicists as a masterpiece."

Jameson's *Dictionary of United States History* says of Lieber that "he ardently upheld the Union during the Civil War, and was often consulted by the executive." The *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* says that Lieber was frequently called to Washington for consultation with the Secretary of War, and that the Code above referred to was specially ordered by President Lincoln for circulation in the general orders of the War Department.

During the war Lieber was President of the Loyal Publication Society, New York, and wrote several of the best pamphlets published upholding the Union cause.

And Allibone's *Dictionary of Authors* well says that "America indeed owes a large debt of gratitude to Lieber; for we speak advisedly when we say that few men, living or dead, have directly and instrumentally—orally and through the press—instructed so many of our countrymen in the laws of science, the principles of philosophy, the canons of ethics, and the institutions of politics and political economy."

Surely here is an individual whose assertions, ordinarily, should be accepted without question. But in this instance, in view of several facts at hand, a further investigation is necessary.

Frank B. Carpenter, who has written so interestingly of Lincoln, has related an amusing anecdote in connection with his statement that "it is not generally known that the speech always made by the President, upon the presentation of a foreign minister, is carefully written for him by the Secretary of State.

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"A clerk in the department, ignorant of this custom," said Carpenter, "was one day sent to the White House by Mr. Seward, with the speech to be delivered upon such an occasion. Mr. Lincoln was writing at his desk, as the clerk entered—a half dozen Senators and Representatives occupying the sofas and chairs. Unable to disguise a feeling of delicacy, in the discharge of such an errand, the young man approached, and in a low voice said to the President: 'The Secretary has sent the speech you are to make today to the Swiss Minister.' Mr. Lincoln laid down his pen, and, taking the manuscript, said in a loud tone: 'Oh, this is a speech Mr. Seward has written for me, is it? I guess I will try it before these gentlemen, and see how it goes.' Thereupon he proceeded to read it, in a waggish manner, remarking as he concluded, with sly humor: 'There, I like that. It has the merit of *originality*.'"

Frederick W. Seward, Assistant Secretary of State, as previously stated has left on record his recollections of the last Cabinet meeting.

In his *Seward at Washington 1861-1872*, and *Reminiscences of a War-Time Statesman and Diplomat*, as well as the article entitled *Lincoln's Last Hours* appearing in the Lincoln Centennial issue of *Leslie's Weekly*, he has detailed the conversation which took place between President Lincoln and himself at the close of the meeting, and the accounts are substantially the same. I append the one given in the volume of *Reminiscences* as being the more detailed:

"I said, 'Mr. President, we have a new British Minister, Sir Frederick Bruce. He has arrived in Washington, and is awaiting presentation. At what time will it be convenient for you to receive him?'

"He paused a moment in thought, and replied:

" 'Tomorrow at two o'clock.'

" 'In the Blue Room, I suppose?'

" 'Yes, in the Blue Room,' and then added with a smile:

" 'Don't forget to send up the *speeches* beforehand. I would like to look *them* over.'

"I promised to do so, and then took my leave.—I never saw him afterwards."

This conversation would bear out the statement of Carpenter—the italics are mine. Lincoln specifically asked to have the *speeches* sent up beforehand, indicating that he wanted to familiarize himself with both what the new Minister had to say as well as the speech to be made in reply, and *not* composed by himself.

The next query which arises, is naturally, who did prepare the speech which Lincoln was to read?

LINCOLN AND THE NEW BRITISH MINISTER

Was it the Premier himself? No, he was incapacitated and then hovering between life and death. His son has recorded that April 14th "was the ninth day since the carriage accident; and Seward still lay helpless and suffering, his symptoms alternately inspiring hopes of recovery, or grave apprehensions that he could not survive, * * * but every day, although unable to talk, he would intimate his desire to be informed of current events."

Was it then his son, the Acting Secretary? Read what the Department of State at Washington has given the writer with reference to the subject:

"No records have been found in the Department indicating the authorship of the President's speech. In a case of this sort the usual procedure would be for Sir Frederick Bruce, as a new Minister from Great Britain, to be presented first at the Department of State when he would hand to the Secretary of State a copy of the speech which he was to make when he presented his credentials to the President. A date would be set for an audience with the President, and the Secretary of State would usually prepare, or have prepared, the reply which the President would make when the new Minister presented his credentials. Regardless of the authorship, therefore, there would be nothing unusual if President Johnson found the text of the speech in Lincoln's portfolio, and delivered the speech without modification.

"It may be added that the presumption is very strongly in favor of the hypothesis that the speech in question was written by William Hunter, Jr., then Chief Clerk of the Department. The archives of the Department appear to indicate that Mr. Frederick Seward, rarely, if ever, drafted documents of this character."

The records of the Department further disclose that "Sir Frederick Bruce announced his arrival on April 10, 1865, and advised that he wished to call at the Department to go to the White House on April 18th. In answer the Department advised him that the President wished to receive him on April 20th, on which day his credentials were presented." There is no record in the Department of the intention of President Lincoln to receive Bruce on April 15th.

During that memorable night of terror in Washington, Frederick Seward was grievously assaulted by the conspirator Payne, and the next day Hunter was appointed Acting Secretary. I have found an article headed "The New British Minister" in the *American Presbyterian* for May 4, 1865, which tells of the presentation of Bruce to President Johnson, the former being introduced by Hunter. Both of the speeches are given in full, the one attributed to Johnson being the same which Lieber has included in his volume.

HIS LAST RECORDED STORY

COL. Ward H. Lamon and Dr. Andrew S. Draper have chronicled what was undoubtedly the first "story" that President Lincoln told, on the morning of the last day he was to live, which dealt humorously with the predicament in which he would find himself in trying to allow Jefferson Davis to go unmolested, having but two days before told an Alabama planter that he was disposed to deal leniently with both the civil and military leaders of the Confederacy. And indeed the whole evidence of the happenings at the close of his early career shows that he was more than desirous of seeking some way out of the impending situation which would permit the southern leaders to escape either the country, or the results of their actions otherwise.

But the last story he told will probably never be known. Carpenter, the artist, Pendel, the White House doorkeeper, and others have given what purported to have been his last "little story" to Marshal Lamon just before the call of Colfax and Ashmun, but as I have shown in a previous volume, this was manifestly impossible, as Lamon was not in Washington at the time.

Colfax himself, in one of his published accounts of those last hours, states that that evening, after Lincoln had stepped into the "parlor," which according to Pendel was the Red Room, "a general conversation of nearly forty minutes ensued, of which the most striking feature was a satirical and severe commentary on 'the tribe of claim agents,' which Mr. Lincoln illustrated with a story."

Nowhere else do I find any reference to the story, either in his eulogy or lecture on Lincoln, and neither do any of his biographers make mention of it. There is, or was, somewhere, a copy of the minutes which Colfax kept of his two interviews, but this I have been unable to locate; and furthermore, the various Historical Societies holding in custody Colfax's papers, letters and other data, are unable to report any mention whatever of the interviews. Which brings us to the conclusion that the last recorded story of the President was told at the Cabinet meeting, and was in fact the famous "unbeknownst" anecdote.

This story seems to have been a general favorite of President Lincoln those latter days, usually told in connection with his general idea to allow the southern leaders to go unpunished.

HIS LAST RECORDED STORY

General Grant, in his memoirs published in 1886, gives it in connection with the request of Governor Smith of Virginia to be allowed with a few others to "leave the country and go abroad without interference." According to Grant he showed the dispatch to Lincoln who was visiting him, but I am inclined to think his memory was in error here. The Official Rebellion Records contain the dispatch of Governor William Smith, dated Danville, Va., April 11th 1865, but as the President returned to Washington the evening of the 9th, he could not have been shown the message. And the records further disclose that under the date of April 14th, General Grant sent from his Headquarters through General Meade a reply to the effect that "at present I have no reply to make to the question propounded by Mr. Smith. Should I have hereafter they will be forwarded by special messenger."

General Horace Porter, on Grant's staff in an article in the *Century Magazine* for October 1885, says that the story was told in connection with a gentleman "who had got a permit at Washington to visit the armies and had abused his privileges by going around using seditious language and trying to stir up trouble among the loyal Virginians in that section of the country." This I believe was the incident to which Grant referred.

Unquestionably this anecdote was told Sherman. A. H. Stephens in his *War Between the States*, quotes a newspaper account of a speech made by General Sherman in Ohio shortly after the war, in which the story was given as illustrating, with simple *finesse*, Lincoln's inclination to allow Jefferson Davis to escape, although he dared not say so openly; and in his *Memoirs* published in 1875 Sherman corroborates the incident, placing it on March 29th at the famous conference aboard the *River Queen*, at which General Grant also was present. Chauncey M. Depew, in the Lincoln Centennial issue of *Leslie's Weekly*, told the story as he recalled hearing it from Sherman, but the ravages of time were in evidence here: many of the details were at variance with the generally accepted anecdote.

Col. A. K. McClure, bearing testimony to Sherman's idea that Lincoln desired that "Davis should escape 'unknown to him,'" testifies in *Lincoln and Men of War Times* that the same subject came up when Governor Curtin, Colonel Forney, several others and himself were present. At this time, says McClure, Lincoln "told the same story to illustrate the same point, obviously intending to convey very clearly his wish that the southern leaders should escape from the land and save him the grave complications which must follow their arrest." McClure published this volume in 1892; fourteen years later in an article in *World's Events* magazine, he stated that the incident occurred several months before the surrender of Lee, but when it was also well understood that it was only a question of a short

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time when the Confederacy would be vanquished. It seems that Colonel Forney and General Butler, who also was present, were both vehemently urging the execution of the southern leaders.

Carpenter in 1865 gave the incident in connection with a query from a Cabinet member as to whether Jacob Thompson, Confederate Governor of Mississippi from 1862 to 1864, and sent to Canada as Confederate Commissioner in 1864, should be allowed to slip through Maine in disguise, and embark from Portland. And while all the evidence, including the story told by Dana, Assistant Secretary of War, of the interview he had with President Lincoln the afternoon of the 14th, tends to show that Lincoln in this case wished to "let the elephant run away"—the elephant being Thompson—yet it is a strange fact that no mention can be found in the Rebellion Records of any messages received from, or sent to, Portland in connection with the incident.

Charles G. Leland's biography of Lincoln, which first saw the light in 1879, states that Lincoln's "last story was a kindly excuse for letting one of the rebels escape," the "rebel" in this case being Thompson. Leland narrates the incident as occurring during an argument with Lincoln's "secretary," but as to which one he referred, the reader is left in doubt. Surely not one of his private secretaries; I gather it to have been Stanton.

Secretary Usher, of the Interior Department, in Rice's book of reminiscences published in 1885, gives the incident as he recalled hearing it from Lincoln himself, as he gave Usher an account of Grant having asked whether he "should try to capture Jeff Davis, or let him escape the country if he would." Thus here we have a third story of the setting which furnished Lincoln an excuse for telling the anecdote to Grant.

Hugh McCulloch, Secretary of the Treasury, gives a specific account of an occasion upon which Lincoln told the "unknown" or "unknownst" incident, which is my reason for its inclusion in this study.

"The question 'What shall be done to the Confederate leaders?' " he said in his volume of recollections, "was referred to, but not discussed at Mr. Lincoln's last meeting with his Cabinet. Mr. Lincoln merely remarked in his humorous manner, 'I am a good deal like the Irishman who had joined a temperance society, but thought that he might take a drink now and then if he drank unknown to himself. A good many people think that all the big Confederates ought to be arrested and tried as traitors. Perhaps they ought to be; but I should be right glad if they would get out of the country unknown to me.' "

HIS LAST RECORDED STORY

This has the ring of truth, although others have narrated the Lincoln story better. The question as to what should be done with the leaders of the fallen Confederacy was discussed at this meeting. Both Welles and Seward refer to the question and Lincoln's willingness to "open the gates and let down the bars," and what more natural than that their jocular Chief, in the best of spirits, should give his official family the familiar story of the pledge-signing Irishman who liked to take his "drop" "unbeknowst" to himself.

LINCOLN'S LAST ACTS OF CLEMENCY

ALTHOUGH the collapse of the Confederacy was a foregone conclusion on that Good Friday of '65, and the Head of the administration was looking forward to a readjustment and reconstruction in matters pertaining to the southern states which had tried to leave the National fold, yet the harassed and great-hearted President still had to give ear to appeals for mercy. His last day on earth was no exception to the general rule.

Francis Fisher Browne, in the first edition of his biography published in 1886, made these statements, which have been copied by later writers:

"During the afternoon the President signed a pardon for a soldier sentenced to be shot for desertion; remarking as he did so, 'Well, I think the boy can do us more good above ground than under ground.' He also approved an application for the discharge, on taking the oath of allegiance, of a rebel prisoner, on whose petition he wrote, '*Let it be done.*' This act of mercy was his last official order."

I have never seen any evidence verifying the first statement, but it sounds Lincolnesque enough to be true; the latter anecdote evidently refers to the petition presented by Creswell, even though it may not have been his "last official order." It should be noted, however, that the time of day does not dovetail with that given by Creswell himself.

In other chapters I have discussed various pleas for clemency addressed to the Chief Executive on "the happiest day of his life," as Mrs. Lincoln afterward said. And undoubtedly there were others.

Just last February Mr. Emanuel Hertz announced that he had in his possession what he believed to be the last paper signed by Abraham Lincoln before his assassination. A facsimile of this appeared in the souvenir issued by the National Republican Club at the Annual Lincoln Dinner on February 12th and also in one of Mr. Hertz's recent publications. Through his courtesy it is reproduced here.

In his statement for the Associated Press Mr. Hertz stated that the slip of paper had but recently come into his possession, and according to the press report, based the reason for his belief on the declaration "that Lincoln wrote his other pardons in entirety, but this apparently had been prepared by some one else and

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signed in haste just as Lincoln was leaving for Ford's theatre, where he was shot by John Wilkes Booth." Neither Mr. Hertz, nor Gabriel Wells, the New York dealer from whom he purchased the item, was able to add any additional information. I wish that the name of the prisoner, for whom the endorsement was written, could have been secured for further investigation.

*Let the Prisoner be
released on taking the
oath of Dec. 8. 1863.
A. Lincoln
April 14. 1865.*

Endorsement on unknown petition, dated April 14, 1865, palpably written in haste, and thereby furnishing grounds for statement that it was probably last writing of President Lincoln before leaving for theatre.—Courtesy of Emanuel Hertz, Esq., owner of document.

Dr. Barton in his *Great Good Man*, the biography for young people, sheds considerable light upon the workings of the Amnesty Proclamation of December 8, 1863, and President Lincoln's actions in connection therewith.

In the proclamation the President granted a full pardon "to all persons who have, directly or by implication, participated in the existing rebellion, except as hereinafter excepted," upon taking an oath of allegiance to the United States government.

According to Dr. Barton many thousand Confederate soldiers were released upon taking the oath, but several hundred who applied for the amnesty, for reasons best known to the Federal officers, were denied their freedom.

The conscientious Lincoln, with his love for justice, requested the papers in the various cases and "painstakingly went over them, one by one, and in very many cases that had been refused, he wrote with his own hand an endorsement * * * 'Let this man take the oath of December 8, 1863, and be discharged.' "

FURTHER LIGHT ON LINCOLN'S LAST DAY

"Hard as President Lincoln had been working on these 'amnesty cases' before the surrender of Lee," continues Dr. Barton, "he worked harder afterward. Having some reason to fear that men who were in jail for disloyalty might, if they remained there, come up before military courts that would not be so sympathetic as he, the President worked diligently to clear up the docket that remained. The days immediately following the surrender were extremely busy days, made more so by the business that accumulated while he was absent in Richmond. But he found time as late as the twelfth to examine personally some of these cases and to order a pardon wherever any reputable person recommended it. * * * Up to the twelfth of April he wrote the endorsement in his own hand; but on the thirteenth he found time to go hastily through a few more applications, and, in order that he might work faster, he had John Hay write some slips, 'let this man take the oath of December 8, 1863, and be discharged.' These the President signed and attached them to as many applications as he had time to approve on the busy thirteenth of April, the day before he was shot." In connection with this, Dr. Barton informs me that at the present time he is delving deeply into the amnesty subject and finding some interesting data, which he intends to publish.

Mrs. Wadsworth, the daughter of Secretary Hay, at my request has examined the facsimiles of the endorsements in the cases of both Herron and the unnamed individual whose indorsement is now owned by Mr. Hertz, and she bears out the opinion of the present writer, that they were both written by her father; in the former instance the endorsement was placed directly on the petition for release, while in the latter undoubtedly one of the slips referred to by Dr. Barton was used.

"I think there is no doubt whatever," says Mrs. Wadsworth, "that my father wrote the body of the executive order on the Herron letter, and that President Lincoln signed it, and the '1865' looks very much like my father's. The 'April' is unfamiliar, also the '14.' In the Republican Club souvenir endorsement, I am equally sure the body of it, and the date, were written by my father, and if it were not accusing him of *forgery*, I would say he had even written the President's name too. The 'A' is quite different from the usual Lincoln signatures, and looks to me as though the writer started to make another letter, and then changed it to the 'A', and the mistake in the first line—*President for Prisoner*—shows that my father was writing in a great rush, and could easily have made the second mistake. Of course I am not any sort of an authority on handwriting, but that would be my opinion, even in 'a court of law.' "

My personal judgment would be that the Hertz document was written during

LAST ACTS OF CLEMENCY

that crowded hour in the Executive offices, from 2 to 3 P. M., preceeding the drive.

NOTE: Mr. Madigan's catalogue, referred to in the note to Chapter VI, lists another example of executive clemency. Item number 72 covers Lincoln's "authorization for the discharge of a seventeen-year-old youth from the army in response to the appeal of the boy's mother, a widow of Richmond, Maine, SIGNED BY THE GREAT PRESIDENT ON THE LAST TRAGIC DAY OF HIS LIFE." It reads as follows:

"Let Thomas Geary be discharged from the service on refunding any bounty received.

April 14, 1865.

