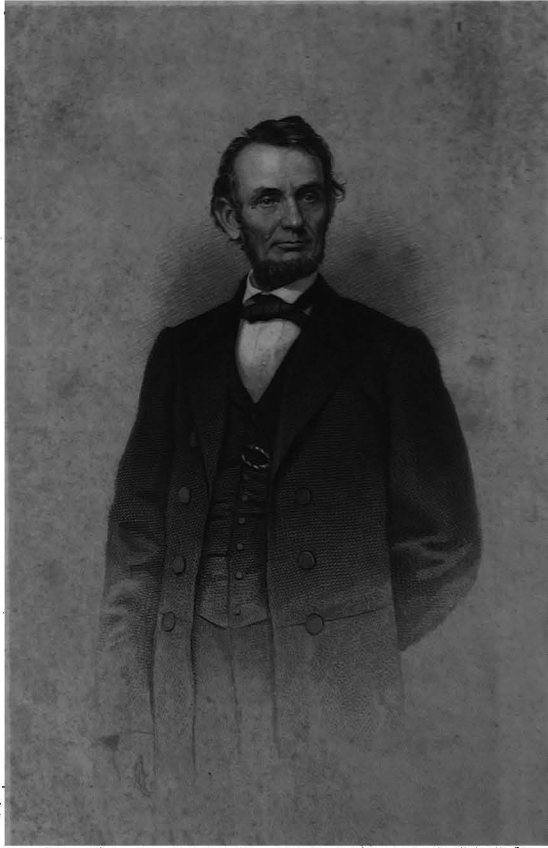


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LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES
OF
ABRAHAM LINCOLN..



Abraham Lincoln

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PREFACE.

DURING the Presidential canvass of 1864, the author of this work prepared for its publishers a volume upon the Administration of President Lincoln. Its main object was to afford the American people the materials for forming an intelligent judgment as to the wisdom of continuing Mr. Lincoln, for four years more, in the Presidential office.

That canvass resulted in his re-election. But he had scarcely entered upon the duties and responsibilities of his second term, when his career was closed by assassination. He had lived long enough, however, to finish the great work which had devolved upon him. Before his eyes were closed, they beheld the overthrow of the rebellion, the extirpation of slavery, and the restoration, over all the land, of the authority of the Constitution of the United States.

Not the people of his own country alone, but all the world, will study with interest the life and public acts of one whose work was at once so great and so successful. The principles which guided his conduct, and the policy by which he sought to carry them out—the temper and character which were the secret sources of his strength—will be sought and found in the acts and words of his public life. For more truly, perhaps,

than any other man of his own or of any other time, Mr. Lincoln had but one character and one mode of action, in public and private affairs.

It is the purpose of this work, so far as possible, to facilitate this inquiry. Every public speech, message, letter, or document of any sort from his pen, so far as accessible, will be found included in its pages. These documents, with the narrative by which they are accompanied, may, it is hoped, aid the public in understanding aright the character and conduct of the most illustrious actor, in the most important era, of American history.

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APPENDIX.

A.

LETTERS ON SUNDRY OCCASIONS.

TO MR. HODGES, OF KENTUCKY:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 4, 1864.

A. G. HODGES, Esq., Frankfort, Kentucky:

MY DEAR SIR:—You ask me to put in writing the substance of what I verbally said the other day, in your presence, to Governor Bramlette and Senator Dixon. It was about as follows:—

I am naturally anti-slavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I cannot remember when I did not so think and feel, and yet I have never understood that the Presidency conferred upon me an unrestricted right to act officially upon this judgment and feeling. It was, in the oath I took that I would to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States. I could not take the office without taking the oath. Nor was it my view that I might take an oath to get power, and break the oath in using the power. I understood, too, that in ordinary civil administration this oath even forbade me to practically indulge my primary abstract judgment on the moral question of slavery. I had publicly declared this many times, and in many ways. And I aver that, to this day, I have done no official act in mere deference to my abstract judgment and feeling on slavery. I did understand, however, that my oath to preserve the Constitution to the best of my ability, imposed upon me the duty of preserving, by every indispensable means, that government, that nation, of which that Constitution was the organic law. Was it possible to lose the nation and yet preserve the Constitution? By general law, life and limb must be protected; yet often a limb must be amputated to save a life; but a life is never wisely given to save a limb. I felt that measures, otherwise unconstitutional, might become lawful, by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the Constitution, through the preservation of the nation. Right or wrong, I assumed this ground, and now avow it. I could not feel that to the best of my ability I had even tried to preserve the Constitution, if, to save slavery, or any minor matter, I should permit the wreck of government, country, and Constitution, altogether. When, early in the war, General Fremont attempted military emancipation, I forbade it, because I did not then think it an indispensable necessity. When, a little later, General Cameron, then Secretary of War, suggested the arming of the blacks, I objected, because I did not yet think it an indispensable necessity. When, still later, General Hunter attempted military emancipation, I again forbade it, because I did not yet think the

indispensable necessity had come. When, in March, and May, and July, 1862, I made earnest and successive appeals to the Border States to favor compensated emancipation, I believed the indispensable necessity for military emancipation and arming the blacks would come, unless averted by that measure. They declined the proposition, and I was, in my best judgment, driven to the alternative of either surrendering the Union, and with it the Constitution, or of laying strong hand upon the colored element. I chose the latter. In choosing it, I hoped for greater gain than loss, but of this I was not entirely confident. More than a year of trial now shows no loss by it in our foreign relations, none in our home popular sentiment, none in our white military force, no loss by it any how, or anywhere. On the contrary, it shows a gain of quite one hundred and thirty thousand soldiers, seamen, and laborers. These are palpable facts, about which, as facts, there can be no caviling. We have the men; and we could not have had them without the measure.

And now let any Union man who complains of the measure, test himself by writing down in one line, that he is for subduing the rebellion by force of arms; and in the next, that he is for taking one hundred and thirty thousand men from the Union side, and placing them where they would be but for the measure he condemns. If he cannot face his case so stated, it is only because he cannot face the truth.

I add a word which was not in the verbal conversation. In telling this tale, I attempt no compliment to my own sagacity. I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me. Now, at the end of three years' struggle, the nation's condition is not what either party, or any man, devised or expected. God alone can claim it. Whither it is tending, seems plain. If God now wills the removal of a great wrong, and wills also that we of the North, as well as you of the South, shall pay fairly for our complicity in that wrong, impartial history will find therein new causes to attest and revere the justice and goodness of God.

Yours truly,

(Signed)

A. LINCOLN.

TO GENERAL HOOKER.

The following letters were written by the President to General Hooker soon after the latter had succeeded General Burnside in command of the Army of the Potomac. The first was written just before the battle of Chancellorsville, as follows:—

WASHINGTON, 3 P. M.—May 3, 1863.

GENERAL HOOKER.—The news is here of the capture by our forces of Grand Gulf, a large and very important thing. General Willich, an exchanged prisoner just from Richmond, has talked with me this morning. He was there when our cavalry cut the roads in that vicinity. He says there was not a sound pair of legs in Richmond, and that our men, had they known it, could have safely gone in and burnt every thing and brought Jeff. Davis; captured and paroled three or four hundred men. He says as he came to City Point there was an army three miles long—Longstreet, he thought, moving towards Richmond. Milroy has captured a dispatch of General Lee, in which he says his loss was fearful in his late battle with you.

A. LINCOLN.

After the battle of Chancellorsville General Hooker withdrew his forces to the north side of the Rappahannock, and received the following from the President:—

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, May 14, 1862.

MY DEAR SIR:—When I wrote on the 7th I had an impression that possibly, by an early movement, you could get some advantage, from the supposed facts that the enemy's communications were disturbed, and that he was somewhat deranged in position. That idea has now passed away, the enemy having re-established his communications, regained his positions, and actually received re-enforcements. It does not now appear to me probable that you can gain any thing by an early renewal of the attempt to cross the Rappahannock. I therefore shall not complain if you do no more for a time than to keep the enemy at bay, and out of other mischief, by menaces and occasional cavalry raids, if practicable, and to put your own army in good condition again. Still, if, in your own clear judgment, you can renew the attack successfully, I do not mean to restrain you. Bearing upon this last point I must tell you I have some painful intimations that some of your corps and division commanders are not giving you their entire confidence. This would be ruinous if true, and you should, therefore, first of all, ascertain the real facts beyond all possibility of doubt.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

Both armies remained inactive till the 5th of June, when General Hooker wrote to the President that appearances indicated an advance by General Lee. The President answered him as follows:—

June 5, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER:—Yours of to-day was received an hour ago. So much of professional military skill is requisite to answer it, that I have turned the task over to General Halleck. He promises to perform it with his utmost care. I have but one idea which I think worth suggesting to you, and that is, in case you find Lee coming to the north of the Rappahannock, I would by no means cross to the south of it. If he should leave a rear force at Fredericksburg, tempting you to fall upon it, it would fight in intrenchments and have you at advantage, and so, man for man, worst you at that point, while his main force would in some way be getting an advantage of you northward. In one word, I would not take any risk of being entangled up on the river like an ox jumped half over a fence and liable to be torn by dogs front and rear without a fair chance to gore one way or to kick the other.

If Lee would come to my side of the river I would keep on the same side and fight him, or act on the defensive, according as might be my estimate of his strength relatively to my own. But these are mere suggestions, which I desire to be controlled by the judgment of yourself and General Halleck.