A. LINCOLN."

It is stated that "the four lines of the endorsement are in the handwriting of Lincoln's private secretary, John Hay, * * * and is SIGNED BY LINCOLN."

In the essay on *Lincoln Autographs* by Dr. Barton which serves as a preface to the catalogue proper, Dr. Barton again refers to President Lincoln "speeding up" the Amnesty cases the last few days of his life.

Herewith follows a report from the Adjutant General's Office in the War Department relative to the Geary case:

"The records show that one Thomas Geary was enrolled and mustered into service September 1, 1864, at Augusta, as a private of Company D, 31st Maine Infantry, to serve for one year, and that he was mustered out with the company and honorably discharged from the service as a private July 15, 1865, near Alexandria, Virginia. His age is given as 18 years.

"Nothing has been found of record to indicate that the above named soldier was discharged by President Lincoln's order. Special Orders No. 181, War Department, A. G. O., dated April 22, 1865, issued by order of the President, contains a paragraph for the boy's discharge provided he refunded all bounties which he may have received, but nothing has been found to show that he was discharged according to that order. As above stated, he is shown to have been mustered out with his company on July 15, 1865."

THE SLAVE DEALER'S PARDON

THE January 1928 issue of the *Illinois State Historical Society Journal*, contained an interesting article by Mr. J. T. Dorris, of the Eastern Kentucky State Normal School and Teachers' College, on *President Lincoln's Clemency*. Mr. Dorris has done some valuable historical research along the line of executive clemency during the Lincoln and Johnson administrations, and is now engaged on a larger work dealing with the same subject.

In his article referred to appears the statement that "on the last day of his (Lincoln's) life he signed a pardon warrant for a man convicted of dealing in slaves and sent it to the attorney general's office to be attested and executed." At my request he gave his authority for the statement, which originally appeared in the *New York Herald* for June 2, 1865.

According to the account, President Johnson had been given a pardon warrant which Lincoln had "placed his signature * * * on the day on which he was assassinated, and sent it to the attorney general's office to be attested and executed. It arrived there too late to be attended to on that day. * * * This pardon signed but not executed," was presented to President Johnson for his consideration, as unfinished business. Upon examining the pardon and making inquiries, "he had it cancelled, saying that no person ever engaged in that business would ever get a pardon from him."

After commenting on the "conclusive evidence" that there would be some difference in the use of the pardoning power between the two Presidents, the paper went on to state that the prisoner had been convicted of slavedealing seven or eight years earlier, and given a sentence of twenty years; and that certain Boston politicians had been instrumental in securing the pardon from President Lincoln.

Mr. Dorris informed me that the papers in the case should be on file in either the Department of State or of Justice, and that in the former are complete records of all the Presidents' pardons from Washington down to the present time. However, the Pardon Attorney of the Department of Justice advised that the record would probably be found in the State Department, which has the records of the pardons granted during the year stated; yet there was no pardon granted in this case, according to the newspaper report.

THE SLAVE DEALER'S PARDON

The Chief Clerk of the State Department reported that in order to furnish the information desired, it would be necessary to have the name of the prisoner in whose behalf the pardon was recommended, and this of course is impossible as no name was mentioned in the newspaper account.

Further in pursuance of the quest, my friend Dr. Carman, of Washington, called at the Department of Justice and made an examination of the dockets covering the period in question. He reported finding nothing in "Book B," but located the following which he submitted as relevant testimony:

Book A. Page 562, No. 431.

Zeno Kelley. Fitting out a slaver. Mass. (Massachusetts).

Oct. 1863. 4 years. Sentence and date not given.

Filed Oct. 24, 1864. New papers filed March 3, 1865. Pardon same day.

Pardon suspended. Pardon finally on rec. Atty. Gen. Nov. 10, 1866.

"The charge, the locality, the suspended pardon," says Dr. Carman, "make me think this is the case referred to in the *Herald*, and newspaper accounts are generally not accurate.

"Pardons at this date, at least the warrants, were signed by the Secretary of State, but nothing could be found there without the name."

Mr. Dorris, whose interest has been aroused, proposes when he has opportunity to fully investigate the records in both the Departments and to advise me of the results. His ultimate conclusion will be awaited with interest.

LINCOLN AND THE MYSTIFYING FIGURE OF JAMES W. SINGLETON

DESPITE the tons of printed matter—the formidable array of authentic, so considered, and the greater volume of doubtful or spurious data—the deeper I delve into Lincoln lore the more firmly convinced am I that we have, in some respects at least, but skimmed the surface of the Lincoln theme. In recent years Dr. Barton, Miss Tarbell and other students have performed herculean tasks; Mr. Hertz has been insistently, and rightly so, dinning into our ears the obvious fact that certain channels which have been neglected should be explored; some of the State historical societies have been ably assisting; and the Lincoln National Life Insurance Company of Fort Wayne, Indiana, has established a Research Foundation, with Dr. Warren in charge, and all of these agencies are materially helping us to a better knowledge and more complete understanding of Abraham Lincoln. Yet as I have conned a goodly percentage of these publications, and have conversed of things Lincolnian with kindred spirits, I am appalled at the illimitable and inexhaustible fountain that still remains practically untouched. It has been my experience, time and again, while investigating a certain phase of the many-faceted Lincoln, to discover other lines of thought in unexpected and unsuspected places.

For instance, consider the matter of Lincoln's relations with certain more or less hitherto neglected individuals.

I have in mind particularly Robert Dale Owen, writer, diplomat and spiritualist, a son of the founder of the communist colony at New Harmony, Ind.; Paschal B. Randolph, whose name I venture to say will be unknown to practically all readers of this brochure, said to have been a nephew of the noted John Randolph, "of Roanoke," and who dedicated his book *Preadamite Man*, published in 1863, so it is stated, to his "personal friend and the friend of mankind, Abraham Lincoln;" Dr. Francis Lieber, mentioned before; Archbishop John Hughes, of New York and the Roman Catholic hierarchy; Charles O'Connor, of the same faith, counsel for Jefferson Davis and destroyer of the Tweed ring, Confederate sympathizer and yet said to have been consulted by the Lincoln administration upon at least two important occasions.

LINCOLN AND JAMES W. SINGLETON

A comprehensive inquiry covering the "Emissaries," self-appointed and otherwise, of President Lincoln, extending from James B. Merwin, James F. Jaquess, Francis P. Blair and the individual considered in this chapter, to John Hay, Ward H. Lamon, Thomas A. Scott and Archbishop Hughes, should prove to be both profitable and interesting: no superficial examination—an arrival at the truth one way or the other.

And now emerges from the mists of the sixties the dim and mystical figure of James W. Singleton, of Lincoln's own state. And while I cannot go into the matter as deeply as I should like, nor as far as such an investigation should go, yet I propose here to give what data are available at the present time.

The *New York Times* for February 12, 1928, contained an article written by Mr. Matthew Page Andrews, editor and writer, of Baltimore, headed "Singleton Emerges as Lincoln's Lost Friend." Sub-titles state that the account, based on papers in possession of the Singleton family, reveals their confidential relations, one of the last official acts of President Lincoln being the issuance of a pass permitting Singleton to visit Richmond on a mission of reconciliation to the defeated Confederacy.

"The last known writing of Abraham Lincoln concerning affairs of state," said Mr. Andrews in his opening paragraph, "is the holograph pass issued to James Washington Singleton. * * * As fate would have it, however, within thirty-six hours after it had been written the Singleton mission, with all that it involved, was but a scrap of paper."

On April 16th Singleton wrote his wife, then living in Quincy, Ill., expressing his deep personal sorrow for the assassination of his friend, with whom his intercourse for the past six months had been "so free, frequent and confidential that I was fully advised of all his plans, and thoroughly persuaded of the honesty of his heart and the wisdom of his humane intentions. I was well informed of all his views as to the future—they were so liberal and conservative that I was filled with joy at the prospect of a united country. His loss is irreparable. There is no living man to take his place who could carry the same strength of mind and goodness of heart with the administration of our national affairs."

Singleton added that he thought he would be probably one of the committee to accompany the body back to Illinois; but in this he was in error. The "back-stair" radical political boys held their memorable secret caucus and seized the existing national situation, as our politically minded do, to get a firm grip on affairs, and Singleton returned to Illinois alone.

FURTHER LIGHT ON LINCOLN'S LAST DAY

"Who, then, it may be asked," said Andrews, "was this strangely forgotten Presidential agent of reconciliation? Briefly, Singleton was neighbor, friend; at times, the political associate of Lincoln; yet, now and again, openly a dissident in respect to party or government policies."

Singleton was born in Virginia in 1811, and marrying a Kentucky cousin of Mrs. Lincoln, emigrated to Illinois. Discarding his first profession, the practice of medicine, he took up law and was soon "riding the circuit" with those attorneys of early Illinois with whom students are familiar.

He became a Whig, yet as Andrew says, "agreed continuously with neither the Little Giant nor the Rail Splitter." He was a man of independent action.

At the outbreak of hostilities Governor Yates offered him a Brigadier-Generalship of Volunteers but this was declined on the ground that conflict would have been avoided but for the machinations of political "war hawks."

During the war Singleton was found continuously harassing the administration, Lincoln telling him at one time that "they are appealing to me on all hands to have you arrested, but while I regret your belief and your speeches, I think you have the right to make them, and I have said to outsiders that if I could stand it, they could." Yet Singleton refused to follow McClellan, the Democratic standard-bearer in 1864, and was told by the President that in so doing he had done more than any one else to insure his reelection. Singleton always claimed that he did not oppose Lincoln personally, but his "administration"—a distinction in view of the times, to my way of thinking, without an appreciable difference.

Andrews makes the statement that Singleton was chiefly responsible for the Hampton Roads conference, a fact hitherto ignored, and adds that the Confederate authorities had the same complete confidence in Singleton which President Lincoln had, and that "in his efforts to promote peace he became the medium for informal exchanges between Generals Grant and Lee."

"As the day of Lee's surrender approached," says Andrews in conclusion, "Singleton was in Washington awaiting the end of the war, and preparing, under Lincoln, for peace and reconstruction. Marshal Lamon had temporarily become the President's personal representative in Richmond; and it now appears that Lamon sent from Virginia disturbing reports that the Presidential plans were being hampered.

"Thus, after the Cabinet meeting of April 14, Singleton again conferred with the Executive in Lincoln's final interview on affairs of public importance. In

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discussing the news from Richmond the President asserted he could not do everything at once, as martial law was still in force. At the same time he authorized General Singleton quietly to inform the Southerners that the assurances of Executive protection for the reassembling of the Legislature and the consequent restoration of Virginia would be redeemed. Since it happened that J. P. Usher was present, the latter agreed to accompany Singleton on his mission. As Secretary of the Interior, Usher's presence would give to the proceedings an atmosphere of official sanction.

"Apparently, this discussion caused Lincoln to be unusually late in arriving at the theatre; which suggests the thought that had General Singleton detained the President still further the latter must have missed his rendezvous with death."

The pass, mention of which was made in a former monograph, reads as follows:

"Allow Gen. Singleton to pass to Richmond & return.

April 13, 1865.

A. LINCOLN."

This pass is now located in the collection of a Philadelphia collector, to whose courtesy I am indebted for the reproduction appearing in this volume, as well as the loan of the newspaper clippings which accompanied it at the sale at which it was purchased.

*Allow Gen. Singleton to
pass to Richmond & return*
A. Lincoln
April 13, 1865

The famous "Singleton" pass, dated April 13, 1865, and probably the last pass of this nature signed by President Lincoln.—Courtesy of Mr. John Gribbel, present owner of pass.

Referring to the clippings, the first exhibit is obviously taken from an old newspaper, as shown by the style of type: I would say about thirty or thirty-five years ago.

At that time the pass was in the possession of a daughter. The article

FURTHER LIGHT ON LINCOLN'S LAST DAY

mentions several facts given more fully by Andrews, and then goes on to say that in addition to the pass, President Lincoln had handed Singleton a letter stating that if Virginia or any of the other southern states would recognize the authority of the United States and elect Senators and Representatives, such members would be entitled to take their seats.

Singleton asked what reply he should make if he were asked how his promise could consistently stand alongside of the Emancipation Proclamation.

"Singleton," said Lincoln, "I have explained, and will now say again, that I have issued that proclamation, and if it have any legal effect I have no power to recall it. If it have not any legal effect, it is of no consequence. I would not take it back if I could and I could not if I would.

"My duty is simply to enforce the laws. I want to see these states and all these people come back and submit to the Constitution, and then my duty is done. I am the executive part of the government; and when I have enforced the laws the other Departments will relieve me of all responsibility."

In his interview the following day he restated his position, that he "would favor the return of Virginia into the Union with her government intact, and the same applied for the rest of the seceded states!"

"Mr. Usher, Secretary of the Interior," concludes the article, "was present at this interview, and was to accompany General Singleton to Richmond. They took leave of the President and went out together.

"Later in the evening, going to join Governor Yates of Illinois and other friends, with whom they were to make a party for supper, they were met on the threshold with flying rumors of the assassination of Mr. Lincoln at Ford's Theatre."

The second clipping, evidently of later issue, is briefer, and mentions the fact that at that time the pass was in the possession of Capt. J. E. Barr, "noted antiquary and collector of Lancaster and Philadelphia," and was being held by his brother, C. H. Barr, bookseller, pending negotiations for its sale.

At the present time the pass still reposes in the gold case made for it by Singleton, and it is claimed that the gold entering into its construction cost \$125.

I have had an interesting correspondence with Mr. Andrews concerning James W. Singleton and his mission. Many controversial points have been discussed in a friendly manner. I have also corresponded with Prof. Pease, one of the editors of the Browning diary, with the view to obtaining his reactions to the Browning entries pertaining to Singleton.

LINCOLN AND JAMES W. SINGLETON

In a footnote to the published portions of the diary, the editors give this resume of Singleton in connection with an entry under date of August 12, 1850: "Sent Pinkham's boy back with the buggy & came on to Rushville with Col. Singleton in his carriage:"

"James W. Singleton, 1811-1892. Practiced law, medicine, railroad promotion, and politics; 1844, brigadier-general of Illinois militia; took a prominent part in the Mormon War; said to have arrested Brigham Young and kept him sawing wood all night. A Whig who turned Democrat on the Nebraska issue, and was notoriously engaged during the Civil War on various peace overtures to the Confederacy. He was associated with Browning in 1864-1865 in a speculative attempt to run southern produce out of the Confederacy through Grant's lines. Resided 1833 to 1852 at Mt. Sterling, Illinois; afterwards at Quincy. *Quincy Whig*, February 4, 1861, varies from some of above dates."

Another footnote, later on, states that Singleton, "being associated with the anti-war Democrats, was denounced as a 'copperhead.' His brother, O. R. Singleton, was a member of the Confederate Congress."

Prof. Pease, in his introduction, commenting on the "lame-duck" lobbying done by Browning and his associates after his term of Senator had expired in 1863, says that "Browning's perceptions were soon blunted enough to seek to make a profit out of the blood of the men who were fighting for the Union. James W. Singleton was an old Whig party associate of Lincoln and Browning who had parted from them in 1854, going ultimately to the Democrats. He had been active for some time as a self-constituted negotiator with the Confederacy. About the beginning of 1865 he proposed to Browning to secure permission from the President for buying southern produce with greenbacks, passing it through the Union lines and selling it in the North at a hugh profit. * * * He salved his conscience with the fact that Lincoln believed that sending greenbacks into the Confederacy would tend to bring the rebel states back into the Union. He failed to see that to do so was to allow the Confederates to get their bulky raw materials out in exchange for credits which would enable them to purchase the valuable drugs, supplies, etc., of so little bulk that smuggling them in was a slight affair."

Turning to the diary itself, we find that in December 1863 Browning notes that he and Singleton were enroute from Quincy to Washington, purpose not stated.

Under date of November 24, 1864, occurs the first entry in which we are interested:

"Thanksgiving day—Gen'l Singleton called this morning. Told me he had

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just come from Canada where he had an interview with Clay & Tucker, the Rebel Commissioners, and was here to see the President in regard to negotiations for peace upon the basis of the Union, and thought the people of the seceded states would return if an amnesty was offered, and slavery let alone," Singleton stated that he had a long interview with Lincoln before the election and had been assured that after the election was over he "would be willing to grant peace with an amnesty, and restoration of the Union, leaving slavery to abide the decisions of judicial tribunals," and Singleton added that now he was going to see Lincoln again upon the subject, showing Browning a letter from Judge Peck acting as "go between" for Singleton in which Peck recounted his conversation with the President.

Two days later Browning notes that he had again seen Singleton, who stated that he had not as yet seen Lincoln, but had received a message from him saying "that slavery should not stand in the way of an adjustment, and that he intended to say so in his message—that he would determine after the meeting of Congress whether he would send commissioners to Richmond, and that if he concluded to do so he would send him, Singleton."

Browning has no further reference to Singleton and his "peace" scheme until a month later, when the ebullient altruism of the twain had changed apparently to a sordid mercenariness; and steps were taken on Christmas eve to set the proper forces in motion.

"In the evening," says Browning, on December 24th, "went to the President and had an interview with him about letting General Singleton go to Richmond for the purpose of purchasing Cotton &c. Submitted to him for consideration a written proposition. If it succeeds quite a number of gentlemen, including Senator Morgan of N. Y.—Mr. Coxe now of Canada, Judge Hughes of the court of claims, and myself." The anticipated result is left to the imagination of posterity.

"During the evening," continues Browning, substantiating the claim of Singleton as given in Andrews' account, "the President showed me all the correspondence between him and Greely in regard to the negotiations in July last with Clay and Tucker, and assured me that he had been misrepresented, and misunderstood and that he had never entertained the purpose of making the abolition of slavery a condition precedent to the termination of the war, and the restoration of the Union."

Three days later Browning notes that the "President sent for me and I went there. He wished to talk to me about Singleton going through the lines to buy cotton &c."

The published portion of the diary ends with the close of 1864, but Prof.