A. LINCOLN.

By the 10th of June Lee's forward movement was well developed. The President's views as to the proper course to be pursued by our army remained as before, and he sent the following letter expressing them:—

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 10, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER:—Your long dispatch of to-day is just received. If left to me, I would not go south of the Rappahannock upon Lee's moving north of it. If you had Richmond invested to-day you would not be able to take it in twenty days; meanwhile your communications, and with them your army, would be ruined. I think Lee's army, and not Richmond, is your true objective point. If he comes towards the Upper Potomac, follow on his flank, and on the inside track, shortening

your lines while he lengthens his. Fight him, too, when opportunity offers. If he stay where he is, *fret him and fret him.*

A. LINCOLN.

Lee's advance was to the northwest, through the Valley of the Shenandoah. His advance was heard of far down that valley while yet his rear was near Fredericksburg, and on the 14th the President wrote to General Hooker as follows:—

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 14, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER:—So far as we can make out here, the enemy have Milroy surrounded at Winchester, and Tyler at Martinsburg. If they could hold out a few days, could you help them? If the head of Lee's army is at Martinsburg and the tail of it on the plank-road between Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, *the animal must be very slim somewhere*; could you not break him?

A. LINCOLN.

HON. JOHN MINOR BOTTS.

The following brief letter, written during the first Presidential canvass, shows what were Mr. Lincoln's views in regard to the action of the Southern States in the event of his election:—

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., August 15, 1860.

MY DEAR SIR:—Yours of the 9th, enclosing the letter of Hon. John Minor Botts, was duly received. The latter is herewith returned according to your request. It contains one of the many assurances I receive from the South, that in no probable event will there be any very formidable effort to break up the Union. The people of the South have too much of good sense and good temper to attempt the ruin of the Government rather than see it administered as it was administered by the men who made it. At least, so I hope and believe.

I thank you both for your own letter and a sight of that of Mr. Botts.
Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

JOHN B. FRY, Esq.

TO GOVERNOR MAGOFFIN.

In August, 1861, Governor Magoffin, of Kentucky, urged the removal by the President of the Union troops which had been raised and were encamped within that State.

To this request he received the following reply:—

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 24, 1861.

To His Excellency B. MAGOFFIN, Governor of the State of Kentucky:

SIR:—Your letter of the 19th instant, in which you "urge the removal from the limits of Kentucky of the military force now organized and in camp within that State, is received.

I may not possess full and precisely accurate knowledge upon this subject, but I believe it is true that there is a military force in camp within Kentucky, acting by authority of the United States, which force is not very large, and is now being augmented.

I also believe that some arms have been furnished to this force by the United States.

I also believe that this force consists exclusively of Kentuckians, having their camp in the immediate vicinity of their own homes, and not assailing or menacing any of the good people of Kentucky.

In all I have done in the premises, I have acted upon the urgent-solicitation of many Kentuckians, and in accordance with what I believed, and still believe, to be the wish of a majority of all the Union-loving people of Kentucky.

While I have conversed on the subject with many eminent men of Kentucky, including a large majority of her members of Congress, I do not remember that any one of them, or any other person, except your Excellency and the bearers of your Excellency's letter, has urged me to remove the military force from Kentucky or to disband it. One other very worthy citizen of Kentucky did solicit me to have the augmenting of the force suspended for a time.

Taking all the means within my reach to form a judgment, I do not believe it is the popular wish of Kentucky that the force shall be removed beyond her limits, and, with this impression, I must respectfully decline to remove it.

I most cordially sympathize with your Excellency in the wish to preserve the peace of my own native State, Kentucky, but it is with regret I search for, and cannot find, in your not very short letter, any declaration or intimation that you entertain any desire for the preservation of the Federal Union.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

TO COUNT GASPARIN.

The following letter addressed by President Lincoln to the Count de Gasparin, one of the warmest friends of the United States in Europe, who had written to the President concerning the state of the country, will be read with interest:—

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 4, 1862.

TO COUNT A. DE GASPARIN:

DEAR SIR:—Your very acceptable letter dated Orbe, Canton de Vaud, Switzerland, 18th of July, 1862, is received. The moral effect was the worst of the affair before Richmond, and that has run its course downward. We are now at a stand, and shall soon be rising again, as we hope. I believe it is true that, in men and material, the enemy suffered more than we in that series of conflicts, while it is certain he is less able to bear it.

With us every soldier is a man of character, and must be treated with more consideration than is customary in Europe. Hence our great army, for slighter causes than could have prevailed there, has dwindled rapidly, bringing the necessity for a new call earlier than was anticipated. We shall easily obtain the new levy, however. Be not alarmed if you shall learn that we shall have resorted to a draft for part of this. It seems strange even to me, but it is true, that the Government is now pressed to this course by a popular demand. Thousands who wish not to personally enter the service, are nevertheless anxious to pay and send substitutes, provided they can have assurance that unwilling persons, similarly situated, will be compelled to do likewise. Besides this, volunteers mostly choose to enter newly forming regiments, while drafted men can be sent to fill up the old ones, wherein man for man they are quite doubly as valuable.

You ask, "why is it that the North with her great armies so often is found with inferiority of numbers face to face with the armies of the

South?" While I painfully know the fact, a military man, which I am not, would better answer the question. The fact I know has not been overlooked, and I suppose the cause of its continuance lies mainly in the other fact that the enemy holds the interior and we the exterior lines; and that we operate where the people convey information to the enemy, while he operates where they convey none to us.

I have received the volume and letter which you did me the honor of addressing to me, and for which please accept my sincere thanks. You are much admired in America for the ability of your writings, and much loved for your generosity to us and your devotion to liberal principles generally.

You are quite right as to the importance to us for its bearing upon Europe, that we should achieve military successes, and the same is true for us at home as well as abroad. Yet it seems unreasonable that a series of successes, extending through half a year, and clearing more than a hundred thousand square miles of country, should help us so little, while a single half defeat should hurt us so much. But let us be patient.

I am very happy to know that my course has not conflicted with your judgment of propriety and policy. I can only say that I have acted upon my best convictions, without selfishness or malice, and that by the help of God I shall continue to do so.

Please be assured of my highest respect and esteem.

A. LINCOLN.

B.

THE PRESIDENT AND GENERAL McCLELLAN.

THE transfer of General McClellan's army from the Potomac, where it lay in front of the rebels at Manassas, was a movement of so much importance, and has given rise to so much controversy, that we append, for its further elucidation, a memorandum made by Major-General McDowell of the private discussions which preceded it.

A copy of this memorandum was given by General McDowell, in the spring of 1864, to Mr. Raymond, and by him, some months afterwards, submitted to the President. The manuscript was returned by the latter, with the following indorsement:—

I will remember the meetings herein narrated. See nothing for me to object to in the narrative as being made by General McDowell, except the phrase attributed to me "*of the Jacobinism of Congress*," which phrase I do not remember using literally or in substance, and which I wish not to be published in any event.

A. LINCOLN.

October 7, 1864.

The following is the

MEMORANDUM OF GENERAL McDOWELL.

January 10, 1862.—At dinner at Arlington, Virginia. Received a note from the Assistant Secretary of War, saying the President wished to see me that evening at eight o'clock, if I could safely leave my post. Soon after, I received a note from Quartermaster-General Meigs, marked "Pri-

vate and confidential," saying the President wished to see me. Note herewith.

Repaired to the President's house at eight o'clock p. m. Found the President alone. Was taken into the small room in the northeast corner. Soon after, we were joined by Brigadier-General Franklin, the Secretary of State, Governor Seward, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Assistant Secretary of War. The President was greatly disturbed at the state of affairs. Spoke of the exhausted condition of the Treasury; of the loss of public credit; of the Jacobinism in Congress; of the delicate condition of our foreign relations; of the bad news he had received from the West, particularly as contained in a letter from General Halleck on the state of affairs in Missouri; of the want of co-operation between General Halleck and General Buell; but, more than all, the sickness of General McClellan.

The President said he was in great distress, and, as he had been to General McClellan's house, and the General did not ask to see him, and as he must talk to somebody, he had sent for General Franklin and myself, to obtain our opinion as to the possibility of soon commencing active operations with the Army of the Potomac.

To use his own expression, if something was not soon done, the bottom would be out of the whole affair; and, if General McClellan did not want to use the army, he would like to "*borrow it*," provided he could see how it could be made to do something.

The Secretary of State stated the substance of some information he considered reliable, as to the strength of the forces on the other side, which he had obtained from an Englishman from Fortress Monroe, Richmond, Manassas, and Centreville, which was to the effect that the enemy had twenty thousand men under Huger at Norfolk, thirty thousand at Centreville, and, in all, in our front an effective force, capable of being brought up at short notice, of about one hundred and three thousand men—men not suffering, but well shod, clothed, and fed. In answer to the question from the President, what could soon be done with the army, I replied that the question as to the *when* must be preceded by the one as to the *how* and the *where*. That, substantially, I would organize the army into four army corps, placing the five divisions on the Washington side on the right bank. Place three of these corps to the front, the right at Vienna or its vicinity, the left beyond Fairfax Station, the centre beyond Fairfax Court-House, and connect the latter place with the Orange and Alexandria Railroad by a railroad now partially thrown up. This would enable us to supply these corps without the use of horses, except to distribute what was brought up by rail, and to act upon the enemy without reference to the bad state of country roads.