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Pease informs me that "the diary from January to April, 1865, contains repeated references to Singleton and his scheme of communication with the Confederates." The relevant passages from the entries for the last three days of Lincoln's life are as follows:

"Wednesday April 12, 1865 * * * also got his (Lincoln's) promise before leaving that he would see Singleton, and give him a pass to go to General Grant. This is perhaps the best that could be done * * *

"Thursday, April 13, 1865 * * * at Treasury Department this morning about Singleton's business * * *

"Friday, April 14 * * * At Treasury Department about Singleton's business. * * *"

Apparently this "business" of Singleton was uppermost in Browning's mind.

In view of the fact that the claim had been made that Singleton's motive in acting as a pacific emissary to the Confederates had been the object of his mission, I propounded a series of queries to Prof. Pease, asking whether, by virtue of his study of the diary, it was his opinion that Singleton may have been actuated largely by his desire for a peaceful solution to the reconstruction problem.

"I certainly think," said Prof. Pease in his reply, "the most important motive in the mind of Browning as Singleton's associate was to make money for himself; but I don't know of any evidence on the basis of which one could expressly deny to either Browning or Singleton, as a secondary motive, the desire of being of some public service. I think, however, it would not be unfair to say in the case of both men, the motive was probably quite secondary."

The published Official Rebellion Records contain some pertinent testimony on the subject, obviously with reference to an earlier journey of Singleton to Virginia.

On the morning of March 8, 1865, General Grant from City Point addressed two telegrams to Secretary Stanton, manifestly related to each other.

The one informed the Secretary that while the flow of supplies to the Confederates by way of Norfolk had been stopped, he had information to the effect that "large amounts" were still going by way of the Blackwater. He believed these were going on Treasury permits, but respectfully recommended "that orders be sent to the Army and Navy everywhere to stop all supplies going to the interior, and annulling all permits for such trade heretofore given."

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The other was more specific and to the point:

"I believe General Singleton should be ordered to return from Richmond, and all permits he may have should be revoked. Our friends in Richmond, and we have many of them there, send word that tobacco is being exchanged on the Potomac for bacon, and they believe Singleton to be at the bottom of it. I am also of the opinion that all permits issued to Judge Hughes should be cancelled. I think the same of all other permits heretofore granted. But in the case of Singleton and Judge Hughes, I believe there is a deep laid plan for making millions, and they will sacrifice every interest of the country to succeed. I do not know Hughes personally, never having seen him but once, but the conviction here expressed is forced upon me."

That same night Stanton replied at 9:30 P. M., and as may be imagined, said that "Military necessity is paramount to every other consideration * * * and * * * every one who procures a trade permit or pass to go through the line * * * does it impliedly subject to your sanction,"

And at 11:30 P. M. President Lincoln himself took the reins.

"Your two dispatches to the Secretary of War * * * have been laid before me by him," said he to Grant. "As to Singleton and Hughes I think they are not in Richmond by any authority, unless it be from you. I remember nothing from me which could aid them in getting there except a letter to you as follows, to wit:

Executive Mansion,
Washington, February 7, 1865.

Lieutenant-General Grant,
City Point, Va.

General Singleton, who bears you this, claims that he already has arrangements made, if you consent, to bring a large amount of Southern produce through your lines. For its bearing on our finances I would be glad for this to be done, if it can be without injuriously disturbing your military operations or supplying the enemy. I wish you to be judge and master on these points.

Please see and hear him fully, and decide whether anything, and, if anything, what can be done in the premises.

Yours truly,
A. LINCOLN.

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"I believe I gave Hughes a card putting him with Singleton on the same letter. However this may be, I now authorize you to get Singleton and Hughes away from Richmond if you choose and can. I also authorize you by an order, or in what form you choose, to suspend all operations on the Treasury trade permits in all places southeastward of the Alleghenies. * * * "

The following day Grant replied to Stanton, in part as follows:

"My views about the operations of Mr. Singleton and Judge Hughes are merely suspicions, based upon what is said in Richmond of the object of Singleton's visit, and of the trade that is actually carried on. I recognize the importance of getting out Southern products if it can be done without furnishing anything that will aid in support of the rebellion. I told Mr. Singleton that if the proposition was made I would agree that all Southern products should be brought to any of the ports held by us, the Government receiving one-third, and the balance should be stored and protected for the benefit of the owner at the end of the war; that under no circumstances would I approve of supplies of any kind going in payment. * * * Judge Hughes * * * I do not judge * * * to be worse than other men, but all who engage in trade promising such large rewards * * * work themselves up to believe that the small assistance they can give to the rebellion will not be felt. * * * I will also notify General Singleton that no agreement made by him would be regarded as binding upon military authorities without the approval of the President is obtained."

In connection with this project of Singleton, I was interested to note in a recent catalogue of one of the leading New York second-hand book stores, mention of a pamphlet issued in 1870 containing the brief prepared by the attorney for the appellants in a case heard at the June Term of the Alabama Supreme Court. This note of explanation followed:

"A cotton case involving trading between North and South during the civil war. The cotton was owned in Alabama and was sold to an Agent from Illinois. To pass the lines, the latter had the following note signed by Lincoln 'Allow the bearer, James W. Singleton, to pass our lines with any southern products and to go to any of our trading posts there to be subject to the regulations of the Treasury. January 5th, 1865. ' "

Evidently Singleton, in connection with his pacific intent, also had an eye to promoting his own fortunes, for here is direct evidence that previous to the contemplated trip in April, he had made at least two pilgrimages to the south with the idea of pecuniary gain, as evidenced by the passes secured from the President.

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This is one side of the story. In all fairness the other should also be submitted, and in this instance no one is in a better position to do so than Mr. Andrews himself, who, although a strong partizan of Singleton, yet has had access to the literary effects of the General and is also on terms of friendship with both the latter's daughter and secretary, who are still living. What is appended is culled from various of his letters, his statements often being the result of my calling his attention to apparent discrepancies between his and other accounts.

"Frankly," said Mr. Andrews, "I am not capable of arguing, if such be necessary, the matter of the time of Singleton's last interview with Lincoln. I gathered these statements from General Singleton's daughter, Mrs. Osburn, and his secretary who is still living. With regard to our present discussion Mrs. Osburn writes that 'I could not, of course, "swear" to the *fact* of my father's visit to Mr. Lincoln just as he was about to leave for the theatre, but I am almost ready to do so. I have too often heard him tell it, and it has never been challenged by men prominent in the various departments of the government. I too often was sent to my mother who was "custodian" to bring the pass to be shown to "celebrities," and I, just a little child not appreciating the value to future historians of the story, stood and listened until the "treasure" was handed back to me to carry to my mother. I especially remember the visit of General Sherman and his staff to Boscabel (General Singleton's famous home at Quincy, Ill.) and the interest with which they listened to and accepted the belief of my father that it was the *last pass* signed by Mr. Lincoln. * * * I don't feel this last short interview with Mr. Lincoln could be called a conference—that had gone before.

"One more comment in regard to my father's being in company with Governor Yates when he heard the news of the assassination. He met and had dinner (or "supper" as he called it) with him after leaving the White House. "Supper" would indicate more than dinner—in that day when late dinners were not so universal a custom—in regard to the hour of leaving the White House.'

"Secretary Usher," continued Mr. Andrews, "had promised to accompany Singleton to Richmond the following day, according to the Singleton papers, but this intention on the part of Usher was expressed incidentally and accidentally from an incidental or accidental meeting; and, as I gathered it, Secretary Usher came upon Lincoln and Singleton while they were conferring together.

"As I remember the Singleton papers, Singleton met Yates immediately after the interview with Lincoln at the White House and went out to dinner with him; or else he left the White House looking for Yates to go to the proposed dinner, and while looking for him, heard the news of the assassination. I cannot recall the

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matter exactly, but this general idea *may* afford the evidence that would show Singleton had been to the White House on the afternoon or evening.

"It must be remembered that history, as written, has thrown into obscurity a great many things of value. The bitterness of the period prevented a great many things from being announced which Lincoln had in view, and one of these things was the extraordinary secret communications he had with Singleton. To be known to be dealing with a 'rebel' sympathizer, and therefore presumably a traitor (in the eyes of professional patriots in particular and fanatical partisans in general), would have been disastrous to Lincoln's great purpose.

"I consider this a possibility: Lincoln was carrying out, through Singleton, an especially important mission with regard to the restoration of the state of Virginia into the Union according to the Presidential idea. It may be that Singleton had access to the White House in unusual, if not unique fashion, for the purpose of this mission. The Singleton papers show he was a marked or a watched man by the Radicals. The latter regarded him as distinctly dangerous to their plans for the vindictive destruction, rather than the real construction, of the southern states. The story of Singleton's connection with Lincoln could well produce a lost chapter in the history of the war and its immediate consequences, if it would not, indeed, furnish a great deal of material for a reinterpretation of Lincoln's views as to the American principle of State rights, outside, of course, of the alleged right of secession or nullification. Until the story of Singleton is out into the Lincoln record, the Lincoln record I think will be incomplete. So I judge from the papers I have examined.

"Lincoln did not want it known, I believe, that Singleton was going to Richmond, or wanted as little known as possible under the circumstances. I believe his interviews with Lincoln were in the nature of a personal secret service. The evidence is indubitable or incontrovertible that he played an important role as the only person within reach who had the confidence of both sides in the Civil War controversy. Mrs. Osburn writes 'I remember so well the conversations between my father and mother when they talked of Mr. Lincoln. It indicated a closeness and familiarity with Mr. Lincoln that few men have since given evidence of having enjoyed.'

"With reference to the cotton transactions, that is the one thing that I did not quite understand in the Singleton story. It was the only thing that *seemed* to be a reflection of any sort upon Singleton's single-hearted purpose to restore unity, reconciliation and peace, and yet the matter was explained to me by Mrs. Osburn

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as something different from what it looks on the face of it. As I recall it, it was a desire to help both sides to restore commercial relations and there was nothing doubtful about the undertaking, except in so far perhaps that it conflicted with the Grant-Sherman-Sheridan idea that the South should be made a desert and no trade whatever or amelioration of conditions allowed until the war was over. As for the pass having something to do with this business project, I feel pretty certain that this was not the case, although I did find in the Singleton papers reference to the cotton scheme at an earlier date, which I recall was blocked by Grant.

"I have gone over the cotton matter with Mrs. Osburn, and all the evidence I have is contrary to the supposition that Singleton was engaged in anything reprehensibly selfish or was actuated in any way by sinister or questionable motives. If there was any such element it would have been brought out in the Congressional campaigns in which Singleton subsequently participated as a successful candidate for the House of Representatives.

"Here is another point of importance, I think: General Singleton as I understand it, had started negotiations about the cotton before the plans evolved for the trips to Richmond. I don't believe he even brought the subject up in any way with anybody when he went to Virginia as a personal representative of President Lincoln.

"Then this thought would naturally arise: how could he have been trusted on this mission by President Lincoln were he engaged in something doubtful at the time? In other words, if Singleton were engaged in a cotton deal of doubtful propriety, Lincoln was in a sense *particeps criminis*, because he must have known the steps Grant had taken with the possibility of ending cotton trading. The cotton business came up first, I believe, and then the diplomatic mission set in. They are two distant episodes.

"Mrs. Osburn has found in the Singleton papers references to the cotton transactions in connection with Judge Hughes and Senator Voorhees, stating that her father 'was induced by these gentlemen to "go in" with them and buy some cotton from which he hoped to realize something that he might turn back as a personal gift to his suffering people when he could honorably do so.' These are the words of Mrs. Singleton as reported to me by Mrs. Osburn, who also recalls the statement made by the late Senator Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland, to her mother that 'the United States government certainly should have paid General Singleton for cotton burned during the war.' But General Singleton did not enter his claim because he felt certain that his action would be misconstrued.

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"Mrs. Osburn has requested me to undertake the preparation of a volume based upon the papers in her possession and other related data, but I do not know whether this opportunity will come to me or not.

"I think in this matter," concludes Mr. Andrews startlingly, "that you will have to be prepared to be thoroughly open-minded to things that are entirely new—prepared for almost any revelations in this respect."

I have presented the evidence so far available concerning the perplexing Singleton; the reader must form his or her own conclusions. It seems clear to me that at some time on April 14th Singleton must have seen Lincoln, but as to whether it was the morning or afternoon I am undecided; certainly it was not the evening.

For further data, unless some enterprising investigator goes into the matter more deeply, we must await the appearance of both the second volume of the *Browning diary* and the prospective volume from the pen of Mr. Andrews, and I hope that the latter gentleman may see his way clear to undertake the project.

THE AFTERNOON DRIVE

IN the second volume of this series a study of the afternoon drive which President Lincoln took that April day was taken up, and I do not propose to discuss again the data presented at that time.

Shortly after its appearance my friend Dr. L. D. Carman, of Washington, D. C., conceived the idea of investigating the movements of "Lincoln's Body Guard," the Union Light Guard of Ohio, which acted as a cavalry escort to President Lincoln from December 1863 until his death.

He thereupon visited the War Department, but his search there showed "that the record of events of that company for April 1865 was blank, and the company morning reports showed nothing. All that was shown was that this organization was stationed in Washington at that time. Properly kept, the absent record would have contained just what we desired."

At least two members of this independent cavalry company have left their recollections of the service performed in permanent form, but a reference to both discloses nothing relative to the subject. Robert McBride, company clerk, makes no mention of the drive, but states in connection with the tragedy at Ford's Theatre, that "I have frequently been asked, where was Mr. Lincoln's escort on the night of his assassination? Why were they not with him and why did not they protect him? The answer is—because of respect for Mr. Lincoln's wishes."

And Mr. Smith Stimmel, who is still living, devotes his last chapter to "Lincoln's Assassination," but beyond a statement that "the fourteenth day of April was warm, calm and beautiful, an ideal spring day," his account contains nothing pertinent. He does state however, that the members of the company had retired reasonably early that night, "for we were all tired," when they were awakened with the report of the assassination of both Lincoln and Seward. He also makes mention of the fact that he has been asked frequently where the bodyguard was that night, and in reply has stated that "I have to say that President Lincoln flatly refused to have a military guard with him when he went to places of entertainment or to church in the city."

Dr. Carman furnished me with the names and addresses of nine survivors

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of the company, to whom I wrote, replies being received from six. But curiously enough, none of them was able to give me any information.

Dr. George C. Ashmun, of Cleveland Heights, Ohio, states that "I regret to say that I was not in Washington April 14th, 1865, but in my native town, Tallmage, Ohio, on a leave of absence." Ephraim Adamson, of Moweaqua, Ill., says "I cannot give you the information you ask for, as I was in the office of the Quartermaster the day Lincoln was shot." Frank P. Lutz, of Pueblo, Colorado, says he is very sorry that he cannot answer my query; "our escort ended," he said, "November 1864, when the Lincolns moved in from the cottage at the Soldiers' Home, and we were not used in town. The one exception to this was one evening when the escort was sent to guard the President home from an outlying church where he had gone to hear Bishop Simpson. At the time of the assassination I was on duty as a clerk of a General Court-Martial."

Mr. Stimmel himself says that "I do not know anything about that drive. I was a member of Lincoln's mounted bodyguard at that time, but some three or four weeks previous I had been given a detail of six men and assigned to duty at Gen. Hancock's headquarters in the city of Washington. * * * After the President's assassination there was so much excitement and confusion that I do not remember hearing anything about his taking a drive that afternoon."

Oscar A. Spencer, of Circleville, Ohio, writes that "I cannot positively answer your question as to Mr. Lincoln on the 14th of April, 1865, as I was on detail during the entire day, and did not get back to barracks until 6 P. M. The employes at the Navy Yard and Arsenal, and the sailors from the monitors and ships in the harbor, were celebrating the surrender of Lee's army with a parade on the Avenue. Washington was full of people. If the President was out riding I think a detail from the company escorted him about the city and were with him all day."

Our last exhibit is from the sole survivor of the four enlisted colored cooks, William Davis, of Charleston, W. Va. His contribution is interesting but not enlightening nor authentic. Says Mr. Davis: "President Lincoln went to Richmond after it was evacuated and returned to Washington April 10th. I am satisfied he did not leave the White House until the night he was assassinated. Our company never accompanied him on any of his walks about the city; he was a fearless man."

Both the Executive Department of the State of Ohio and the Ohio Historical Society were unable to throw any light on the movements of the Seventh Independent Company of Ohio volunteers at the time of the assassination.

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Balked in my efforts to secure a line on the movements of the President through the cavalry escort, my next thought was to try to get in touch with the survivors of the naval men on board the monitor Montauk at that time, which vessel it will be remembered President Lincoln was alleged to have visited.

The Superintendent of the Navy Yard informed me that at the time referred to there were twelve officers assigned to the Montauk, all of whom were then (1928) either dead or out of the service, as their names did not appear in the current issue of the Navy Directory. And the Bureau of Navigation stated that an examination of the muster roll showed that "all of the enlisted men about whom correspondence has been had are dead except Barney Shanahan and it is not known at this Bureau whether or not he is living." It was further stated that in 1909 the Chaplain of a Grand Army Post in New York State had written concerning Mr. Shanahan, but inquiries directed to this Post by the present writer remained unanswered.

The *Evening Star*, of Washington, D. C., for March 18, 1927, contained an account of an aged woman, then ninety years of age, who claimed to have seen according to a reporter, "on a Good Friday afternoon sixty-two years ago a tall, gaunt man ride down the muddy road which was the Pennsylvania Avenue of 1865." She "stood on her porch at 323 Pennsylvania Avenue, Southeast, and watched his passing, for he was the President of the United States." The article further stated that as she recalled the incident, the President was accompanied by Mrs. Lincoln and Secretary Chase—the latter an obvious error.

About a year later, at my suggestion, Dr. Carman interviewed the lady, and reported that he found her "in good mental and physical condition, and then in her ninety-first year." She informed Dr. Carman that "she would be willing to swear that on the afternoon Lincoln was killed, he passed the house, late in the afternoon, about five o'clock, going west, which would be toward the White House." She stated at this time that Mrs. Lincoln was not in the carriage, but Secretary Chase and his daughter Kate were, and that the carriage was an open one, with no cavalry escort.

Dr. Carman said that Mrs. Coleman was "a lively old lady, who was very polite," but opined that "the witness is not unreliable but her memory is."

Nevertheless, I am rather inclined to believe that the elderly lady may have seen President Lincoln's carriage that afternoon, the fatality happening to its distinguished occupant later in the day fixing the incident firmly in her mind; the passing of the years, however, dimming her recollections of the attending cir-

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cumstances. It goes without saying that "Secretary" Chase and his daughter were not in the carriage; her earlier reminiscence of Mrs. Lincoln would have been correct.

Some time since I had an interesting interview with Colonel Manuel Herrera de Hora, now of New York City, a gentleman seventy-eight years old, but possessed of a clear and remarkable memory.

Colonel De Hora stated that in the seventies he was engaged in promoting certain American projects in South American countries.

While in Buenos Aires he was a member of a social club at which Americans were wont to gather, and learned to know rather intimately the American Consul, Baker, whose wife "Ann Todd Baker," was said to have been Abraham Lincoln's favorite niece.

Among other interesting pieces of information Col. de Hora stated that he had from Mrs. Baker's own lips her recollections of the day of the Lincoln assassination. According to him, Mrs. Baker said that at that time she was visiting the White House, and the members of the household wondered what had become of the Lincoln carriage as its occupants stayed so long on their drive. When the party returned the President was smiling and laughing and Mrs. Lincoln said that it was the best drive they had ever taken together. It was his recollection that Mrs. Baker said the Lincolns had driven across the "river," whatever they may have meant. It was the impression of some present at the interview that by "river" Mrs. Baker may have meant the branch of the Potomac south of the Navy Yard, although others thought that the itinerary probably carried the party across the Anacostia, the east branch of the Potomac, after leaving the Navy Yard.

However, the aged gentleman's memory was at fault, at least in some instances, although there was evidently some foundation for his story.

According to the Department of State at Washington, Edwin L. Baker was appointed Consul at Buenos Aires on January 8, 1874, and served from June 1st of that year until July 8, 1897.

But his wife was Julia Edwards Baker, who was a daughter of Ninian W. Edwards and Elizabeth Todd Edwards, the latter being a sister of Mary Todd Lincoln. Therefore, while Baker's wife was a niece of President Lincoln, her maiden name was not Ann Todd but Julia Edwards. There was an Ann Todd in the family, but she was a sister of Mary Todd and married C. M. Smith, a merchant of Springfield. These facts I have from Miss Osborne, of the Illinois State Historical Society.

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And her testimony is borne out by Mrs. Mary Edwards Brown of Springfield, Ill., whose father was a brother of Julia Edwards Baker. She further adds that her aunt "was at the White House at the time of the first inaugural, and I think later, but she was not there at the time of his death. * * * Mary Wallace, another niece of Mrs. Lincoln, married John Pope Baker, a brother of Edwin L. Baker. She also made a visit to the White House, but was not there at the time of his death."

Possibly Col. de Hora heard the account of the drive from the lips of Edwin L. Baker's wife, Julia Edwards Baker, she in turn having heard her aunt Ann Todd Smith recount it as she had it from her sister, the wife of President Lincoln.

Maunsell B. Field, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, in his *Memories of Many Men*, stated that on the afternoon of April 13th, 1865, "I was driving alone on the Fourteenth Street road in the direction of the Soldiers' Home. Presently I heard a clatter behind me, and, looking out of the carriage window, I saw Mr. Lincoln approaching on horseback, followed by the usual cavalry escort. He soon came up to me, and, while he rode for some time at my side, we conversed together upon different subjects. I noticed that he was in one of those moods when 'melancholy seemed to be dripping from him,' and his eye had that expression of profound weariness and sadness which I never saw in any other human eye. After a while he put spurs to his horse and hurried on, and he and his followers were soon lost to view."

It is my opinion that while the President on horseback was accompanied by his cavalry escort the afternoon of the 13th, the Lincoln carriage twenty-four hours later was unattended. There is no direct evidence to that effect, but neither is there to the contrary. I am of the opinion that when Lincoln told his wife "I prefer to ride by ourselves today," he was referring not only to other possible occupants of the carriage but a bodyguard as well. You will recall his facetious remark about the clanking of their spurs interfering with his thinking.

THE LINCOLN CARRIAGE AND THE LINCOLN COACHMAN

A FEW months ago, while in the benevolent custody of Mr. Herbert Wells Fay, the estimable gentleman in charge of the Lincoln Tomb at Springfield, I observed in the Memorial Hall a photograph with the intriguing endorsement "The coach in which Lincoln took his last ride, and his coachman, Joseph Christian." Parenthetically, it may be remarked that at the present writing, so I am told by Mr. Fay, this wonderful collection of Lincolniana is stored in a barn! This is due to the fact that the Tomb is to be reconstructed and the Memorial Hall eliminated. May we who are interested do what we can to see that this collection is eventually safely and fittingly housed.

Now if this labelling is true, the statements are interesting. But is it? Mr. Fay himself is able to give me nothing definite.

As it is much the easier to dispose of the latter statement we will consider it first.

In 1928 Prof. Rexford Newcomb, of the University of Illinois, compiled a volume which he called *In the Lincoln Country*, which filled a long-felt want, "something entirely new in Lincolniana," as the publishers state. Profusely illustrated, and "following the trail of the Lincoln shrines in Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois and other States," it is an invaluable handbook for the traveler interested in the Lincoln landmarks.

In one of the last chapters Prof. Newcomb states that "Joseph Christian, the coachman who drove the President's party to Ford's Theatre upon that fatal Good Friday of 1865, died recently. The old carriage which he drove upon that occasion is preserved in the collection of historic vehicles owned by the Studebaker Corporation of South Bend, Indiana, through whose courtesy the photograph herewith shown was procured."

Prof. Newcomb and I have had some sizable correspondence over this paragraph. He is as anxious as I to prove the truth or falsity of these statements which he based upon presumably trustworthy information.

"With regard to the coach," he says, "I will say that I have long known that

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the reputed Lincoln coach was in the possession of the Studebakers; in fact, Mr. Clement Studebaker, Sr., was a great admirer of Mr. Lincoln, and participated in a number of movements to make secure the name of Lincoln in the annals of American history. His conversance with the facts surrounding the carriage I had always taken to mean that it was actually the carriage in which our distinguished President rode to Ford's Theatre on that eventful night."

Concerning the coachman story, his account was based upon a press clipping sent him by a correspondent about the time he was preparing his volume. The article reported the death of Christian and apparently it was a well known fact in the community in which he died that he had driven the Lincoln party to Ford's. Prof. Newcomb has a vast amount of Lincoln data stored, but up to the present time has been unable to locate the news item referred to.

However, I have in my files a magazine article pertinent to the subject. It appeared in *McClure's Magazine* for December 1923, was headed *The Lincoln I Knew* by Joseph Christian, in collaboration with Test Dalton and E. Albert Apple, and sub-titled "Lincoln's Valet-Coachman Reveals Unchronicled Episodes of Civil War Days." Mr. Christian was the "Valet-Coachman" and obviously the "collaborators" were Messrs. Dalton and Apple, and a pretty job they made of it. While it has a strong personal appeal, makes interesting reading, and many of the averred glimpses of Lincoln sound Lincolnesque enough to be true, yet a cursory reading by any well-informed reader will readily disclose many unpardonable errors typical of much of our modern hodgepodge writing. What with the improbable situations, the anachronisms, the improper spelling of proper names, etc., I am surprised that it "got by" a magazine of the standing of *McClure's*.

Yet in one important statement, if that be needed in view of the testimony of Coachman Burke at the Surratt trial referred to hereinafter, the literary trio effectively dispose of the statement that the Lincoln coachman the night of the assassination was Joseph Christian. About a month before the President was shot Christian left his service and did not see him again until his body lay in state in the White House; yet even in this connection an impossible story is told of Christian and the assassin Booth having a drink of liquor in a Baltimore hostelry the afternoon of the assassination.

As an example of the glaring inaccuracies infesting the article, the claim was made that shortly before the outbreak of the Civil War Christian had enlisted in the Second U. S. Dragoons under Colonel Robert E. Lee at Fort *Carney*. I asked the War Department for whatever record they may have had as to such an alleged

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enlistment, and the report was made that "Colonel Robert E. Lee, 2nd U. S. Dragoons, is not shown to have been at Fort *Kearney* at any time. It has not been found possible to identify any military record in the Civil War for Joseph Christian either as a Volunteer or Regular Army Soldier."

Turning to the Studebakers and the carriage, I learned that while the management is very willing to help run down the story yet the admission is regretfully made that there is on file no "data nor history of the carriage or coachman" aside from the original bill of sale, showing it to have been purchased from the Lincoln family by a Dr. Brewer of Westfield, N. Y., "an intimate friend of the family"—as to the latter statement we shall soon see—reading as follows:

Washington, D. C., May 11, 1865. Received of Col. E. R. Goodwich, Mil. St., Agt. of N. Y. one thousand (\$1,000.00) dollars in payment of open Barouche, with one set of double harness, the property of the late President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, being purchased by Dr. F. B. Brewer, Westfield, New York.

(Signed) Robert T. Lincoln.

I have been in communication with a son of Dr. Brewer, who says that there is no ground whatever for the statement that his father was an intimate friend of Lincoln, as he "would have certainly have heard it mentioned," which he did not.

"My father, Dr. Brewer, held the position of State Agent in the Hospital Service," says Mr. Francis B. Brewer. "He happened to be in Washington at the time of the President's death, and being desirous of some souvenir of Lincoln, he purchased the barouche of the deceased, which bore his monogram on the doors of both sides. It was made by Brewster of New York, and was a very comfortable vehicle. We did not use it very much, as it was very heavy, and required a heavier span of horses than we had at the time. My father sold it to the Studebakers in trade and cash. I do not know about the President's use of the carriage *at any time.*"

From the photo it is rather difficult to obtain a proper conception of the seating arrangement of the vehicle, but explanations from Mr. Brewer and Prof. Newcomb make it clear that the Lincoln party of four could easily have ridden in the carriage on the drive to the theatre.

There were two seats, facing each other, each of which was wide enough to accommodate three persons. The seat proper was at the rear of the vehicle, and this can readily be seen in the picture.

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The flatlike surface extending across the body of the front of the carriage was the front seat, and as Prof. Newcomb says "the photo would almost seem to indicate that there was no seat here." Mr. Brewer states that this seat "had a cover which was raised when the seat was in use. The cover was the back of the seat when raised, and was upholstered on the under side. When the seat was not in use the cover was usually put down to keep the seat clean."

The perspective of the driver's seat is also deceptive. The seat is much wider than it appears and would hold two persons; according to Miss Clara Laughlin both a coachman and a footman were on the driver's seat when the theatre party left the White House. But is the seat shown on the photograph the one attached when the Lincoln family used it?

"My father did not like the original coachman's seat," says Mr. Brewer, "and so had another one made and put in its place, not quite so high. But the original seat came here with the carriage and was stored in our barn. I think the Studebakers got the original seat with the carriage and I have no doubt that they restored it to its place." As to this latter supposition the Studebakers again reply that they "have no authentic information in regard to the coachman's seat." Prof. Newcomb is of the opinion that the seat now attached is the original.

Mrs. Lincoln has told of the afternoon drive being taken in "the open carriage," and it may have been that the theatre party used the same type of conveyance; the conclusion, therefore, is that this carriage *may* have been the one used for the drive to Ford's. But the allegation that Joseph Christian was the driver may be safely laid aside as a pleasing little fiction.

THE STORY OF THE PRESIDENT AND THE SCULPTRESS

EVERY once in a while a very pretty story goes the rounds of the press and other publications to the effect that the afternoon of the day President Lincoln was assassinated he gave his last sitting to the gifted Wisconsin sculptress, Vinnie Ream, whose statue of our First American stands today in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington—a story which obviously could not have been true. I have several of these scattered notices in my files.

Mrs. Babcock's *Lincoln's Mary and the Babies*, published in 1929, contains the alleged incident, and the latest account is to be found in an entertaining article appearing in the February 1930, issue of the *Woman's World Magazine*. The article is written by Freeman H. Hubbard, of Brooklyn, and headed *The Wisconsin Girl who Sculptured Lincoln*.

According to Mr. Hubbard, Vinnie Ream, through a friendly Congressman, in November 1864 secured Lincoln's consent to give her a half hour's sitting each day in order to gratify her wish to sculpture the nation's President. She was then but sixteen years of age and for the next four or five months, or until the time of his assassination, it was the daily custom for the kindly disposed President to relax and allow the little sculptress to model his features.

"Fate decreed," says Mr. Hubbard, "that the bust was not to be completed during his (Lincoln's) lifetime. The final sitting was on the afternoon of April 14, 1865. Mr. Lincoln chatted with Vinnie as usual, little realizing she was the last person with whom he was to engage in informal conversation this side of the River Jordan!"

Some time after the assassination, when she had overcome her grief for the death of one whom she had loved, Miss Ream completed the bust which was pronounced a remarkable likeness by those who had known the subject.

And so when a Lincoln memorial was authorized by Congress and Vinnie Ream had entered the list of competitors, she was awarded the commission in 1866, being "the first of her sex to receive a commission for sculpture from the United States Government."

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From thence her fame was secure. The products of her hands, famous masterpieces, are scattered all over the country. When she died in 1914, she left behind her an unfinished piece of work, " 'Sequoyah,' a life-sized figure representing the state of Oklahoma, which was completed after her death and placed in Statuary Hall of the Capitol at Washington."

In 1878 Vinnie Ream married Lieut. Richard L. Hoxie, now a retired general of the United States Army. About two and a half years after her death General Hoxie married again, and Mr. Hubbard tells me it was from the second wife of this army officer that he obtained most of his information.

I, too, have found Mrs. Hoxie willing to cooperate, and she has made it clear as to how the story gained currency.

Vinnie Ream Hoxie and the present Mrs. Hoxie were firm friends. It was the former's request that the latter prepare an authentic biography of her, and for this purpose turned over a vast amount of data. However, due to the impaired health of Mrs. Hoxie and the general, the work has been delayed.

"General Hoxie's acquaintance with Vinnie did not begin until after the completion and dedication of the Lincoln statue," writes Mrs. Hoxie, "but he held the opinion that the last sitting was the day of the assassination, and I wrote several articles in response to requests, shortly after my marriage about two and a half years after Vinnie died, giving that version of the subject. However, I felt there might be some doubt regarding it, as I had not had a personal statement from Vinnie which I could recall upon the subject. She died rather suddenly after asking me to write her biography, and before I secured from her all the facts I wished to have.

"Vinnie's sister-in-law, the widow of Vinnie's only brother, Robert L. Ream, was living about the time I wrote the articles, and I had her come to me for a long visit and we carefully went over all the leading events connected with Vinnie's life and art work. Mrs. Ream was living with her husband's family during the Civil War and for several years after so had definite knowledge and a clear memory regarding details. She told me that Vinnie did not go to the White House the day of the assassination, because she considered the bust finished, so far as Mr. Lincoln's sittings were concerned, and did not wish to trouble him more than necessary, and also, that she happened to be having a patron coming to her own studio that afternoon whom it was imperative that she must see. I have never corrected the earlier error because it seemed best to ignore it, and no one has ever called attention to it but yourself."

LINCOLN'S PRE-DINNER CALLERS

AMONG the visitors whom Abraham Lincoln saw that Good Friday were several of his old Illinois friends. Isaac N. Arnold, his tried and true friend from Chicago, was one of the very last. Just as the President was stepping into his carriage, he saw Arnold, and said: "Excuse me now. I am going to the theatre. Come and see me in the morning."

In addition, there were evidently two interviews with prominent Illinoisans, one in the morning and one following the drive, which in various published accounts have become confused. This, I believe, was due to various contemporary accounts.

Shea's *Lincoln Memorial* says that "in the afternoon the President had a long and pleasant interview with Governor Oglesby, Senator Yates, and other leading citizens of his state;" and Morris' *Memorial Record* gives the same verbatim. Frank B. Crosby's biography says that "in the afternoon a long and pleasant conversation was held with eminent citizens from Illinois;" while Dr. Brockett's account tallies with Shea and Morris. Apparently these were all plagiarised from the contemporary newspaper accounts already referred to.

Herndon in his *True Story of a Great Life* goes a step further. In a seven and a half page quoted account of the last day and the assassination (his authority not given) he says that Lincoln "*spent* the afternoon with Governor Oglesby, Senator Yates, and other friends from Illinois." Arnold said that after the conference with Colfax in the morning "followed a happy meeting and exchange of congratulations with a party of Illinois friends." Oldroyd stated that "in the afternoon the President had a pleasant interview with Governor Richard Oglesby and Senator Yates of Illinois, and other prominent persons." While Brand Whitlock, after referring to the drive, said that Lincoln "drove back to the White House in the waning afternoon, and, seeing some old friends from Illinois on the lawn, he called to them. Richard Oglesby was among them, and they went to the President's office, where he read to them some book of humor,—John Phoenix, perhaps,—and laughed and loitered, and was late to dinner."

Fortunately, from trustworthy accounts, it is possible to arrive at the facts concerning the Illinois callers.

FURTHER LIGHT ON LINCOLN'S LAST DAY

In an earlier chapter I have quoted from William Pitt Kellogg to the effect that he in company with Senator Yates called on President Lincoln in the morning, and the evidence as to the afternoon callers is even more authoritative.

Miss Tarbell, from whom Whitlock evidently took his story, says in her biography:

"It was late in the afternoon when he (Lincoln) returned from his drive, and as he left his carriage he saw going across the lawn toward the Treasury a group of friends, among them Richard Oglesby, then Governor of Illinois. 'Come back, boys, come back,' he shouted. The party turned, joined the President on the portico, and went up to his office with him.