The railroads all lead to the enemy's position. By acting upon them in force, besieging his strongholds, if necessary, or getting between them, if possible, or making the attempt to do so, and pressing his left, I thought we should, in the first place, cause him to bring up all his forces, and mass them on the flank mostly pressed—the left—and, possibly, I thought probably, we should again get them out of their works, and bring on a general engagement on favorable terms to us, at all events keeping him fully occupied and harassed. The fourth corps, in connection with a force of heavy guns afloat, would operate on his right flank, beyond the Occoquan, get behind the batteries on the Potomac, take Aquia, which, being supported by the Third Corps over the Occoquan, it could safely attempt, and then move on the railroad from Manassas to the Rappahannock. Having a large cavalry force to destroy bridges, I thought by the use of one hundred and thirty thousand men thus employed, and the

great facilities which the railroads gave us, and the compact position we should occupy, we must succeed by repeated blows in crushing out the force in our front, even if it were equal in numbers and strength. The road by the Fairfax Court-House to Centreville would give us the means to bring up siege mortars and siege materials, and even if we could not accomplish the object immediately, by making the campaign one of positions instead of one of manœuvres, to do so eventually, and without risk. That this saving of wagon transportation should be effected at once, by connecting the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad with the Alexandria roads by running a road over the Long Bridge. That when all this could be commenced, I could better tell when I knew something more definite as to the general condition of the army.

General Franklin being asked, said he was in ignorance of many things necessary to an opinion on the subject, knowing only as to his own division, which was ready for the field. As to the plan of operations, on being asked by the President if he had ever thought what he would do with this army if he had it, he replied that he had, and that it was his judgment that it should be taken—what could be spared from the duty of protecting the capital—to *York River to operate on Richmond*. The question then came up as to the means at hand of transporting a large part of the army by water. The Assistant Secretary of War said the means had been fully taxed to provide transportation for twelve thousand men. After some further conversation, and in reference to our ignorance of the actual condition of the army, the President wished we should come together the next night at eight o'clock, and that General Franklin and I should meet in the mean time, obtain such further information as we might need, and to do so from the staff of the head-quarters of the Army of the Potomac. Immediate orders were to be given to make the railroad over Long Bridge.

January 11.—Held a meeting with General Franklin in the morning at the Treasury building, and discussed the question of the operations which in our judgment were best under existing circumstances of season, present position of the forces, present condition of the country, to be undertaken before going into the matter as to when those operations could be set on foot. I urged that we should now find fortifications in York River, which would require a movement in that direction to be preceded by a naval force of heavy guns to clear them out, as well as the works at West Point. That Richmond was now fortified, that we could not hope to carry it by a simple march after a successful engagement, that we should be obliged to take a siege train with us. That all this would take time, which would be improved by the enemy to mass his forces in our front, and we should find that we had not escaped any of the difficulties we have now before this position, but simply lost time and money to find those difficulties where we should not have so strong a base to operate from, nor so many facilities, nor so large a force as we have here, nor, in proportion, so small a one to overcome. That the war now had got to be one of positions till we should penetrate the line of the enemy. That to overcome him in front, or cut his communication with the South, would, by its moral as well as physical effect, prostrate the enemy, and enable us to undertake any future operations with ease and certainty of success; but that, in order of time as of importance, the first thing to be done was to overcome this army in our front, which is beleaguering our capital, blockading the river, and covering us day by day with the reproach of impotence, and lowering us in the eyes of foreign nations and of our people, both North and South, and that nothing but what is not necessary for this purpose should go elsewhere.

General Franklin suggested whether Governor Chase, in view of what we were charged to do, might not be at liberty to tell us where General Burnside's expedition had gone. I went and asked him. He told me that under the circumstances he felt he ought to do so, and said he was destined for Newbern, North Carolina, by way of Hatteras Inlet and Pamlico Sound, to operate on Raleigh and Beaufort, or either of them. That General McClellan had, by direction of the President, acquainted him with his plan, which was to go with a large part of this Army of the Potomac to Urbana or Toppahannock, on the Rappahannock, and then with his bridge train move directly on Richmond. On further consultation with General Franklin, it was agreed that our inquiries were to be directed to both cases, of going from our present position, and of removing the large part of the force to another base further South.

A question was raised by General Franklin, whether, in deference to General McClellan, we should not inform him of the duty we were ordered to perform. I said the order I received was marked "private and confidential," and as they came from the President, our Commander-in-Chief, I conceived, as a common superior to General McClellan and both of us, it was for the President to say, and not us, and that I would consult the Secretary of the Treasury, who was at hand, and could tell us what was the rule in the Cabinet in such matters. The Secretary was of opinion that the matter lay entirely with the President. We went to Colonel Kingsbury, Chief of Ordnance of the Army of the Potomac, Brigadier-General Van Vliet, Chief Quartermaster, and Major Shivers, Commissary of Subsistence, and obtained all the information desired.

Met at the President's in the evening at eight o'clock. Present the same as on the first day, with the addition of the Postmaster-General, Judge Blair, who came in after the meeting had begun the discussion. I read the annexed paper, marked (A), as containing both General Franklin's and my own views; General Franklin agreeing with me, in view of time, &c., required to take this army to another base, that the operation could best now be undertaken from the present base, substantially as proposed. The Postmaster-General opposed the plan, and was for having the army, or as much of it as could be spared, go to York River or Fortress Monroe, either to operate against Richmond, or to Suffolk and out off Norfolk, that being in his judgment the point (Fortress Monroe or York) from which to make a decisive blow; that the plan of going to the front from this position was Bull Run over again, that it was strategically defective as was the effort last July, as then we would have the operations upon exterior lines, and that it involved too much risk; that there was not as much difficulty as had been supposed in removing the army down the Chesapeake; that only from the Lower Chesapeake could any thing decisive result against the army at Manassas; that to drive them from their present position by operating from our present base would only force them to another behind the one they now occupy, and we should have all our work to do over again. Mr. Seward thought if we only had a victory over them, it would answer, whether obtained at Manassas, or further South. Governor Chase replied, in general terms, to Judge Blair, to the effect that the moral power of a victory over the enemy in his present position would be as great as one elsewhere, all else equal; and the danger lay in the probability that we should find, after losing time and millions, that we should have as many difficulties to overcome below as we now have above.

The President wished to have General Meigs in consultation on the subject of providing water transportation, and desired General Franklin

and myself to see him in the morning, and meet again at three o'clock p. m. the next day.

January 12.—Met General Franklin at General Meigs's. Convered with him on the subject of our mission at his own house. I expressed my views to General Meigs, who agreed with me in the main as to concentrating our efforts against the enemy in front by moving against him from our present position. As to the time in which he could assemble water transportation for thirty thousand men, he thought in about from four to six weeks.

Met at the President's. General Meigs mentioned the time in which he could assemble transports as a month to six weeks. The general subject of operations from the present base was again discussed, General Meigs agreeing that it was best to do so, and to concentrate our forces for the purpose. The President and Mr. Seward said that General McClellan had been out to see the President, and was looking quite well; and that now, as he was able to assume the charge of the army, the President would drop any further proceedings with us. The general drift of the conversation was as to the propriety of moving the army further South, and as to the destination of Burnside's expedition. The Postmaster-General said that if it was the intention to fight out here (Manassas), then we ought to *concentrate*. It was suggested and urged somewhat on the President to countermand, or to have General McClellan countermand, General Burnside's expedition, and bring it up to Aquia. The President was, however, exceedingly averse from interfering, saying he disliked exceedingly to stop a thing long since planned, just as it was ready to strike. Nothing was done but to appoint another meeting the next day at 11 o'clock, when we were to meet General McClellan, and again discuss the question of the movement to be made, &c., &c.

January 18, Monday.—Went to the President's with the Secretary of the Treasury. Present, the President, Governor Chase, Governor Seward, Postmaster-General, General McClellan, General Meigs, General Franklin, and myself, and I think the Assistant Secretary of War. The President, pointing to a map, asked me to go over the plan I had before spoken to him of. He, at the same time, made a brief explanation of how he came to bring General Franklin and General McDowell before him. I mentioned, in as brief terms as possible, what General Franklin and I had done under the President's order, what our investigations had been directed upon, and what were our conclusions, giving as nearly as I could the substance of the paper hereto annexed, marked (B), referring to going to the front from our present base in the way I have hereinbefore stated, referring also to a transfer of a part of the army to another base further south; that we had been informed that the latter movement could not be commenced under a month to six weeks, and that a movement to the front could be undertaken in all of the present week. General Franklin dissented only as to the time I mentioned for beginning operations in the front, not thinking we could get the roads in order by that time. I added, *commence* operations in all of the week, to which he assented.

I concluded my remarks by saying something apologetic in explanation of the position in which we were, to which General McClellan replied somewhat coldly, if not curtly: "You are entitled to have any opinion you please!" No discussion was entered into by him whatever, the above being the only remark he made.

General Franklin said, that, in giving his opinion as to going to York River, he did it knowing it was in the direction of General McClellan's plans.

I said that I had acted entirely in the dark.

General Meigs spoke of his agency in having us called in by the President.

The President then asked what and when any thing could be done, again going over somewhat the same ground he had done with General Franklin and myself.

General McClellan said the case was so clear a blind man could see it, and then spoke of the difficulty of ascertaining what force he could count upon; that he did not know whether he could let General Butler go to Ship Island, or whether he could re-enforce General Burnside. Much conversation ensued, of rather a general character, as to the discrepancy between the number of men paid for and the number effective.

The Secretary of the Treasury then put a direct question to General McClellan, to the effect as to what he intended doing with his army, and when he intended doing it. After a long silence, General McClellan answered that the movement in Kentucky was to precede any one from this place, and that that movement might now be *forced*. That he had directed General Buell, if he could not hire wagons for his transportation, that he must take them. After another pause, he said he must say he was very unwilling to develop his plans, always believing that in military matters the fewer persons who were knowing to them the better; that he would tell them if he was *ordered* to do so. The President then asked him if he had counted upon any particular time; he did not ask what that time was, but had he in his own mind any particular time fixed, when a movement could be commenced. He replied he had. "Then," rejoined the President, "I will adjourn this meeting."

EXHIBIT A.

Memoranda on which to base an opinion, required by the President, as to when the Army of the Potomac can assume offensive operations.

The time of moving depends on whether the army is in whole, or in great part, to be removed by water to another base of operations to the south; or, whether it is to move against the enemy now immediately in its front. General Franklin favored the first, and I inclined to the second.

Inquiries were directed in each case.

1st.—If the base is to be changed to York River, as has been suggested, the advance would have to be accompanied by a fleet with heavy guns, to silence the batteries in York River and the works at its head, and to keep the river from being obstructed as is the Potomac at this time.

To organize such a fleet I should think would require more time than the present state of affairs would permit.

To land the force this side of York River with a view to turn the head of it at West Point would require additional land transportation, and a heavy additional item for the means to pass the rivers (perhaps in face of an enemy) between the point of debarkation and Richmond, which is supposed as the objective point in such a campaign.

As Richmond is fortified, a siege train and materials would be required.

In considering the quantity of land transportation required to move on Richmond from any point of debarkation this side of York River, it should be kept in mind that at this season in this climate the roads are heavy; and, when used by large trains of artillery or baggage, *impassable*, unless corduroyed, and, as the army could not move on only one road, to make several would take time, which would be improved by the enemy to mass forces in the front. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to conceal from the enemy our point of landing; and he is at this time expecting us at York, where he has already a considerable force, and to which, from

Richmond, he has a railroad upon which to bring re-enforcements, and a railroad communication to Acquia Creek and his main force at Manassas. It would therefore be necessary to land, in the first place, with a heavy force, to avoid the disaster of being overwhelmed and driven into the bay.

The Chief of the Quartermaster's Department at the head-quarters of the Army of the Potomac, Brigadier-General Van Vliet estimates that with every exertion, and taking canal-boats, brigs, &c., &c., to be found in the waters of the Chesapeake and Delaware, he could assemble transportation, for thirty thousand men, in about twenty days from the time he should receive the order. Nothing is on hand save what is in current use here on the Potomac. The above estimate does not include any land transportation for the troops after their debarkation, nor any for the horses of the cavalry, but only for the troops and their baggage and subsistence.

The Assistant Secretary of War, I understand, is of opinion that all the available means of water transportation would be fully taxed to provide for even twelve thousand men.

In view of the difficulties mentioned, and unforeseen delays, always sure to happen, I do not think a move by water of so large a force as I deem necessary could be counted upon under a month.

To move against the enemy in front, we have thirteen divisions, of about ten thousand men each, and General Banks's Division at Frederick.

There is for this force four thousand four hundred wagons ready for service.

If we use the railroads out of Alexandria, and connect them over the Long Bridge with the Baltimore Railroad, about two thousand of these wagons and ten thousand animals may be dispensed with, certainly for the present.

Of artillery there is sufficient (three hundred and fifty pieces).

Of artillery ammunition there is sufficient to begin with, good for all but New York regiments. Twelve thousand three hundred and forty new Austrian and fifteen to twenty thousand rifles in New York; ammunition for the latter, none for the former.

Small-arms ammunition sufficient to commence with.

Siege train:—ten ten-inch mortars, with ammunition; five thirty-two-pound howitzers, with troops.

Shelter tents and stretchers, forty-three thousand.

From the foregoing it seems to me the army should be ready to move in all of next week. The main difficulty, I think, is in its yet incomplete organization, which could soon be remedied.

(Signed)

I. McDOWELL, *Brigadier-General*.

January 10, 1862.

TO GENERAL M'CLELLAN.

President Lincoln addressed the following letter to General McClellan after the latter had landed his forces on the Peninsula in the spring of 1862. It relates to several points in which the General's action had already excited a good deal of public uneasiness, and been made the subject of public comment:—

FORTRESS MONROE, May 9, 1862.

MY DEAR SIR:—I have just assisted the Secretary of War in forming the part of a dispatch to you, relating to army corps, which dispatch,

of course, will have reached you long before this will. I wish to say a few words to you privately on this subject. I ordered the army corps organization not only on the unanimous opinion of the twelve generals of division, but also on the unanimous opinion of every *military man* I could get an opinion from, and every modern military book, yourself only excepted. Of course, I did not on my own judgment pretend to understand the subject. I now think it indispensable for you to know how your struggle against it is received in quarters which we cannot entirely disregard. It is looked upon as merely an effort to pamper one or two pets, and to persecute and degrade their supposed rivals. I have had no word from Sumner, Heintzelman, or Keyes. The commanders of these corps are of course the three highest officers with you, but I am constantly told that you have no consultation or communication with them; that you consult and communicate with nobody but Fitz John Porter, and perhaps General Franklin. I do not say these complaints are true or just; but, at all events, it is proper you should know of their existence. Do the commanders of corps disobey your orders in any thing?

When you relieved General Hamilton of his command the other day, you thereby lost the confidence of at least one of your best friends in the Senate. And here let me say, not as applicable to you personally, that Senators and Representatives speak of me in their places as they please without question; and that officers of the army must cease addressing insulting letters to them for taking no greater liberty with them. But to return, are you strong enough, even with my help, to set your foot upon the neck of Sumner, Heintzelman, and Keyes, all at once? This is a practical and very serious question for you.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

C.

WARNINGS AGAINST ASSASSINATION.

ALLusion is made in the preceding pages to warnings which reached the Government at various times, of plots on foot against the lives of the President and other eminent officials. In reply to a letter of this kind from Hon. John Bigelow, then American Consul at Paris, Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State, wrote as follows:—

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, July 18, 1865.

* * * There is no doubt that, from a period anterior to the breaking out of the insurrection, plots and conspiracies for the purposes of assassination have been frequently formed and organized, and it is not unlikely that such a one as has been reported to you is now in agitation among the insurgents. If it be so, it need furnish no ground for anxiety. Assassination is not an American practice or habit, and one so vicious and so desperate cannot be engrafted into our political system. This conviction of mine has steadily gained strength since the civil war began. Every day's experience confirms it. The President during the heated season occupies a country house near the Soldiers' Home, two or three miles from the city. He goes to and from that place on horseback night and morning unguarded. I go there unattended at all hours, by daylight and moonlight, by starlight, and without any light.

At a later date, very soon, indeed, before the assassination of the President and the horrible attempt upon his own life, Mr. Seward received the following communication from our consul in London. It was upon the strength of these letters that the consultation was held to which allusion is made in the preceding page:—

UNITED STATES CONSULATE, LONDON, *March 17, 1865.*

MY DEAR SIR:—I herewith enclose for your perusal *two* private letters received this week from "B," my secret agent in France. On receiving the first, dated March 12th, I immediately wrote to him for a more full statement of all he knew about its contents. I stated to him that the story seemed very improbable; that if they intended to resort to such diabolical modes of warfare, they could find instruments enough near at hand to serve them in such a capacity, and have their work done or attempted more speedily than it could be by sending assassins from Europe; that the assassins would be sure to forfeit their own lives, &c. At the same time I could not shut out from my mind the idea that the starving of our prisoners, shooting and torturing them, the hotel burnings, the piracies, the hanging of Union men in the insurgent States, the murdering of prisoners of war in cold blood after surrendering, and their manifold acts of cruelty, rendered the purposes named not only probable, but in harmony with their character and acts. My letter brought the further explanation contained in the second letter of the 14th inst. You perceive the statement of B. rests on the declaration of ———, or a man who now goes by that name. He is a business agent of the rebels, and has the confidence of the leaders to as great an extent perhaps as any one employed by them, or any one under their direction. He travels most of the time from place to place, giving directions and superintending the purchase and shipment of war material. B. has travelled much with him, and seems to have his entire confidence. I do not think ——— would make such a revelation to B. unless he believed it well founded. If they are to come out openly as professional assassins, it is not at all probable that the distinguished persons named are the only ones selected for their vengeance, or that our Chief Magistrate, or General Grant, are left out of their rôle. The dangers they see to *them* in the calm forbearance, the inflexible justice and firm determination of President Lincoln, will not be overlooked by them.

According to my request, a full description of the man calling himself Clark is given in the second letter. Johnston is unknown to "B." If Clark has really set forth on such a mission, he will probably attempt to make his way into Sherman's camp as a private soldier, and attempt the deed during an engagement when Sherman is under fire.

Whether there is any actual foundation for what is set forth in the letters or not, I think it not my duty to withhold them, for fear it may be only another added to the thousand false rumors which have got into circulation. I send you all I have been able to learn on the subject, that you may act as you deem expedient in the case. Permit me to express my earnest desire, whatever may be the wish of the rebels in regard to you, and I dare say they are the worst that fiendish brains can entertain, that your valuable life may long be spared to your friends and the service of the Republic.

I remain, dear sir, most truly yours,

F. H. MORSE.

HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*

P. S.—Please regard B.'s letter as strictly confidential, I mean as far as the *name* of the writer is concerned.

PARIS, Sunday, March 12, 1865.