" 'How long we remained there I do not remember,' says Governor Oglesby. 'Lincoln got to reading some humorous book; I think it was by John Phoenix. They kept sending for him to come to dinner. He promised each time to go, but would continue reading the book. Finally he got a sort of peremptory order that he must come to dinner at once. It was explained to me by the old man at the door that they were going to have dinner and then go to the theatre.' "

Here is direct evidence of a kind, and more nearly approaches the truth; yet in two statements—as to the "group of friends" and the book Lincoln read from—there are errors.

Luckily there has been preserved though in brief form what actually did occur.

The *Century Magazine* for April 1896, contained a communication from Edwin C. Haynie, containing what purported to be a passage from the diary of General Isham N. Haynie, of Springfield, Illinois, under date of April 14, 1865, in which it was stated that between five and six o'clock that afternoon he and General Oglesby were entertained by the President in his reception room. From a grandson of General Haynie I have secured a photostat of the original entry, which reads as follows:

"We then proceeded to the White House. Mr. Lincoln was not in—but just as we were going away—his carriage with himself, wife and Tad drove up—the President called us back—we went up into his reception room—and had a pleasant humorous hour with him—he read four chapters of Petroleum V. Nasby's book—and continued reading until he was called to dinner at about 6 P. M. and we left him."

This is direct and contemporaneous evidence that Oglesby and Haynie were the only two members of the alleged "group" of Illinois friends who saw him that late afternoon.

PRE-DINNER CALLERS

Mr. Donald P. Haynie, from whom I received the copy of the diary entry, says that his grandfather, General Haynie, and Governor Oglesby had gone to Washington to see and interest the Senators and Representatives of Illinois in a military college which they contemplated founding at Champagne, Illinois, and which in later years became the Illinois University. That part of the entry for April 14th which preceded the one quoted above mentions the two having called on Mrs. Grant, who showed them the gold medal presented her husband by the government, and then on Mr. Stanton. And Mr. Haynie has on file data left by his father which state that in the interview with the President, Lincoln invited his callers "to go to the theatre with him, but as there was a meeting of Illinois congressmen at Willard's Hotel, they had to go to that."

These visitors at the White House were both distinguished citizens of their state.

Mrs. Elizabeth Haynie Tracy, a daughter of the General, has furnished these facts in connection with her father: "Graduate and valedictorian of Louisville University Law School; served in Mexican War; enlisted as Colonel in Civil War at Camp Butler, Ill., 48th Illinois; in '62 was engaged in reconnoissance under General Grant and was at Fort Henry under General Lew Wallace. The 48th was the first regiment to form a line of battle in Tennessee. Commanded brigade at Fort Donelson; promoted to Brigadier-General 1862; engaged in battle also at Shiloh where he was severely wounded; engaged in battle of Corinth. After the war was Adj. Gen. of State. Was at Lincoln's bedside when he died and escorted the body to Chicago and Springfield. Often entertained Lincoln at his colonial brick residence in Springfield; the house still standing—a splendid example of Colonial architecture."

Mrs. Tracy further interestingly writes of her reminiscences: "I was a baby when Lincoln was assassinated, being born not long before that event, but I remember Mrs. Lincoln whom my mother knew—remember her tiny lace parasol which she carried when she drove in her Victoria. My mother and Mr. John Bunn of Springfield, neither now living, have given me many details of parties and balls of those days both before and after Mr. Lincoln was President. As I grew to womanhood I lived in that Lincoln atmosphere peculiar to his home town and still existent."

The daughter of Governor Oglesby, Mrs. Felicite Oglesby Cenci Bolognetti, of Elkhart, Illinois, communicates this information relative to her father:

Like Haynie, Oglesby served in the Mexican War. Made Colonel of the 8th

FURTHER LIGHT ON LINCOLN'S LAST DAY

Illinois Volunteers, at the outbreak of the Civil War, he was rapidly promoted. He commanded a brigade at Fort Henry and Fort Donelson and was so severely wounded at the second battle of Corinth that the physicians announced he could not recover. Promoted to Brigadier-General his wound so interfered with his movements in the field that he was finally forced to leave the active service. Permitted by Stanton to resign in 1864 in order to accept the Republican gubernatorial nomination, in the fall he was elected Governor, serving from 1864 to 1869 and again in 1872. From 1873 to 1879 he served as United States Senator and from 1884 to 1888 was again Governor of the state.

From his induction into office in 1864 he was active in carrying out war measures in support of the government, "and at the close of the war he visited the troops in the field. After a long tour he reached Washington the afternoon of April 14th, 1865, just in time to be there at the consummation of the work of the assassin Booth. He stayed with the President during the night of his death, and accompanied the remains on the long tour made by the funeral cortege on its way to Springfield."

"I remember my father saying," continues Mrs. Bolognetti, "that he made speeches at the stations where the funeral train stopped, weeping as he spoke. * * * My father told us that he had been invited to the President's box that night at the theatre."

In volume XLVI, part III, of the Official Rebellion Records I have come across the following telegram dated Springfield, Ill., April 3, 1865, addressed to Hon. E. M. Stanton:

"A thousand thanks for your dispatch of last night. I start for Washington tomorrow.

R. J. OGLESBY."

HIS LAST LITERARY RELAXATION

Abraham Lincoln's penchant for the humorous productions of certain contemporary writers is well known. The style may not have been elegant, but if the scribe could "put across" his ideas in a manner that appealed to Lincoln, he had gained a disciple who was one hundred per cent.

Secretary Chase has recorded in his diary that the President before presenting his Proclamation of Emancipation at the special Cabinet meeting held September 22, 1862, took up his copy of *Artemus ward: His Book* and read therefrom *The High-Handed Outrage at Utica*, a brief chapter of less than two pages. Dr. Conwell in *Why Lincoln Laughed* refers at some length to President Lincoln and Charles Farrar Browne—who use the pen-name of Artemus Ward—and the relations existing between them. "No visitor at the White House seemed more welcome than Ward during Lincoln's administration," said Conwell, and he further stated that Lincoln thought "the most downright comical thing that had ever been put before the public" was Ward's "Show."

The evening of November 8, 1864, the day of his reelection, President Lincoln spent in the War Department with some chosen friends, and the conservative Welles who was there noted in his diary that "we remained until past one in the morning." Brooks, the correspondent, was also present and refers to the poor telegraph service, a rain storm interfering with the transmission of news over the wires. Hay, too, has left his recollections of this memorable evening, with the "Tycoon," his Chief, telling stories and shoveling out the fried oysters "awkwardly and hospitably" at the midnight supper, and later making an impromptu speech "from the window with rather unusual dignity and effect" to a band which serenaded the party about half-past two in the morning. "Neptune," as Lincoln facetiously called Welles, who had retired about one o'clock, missed this later little by-play.

But neither Welles, Brooks nor Hay made mention of another incident which Dana, Assistant Secretary of War, has recorded.

Dana states that early in the evening there came a lull in the returns and the President called him to his side.

"Dana," he said, "have you ever read any of the writings of Petroleum V. Nasby?"

FURTHER LIGHT ON LINCOLN'S LAST DAY

"No, sir," was the reply. "I have only looked at some of them, and they seemed to be quite funny."

"Well," said Lincoln, "let me read you a specimen."

He then pulled out "a thin yellow-covered pamphlet from his breast pocket," said Dana, "and began to read aloud. Mr. Stanton viewed these proceedings with great impatience, as I could see, but Mr. Lincoln paid no attention to that. He would read a page or a story, pause to consider a new election telegram, and then open the book again and go ahead with a new passage. Finally Mr. Chase came in, and presently somebody else, and then the reading was interrupted. Mr. Stanton went to the door and beckoned me into the next room. I shall never forget the fire of his indignation at what seemed to him to be mere nonsense."

David Ross Locke, the humorist and satirist who wrote under the name of Petroleum V. Nasby, after an editorial and publishing career began his "Nasby" papers in 1861. Immediately they took the popular fancy and a biographical sketch states that "President Lincoln is reported to have said that, next to a dispatch announcing a Union victory, he read a Nasby letter with most pleasure." Locke, like Browne, was a welcome guest at the Executive Mansion and is authority for the statement that the Nasby letters were read by the President regularly. Said Locke: "he kept a pamphlet in his table, and it was his wont to read them on all occasions to his visitors, no matter who they might be, or what their business was." Of course this statement was overdrawn, but there is no doubt that on many occasions this happened. Naturally his auditors were not always edified, for Locke himself said that Lincoln "seriously offended many of the great men of the Republican party in this way."

Carpenter, the artist, narrates that one evening when a gathering of political dignitaries was assembled in his office for the purpose of having the President go over a formidable array of documents, and Lincoln was "literally worn out from an unusual pressure of office-seekers," he found a temporary relaxation in reading one of Nasby's effusions after which he laid the pamphlet aside and attended to the serious business before him.

And Noah Brooks, the correspondent previously referred to, who had the entree to the White House, refers to the productions of Nasby and similar writings as "tickling Lincoln's fancy," and Lincoln's aptitude for recalling some of them verbatim without any particular effort. One summer evening when Brooks accompanied the Lincoln family to their summer quarters at the Soldiers' Home, a party of visitors called, and the condition of the freed negroes in the border states came

LAST LITERARY RELAXATION

up. Standing by the fireplace, Lincoln recited from memory an entire Nasby letter travesting the subject, with great relish.

There are in the Pennsylvania State Library at Harrisburg five productions of Locke, the earliest of which, called *The Nasby Papers*, published in Indianapolis in 1864, is undoubtedly the little pamphlet from which he read the night of his reelection as well as the late afternoon preceeding his assassination. Haynie testifies that in the latter instance four chapters were read.

This is a pamphlet of sixty-four pages, five by eight and one-half inches. For preservation it has been bound, but the original wrappers are still there, the color being between a cream and a light brown.

The cover title is briefer than that on the title-page, the latter reading: THE NASBY PAPERS. LETTERS AND SERMONS CONTAINING THE VIEWS ON THE TOPICS OF THE DAY, OF PETROLEUM V. NASBY, "PASTER UV THE CHURCH UV THE NOO DISPENSASHUN." INDIANAPOLIS, IND.: C. O. PERRINE & CO., PUBLISHERS, 1864.

The DEDIKASHEN reads "To that Sterlin Patryot and unkorruptible chrischen gentleman, FERNANDYWOOD, uv Noo York:

"To that hi-toned man and wool-dyed Dimokrat, FRANKLIN PEERSE, uv Noo Hampshire;

"To that long-suffrin but pashent Dimokrat, JESSE D. BRITE, uv Injeany, whose highest recommendashun is that he wuz eckspelled from a Ablishin Senit, but who wood hev resined hed ther ever bin a presedent fer a Dimokrat resinin; and

"To the grate VALLANDYGUM, uv Ohio, who went to the stake with a kamness onparralleled fer prinssiple,

"These book is respectfully dedikated, by

THE ORTHER.

Parsonage, Church uv the Noo Dispensashun,
Wingert's Corners, O., Aug. 1, 1864."

The Nasby papers consist largely of a series of letters, together with a few speeches. The first paper, following a sort of introduction, is on *Negro Emigration*, dated Washington, "Joon the 1st, '62," and the last is headed *His Letter on Fremont's Nomination*, followed by a *Sonnit Onto a Soljer—Frum a Dimmekratic Stan-pint* on the last page.

FURTHER LIGHT ON LINCOLN'S LAST DAY

The spelling is abominable and usually phonetic, unless the author forgets his role, and hard reading for one accustomed to proper English, but there is an evidence of a native wit and satirical humor which appealed to President Lincoln.

Writing ostensibly as a dyed-in-the-wool Democrat, the author pans the administration, the Abolitionists and the "tyrant Linkin;" "Hoorays" for "Gefferson Davis" and the "draft resisters," and styles himself a "defender uv the rites uv the South."

Under date of November 1st, 1863, he "has an Interview with the President." Addressing the latter at the beginning of the interview he "opened upon him delikitley thus:

"'Linkin, ez a Dimocrat, a free-born Dimocrat, who is prepared to die with neetnis and dispatch, and on short notis, fer the inalienable rite uv free speech—knoin also that you er a goriller, a feendish ape, a thirster after blud, I speak.'"

Nasby's manner of spelling varies at times; usually he and his kind are "Dimokrats," but again they are "Dimocrats," "Dimekrats," or "Dimecrats." At one place he will speak of "Ablishnists;" a variant of the same word is spelled "Abolishnism;" the President is usually referred to as "Linkin," but once he apparently forgot himself and wrote "Lincoln." His pet hobby, Vallandigham, is spelled differently: "Vandaldigum," "Vallandygum," "Valandigum," "Vanlandigum," "Valandigum."

In this pamphlet there are, in addition to the dedication and the closing sonnet, thirty-six articles. They cover a variety of subjects: Vallandigham, the draft, Nasby's own marriage, preaching, fasting, "changing his base," a spiritualistic seance, a dream, Fremont's nomination, etc.

THE FRASIER CHRONICLE OF THE MISSING AUTOGRAPH

RECENTLY I discovered in a Lincoln Scrap Book compiled by Joseph Wallace, Springfield, Ill., in 1901, on file in the Illinois Historical Library of that City, an article taken from a newspaper, name and date unknown, but apparently about the year 1900, a circumstantial account of "the last thing that the President (Lincoln) ever wrote." The item was evidently transcribed from another paper.

According to the story, Mr. Robert L. Fraser, then a prominent insurance man of Charleston, W. Va., in 1865 was an office boy in the National Theatre, at Washington, D. C.

As he recalled the incident, on April 14th of that year it was understood by the management of the theatre that President Lincoln, having informally spoken of an intention to attend, would be present for the performance that evening.

Between five and six o'clock C. D. Hess, one of the managers, sent young Fraser to the White House with a formal invitation and a note of reminder.

When he arrived he looked about for Tad, whom he knew and liked, but could not find him. However, he did see Mr. Lincoln who said that as Mrs. Lincoln had made an engagement at Ford's he could not be present, and gave Fraser a note to that effect to hand to Hess.

Fraser said that after the news of the assassination had gone over the city that night, in the midst of the wild excitement which prevailed he looked through the office scrap-basket and found parts of the torn envelope and note and "a ragged bit with Lincoln's signature on it." As he stood in a crowd he pulled the torn portion containing Lincoln's autograph from his pocket, and while examining it a gentleman who happened to observe him offered \$20.00 for the scrap and became the owner.

"So far as I can find out," added Fraser, "that note was the last thing the President ever wrote. I have read all the literature on the subject of the events of that day that I could lay my hands on, and have found no mention of any later writing by him."

The gentleman who told the story died about three years ago, but his widow, a son and daughter survive.

FURTHER LIGHT ON LINCOLN'S LAST DAY

Through the courtesy of the local Post Office officials at Charleston I have gotten in touch with the remaining members of the family, but for some reason they seem diffident about giving me the information I requested, although the daughter writes that "my mother has father's own account of the last signature of Lincoln, given to him on the night of the tragedy." At one time I thought I was on the verge of securing a copy of this paper, but a prolonged silence has been my only answer to repeated requests for "more light."

We are all familiar with the unreliability of newspaper accounts, and I should much prefer to have heard what the gentleman himself who was interviewed had to say on the subject. The only fact I did learn, which reflects no credit on the correspondent, was that the name of the family is spelled "Frasier."

In view of this we can consider the known facts relevant to the subject in connection with the published account only.

It is a fact that C. D. Hess was one of the managers of the National, or "Grover's" as it was often called, his partner being Leonard Grover, as stated by Frasier, as we must now call him.

Both Grover and the sister-in-law of Hess, M. Helen Palmes Moss, have given in the *Century Magazine* for April 1909, very good accounts of President Lincoln's interest in the theatre and the circumstances in connection with his non-attendance that evening. The former's article has since been reprinted in pamphlet form.

Grover, who was in New York that day, states that "Mr. Lincoln had reserved a box at my theatre for that fatal night, * * * but sometime during the day Mrs. Lincoln learned that Laura Keene was to have a benefit and a last appearance at Ford's and she requested Mr. Lincoln to change his destination."

Hess' sister-in-law testifies that on April 14th "the two principal theatres, the National * * * and Ford's, were vying with each other to secure the greatest patronage for they had always been great rivals. A private box had been specially decorated in each theatre with the hope of having the President and his family occupy it." Booth, who the night before had learned that the National was extending an invitation to the President, called the morning of the 14th "to learn the answer. * * * The messenger boy returned with a note written by Mrs. Lincoln, who usually responded to the President's personal notes. In effect it said: He sends his regrets that the invitation was not sent earlier, as he much preferred the Shakesperian play Wallack and Davenport were giving to the comedy of 'Our American Cousin,' which was being played by Laura Keene at Ford's. Unfortunately he had

CHRONICLE OF THE MISSING AUTOGRAPH

accepted the invitation from Ford's. Another time he would be glad to avail himself of an opportunity to hear them; but his son Tad and his tutor would be glad to accept."

According to other data I have on hand, both the acceptance to the Ford offer and the declination to the National were made the *morning* of the 14th, by *Mrs.* Lincoln, who usually attended to such matters. If Mr. Frasier is quoted correctly in the published account, he is in error both as to the time of day and the writer of the note. And in lieu of any more definite information the matter must rest there.

“LINCOLN’S LAST OFFICIAL ACT”

MY studies of Lincoln are making me somewhat of an iconoclast. The longer and deeper I delve into things Lincolnian, the more confirmed becomes my belief that much of what has gone into the records concerning Abraham Lincoln and which for years has been accepted as indubitable truths, should be examined by present-day writers with microscopic care, in a fair, unbiased and intelligent manner. And by the term iconoclast, I do not wish to place myself in the same category with the contemporary debunking biographical ghouls who pander to the prevailing sensational tastes of a part of our reading public; I am speaking of the honest biographer who delves after the realities, but who does not place an undue emphasis upon the peccadillos of his subject.