MY DEAR SIR:—I wrote you on Friday eve late, in hopes it would reach you at your hotel last evening. I have learned only an hour since, that on Tuesday or Wednesday a steamer will be in waiting at Belisle; or the island of Oleron (the last named some forty miles off the mouth of Bordeaux Erie) with war material and supplies for the rams; most of the stuff is from Hamburg, reshipped on board of an English steamer, which has been chartered for the purpose. She is a Newcastle steamer, and said to be very swift. I must communicate at once with Walker at Ferrol. Two desperate characters have just left here (on Wednesday, I believe, but not sure), one for the North and the other for the South; one of them I know; he has been loafing here for some time, hard up. His name is Clark, the other Johnston, but to the best of my knowledge I had never seen him, he having been here only a few days. Their object is the assassination of *Sherman* and *Mr. Seward*. Clark is to join Sherman's army and accomplish his deed. The other goes direct to Washington, and the first opportunity that offers kill Mr. Seward. Their expenses are paid, and if successful in the accomplishment of their murderous designs, are to receive five thousand dollars each. Here is a pretty state of affairs; and I fear those are not the only ones that they intend wreaking their vengeance upon, and you must take immediate steps to convey this to Mr. Seward and General Sherman, as I feel positive it is true, for the party that divulged to me has the greatest confidence in me, and would not have said such a thing to me were it not true. They think by getting rid of Mr. Seward that it will be utterly impossible to get another as able to fill his place, as they say, so rabid for the utter annihilation of the Southern cause. And Sherman being the only real General that we have got, if he could be got rid of, the task is an easy one, as there is no Yankee, to use their expression, to be found that can fill his place. And only see the ingenuity of the rebels here; they have caused to be circulated, and it is quite current, that General Sherman is dead. This is done for the sole cause to prepare the public mind to receive his death beforehand, so as that they may not be taken by surprise. It is from beginning to end a deep laid plot, and the Devil himself is no match for them. I have given you all the facts so far as I know, and at once, as I considered it my duty so to do as soon as possible, so that you may convey it to Washington with all dispatch. I don't know this Johnston, or I would describe him, so that he might be arrested at once, but to my knowledge I have never seen him. Cooper came last night, and to-day spent an hour with me. On-leaving he said he would return and dine with me, but about an hour since I learned that he went off in haste to Cherbourg. I don't know what's up there, as I have heard nothing from them; but there must be something in the wind. Friday a courier was sent off as I stated to you, as I was asked to go; but being ill I could not, and to-day, Cooper leaving so suddenly, looks suspicious. I can give you a full description of Clark at once if you wish it. I am better, and quite able to undertake the journey to Bordeaux or Ferrol, but as yet keep myself in doors, so that I may not be called on to go anywhere for them before I hear from you: then I can excuse myself for a few days in the country, so as to be able to get to Bordeaux. I hope you have received my note on Saturday eve, and written me to-day. If I am to go to B—— there is no time to be lost. If you have not written me before you receive this, send me twenty pounds, so that I may be prepared for any emergency. Hoping that all of the first of the note will be received at Washington in time to frustrate the hellish designs,

I am truly yours, B.

PARIS, March 14, 1863.

DEAR SIR:—Yours of yesterday came duly to hand this morning, and I answer in as brief a manner as possible to its contents in every particular, as you request.

The ram, at Bordeaux, leaves that port to go to Germany, where report says she is to be sold to the Prussian Government. So did the other—now the *Stonewall*, in Confederate hands, laying at Ferrol, Spain—leave Bordeaux, for the use of the Danish Government. They must use strategy to get them out of a French port—once out, they can do as they please with her. I am perfectly satisfied, and I believe it beyond a question of doubt, that the ram now at Bordeaux belongs to, and is intended for the use of the rebels, and will go into their hands, if not directly, indirectly, especially if there is any pressure used by the French Government. But my opinion is, this Government will only wink at her departure. I have repeatedly (being one of the order of the Sons) heard the above things discussed, from time to time, by *McCulloch*, *DeLeon*, Heustis, Macfarlan, and others of the secret order. The captain of the *Stonewall*, Captain Page, is here, and has been for some days (I forgot to mention this in my last), as well as several of the officers of the late rebel steamer *Florida*, and I believe they leave to-day. The *Stonewall* is lying at Ferrol, and the *Niagara* is at Corunna—two different harbors, but not far apart. I hear nothing as to when they intend to leave Ferrol, but this much I have learned—that when they are ready to go to sea, they will run one to Corunna where the *Niagara* is, and demand of the Spanish Government twenty-four hours' detention of the *Niagara*, so as to enable them to put to sea. But if Commodore Craven adopts the plan I suggested when I last saw him, this plan of theirs will be easily evaded. Clark I believe to be the real name of the party of whom I wrote you in my last; he has been hanging on here for some time. They could have no possible object in imposing on me in this particular. That's his business, and both he and Johnston have gone, for the avowed purpose, as I have before stated to you, of taking the lives of Mr. Seward and General Sherman. I have not the least doubt but that there are others watching for the same opportunity. The opinion is with many of them here, that Mr. Seward is *de facto* the President, and does just as he pleases, and were it not for him, they could come to some amicable arrangement. It would be useless for me to repeat to you all that I hear on the subject, and the arguments *pro* and *con*. This Clark, I believe, has some other mission as well as that of seeking the life of General Sherman. He is in height about five feet nine inches, rather slender, thin in flesh, high cheek-bones, low forehead, eyes dark and sunken, very quiet, seldom or ever speaks in company unless spoken to, has a large dark-brown mustache, and large, long goatee; hair much darker than whiskers, and complexion rather sallow. While here wore gray clothes and wide-awake slouch-hat. He is a Texan by birth, has a very determined look, and from all appearances, I should judge, would, if possible, accomplish whatever he undertakes. The other man, Johnston, I know nothing of, as he was only here some three or four days—he came from Canada, *via* Liverpool—nor would it be prudent for me to make any inquiries concerning him; under the circumstances, as, if any thing ever transpires, and he was taken, suspicion from that fact might point to me. And I beg that on no occasion will you ever make use of my name, so that they could get any clue to me; if you did, from that moment my fate would be sealed, especially as I have bound myself to their cause, under so fearful an oath. I once entertained a very high opinion of the Southerners, but from recent

facts and events I have changed those opinions, and now my firm belief is, that they would stop at no act, if necessary to accomplish their dear, cherished Confederation. The offer, five thousand dollars, is a good one, and there is to be found plenty who would gladly catch at it. You cannot for one moment have the slightest idea of their feelings towards the North, and it increases as their struggle becomes more desperate. The heads here are in daily consultation, and what is there discussed I have no means of ascertaining. It was Cooper who told me of these two men going out on their diabolical mission, or I perhaps should never have heard of the matter at all, and I considered it my duty to convey to you the facts as I got them, at once, so that, if possible, their designs might be thwarted, and every precaution taken that was necessary; for I repeat again what I have already done to you before: they are bent on destruction, and will not stop at any object, even to the taking of life, so as to attain their ends—and mark me, Mr. Seward is not the only one they will assassinate. I have heard some fearful oaths, and it's war to the teeth with them. I feel confident that there is some secret understanding between them and the *Emperor* of this Government; at least I am given to understand so. The death of the Duke de Morny has deprived them of an interview with the *Emperor*, which was to have taken place, if I am rightly informed, on Sunday last. My sickness has prevented me from being fully posted to all recent movements, but I am in hopes that my health will in a short time be fully re-established, and after my return from Bordeaux, I shall be in possession of all movements. I have written at some length, but required, as you requested a full explanation of the foregoing facts. Be kind enough to see that my name is not used at Washington, for there are plenty on the sharp lookout there, and it would be heralded back here, and it might prove fatal for me. I believe I cannot add any thing more at present. You did not send me all I requested; please send it at once to Bordeaux by return of mail. I leave for Bordeaux to-night, and will do as you request,

Believe me truly yours,

B.

D.

REPORTS, DISPATCHES, AND PROCLAMATIONS RELATING TO THE ASSASSINATION.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, April 15, 1861 A. M.

Major-General DIX, New York:

This evening, at about 9.30 P. M., at Ford's Theatre, the President, while sitting in his private box with Mrs. Lincoln, Mrs. Harris, and Major Rathburn, was shot by an assassin, who suddenly entered the box and approached behind the President.

The assassin then leaped upon the stage, brandishing a large dagger or knife, and made his escape in the rear of the theatre.

The pistol-ball entered the back of the President's head and penetrated nearly through the head. The wound is mortal.

The President has been insensible ever since it was inflicted, and is now dying.

About the same hour an assassin, whether the same or not, entered Mr. Seward's apartments, and, under pretence of having a prescription, was shown to the Secretary's sick chamber. The assassin immediately rushed to the bed and inflicted two or three stabs on the throat and two on the face.

It is hoped the wounds may not be mortal. My apprehension is that they will prove fatal.

The nurse alarmed Mr. Frederick Seward, who was in an adjoining room, and he hastened to the door of his father's room, when he met the assassin, who inflicted upon him one or more dangerous wounds. The recovery of Frederick Seward is doubtful.

It is not probable that the President will live through the night.

General Grant and wife were advertised to be at the theatre this evening, but he started to Burlington at six o'clock this evening.

At a Cabinet meeting, at which General Grant was present, the subject of the state of the country and the prospect of a speedy peace were discussed. The President was very cheerful and hopeful, and spoke very kindly of General Lee and others of the Confederacy, and of the establishment of government in Virginia.

All the members of the Cabinet, except Mr. Seward, are now in attendance upon the President.

I have seen Mr. Seward, but he and Frederick were both unconscious.

EDWIN M. STANTON, *Secretary of War.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, April 12, 8 A. M.

Major-General Dix, New York:

The President still breathes, but is quite insensible, as he has been ever since he was shot. He evidently did not see the person who shot him, but was looking on the stage, as he was approached from behind.

Mr. Seward has rallied, and it is hoped he may live.

Frederick Seward's condition is very critical.

The attendant who was present was shot through the lungs, and is not expected to live.

The wounds of Major Seward are not serious.

Investigation strongly indicates J. Wilkes Booth as the assassin of the President. Whether it was the same or a different person that attempted to murder Mr. Seward remains in doubt.

Chief-Justice Carter is engaged in taking the evidence.

Every exertion has been made to prevent the escape of the murderer. His horse has been found on the road near Washington.

EDWIN M. STANTON, *Secretary of War.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, April 15, 4 10 A. M.

Major-General Dix:

The President continues insensible, and is sinking.

Secretary Seward remains without change.

Frederick Seward's skull is fractured in two places, besides a severe cut upon the head. The attendant is still alive, but hopeless. Major Seward's wounds are not dangerous.

It is now ascertained with reasonable certainty that two assassins were engaged in the horrible crime—Wilkes Booth being the one that shot the President, and the other a companion of his, whose name is not known, but whose description is so clear that he can hardly escape.

It appears, from a letter found in Booth's trunk, that the murder was planned before the 4th of March, but fell through then because the accomplice backed out until "Richmond could be heard from."

Booth and his accomplice were at the livery-stable at six o'clock last evening, and left there with their horses about ten o'clock, or shortly before that hour.

It would appear that they had for several days been seeking their

chance, but for some unknown reason it was not carried into effect until last night.

One of them has evidently made his way to Baltimore; the other has not yet been traced.

EDWIN M. STANTON, *Secretary of War.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, April 15, 1865.

To Major-General DIX, New York:

Abraham Lincoln died this morning at twenty-two minutes after seven o'clock.

EDWIN M. STANTON, *Secretary of War.*

THE DEATH-BED.

Unofficial Account of the last Moments of the President.

At twenty minutes past seven o'clock the President breathed his last, closing his eyes as if falling to sleep, and his countenance assuming an expression of perfect serenity. There were no indications of pain, and it was not known that he was dead until the gradually decreasing respiration ceased altogether.

The Rev. Dr. Gurley, of the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church, immediately on its being ascertained that life was extinct, knelt at the bedside and offered an impressive prayer, which was responded to by all present.

Dr. Gurley then proceeded to the front parlor, where Mrs. Lincoln, Captain Robert Lincoln, Mr. John Hay, the Private Secretary, and others were waiting, where he again offered a prayer for the consolation of the family.

The following minutes, taken by Dr. Abbott, show the condition of the late President throughout the night:—

- 11 o'clock, pulse 44.
- 11.05 o'clock, pulse 45, and growing weaker.
- 11.10 o'clock, pulse 46.
- 11.15 o'clock, pulse 42.
- 11.20 o'clock, pulse 45, respiration 27 to 29.
- 11.25 o'clock, pulse 42.
- 11.32 o'clock, pulse 48 and full.
- 11.40 o'clock, pulse 45.
- 11.45 o'clock, pulse 45, respiration 22
- 12 o'clock, pulse 48, respiration 22.
- 12.15 o'clock, pulse 48, respiration 21.
- Echymosis both eyes.
- 12.30 o'clock, pulse 45.
- 12.32 o'clock, pulse 60.
- 12.35 o'clock, pulse 66.
- 12.40 o'clock, pulse 69, right eye much swollen, and ecchymosis.
- 12.45 o'clock, pulse 70.
- 12.55 o'clock, pulse 80, struggling motion of arms.
- 1 o'clock, pulse 86, respiration 30.
- 1.30 o'clock, pulse 95, appearing easier.
- 1.45 o'clock, pulse 86, very quiet, respiration irregular, Mrs. Lincoln present.

2.10 o'clock, Mrs. Lincoln retired with Robert Lincoln to an adjoining room.

2.30 o'clock, President very quiet, pulse 54, respiration 28.

2.52 o'clock, pulse 48, respiration 30.

3 o'clock, visited again by Mrs. Lincoln.

3.25 o'clock, respiration 24, and regular.

3.35 o'clock, prayer by Rev. Dr. Gurley.

4 o'clock, respiration 26, and regular.

4.15 o'clock, pulse 60, respiration 25.

5.50 o'clock, respiration 28, regular.

6 o'clock, pulse failing, respiration 28.

6.30 o'clock, still failing, and labored breathing.

7 o'clock, symptoms of immediate dissolution.

7.22 o'clock, death.

Surrounding the death-bed of the President were Vice-President Johnson; Secretaries Stanton, Welles, McCulloch, and Usher; Postmaster-General Dennison and Attorney-General Speed; Generals Halleck, Meigs, Farnsworth, Augur, and Todd; Senator Sumner; Rev. Dr. Gurley; Speaker Colfax; Ex-Governor Farwell; Judge Carter, Judge Otto; Surgeon-General Barnes; Doctors Crans, Stone, Abbott, and Hall; M. B. Field and R. F. Andrews.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, April 15, 3 P. M.

Major-General Dix, New York:

Official notice of the death of the late President, Abraham Lincoln, was given by the heads of departments this morning to Andrew Johnson, Vice-President, upon whom the Constitution devolved the office of President. Mr. Johnson, upon receiving this notice, appeared before the Hon. Salmon P. Chase, Chief-Justice of the United States, and took the oath of office as President of the United States, and assumed its duties and functions. At twelve o'clock the President met the heads of departments in Cabinet meeting at the Treasury building, and among other business the following was transacted:—

First. The arrangements for the funeral of the late President were referred to the several secretaries, as far as relates to their respective departments.

Second. William Hunter, Esq., was appointed Acting Secretary of State during the disability of Mr. Seward and his son, Frederick Seward, the Assistant Secretary.

Third. The President formally announced that he desired to retain the present secretaries of departments of his Cabinet, and they would go on and discharge their respective duties in the same manner as before the memorable event that had changed the head of the Government.

All business in the departments was suspended during the day.

The surgeons report that the condition of Mr. Seward remains unchanged. He is doing well.

No improvement in Mr. Frederick Seward.

The murderers have not yet been apprehended.

EDWIN M. STANTON, *Secretary of War.*

THE ASSASSINS.

Circular from the Provost-Marshal General.

WAR DEPARTMENT, PROVOST-MARSHAL GENERAL'S BUREAU,
WASHINGTON, D. C., April 15, 3.40 A. M.

It is believed that the assassins of the President and Secretary Seward are attempting to escape to Canada. You will make a careful and thor-

REWARD OFFERED BY PRESIDENT JOHNSON. 787

ough examination of all persons attempting to cross from the United States into Canada, and will arrest suspicious persons. The most vigilant scrutiny on your part and the force at your disposal is demanded. A description of the parties supposed to be implicated in the murder will be telegraphed you to-day; but in the mean time be active in preventing the crossing of any suspicious persons.

By order of the **SECRETARY OF WAR.**

N. L. JEFFERS, Brevet Brigadier-General, Acting Provost-Marshal General.

REWARD OFFERED BY SECRETARY STANTON.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, April 30, 1865.

Major-General **JOHN A. DIX**, New York:

The murderer of our late beloved President, Abraham Lincoln, is still at large. Fifty thousand dollars reward will be paid by this Department for his apprehension in addition to any reward offered by municipal authorities or State Executives.

Twenty-five thousand dollars reward will be paid for the apprehension of **G. A. Atzerot**, sometimes called "Port Tobacco," one of Booth's accomplices. Twenty-five thousand dollars reward will be paid for the apprehension of **David O. Harold**, another of Booth's accomplices. A liberal reward will be paid for any information that shall conduce to the arrest of either the above-named criminals or their accomplices. All persons harboring or secreting the said persons, or either of them, or aiding or assisting their concealment or escape, will be treated as accomplices in the murder of the President and the attempted assassination of the Secretary of State, and shall be subject to trial before a military commission and the punishment of death.

Let the stain of innocent blood be removed from the land by the arrest and punishment of the murderers.

All good citizens are exhorted to aid public justice on this occasion. Every man should consider his own conscience charged with this solemn duty, and rest neither night nor day until it be accomplished.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

FLIGHT OF THE ASSASSINS.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, April 22.

Major-General **JOHN A. DIX**, New York:

The counties of Prince George, Charles, and St. Mary's have, during the whole war, been noted for hostility to the Government, and its protection to rebel blockade-runners, rebel spies, and every species of public enemy; the murderers of the President harbored there before the murder, and Booth fled in that direction. If he escapes it will be owing to rebel accomplices in that direction.

The military commander of the department will surely take measures to bring these rebel sympathizers and accomplices in murder to a sense of their criminal conduct.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

THE CONSPIRACY ORGANIZED IN CANADA.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, April 24, 1865.

Major-General **JOHN A. DIX**, New York:

This Department has information that the President's murder was organized in Canada, and approved at Richmond.

One of the assassins, now in prison, who attempted to kill Mr. Seward, is believed to be one of the St. Albans raiders.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

BOOTH KILLED—HAROLD CAPTURED.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, April 27, 9.20 A. M.

Major-General DIX, New York:

J. Wilkes Booth and Harold were chased from the swamp in St. Mary's County, Maryland, to Garrett's farm, near Port Royal, on the Rappahannock, by Colonel Baker's forces.