Dr. Barton and others have been doing yeoman service in blazing the way for those who follow. Unfortunately, the time has long since past when many ostensible accounts and statements regarded as verities can be investigated. Even so, in the preparation of the present brochure I have come across many indisputable facts tending to completely disprove much that has been said before, and if I were to compile a revised chronicle of the happenings of Lincoln’s last day, while additional events more recently discovered would be included, others, by virtue of their spuriousness or doubtfulness, would be either eliminated or revised.

Success Magazine, for April 1903, contained a circumstantial account of the pardoning of a condemned Confederate soldier on the evening of April 14th, 1865, headed as above. Two years previously, Silas G. Pratt in his volume *Lincoln in Story* had given practically the same account, his preface stating that “no anecdote is given which has not been carefully verified.” And in 1906 Henry Llewellyn Williams’ *Lincolnic*s contained the same narrative. Presumably these accounts were all inspired by Senator John B. Henderson of Missouri, who it was alleged, had secured the order for release, and who did not die until 1913.

According to the story, Allmon and George Vaughan, brothers, were residing in Canton, Mo., at the outbreak of the Civil War. The former entered the Union army and the latter the Confederate.

After the battle of Shiloh, George Vaughan secretly visited his home in Canton, and was captured and sentenced to death as a spy. His Unionist brother appealed

LAST OFFICIAL ACT

to Senator Henderson who brought the matter to the attention of Stanton, but the latter decided after investigation that the verdict should stand. Appealing to Lincoln, Henderson was successful in having both a second and a third trial, but in each instance the findings were the same.

On the afternoon of April 14th, 1865, Henderson called at the White House and said that as the war was practically over a pardon would be in the interest of peace and reconciliation, and to this Lincoln agreed. He told Henderson to see Stanton and tell him Vaughan should be released. But Henderson found Stanton obdurate, and that evening calling at the White House again he found the President dressed for the theatre. Upon hearing of Stanton's action, Lincoln shook his head and seating himself at his desk wrote an order for the unconditional release of Vaughan. Thus, according to the published accounts, it was "the last official act" of President Lincoln.

Senator Henderson's widow is still living in Washington, D. C., and, according to the secretary of a state historical society, "one of the leading society patronesses" of the city. She informs the writer that "I was not acquainted with Mr. Henderson at the time of the Lincoln assassination, but as Mr. Henderson afterward talked to me often of his frequent interviews with Mr. Lincoln and did not mention the time of which you speak, I think the report could not have been true."

On the other hand, the traditions of the Vaughan family agree with the story as published. George Vaughan's descendents are still living in Missouri.

"I have heard my grandmother tell this story a number of times," says the granddaughter of Vaughan, "and it is correct that Senator Henderson was the one who secured the pardon for my grandfather, George E. Vaughan. As she related it, President Lincoln was leaving for the theatre and took off his glove to sign this pardon for Senator Henderson, * * * In our opinion, there is no doubt but what the story told by Senator Henderson is correct."

Fortunately the truth of this incident can be arrived at. The records are to be found in the War Department at Washington. The Adjutant General has furnished me with a report from which the following pertinent excerpts are taken:

"The records of my office show that one George S. E. Vaughan, a citizen, was captured October 17, 1863, by the Federal forces as a Confederate spy and that he was sentenced to confinement for life: (he was not sentenced to be shot). His sentence was mitigated to confinement during the war, and he was released on taking the oath of amnesty April 19, 1865. The records also show that on March 18, 1865, application was made by Senator J. B. Henderson for the release of certain

FURTHER LIGHT ON LINCOLN'S LAST DAY

persons from confinement, among whom George S. E. Vaughan was one, and this application was endorsed as follows:

"Let these men take the oath of Dec. 8, 1863, & be discharged.

March 18, 1865.

A. Lincoln

"No record is found to show that President Lincoln issued a pardon in the case."

In this instance, as in another mentioned in this volume, no pardon was necessary or in order as the prisoner took the oath of amnesty.

*Let of Prisoners
which I recommended
to be released
on oath.*

S. B. Henderson

*Let these men take
the oath of Dec 8, 1863
& be discharged.*

A. Lincoln

Lincoln endorsement, dated March 18, 1865, on petition of Senator Henderson, of Missouri, requesting release of George S. E. Vaughan and twenty-nine others, on taking the Oath of Amnesty. This exercise of executive clemency has been widely and erroneously published as "Lincoln's Last Official Act."—Courtesy of Adjutant General's Office, War Department, Washington, D. C.

LAST OFFICIAL ACT

It is rather disappointing that a heart-story such as this should go into the discard, yet there is no other alternative. Lincoln's endorsement was written almost a month before the assassination, yet we can but conjecture what transpired to postpone the taking of the oath of amnesty until April 19th. Was it possible that something pertinent had arisen in the interim which required an interview with the President April 14th? Granting this possibility, the facts of the case as evidenced by the War Department records clearly disprove both the published accounts and the Vaughan traditions. Senator Henderson, before his death, gave Miss Tarbell an account of his success in securing the release of several classes of prisoners after the adjournment of Congress in March 1865, and the petition concerning the name of Vaughan, was evidently one of these. There are twenty names listed on the application for release tendered by Henderson wherein Vaughan's appears as the last.

A FORGOTTEN IDAHO ENDORSEMENT

AS an example of the transitory nature of the contemporary popularity or prominence of the vast majority of our political leaders, I have lately come across a pertinent document bearing the endorsement of President Lincoln under date of April 14, 1865, in which the names of three public men are involved, all of them now practically forgotten. Then, too, the resultant official action for many years has been regarded in some quarters as another "last official act" of President Lincoln, although I have never seen the account in print. Fortunately, this valuable paper is safely ensconced in the Congressional Library at Washington.

The body of the document is in the form of a letter addressed to President Lincoln, dated April 12, 1865, and signed by "W. H. Wallace." Said Mr. Wallace:

"Sir: I would respectfully recommend Milton Kelley of Idaho for the position of Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Idaho, made vacant by the resignation of Samuel C. Parks."

On the back our beloved Lincoln has written: "If it is definitely concluded to accept Judge Park's resignation, as I understand it is, let the within named appointment be made."

*If it is definitely concluded
to accept Judge Parks' resigna-
tion, as I understand it is, let
the within appointment be made*

A. Lincoln

April 14. 1865

Endorsement of President Lincoln on letter addressed to him by Hon. Wm. H. Wallace concerning appointment of Milton Kelly as Associate Justice of Supreme Court of Idaho Territory, dated April 14, 1865.—Courtesy of Library of Congress.

A FORGOTTEN IDAHO ENDORSEMENT

My courteous ally, Dr. Dennett of the State Department, readily furnished whatever information relative to the careers of Messrs. Parks, Kelley and Wallace the files of the department disclosed.

"It appears from the Department's records," says Dr. Dennett, "that Mr. Samuel C. Parks of Illinois was appointed Associate Justice of the United States for Idaho Territory by President Lincoln March 10, 1863. It further appears that Judge Samuel Parks was appointed Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Wyoming on January 11, 1878.

"Mr. Milton Kelley was given a recess appointment as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Idaho Territory on April 17, 1865. This appointment was confirmed on January 15, 1866. Judge Kelley was reappointed and confirmed to this office on January 24, 1870.

"With reference to Mr. William H. Wallace the records of the Department show that he was given a recess appointment as Governor of Washington Territory on April 9, 1861, the appointment being confirmed on July 16, 1861. On August 7, 1861, Mr. Wallace received another recess appointment as Governor of Washington Territory. On March 10, 1863, he was appointed Governor of Idaho Territory."

The certificate of appointment of Mr. Wallace as Governor of Idaho is in the possession of Mr. Wilber Wallace, of Washington, D. C., a grandson of William H. Wallace, from whom I learned the following salient points in connection with his grandfather's public career:

William Henderson Wallace was born in Troy, Ohio, in 1911. Removing to Indiana he studied law and was admitted to the bar. In 1837 he moved to Iowa and became prominent in the politics of that Territory, serving in the legislature, later being elected Speaker of the House. During the administration of President Taylor he also held a federal office.

In 1853 he settled in Washington Territory, representing his district for several terms in the legislature.

As stated by the State Department, he was appointed Governor in 1861, but shortly thereafter was elected a delegate to the 37th Congress. Before the expiration of his term the Territory of Idaho was formed and he was commissioned the first Governor. But as in the former case, his new constituents wanted him to represent them at Washington, and so he was accordingly elected the first delegate from Idaho Territory to the 38th Congress.

FURTHER LIGHT ON LINCOLN'S LAST DAY

In 1862 he was qualified as attorney to practice before the United States Supreme Court. After the Lincoln assassination he was one of the officials who accompanied the body to Springfield and the silk hat worn by him on this occasion is preserved in an historical museum.

Mr. Wallace was prominent in Masonic circles for forty years. Having originally become affiliated with the fraternity in Iowa, at the time of his death, February 7, 1879, he was Master of the Blue Lodge at Steilacoom, Wash., where he is buried.

It is necessary for our purpose to consider but one of the other characters referred to in the Lincoln document: the gentleman who received the appointment.

It will have been noticed that both in the letter from Mr. Wallace and the communication from the State Department, he is referred to as Milton "Kelley." This latter spelling is in error; his direct descendants bear testimony to this fact.

"My grandfather's name has always been spelled 'Kelly,' " says Miss Florence Bush, a granddaughter. "The records show it as far back as 1788, so that the spelling 'Kelley' would have been erroneous."

And a grandson, Mr. Joseph Perrault, adds: "I cannot explain to you the difference in spelling of grandfather's name. I myself was named after him, my full name being Joseph Kelly Perrault. Years ago, however, I dropped the middle name, but when it was used the second 'e' was not in Kelly."

These two grandchildren, both of whom live in Boise, Idaho, have furnished me with the following data relative to Judge Kelly, who was another prominent political light of the far west during the period of which I write:

Milton Kelly was born in Gates, near Syracuse, New York, in 1818. When a young man he migrated westward, settling first in Ohio and later in Wisconsin. Here he studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1845, following which he engaged in active practice until 1861 when he went to California. The next year he removed to Oregon and shortly thereafter to Idaho. About this time the Territory of Idaho was formed from the then Oregon Territory and Kelly was elected a member of the first Territorial legislature which met in 1863, representing the County of Boise. At this period of its history Lewiston was the capital of the territory.

As evidenced, at the recommendation of Wallace he was in April 1865 appointed Associate Justice of the State Supreme Court, and was assigned to the First Judicial District, residing in Lewiston.

A FORGOTTEN IDAHO ENDORSEMENT

He resigned from this position in 1870 and the following year removed to Boise, where he purchased the *Idaho Statesman*, a semi-weekly paper, of which he was owner, editor and publisher.

For almost twenty years he carried on its publication, but advancing years caused him to sell his interest in 1889 and retire from all activities. The successor company is still publishing the newspaper, which has graduated into the *Idaho Daily Statesman*. Judge Kelly died in 1892.

There is a local tradition in the city of Boise to the effect that Kelly's appointment as Associate Justice was "one of the last—if not the last—official acts of Lincoln's life," according to the Idaho Historical Society. And this belief is concurred in by the descendants of Kelly.

"It is presumed by Judge Kelly's relatives, and we have been so told, that this was the last official act of President Lincoln prior to his going to the Ford Theatre," says Mr. Perrault.

This opinion is also voiced by Miss Bush, whose mother made a rather extensive historical study of the Kelly family. She states that "my mother told me that it was the last official act of Lincoln and that she had this information from her father, Judge Kelly."

Whether his "last official act" or not, President Lincoln on April 14th certainly set the wheels in motion for the appointment, but in whose presence we cannot know for a certainty. Judge Kelly was in Idaho City at the time, and Wilber Wallace, searching through his grandfather's papers, has failed to find any record of him being in conference with the President on the day in question. He adds, however, the significant and oft found statement, that "my grandmother told me that she and grandfather *were invited to that sad theatre party*, but failed to go as they had taken a long trip that day, and on returning were so tired out that they decided not to go." My own opinion is that Mr. Wallace himself was the individual who importuned President Lincoln either the forenoon or afternoon of the day of the assassination.

LINCOLN'S LAST WRITING

IT seems to have been customary to designate every known piece of writing done by Abraham Lincoln dated April 14th, and even April 13th, 1865—to say nothing of the Henderson endorsement of March 18th—as the “last” writing done by the Martyr President. Many loose statements bearing an air of probability have been made in this connection, and undoubtedly in good faith, but likewise with no knowledge of the various factors entering into the presupposition. When subjected to the acid test, necessarily all but one must be relegated into the limbo of the discredited Lincoln tales. I hope to establish here, for all time, the *actual last writing* which our illustrious subject penned.

The Singleton pass has been variously termed “the last writing Lincoln did,” “the last document issued by him,” and “the last pass he ever wrote;” the McCulloch note has been described as the “last formal writing addressed to a member of his Cabinet;” while the note to Attorney General Speed, likewise dated the 13th, is “believed to have been the last official letter ever penned by him.” In addition, the Kellogg appointment to the Collectorship of the New Orleans Port, described as “the last commission ever signed by Lincoln,” and the Saunders appointment to the Governorship of Nebraska Territory, the signing of which was “probably the last official act of President Lincoln’s life,” were both issued and dated the 13th; yet it is but just to say that in both instances the President may have affixed his signature the following day.

The endorsement on the Herron petition is “presumed the last act of clemency by the great and good man;” the Rollins note is stated in some quarters to have been “Lincoln’s last signature;” the paper now in the possession of Mr. Hertz is believed “the last paper signed by Abraham Lincoln before his assassination;” and the pass in the Oldroyd collection is said to have been “the last writing done by President Lincoln with pen and ink.” Of the two signatures which are not in evidence, the note to Senator Stewart was dubbed “the last words Abraham Lincoln ever wrote;” while the Frasier note is claimed to have been “the last thing the President wrote.” The note of admittance given to Ashmun bears the title of “the last writing of Abraham Lincoln.”

With all these conflicting claims for the “last” this, that or the other writing, it would seem high time that some definite conclusion should be reached. And

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while it will be observed that all of these documents are not claimed to have been the last "writing" of Lincoln, yet there are enough which have been to make it confusing, and the inference in the other cases has usually been that such was also the fact with relation to them. Several of these Lincoln papers have been already considered, and the reader has drawn his own conclusions. The remainder will be discussed here.

One of my scrap-books contains an article clipped from the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, during the year 1903 I believe, headed *Lincoln's Last Autograph*, a reprint from an Ohio paper, detailing an interview with Senator William M. Stewart, of Nevada. It opens thus:

"In the ceremonies held in various cities in celebration of Lincoln's birthday last week, says the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, it developed that no less than three autograph letters are preserved, each alleged to contain Lincoln's last signature. All of the letters are dated on the fateful 14th of April, when John Wilkes Booth fired the shot which caused Columbia to mourn her first martyr President.

"All of these letters are, of course, very valuable mementoes, but, upon the authority of no less a person than Senator William M. Stewart, of Nevada, it may be asserted that none of them represents the last autograph of Lincoln. Senator Stewart has made no controversial assertion about the matter, but a number of politicians and newspaper men who heard the Senator from Nevada tell a story in a Washington restaurant several years ago will be very ready to agree that Lincoln's last autograph was unquestionably destroyed."

The article then goes on to give an account of the occasion which brought forth the autograph, which differs in some details from that appearing in the series *A Senator of the Sixties—Personal Recollections of William M. Stewart, of Nevada*, edited by George Rothwell Brown, published in the *Saturday Evening Post* in 1908, and afterward issued in book form. The phraseology of the note, too, varies in the two accounts, but the thought is substantially the same.

According to the story, Stewart accompanied by a friend called at the White House that evening, and presenting their cards to an usher, in a few minutes received a penciled card from the President.

Stewart said that at the time he did not consider the note of importance and immediately discarded it. As they left they noticed Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln preparing to enter the carriage, and had a few moments' conversation with the President.

Following is the note as recorded in the *Public Ledger*, recalled by a reporter several years after the relation of the incident:

FURTHER LIGHT ON LINCOLN'S LAST DAY

"My Dear Stewart: We are just leaving for the theatre and I may not delay our departure to have the pleasure of meeting your friend. I shall be most pleased to see you both in the White House tomorrow morning. Yours,

Abraham Lincoln."

The later account, evidently written with more care and thought, gives the note as follows:

"I am engaged to go to the theatre with Mrs. Lincoln. It is the kind of an engagement I never break. Come with your friend to-morrow at ten, and I shall be glad to see you.

A. Lincoln."

I have often speculated as to just what those three autograph "letters" were which were referred to by the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, and have come to the conclusion that they probably included:

First, a note penned to Secretary Stanton endorsing a petition presented by Congressman Edward H. Rollins, of New Hampshire;

Secondly, a memorandum signed by the President at the request of two unnamed gentlemen who wanted to go to Richmond;

And thirdly, a note given Hon. George Ashmun, of Massachusetts, permitting him and a friend to be admitted at nine o'clock the following morning.

All of these autographs are still carefully preserved today and through the courtesy of the present holders are reproduced in facsimile in this volume.

The first is in the possession of a grandson of Hon. E. H. Rollins, who afterwards became United States Senator, Mr. Sherwood Rollins, of Boston, Mass.; the second is to be found in the old Oldroyd Lincoln Collection in Washington, D. C.; while the third is exhibited in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress.

In a volume by James O. Lyford entitled *Life of Edward H. Rollins: A Political Biography*, published by Dana Estes and Company of Boston in 1906, appears this story:

"It is interesting to note that the last official signature of Abraham Lincoln is in the possession of the Rollins family. About five o'clock on the afternoon of April 14, 1865, Rollins called upon the President to secure his endorsement on a petition from New Hampshire addressed to the Secretary of War. Lincoln had

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finished his day's business and left his office in the White House, going upstairs. On receiving Rollins' card, he returned to meet him. Lincoln took the petition on his knee and wrote his endorsement, dated it, and signed his name. As Rollins took his departure, Lincoln gave orders to the doorkeeper to admit no one to the White House. As Lincoln's assassination followed that evening, Rollins did not present the petition, but kept it as a memento of the martyred President, forwarding the request of his New Hampshire constituents in another way. A few years later this petition was shown to Schuyler Colfax by Senator Rollins' son, Edward W. Rollins, and the time and circumstances connected with the President's signature related. Colfax said that it was undoubtedly Lincoln's last signature, as he dined (?) with the President that night and after dinner escorted him to the carriage which was to take him to the theatre. Colfax said that while he was at the White House in the evening Lincoln performed no official act."

A communication from the present owner of the autograph gives practically the same account, as it had been handed down to him.

The endorsement of President Lincoln appears on a communication issued from the Executive Department, State of New Hampshire, and dated Concord, March 29, 1865.

It is addressed to the two Senators and three Representatives in Congress from New Hampshire, and reads as follows:

"Gentlemen: We desire to submit to you the enclosed communication which has just been laid before us by the State Treasurer. We can vouch for the accuracy of the statements which it contains in regard to the impoverished condition of the state treasury and the utter impossibility of meeting the current wants of our state by resort to a popular loan or the sale of our state bonds. We feel that we ought, in this emergency, to receive from the General Government an instalment at least on the amount due our state. No state has responded more promptly and enthusiastically than New Hampshire to all the demands of the authorities at Washington. It is mainly because our people are absorbing with such alacrity the seven-thirty bonds that we are reduced to such financial straights. We ask from the General Government only such sums as are absolutely and indispensably necessary; and have every confidence that the representations which we make (if endorsed by you and energetically pressed) will procure us the money which we need."

This communication was signed by J. A. Gilmore, Governor, and four members of the Executive Council.

On the back of this petition Lincoln wrote:

FURTHER LIGHT ON LINCOLN'S LAST DAY

"Hon. Secretary of War, please see and hear Hon. Mr. Rollins, & oblige him if you consistently can.

April 14, 1865.

A. Lincoln."

*Hon. Secretary of War, please
see and hear Hon. Mr.
Rollins, & oblige him if
you consistently can,
A. Lincoln*

April 14, 1865.

Note from President Lincoln addressed to Secretary Stanton, dated April 14, 1865. Another claimant for "last writing"—a natural error. Issued late in afternoon of assassination.—Courtesy of Mr. Sherwood Rollins, a grandson of Congressman Rollins.

The second autograph is framed, together with a lock of President Lincoln's hair, and now hangs in the old house in which Lincoln died, bearing the following notation: "This is the last writing done by President Lincoln with pen and ink. It was written in answer to an application for a pass to Richmond a few moments previous to leaving the Executive Mansion for Ford's Theatre on the night of the assassination, 14th of April, 1865."

The note is as follows:

"No pass is necessary now to authorize anyone to go to & return from Petersburg & Richmond. People go & return just as they did before the war.

A. Lincoln."

From Captain Osborn H. Oldroyd, former owner of the Oldroyd Lincoln Collection located at 516 Tenth Street, N. W., opposite the old Ford's Theatre, now owned by the government, and Mr. Lewis G. Reynolds, the present Custodian, I have gathered the known facts in connection with this writing, and they are largely conjectural.

LINCOLN'S LAST WRITING

No pass is necessary now to an-
though my own to go to & return
from Petersburg & Richmond -
People go & return just as they
did before the war.



Someone

Lock of President Lincoln's Hair

Another alleged "last writing" of President Lincoln, issued in lieu of a pass to Petersburg and Richmond. Undated, but in all probability written day of the assassination.—Courtesy of Col. U. S. Grant, 3d, Director Public Buildings, and Mr. Lewis G. Reynolds, Director Lincoln (Oldroyd) Collection, Washington, D. C.

The note bears no date. "There really was no reason for dating it," says Mr. Reynolds. "It was not a pass, but an excuse or reason for not giving one. None was necessary."

It is supposed to have been written about 8:15 P. M., "just as the President and Mrs. Lincoln were about to leave for the theatre." Two Southerners, names unknown, applied to President Lincoln for a pass to Richmond and Petersburg. As he now deemed this unnecessary, he wrote the note in lieu of one, and handed it to the men. Oldroyd refers to the President as being in consultation with Ashmun at the time, and Mrs. Lincoln waiting out in the carriage for her husband, having twice sent a messenger for him to join her. But other trustworthy accounts state that Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln, Speaker Colfax and Mr. Ashmun left the White House together.

Mr. Reynolds advances the theory that as the note "is not in Lincoln's even handwriting, he probably held the card in his hand, or placed it on the top of his hat, as he often did, and that accounts for the uneven writing," which surmise may be correct.

After Lincoln's death, so the story goes, one of the gentlemen on showing the card at the White House obtained the lock of hair now attached to the card. Some years later, when Oldroyd first began his collecting of Lincolniana, he was approach-

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ed by a party who had secured the card and lock of hair, and purchased them for \$35.00. He was unsuccessful in trying to secure the names of the two Southerners. The individual from whom he bought the item "did not get their names." "I asked the man to hunt up the two men but he could not find them," says Oldroyd.

Despite all this ambiguity, and although no date is given, I am satisfied that the writing was done on April 14th. The preceding day President Lincoln had given Singleton a pass to Richmond, evidently thinking it advisable then, although this may have been largely on account of the mission, whatever it was, that Singleton was engaged in. But on April 14th, with his heart full of kindness and his cup of joy filled to overflowing, he thought that "no pass is necessary now."

Mr. Francis Wilson, in his recent *John Wilkes Booth*, states that this writing disputes with the Ashmun card the honor of being the last autograph of Abraham Lincoln.

At this point, and before considering the Ashmun note, mention should be made of the Saunders' appointment, concerning which strong claims have been made, and quite naturally so. Indeed it may have been one of the three signatures of Abraham Lincoln to which the *Enquirer* reporter referred.

In Col. A. K. McClure's *Abe Lincoln's Yarns and Stories* appears this anecdote headed *Lincoln's Last Official Act*:

"Probably the last official act of President Lincoln's life was the signing of the commission reappointing Alvin Saunders Governor of Nebraska.

" 'I saw Mr. Lincoln regarding the matter,' said Governor Saunders, 'and he told me to go home; that he would attend to it all right. I left Washington on the morning of the 14th, and while en route the news of the assassination on the evening of the same day reached me. I immediately wired back to find out what had become of my commission, and was told that the room had not been opened. When it was opened, the document was found lying on the desk.

" 'Mr. Lincoln signed it just before leaving for the theatre that fatal evening, and left it lying there unfolded.

" 'A note was found below the document as follows: "Rather a lengthy commission, bestowing upon Mr. Alvin Saunders the official authority of Governor of the territory of Nebraska." Then came Lincoln's signature, which, with one exception, that of a penciled message on the back of a card sent up by a friend as Mr. Lincoln was dressing for the theatre, was the very last signature of the martyred President.' "

LINCOLN'S LAST WRITING

Abraham Lincoln

President of the United States of America

To all who shall see these Presents, Greeting

Know Ye: That reposing special trust and confidence in the Integrity and Ability
of Alvin Saunders, of Iowa, I

do appoint him to be Governor of the Territory of Nebraska;
and do authorize and empower him to execute and fulfil the duties of that Office according to Law,
and to have, and to hold the said Office, with all the powers, privileges and emoluments thereunto of right
appertaining, unto him, the said Alvin Saunders, during the pleasure of the President of the United States,
for the time being, and until the end of the next session of the Senate of the United States, and no longer.



In Testimony whereof, I have caused these Letters to be made paste
and the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed.

Given under my hand, at the City of Washington, the Thirteenth
day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred
and Sixty-five, and of the Independence of the United States of
America, the Eighty-ninth.

Abraham Lincoln

By the President

William H. Sewar

Secretary of State

The Signature of President Lincoln attached to this Commission, was
evidently the last official Signature made by him - He signed it just before
leaving for the Theatre, where he was assassinated, and left the Commission
on his desk without signing to hold it, and where it was found
when the room was opened after his death - These facts were communi-
cated to me by one of the clerks

Alvin Saunders

Commission of Alvin Saunders as Territorial Governor of Nebraska, dated April 13,
1865, but alleged to have been signed by President Lincoln April 14th, and his "last official
signature." The probabilities are that it was signed the day of the assassination.—Courtesy
of Mrs. Russel Harrison, daughter of Governor Saunders.

FURTHER LIGHT ON LINCOLN'S LAST DAY

Alvin Saunders served the state of Nebraska well, both as Territorial Governor from 1861 to 1867, and as United States Senator from 1877 to 1883. His widow has but recently died, and a daughter survives him, Mrs. Russel Harrison, of Omaha.

Mrs. Harrison states that "my father was a personal friend of Mr. Lincoln, as was also my uncle Presley Saunders, who enlisted with Mr. Lincoln in the Black Hawk War. Father was delegate to the convention that nominated Mr. Lincoln and was appointed Governor of the Territory of Nebraska in 1861, and reappointed four years later. He was in Washington and with the President the day of his assassination, leaving him shortly before he attended the theatre to take a train west. Mr. Lincoln told my father he did not care to go to the theatre that evening, but that Secretary Stanton (?) was unable to attend and that the audience would be disappointed if he did not go. Father heard of the assassination while enroute home. When the President's desk was opened the next day father's commission was found in it just as he had left it after signing."

It will be noted by referring to the facsimile of the commission that Governor Saunders made this affirmation:

"The signature of President Lincoln attached to this commission, was evidently the last official signature made by him—He signed it just before leaving for the theatre, where he was assassinated, and left the commission on his desk without stopping to fold it, and where it was found when the room was opened after his death—These facts were communicated to me by one of the clerks. Alvin Saunders."

By one of the "clerks," Saunders was evidently referring to one of Lincoln's secretaries. The alleged note mentioned by McClure is not in evidence.

It will also be observed that the body of the document has been filled out by another hand, probably an attache at the Department of State. It is also countersigned by William H. Seward, as Secretary of State. In addition it is dated the thirteenth of April.

The Signature of Seward is without doubt his own, Dr. Tyler Dennett, of the State Department, corroborating my own belief in this respect. When he affixed his signature, we know not. He was, and had been incapacitated for over a week, and was not to be in any condition for signing documents for some time to come.

"This signature of William H. Seward," says Dr. Dennett, "has been compared with originals on file in the Department of State and has been found to

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agree with those of Secretary Seward. It is customary for this Department to date its appointments on the day they are filled out and then send them to the President for his signature. Thus it often happens that the President's signature is affixed a day or two later.

"Alvin Saunders was appointed Territorial Governor of Nebraska on March 27, 1861. On April 13, 1865, he was appointed by the President for a second term. The wording of this appointment was 'during the pleasure of the President of the United States, for the time being, and until the next session of the Senate of the United States and no longer.' This wording is customary for appointments made when Congress is not in session. On January 9, 1866, the Senate confirmed Mr. Saunder's second appointment."

As in the case of the Kellogg commission, I have no doubt that Lincoln signed the document the 14th of April, either in the afternoon or evening. It may have been the latter.

The third piece of writing referred to in my proposition is now in the possession of the Library of Congress, having been presented by the grandchildren of George Ashmun.

It is in the form of a card, and this, together with a small photo of President Lincoln and a note signed by Mr. Ashmun, is framed and bears the label "the last writing of Abraham Lincoln."

The note penned by Lincoln, and familiar to many students, reads:

"Allow Mr. Ashmun & friend to come in at 9 A. M., tomorrow—

April 14, 1865.

A. Lincoln"

Ashmun's endorsement is as follows:

"The above is the last autograph of President Lincoln. It was written & given to me at half past 8 P. M. April 14, 1865, just as he & Mrs. Lincoln were starting for the theatre where he was assassinated.

May 1, 1865.

Geo. Ashmun"

This undoubtedly was the last writing of Abraham Lincoln. Ashmun, who was with President Lincoln from approximately 7:30 P. M. that evening until the departure for the theatre, was certainly in a position to know, and he makes an unqualified assertion to that effect, dated shortly after the event.

At the time of the assassination the story received a wide circulation in many

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of the newspapers, it being stated that the note was written on the President's knee after entering the carriage. Mr. George Ashmun Morton, of New Haven, Conn., a grandson of Mr. Ashmun, says that it was written on Lincoln's knee "just as he was getting into the carriage." The difference is of little note. Mr. Morton also states that Ashmun was prevented from joining the Lincoln party by important governmental work.

The Tarbell biography and Francis Wilson's *Booth* contain facsimiles of this note. It would have been more in the line of accuracy if others had carefully examined the original.

The Gettysburg edition of the Nicolay and Hay *Complete Works* published by the Tandy Co. in 1905, gives the note thus:

"Allow Mr. Ashmun and his friends to come in at 9 A. M. to-morrow."

The National edition of *Lincoln's Writings* edited by Arthur Brooks Lapsley, published by Putnam's the same year, quotes it as reading:

"Allow Mr. Ashmer and friend to come in at 9 A. M. to-morrow."

The former was evidently included on hearsay evidence; the latter presumably was taken from the note itself, but without verifying the name of the individual.

Holland stated in his biography in 1866 that the friend to be admitted was Judge C. P. Daly of New York. Charles Patrick Daly was at one time Chief Justice of the State and the *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* says that during the war he was in frequent consultation with President Lincoln and members of his Cabinet.

“AND THEY ALL WITH ONE CONSENT BEGAN TO MAKE EXCUSE”

I HAVE been reminded of this passage of Scripture many times in going over the reminiscences of those who were privileged to have had intercourse with President Lincoln that last day of his life. For in many instances, those acquaintances or friends who had any kind of a chat, have recorded that the Chief Executive importuned him or them to accompany himself and Mrs. Lincoln to the theatre that evening, and one cannot help but reflect that if all those who made claim to having been asked had accepted the invitation, what a galaxy of the great and near great would have been there. It would have been necessary to commandeer all of the boxes in the house, and surely the advertisement-seeking Mr. Ford would have been satisfied. But what must have been the mingled feelings of the kind-hearted Lincoln as he heard the familiar rejoinder, “I pray thee have me excused,” to each and every open-hearted plea which he made alike to son, Army Officer, Cabinet official, statesman and near statesman, as they saw him on various errands that last Good Friday.

I am not censuring his callers; I am casting no reflections upon their veracity; but I have often wondered whether Lincoln, a social being if ever there was one, stopped for one brief moment in that crowded day to speculate or philosophize upon his lack of success in getting a single congenial soul to accompany him to the play-house. And by this statement I mean to cast no reflection on his life-companion, who only now in some measure is coming into her own by our later writers, and with whom he spent alone those brief, happy hours that afternoon; nor on the two young people who were members of that theatre party at the request of Mrs. Lincoln herself.

Robert Lincoln, just home from the front, asked to be excused as he had not slept in a bed for two weeks; General Grant declined on the grounds both of a pre-arranged visit to their children in Burlington, N. J., and a disinclination to face a demonstration in his honor; Eckert, the Telegraph Chief in the War Department, had important work to do for Secretary Stanton that evening; Postmaster General Dennison refused on religious grounds; Oglesby and Haynie had an engagement with Stanton; Howard, of Michigan, had made arrangements to leave for Detroit

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on the evening train; the Wallaces were too fatigued as the result of a "long trip" that day; Colfax pleaded other arrangements in view of his leaving for the Pacific Coast the next morning; while Ashmun had other important business to attend to. Brooks, the correspondent, who was to have succeeded Nicolay as secretary, called after dinner and was told by the President that he "had had a notion" of sending for him, but that Mrs. Lincoln had already made up the party after the Grants had declined.

A LEAF FROM THE BROWNING DIARY

IN 1925 the Illinois State Historical Society published the first volume of a series of two containing *The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning*, under the editorship of Professors Theodore Calvin Pease and James G. Randall, of the University of Illinois, and covering the years 1850 to 1864, inclusive. The second volume is now in preparation. This diary has been hailed by Lincoln students, and rightly so, as a new source of Lincoln knowledge. Dr. Barton, in his biography published the same year, was allowed access to the diary and has referred to it as "a remarkable document and a new and intimate source of knowledge of Lincoln."

On March 29, 1923, Professor Pease delivered a lecture before the Chicago Historical Society on *The Diary of Orville H. Browning*. In his prefatory remarks he stated that it covers a period of thirty-one years, from 1850 to 1881, although the years 1851, 1878 and 1879 are missing. Contained in twenty-five small note books, the typed transcript requires 1400 legal cap pages.

In his lecture Professor Pease quotes from that part of the entry for April 14th, 1865, wherein Browning gives his observations of the effect that the passing of his old friend would have upon the country.

Through the courtesy of Professor Pease and the Illinois Historical Society, the owner of the manuscript, I have been furnished with a verbatim copy of the entry for that day, and appended herewith will be found that portion which is relevant to our subject.

It should be noted that on this day Browning was "at Treasury Depart: about Singletons business;" that at 3 P. M. he, together with Senator Stewart, called at the Executive Mansion, to find the President "done receiving for the day;" that at 7 P. M. they both went back, Stewart presumably leaving on learning of the President's intention to go to the theatre and Browning waiting "in his room" till eight o'clock without seeing him. I judge this room to have been the President's office on the second floor, facing south, and the second room from the south-east corner of the Mansion. Browning states that Lincoln "was not up at his room after dinner." However, the Lincoln suite was on the same floor to the west, and the same side of the hall, where it must be presumed Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln prepared for the theatre. Pendel, the doorkeeper, states in his *Thirty-Six Years in the White*

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House published thirty-seven years later, that "just previous to the time when the President and Mrs. Lincoln were going to the theatre, George Ashmun, of Massachusetts, called on Mrs. Lincoln, and I showed him into the Red Room, took his card upstairs, and soon the President and Mrs. Lincoln, with Mr. Colfax, then Speaker of the House, came downstairs and went into the Red Parlor, where Mr. Ashmun was waiting."

Colfax, in his article written twenty-seven years after the incident, says that at the morning interview the President had requested him to call at half past seven that evening, and that a "few minutes before the time he had himself suggested, Mr. Lincoln and his wife walked into the parlor. * * * Mr. Ashmun * * * had stepped in to see him on business * * * ,and Mr. Lincoln greeted both of us with more than his usual cordiality."