The barn in which they took refuge was fired.

Booth, in making his escape, was shot through the head and killed, lingering about three hours, and Harold was captured.

Booth's body and Harold are now here.

EDWIN M. STANTON, *Secretary of War.*

REWARD OFFERED BY PRESIDENT JOHNSON.

By the President of the United States of America.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, It appears from the evidence in the bureau of military justice that the atrocious murder of the late President Abraham Lincoln, and the attempted assassination of the Hon. W. H. Seward, Secretary of State, were incited, concerted, and procured by and between Jefferson Davis, late of Richmond, Va., and Jacob Thompson, Clement C. Clay, Beverly Tucker, George N. Saunders, W. O. Cleary, and other rebels and traitors against the Government of the United States, harbored in Canada: now, therefore, to the end that justice may be done, I, Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, do offer and promise for the arrest of said persons, or either of them, within the limits of the United States, so that they can be brought to trial, the following rewards: One hundred thousand dollars for the arrest of Jefferson Davis; twenty-five thousand dollars for the arrest of Clement C. Clay; twenty-five thousand dollars for the arrest of Jacob Thompson, late of Mississippi; twenty-five thousand dollars for the arrest of George N. Saunders; twenty-five thousand dollars for the arrest of Beverly Tucker, and ten thousand dollars for the arrest of William C. Cleary, late clerk of Clement C. Clay.

The Provost-Marshal General of the United States is directed to cause a description of said persons, with notice of the above rewards, to be published.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, the second day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and of [L. s.] the independence of the United States of America the eighty-ninth.

By the President: ANDREW JOHNSON.

W. HUNTER, *Acting Secretary of State.*

THE FUNERAL.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, Wednesday, April 27, 1865.

Major-General DIX:

The arrangements for conveying the President's remains to Springfield, Illinois, have been changed this morning. They will go direct from Washington to Philadelphia, Harrisburg, Pittsburg, Fort Wayne, and thence to Springfield.

EDWIN M. STANTON, *Secretary of War.*

SECOND DISPATCH.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, April 19, 1865, 11 P. M.

Major-General JOHN A. DIX New York:

It has been finally concluded to conform to the original arrangements made yesterday for the conveyance of the remains of the late President, Abraham Lincoln, from Washington to Springfield, viz.: By way of Baltimore, Harrisburg, Philadelphia, New York, Albany, Buffalo, Cleveland, Columbus, Indianapolis, and Chicago, to Springfield.

EDWIN M. STANTON, *Secretary of War.*

OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

WASHINGTON, April 15, 1865.

To J. C. DERBY, United States Dispatch Agent, New York:

Send a copy of the following to Mr. Adams at London by the steamer of to-day, if in time:—

CHARLES FRANCOIS ADAMS, &c., &c.:

The sad duty devolves upon me to announce the assassination of the President, at Ford's Theatre, last night, by a pistol-shot from a person who entered his box for the purpose. The assassin escaped, but it is supposed has since been arrested.

The President died at half-past seven o'clock this morning.

Vice-President Johnson has assumed the functions of President, having been sworn in by the Chief-Justice.

About the same time an attempt was made by, it is believed, a different person, to assassinate Mr. Seward; but the murderer only succeeded in inflicting painful and severe wounds, principally upon his face.

Mr. F. W. Seward was beaten over the head with a heavy weapon in the hands of the person who attacked his father, and is grievously hurt. His brother was also wounded by the dagger of the assassin, as was Mr. Hansell, a messenger of the department, who was with the Secretary, and the male nurse in attendance.

WILLIAM HUNTER, *Acting Secretary of State.*

[The above telegraphic dispatch was sent off by the Portland steamer at three P. M. on Saturday, April 15.]

ACTING SECRETARY HUNTER TO HIS SUBORDINATES.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, April 17, 1865.

It is hereby ordered that, in honor of the memory of our late illustrious Chief Magistrate, all officers and others subject to the orders of the Secretary of State, wear crepe upon the left arm for the period of six months.

W. HUNTER, *Acting Secretary.*

ORDERS FROM SECRETARY STANTON AND GENERAL GRANT.

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, April 16, 1865.

GENERAL ORDERS, No. 66.—The following order of the Secretary of War announces to the armies of the United States the untimely and lamentable death of the illustrious Abraham Lincoln, late President of the United States:—

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, April 16, 1865.

The distressing duty has devolved upon the Secretary of War to announce to the armies of the United States, that at twenty-two minutes

after seven o'clock on the morning of Saturday, the 15th day of April, 1865, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, died of a mortal wound inflicted on him by an assassin. The armies of the United States will share with their fellow-citizens the feelings of grief and horror inspired by the most atrocious murder of their great and beloved President and Commander-in-Chief with profound sorrow, will mourn his death as a national calamity. The head-quarters of every department, post, station, fort, and arsenal will be draped in mourning for thirty days, and appropriate funeral honors will be paid by every army, and in every department, and at every military post, and at the Military Academy at West Point, to the memory of the late illustrious Chief Magistrate of the nation, and Commander-in-Chief of the armies. Lieutenant-General Grant will give the necessary instructions for carrying this order into effect.

EDWIN M. STANTON, *Secretary of War.*

On the day after the receipt of the order at head-quarters of every military division, department, army-post, station, fort, and arsenal, and at the Military Academy at West Point, the troops and cadets will be paraded at ten o'clock A. M., and the order read to them. After which all labor and operations for the day will cease, and be suspended, as far as practicable in a state of war. The national flag will be displayed at half-staff. At the dawn of day thirteen guns will be fired, and afterwards at intervals of thirty minutes between the rising and the setting of the sun a single gun, and at the close of the day a national salute of thirty-six guns. The officers of the armies of the United States will wear the badge of mourning on the left arm and on their swords, and the colors of their commands and regiments will be put in mourning for the period of six months.

By command of Lieutenant-General GRANT!
(Signed) W. A. NICHOLS, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, April 16, 1865.

Lieutenant-General GRANT, U. S. Army, Commanding Armies of the United States, Washington, D. C.

GENERAL.—You will please announce by general order to the armies of the United States, that on Saturday, the 15th day of April, 1865, by reason of the death of Abraham Lincoln, the office of President of the United States devolved upon Andrew Johnson, Vice-President, who, on the same day, took the official oath prescribed for the President, and entered upon the duties of that office.

EDWIN M. STANTON, *Secretary of War.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, April 16, 1865.

GENERAL ORDERS, No. 7.—It is hereby announced to the armies of the United States, that on Saturday, the 15th day of April, 1865, by reason of the death of Abraham Lincoln, the office of the President of the United States devolved upon Andrew Johnson, Vice-President, who, on the same day, took the official oath prescribed for the President, and entered upon the duties of that office.

By command of Lieutenant-General GRANT.
W. A. NICHOLS, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*

ORDERS FROM SECRETARY, WELLES.

NAVY DEPARTMENT WASHINGTON, April 17, 1865.

SPECIAL ORDERS.—Vice-Admiral D. G. Farragut and Rear-Admiral William B. Shubrick have been designated to make the necessary arrange

ments on the part of the Navy and Marine Corps for attending, on Wednesday next, the funeral of the late President of the United States.

GIDEON WELLES, *Secretary of the Navy.*

NAVY DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, April 17, 1865.

SPECIAL ORDERS.—Officers of the Navy and Marine Corps will assemble at the Navy Department, in uniform, at 10 o'clock A. M., on Wednesday next, for the purpose of attending the funeral of the late President of the United States.

GIDEON WELLES, *Secretary of the Navy.*

NAVY DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, April 17, 1865.

SPECIAL ORDER.—By order of the President of the United States, the Navy Department will be closed on Wednesday next, the day of the funeral solemnities of the late President of the United States. Labor will also be suspended on that day at each of the navy-yards and navy stations, and upon all the vessels of the United States. The flags of all vessels and at all navy-yards and stations and marine barracks will be kept at half-mast during the day, and at 12 o'clock, meridian, twenty-one minute-guns will be fired by the senior officer of each squadron and the commandants of each of the navy-yards and stations.

GIDEON WELLES, *Secretary of the Navy.*

ORDER FROM SECRETARY M'CULLOCH.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, April 18, 1865.

The Secretary of the Treasury, with profound sorrow, announces to the revenue marine the death of Abraham Lincoln, late President of the United States. He died in this city on the morning of the 15th inst., at twenty-two minutes past seven o'clock. The officers of the revenue marine will, as a manifestation of their respect for the exalted character and eminent public services of the illustrious dead, and of their sense of the calamity the country has sustained by this afflicting dispensation of Providence, wear crape on the left arm and upon the hilt of the sword for six months. It is further directed that funeral honors be paid on board all revenue vessels in commission, by firing thirty-six minute-guns, commencing at meridian on the day after the receipt of this order, and by wearing their flags at half-mast.

HUGH McCULLOCH, *Secretary of the Treasury.*

ORDER FROM POSTMASTER-GENERAL DENNISON.

POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, April 17.

TO DEPUTY POSTMASTERS:

Business in all the post-offices of the United States will be suspended, and the offices closed, from 11 A. M. to 3 P. M. on Wednesday, the 19th instant, during the funeral solemnities of Abraham Lincoln, late President of the United States.

W. DENNISON, *Postmaster-General.*

PROCLAMATION BY PRESIDENT JOHNSON OF A DAY OF HUMILIATION AND MOURNING.