Miss Laughlin in one of her studies says that after dinner Colfax and Ashmun "had a brief talk with the President in the library upstairs;" in another she states that "these gentlemen were shown into one of the parlors and talked briefly with the President."

But whether the President received his visitors above or below, Browning seems to have been oblivious to what was going on about him, and with this thought I am reminded of what Prof. Pease has said of the assassination of Lincoln: that Browning records it "in detail without seeming to understand that one of the great men of all time had passed from his touch." Certainly in some things the talented Browning seemed rather slow of comprehension!

Senator Stewart has stated how he sent his card to the President and received a note in return; Robert Lincoln, then just returned from the front, told Miss Laughlin that his father stopped at the door of his bedroom which was over the entrance, and therefore across the hall from the President's office, although two or three rooms farther to the west; and whether Colfax was received on the second floor as indicated by Pendel, or whether both the callers were received on that floor or the one below, Browning should have noticed the stir incident to the happenings.

The reader should also note Browning's statement that Marshal Lamon had within the last two months informed him several times of the possibility of assassination and the reference to "Bealle," which must have been John Y. Beall concerning whom much has been written by certain writers, particularly those of a strong anti-Lincoln slant.

Following is the entry:

A LEAF FROM THE BROWNING DIARY

"Friday, April 14, at War Department and got passes for some refugee Germans to return to their families in Richmond. At Treasury Depart: about Singletons business.

At 3 P. M. went with Senator Stewart of Nevada to see the President, but he was done receiving for the day, and we did not send in our cards. At 7 P. M. we went back to the Presidents. I went into his room and sat there till 8 o'clock waiting for him, but he did not come. He was going to the theatre and was not up at his room after dinner.

After 11 at night, and after Mrs. Browning and myself had retired, but were not yet asleep, the bell rang—I went to the front window and looked out, and found Judge Watts there who made the astounding announcement that the President, Secretary Seward and Mr. F. W. Seward had just been assassinated—the former at Ford's Theatre—the two latter at their residence—the Secretary being in bed from the effects of recent injuries sustained by being thrown from his carriage. We were overwhelmed with horror at this shocking event.

I had been to the (*sic*) both the Presidents and Mr. Swards since night, only a few hours before, and it was hard to realize that such fearful tragedies had been realized. The Marshal W. H. Lamon has several times within the last two months told me that he believed the President would be assassinated, but I had no fear whatever that such an event would occur. * * * I am at a loss as to the class of persons who instigated the crime—whether it was the rebel leaders * * * or the friends and accomplices of Bealle (*sic*) who was recently hung at New York. I am inclined to the latter opinion."

THE FEAST WHICH WAS NOT

A NEW and unusual tale of what was to have been the finale of that fatal April 14th appeared in a Washington paper on Lincoln's anniversary of last year, from the pen of George M. Battey Jr.

"A midnight feast," said Mr. Battey in his opening remarks, "celebrating the fall of Richmond, the surrender of Gen. Robert E. Lee and the end of the Civil War was to have been held at the White House the night of Good Friday, April 14th, 1865.

"The Mansion had been appropriately set in order for the joyous occasion, tempting viands were steaming on the great stove in the basement, and the hired help, allowed to repair to their homes for a few hours, had been ordered to report back about eleven o'clock to serve and attend the guests.

"This prandial affair was supposed to assemble congenial and diplomatic spirits who might exercise a helpful influence upon the sensitive relations existing between the North and the South, and thus aid in realizing the dream of President Lincoln of a reunited country.

"The places at the table were never filled; the stove wood was reduced to ashes, and the stew congealed in the kettle as White House attaches forsook their allotted employments on hearing that Mr. Lincoln had been mortally shot.

"Instead of gathering at the appointed hour at the White House, the prospective guests went their several ways to guard their own households, to join in the pursuit of the assassins or to augment that melancholy circle around Mr. Lincoln's bed at the Peterson home.

"So far as the writer is aware, the circumstances of a planned supper at the White House on this memorial day is unwritten history. That such an event, told to as many as six people, should have escaped the notice of biographers or been obscured so long in any manner is almost beyond belief. Yet we know that certain officials were uncommonly reticent concerning that last day, not only as to their own whereabouts but as to any event connected with it; and, on the other hand, a witness appears whose story in other particulars so neatly dovetails with fact that it appears impossible to doubt his tale. In an hour of close questioning this man relates so much that was common knowledge of the period that his con-

THE FEAST WHICH WAS NOT

tribution recommends itself to the category of stray fragments which have bobbed up after some time to make the mosaic of Lincoln what it is today.

"Assuming it to be a fact that a party was scheduled for the White House after the presentation of 'Our American Cousin' at Ford's, it may be thought of as an occasion bringing together Cabinet ministers, generals and others to the number of 25 (beyond which limit it could not well have remained secret 63 years), or it may be conceived as a grouping of a handful of close personal friends of the Lincoln's and even as a quiet compliment to the affianced pair who occupied the presidential box with them that night—Maj. Henry R. Rathbone of Albany, N. Y., and the United States Volunteers, and Miss Clara Harris, daughter of Senator Harris of New York City."

Mr. Battey received his story from the lips of a colored gentleman of worthy repute, then almost seventy-eight years of age, whose father, according to his own account, was butler at the White House during the incumbency of Presidents Buchanan, Lincoln and Johnson. Battey testified that his informant "is not a talkative man, and he enjoys a reputation for veracity; further, his mind is perfectly clear on the things he relates."

This individual, whose name was Brown, related many reminiscences of President Lincoln and his kindness and gave his own recollections of that eventful night when his father had gone to the White House to assist at a supper and the news came that the President had been shot at Ford's Theatre. He could not state who had been invited, nor how many, explaining that he did not know as his father was not the steward, and helped to wait on the table only in emergencies. Furthermore, he did not know whether the guests were to come from the theatre or elsewhere.

Some months after the article appeared I had a talk with Mr. Battey in his "sanctum" in New York City. He said that in his own mind the story was plausible, Brown being of a modest nature and bearing a reputation for truthfulness. He further stated that he believed one reason for its not being mentioned at the time, was that the assassination drove all thoughts from the minds of men. This latter view is in line with my own opinion, previously expressed, why more relevant data were not brought forward at the time. However, until something of a corroborative nature is forthcoming, we must take Mr. Brown's story *cum grano salis*.

I throw this out as a suggested line for research: is there anything significant in the as yet obfuscated story of the dinner or "supper" to which Yates, Singleton and others were to have gone, which has been referred to hereinbefore? Admittedly

FURTHER LIGHT ON LINCOLN'S LAST DAY

the status of this alleged dinner is conjectural, but if certain documents and papers in the possession of the Singleton family are edited and published, as is contemplated, we can at least know whether they have any bearing on the subject of the asseverated feast-to-be in the Executive Mansion.

MISCELLANY AND ALLIED DATA

I HAVE tried to secure a list of the White House attaches on the day of the Lincoln assassination. The best I have been able to do was to obtain from the General Accounting Office at Washington the names of the employes who were on the pay rolls March 31st, 1865, as follows:

Private Secretary	John G. Nicolay
Stewardess	Mrs. Mary Ann Cuthbert
Messenger	Thomas F. Pendel
Doorkeeper	Edward Baurke
Assistant Doorkeeper	Alphonso Donn
Furnace Keeper	Thomas W. Cross
Watchman	Thomas Stackpole
Watchman	John K. Vernon

Naturally this list is incomplete. As an example, Stoddard the third of the triumvirate of Private secretaries, has testified that Nicolay was the only "private secretary" allowed by law, both Hay and himself being carried as Department clerks and "assigned to duty" at the White House. And we look in vain for the names of Charles Forbes, valet and footman; Elizabeth Keckly, the seamstress, and others.

According to Pendel, who is not always accurate, he was serving as doorkeeper at this time, and in this instance he is corroborated by Crook, one of the special bodyguards provided for President Lincoln by the Chief of Police in November 1864. Furthermore, "Baurke," listed here as doorkeeper, was evidently "Ned" Burke, the coachman. But a curious fact in connection with his name is that at the trial of John H. Surratt it is given as Francis P. Burke. It is interesting to know that at this time he testified that he drove the carriage of President Lincoln to the theatre the night of the assassination, and noted nothing of particular interest after the party left the carriage, as he "felt tired" and "was rather drowsy," as he "*had been out all day.*"

Recently Mr. George H. Smyser, a Lincoln collector of Ridgefield, N. J., presented me with two scrap books the contents of which were evidently assembled

FURTHER LIGHT ON LINCOLN'S LAST DAY

between the years 1900 and 1910, and in one of them I came across an interesting article.

It is in the form of a Lincoln anecdote related by the widow of Captain Charles Clifford Morrison, Ordnance Corps, United States Army, who died on Governors Island, New York Harbor, on May 13, 1894.

According to the account Morrison's boyish ambition had been to secure an appointment at West Point, and as an older brother, Campbell Morrison, had received an appointment from the Congressman of their home district at Cincinnati, Clifford determined to appeal to President Lincoln.

In the spring of 1865, young Morrison, then sixteen years of age, carrying letters of introduction secured an audience with the President and received a kindly reception.

"Boy," said Lincoln, "do you realize that I have only ten appointments to give, and that there are at least ten thousand applicants?"

However, the matter was adjusted to the satisfaction of Morrison, Lincoln saying "You shall go! I will make a note of it now."

A few days later came the tragedy. "Fortunately," concludes the article, "among the papers on the President's desk was found the memorandum noting that Charles C. Morrison of Cincinnati, Ohio, should have an early appointment at West Point, and later it came to young Morrison from President Johnson."

The records of the Adjutant General's Office at Washington "show that Charles Clifford Morrison was given an 'at large' appointment to the United States Military Academy on July 1, 1867, and that his father, Mr. James C. Morrison, gave his consent. Nothing is found of record relative to the events leading to the appointment of Cadet Morrison."

But if the War Department has no record of the preliminaries the story looms large in the family traditions.

Mrs. Florence Williams, of New York City, is a niece of Captain Morrison.

"I have often heard my mother, who was his sister, and but recently deceased, tell the story about my uncle Charles Clifford Morrison," says Mrs. Williams. "I am quite sure that it is authentic. I believe that the Morrisons were the first brothers to be in West Point at the same time, and I know that Charles went to President Lincoln to secure an appointment and that it was given him by President Johnson after Lincoln was assassinated on account of a memorandum found among his papers."

MISCELLANY AND ALLIED DATA

Rather remarkable how these Lincoln appointments were left to accumulate on his desk and in his pockets. We have knowledge of at least three: the Saunders' commission, the Webster appointment, and now the Morrison memorandum. Yet, for all we know to the contrary, all three incidents may be authentic. In view of Saunders' notation, and the brief hiatus between the Lincoln assassination and the appointment of Webster, I am rather inclined to believe the first two; and there seems to be some ground for likewise giving credence to the third.

Dr. Louis A. Warren's bulletin of *Lincoln Lore* for July 8, 1929, contained an interesting article headed *Lincoln's Last Recommendation*.

"What may prove to be the last appointment recommended by Lincoln has come to light in an unpublished letter written to Hugh McCulloch on the day before Lincoln's assassination," said Dr. Warren. "This letter is probably the last formal writing addressed to a member of his Cabinet."

The letter, which was reproduced through the courtesy of Mr. Ross McCulloch, a grandson of Secretary McCulloch, read as follows:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

Washington, April 13, 1865.

Hon. Sec. of The Treasury,

Dear Sir:

The office of Collector of Internal Revenue for the Fifth Collection District of California is vacant by the resignation of Charles Maltby. I would like to oblige General Schenck by the appointment of his nephew, William C. S. Smith, long a resident of the district, to fill the vacancy. I am satisfied that he is competent, and of good character, and that his appointment will be satisfactory in the District and State. Unless you know some valid objection, send me an appointment for him.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

The appointment was made as requested. The Treasury Department advises that "William C. S. Smith was appointed Collector of Internal Revenue for the Fifth District of California, by a Temporary Commission dated April 13, 1865, and entered on duty January 29, 1866. He was given a Permanent Commission dated July 27, 1866, and served Until November 30, 1875."

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for him.

Yours Lh,
A. Lincoln

Letter of recommendation from President Lincoln addressed to Secretary of Treasury, concerning appointment of successor to his old Illinois friend, Charles Maltby, dated April 13, 1865.—Courtesy of Mr. Ross McCulloch, son of Secretary McCulloch, and Dr. Louis A. Warren, Director Lincoln Historical Research Foundation, Fort Wayne, Ind.

MISCELLANY AND ALLIED DATA

Maltby, referred to in the letter, was an old friend of Lincoln, and according to his own statement in his biography of Lincoln published in 1884 which is now rarely offered for sale, he had "a personal acquaintance of thirty-five years" with his subject.

However, this was not Lincoln's last communication to a member of his Cabinet. Both the call for the Cabinet meeting and the note given Congressman Rollins for the Secretary of War were written the day following.

A RECOLLECTION OF JOHN H. SURRATT FIFTY YEARS AFTER

ANY first hand information concerning the son of Mrs. Surratt, who was hanged as one of the Lincoln conspirators, and the guilt or innocence of whose son has been variously conjectured by different writers, is always pertinent.

Last summer as I sat in the spacious library of my close personal friend Mr. J. Friend Lodge, at his estate "Sunset," Bustleton, Philadelphia, Pa., whose collection of Civil War literature and Lincolniana is worth any one's while to visit, Mr. Lodge gave me some first hand information concerning Surratt as he came to know him many years after the event of that Good Friday of '65, and the estimate he formed of him at that time. Mr. Lodge is a discriminating student of human nature and his story is well worth repeating here.

"My recollection of Surratt," said Mr. Lodge, "goes back to a period of about fifteen or sixteen years ago.

"For many years Mrs. Lodge and I have been visiting friends in North Carolina, where I have enjoyed quail shooting and wild turkey hunting, and in going there we usually took the train to Baltimore, then down Chesapeake Bay to Norfolk, Va., by steamer, and from Portsmouth to our destination by rail. We invariably used the Baltimore Steam Packet Co., 'The Old Bay Line,' in going down the bay.

"One day we were going south, and found ourselves in Baltimore at about 4:30 P. M. We went down to the dock and made our reservations for the trip as usual.

"Mrs. Lodge wanted to do a little shopping in the city, and as I had two heavy bags to carry, I didn't relish the prospect of carrying them along with us, and looked about for a place where I might leave them for a little while. There was a row of offices up on the second floor of the dock where we were, and I noticed one that was marked 'Freight Auditor' or something to that effect, on the door.

"In response to my knock a voice within said 'Come in.'

"I did so, and there was but one occupant of the room, sitting at a desk on the side farthest from the door. He smiled very pleasantly and asked my business,

RECOLLECTION OF JOHN H. SURRETT

which I quickly told him. He was very courteous and said I could leave my bags right there in his office, but that I should be sure to call for them before six o'clock, when his office would close. The boat sailed at six-thirty, I think.

"On our return visit to the dock that evening I claimed my baggage and thanked him for his courtesy to us. We conversed pleasantly for perhaps five minutes.

"I well recall the first time I met him. When I came out of his office after leaving the baggage I said to Mrs. Lodge:

" 'Have you ever heard of John H. Surratt?'

" 'Why yes, certainly. He was mixed up in the Lincoln conspiracy,' she replied.

" 'Well, I just met John H. Surratt in that office.'

" 'Perhaps you are mistaken. Surratt is probably in his grave long years since.'

" 'No, I am not mistaken. I never saw the man before, but I have seen Surratt's picture many times, and except that his hair and moustache have turned from raven black to gray, almost white, the features are the same. I'd stake my life that I am not mistaken in my man, and that he is John H. Surratt.'

"When I got on the boat and looked over some of the steamship literature, among the list of officials of the company I found the name of 'John H. Surratt, Auditor Freight Receipts.'

"Upon my return home I wrote Mr. Surratt and thanked him for his courtesy to us, and also asked him for his autograph on a card which I enclosed. He autographed the card for me, and wrote me a very courteous letter, too, saying that it was an old established policy of 'The Old Bay Line' to afford every accommodation and courtesy to its patrons, the traveling public, and that it was indeed a pleasure for him to contribute, in even a small way, to the comfort and convenience of Mrs. Lodge and myself. It always seemed rather odd to me that he would favor me with his autograph, for I have been advised by friends in New York in the autograph business, that he would not give his autograph to anyone, and that it could not be had.

"I saw and spoke to him many times after that while on my way to and from the south. He always seemed very courteous and pleasant with me; seemed to want to do what he could for the convenience of the passengers on the line. I understand that he has now been dead for some years.

FURTHER LIGHT ON LINCOLN'S LAST DAY

"What were my impressions of him? I met him many times, and he was always the same, pleasant and agreeable, but I usually had to 'make the conversation.' He would always answer me very nicely and politely, but always there was that 'reserve'—that is what I have termed it, but yet, it doesn't quite seem to me to be the proper word to express my thought. He impressed me as a man that always, under any and all circumstances, could be counted on to be in full control of himself. I regarded him as an able, energetic and capable man in anything he might undertake, and I believe he was. He was approximately six feet tall, and sparely built. His forehead was very prominent, and his eyes deeply set. Whenever I met him he was always modestly and neatly dressed. His manner of speech was well regulated, and his tone of voice modulated and pleasing.

"His face, I would say, was a hard one to read; by that I mean that there was nothing on the surface to indicate what was transpiring back of those eyes. There was nothing that was not agreeable, but just that quiet and dignified look that would afford no indication, as I saw him, of what was in his mind. I suppose nowadays we would hear the expression used, 'a poker face.' I mean no discourtesy nor presumptuousness, not at all, but I know of no other way of expressing the opinion that Mr. Surratt made upon me that evening, and which never changed so long as I came into contact with him. My recollection is that he went with the Baltimore Steam Packet Co. many years ago, and served them well for a long period of years."

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