Whereas, By my direction the acting Secretary of State, in a notice to the public, on the 17th of April, requested the various religious denominations to assemble on the 19th of April, on the occasion of the obsequies of Abraham Lincoln, late President of the United States, and to observe the same with appropriate ceremonies; and

Whereas, Our country has become one great house of mourning, where the head of the family has been taken away, and believing that a special period should be assigned for again humbling ourselves before Almighty God, in order that the bereavement may be sanctified to the nation:

Now, therefore, in order to mitigate that grief on earth which can only be assuaged by communion with the Father in Heaven, and in compliance with the wishes of Senators and Representatives in Congress, communicated to me by a resolution adopted at the national capital, I, Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, do hereby appoint Thursday, the 25th day of May next, to be observed, wherever in the United States the flag of the country may be respected, as a day of humiliation and mourning, and recommend my fellow-citizens then to assemble in their respective places of worship, there to unite in solemn service to Almighty God in memory of the good man who has been removed, so that all shall be occupied at the same time in contemplation of his virtues and sorrow for his sudden and violent end.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, the twenty-fifth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five,
[L. s.] and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-ninth.

ANDREW JOHNSON.

By the President:

W. HUNTER, *Acting Secretary of State.*

SECRETARY STANTON TO MINISTER ADAMS.

The following is the official report of the death of Mr. Lincoln, addressed to the Legation in London:—

WASHINGTON, April 15.

SIR:—It has become my distressing duty to announce to you that last night his Excellency Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, was assassinated, about the hour of half-past ten o'clock, in his private box at Ford's Theatre, in this city. The President, about eight o'clock, accompanied Mrs. Lincoln to the theatre. Another lady and gentleman were with them in the box. About half-past ten, during a pause in the performance, the assassin entered the box, the door of which was unguarded, hastily approached the President from behind, and discharged a pistol at his head. The bullet entered the back of his head, and penetrated nearly through. The assassin then leaped from the box upon the stage, brandishing a large knife or dagger, and exclaiming, "*Sic semper tyrannis!*" and escaped in the rear of the theatre. Immediately upon the discharge, the President fell to the floor insensible, and continued in that state until twenty minutes past seven o'clock this morning, when he breathed his last. About the same time the murder was being committed at the theatre, another assassin presented himself at the door of Mr. Seward's residence, gained admission by representing he had a prescription from Mr. Seward's physician, which he was directed to see administered, and hurried up to the third-story chamber, where Mr. Seward was lying. He here discovered Mr. Frederick Seward, struck him over the head, inflicting several wounds, and fracturing his skull in two places, inflicting, it is feared, mortal wounds. He then rushed into the room where Mr. Seward was in bed, attended by a young daughter and a male nurse. The male attendant was stabbed through the lungs, and it is believed will die. The assassin then struck Mr. Seward with a knife or

dagger twice in the throat and twice in the face, inflicting terrible wounds. By this time Major Seward, eldest son of the Secretary, and another attendant reached the room, and rushed to the rescue of the Secretary; they were also wounded in the conflict, and the assassin escaped. No artery or important blood-vessel was severed by any of the wounds inflicted upon him, but he was for a long time insensible from the loss of blood. Some hope of his possible recovery is entertained. Immediately upon the death of the President, notice was given to Vice-President Johnson, who happened to be in the city, and upon whom the office of President now devolves. He will take the office and assume the functions of President to-day. The murderer of the President has been discovered, and evidence obtained that these horrible crimes were committed in execution of a conspiracy deliberately planned and set on foot by rebels, under pretence of avenging the South and aiding the rebel cause; but it is hoped that the immediate perpetrators will be caught. The feeling occasioned by these outrageous crimes is so great, sudden, and overwhelming, that I cannot at present do more than communicate them to you. At the earliest moment yesterday the President called a Cabinet meeting, at which General Grant was present. He was more cheerful and happy than I had ever seen him, rejoiced at the near prospect of firm and durable peace at home and abroad, manifested in a marked degree the kindness and humanity of his disposition, and the tender and forgiving spirit that so eminently distinguished him. Public notice had been given that he and General Grant would be present at the theatre, and the opportunity of adding the Lieutenant-General to the number of victims to be murdered was no doubt seized for the fitting occasion of executing the plans that appear to have been in preparation for some weeks, but General Grant was compelled to be absent, and thus escaped the designs upon him. It is needless for me to say any thing in regard of the influence which this atrocious murder of the President may exercise upon the affairs of this country; but I will only add that, horrible as are the atrocities that have been resorted to by the enemies of the country, they are not likely in any degree to impair the public spirit or postpone the complete final overthrow of the rebellion. In profound grief for the events which it is my duty to communicate to you, I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

EDWIN M. STANTON.

To CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, London.

E.

IMPORTANT LETTER FROM J. WILKES BOOTH.

HIS ORIGINAL PURPOSE WAS TO TAKE MR. LINCOLN A PRISONER.—HIS REASONS FOR HIS ACTION.

[From the Philadelphia Press, April 19.]

We have just received the following letter, written by John Wilkes Booth, and placed by him in the hands of his brother-in-law, J. S. Clarke. It was written by him in November last, and left with J. S. Clarke in a sealed envelope, and addressed to himself, in his own handwriting. In the same envelope were some United States bonds and oil stocks. This letter was opened by Mr. Clarke for the first time on Monday last, and immediately handed by him to Marshall Milward, who has kindly placed it in our hands. Most unmistakably it proves that he must for many

months have contemplated seizing the person of the late President. It is, however, doubtful whether he imagined the black deed, which has plunged the nation into the deepest gloom, and at the same time awakened it to a just and righteous indignation.

1864.

MY DEAR SIR:—You may use this as you think best. But as some may wish to know *when, who, and why*, and as I do not know *how* to direct it, I give it (in the words of your master):—

To whom it may concern.

Right or wrong, God judge me, not man. For be my motive good or bad, of one thing I am sure, the lasting condemnation of the North.

I love peace more than life. Have loved the Union beyond expression. For four years have I waited, hoped, and prayed for the dark clouds to break, and for a restoration of our former sunshine. To wait longer would be a crime. All hope for peace is dead. My prayers have proved as idle as my hopes. God's will be done. I go to see and share the bitter end.

I have ever held that the South were right. The very nomination of Abraham Lincoln, four years ago, spoke plainly war—war upon Southern rights and institutions. His election proved it. "Await an overt act." Yes; till you are bound and plundered. What folly! The South were wise. Who thinks of argument or patience when the finger of his enemy presses on the trigger? In a *foreign war*, I, too, could say, "Country, right or wrong." But in a struggle *such as ours* (where the brother tries to pierce the brother's heart); for God's sake choose the right. When a country like this spurns *justice* from her side, she forfeits the allegiance of every honest freeman; and should leave him, untrammelled by any fealty soever, to act as his conscience may approve.

People of the North, to hate tyranny, to love liberty and justice, to strike at wrong and oppression, was the teaching of our fathers. The study of our early history will not let me forget it, and may it never.

This country was formed for the *white*, not for the black man. And, looking upon *African slavery* from the same stand-point held by the noble framers of our Constitution, I, for one, have ever considered it one of the greatest blessings (both for themselves and us) that God ever bestowed upon a favored nation. Witness heretofore our wealth and power; witness their elevation and enlightenment above their race elsewhere. I have lived among it most of my life, and have seen *less* harsh treatment from master to man than I have beheld in the North from father to son. Yet, Heaven knows, *no one* would be more willing to do *more* for the negro race than I, could I but see a way to *still better* their condition.

But Lincoln's policy is only preparing the way for their total annihilation. The South *are not, nor have they been, fighting* for the continuance of slavery. The first battle of Bull Run did away with that idea. Their causes *since for war* have been as *noble and greater far than those that urged our fathers on*. *Even* should we allow they were wrong at the beginning of this contest, *crushty and injustice* have made the wrong become the *right*, and they stand *now* (before the wonder and admiration of the world) as a noble band of patriotic heroes. Hereafter, reading of *their deeds*, Thermopylæ will be forgotten.

When I aided in the capture and execution of John Brown (who was a murderer on our western border, and who was fairly *tried and convicted*, before an impartial judge and jury, of treason, and who, by-the-way, has since been made a god), I was proud of my little share in the transaction, for I deemed it my duty, and that I was helping our common country to

perform an act of justice! But what was a crime in poor John Brown is now considered (by themselves) as the greatest and only virtue of the whole Republican party. Strange transmigration! *Vice* to become a *virtue* simply because *more* indulge in it!

I thought then, *as now*, that the abolitionists *were the only traitors* in the land, and that the entire party deserved the same fate as poor old Brown; not because they wish to abolish slavery, but on account of the means they have ever endeavored to use to effect that abolition. If Brown were living, I doubt whether he *himself* would set slavery against the Union. Most, or many in the North do, and openly, curse the Union if the South are to return and retain a *single right* guaranteed to them by every tie which we once *revered as sacred*. The South can make no choice. It is either extermination or slavery for *themselves* (worse than death) to draw from. I know *my* choice.

I have also studied hard to discover upon what grounds the right of a State to secede has been denied, when our very name, United States, and the Declaration of Independence, *both* provide for secession. But there is no time for words. I write in haste. I know how foolish I shall be deemed for undertaking such a step as this, where, on the one side, I have many friends and every thing to make me happy, where my profession *alone* has gained me an income of *more than* twenty thousand dollars a year, and where my great personal ambition in my profession has such a great field for labor. On the other hand, the South has never bestowed upon me one kind word; a place now where I have no friends, except beneath the sod; a place where I must either become a private soldier or a beggar. To give up all of the *former* for the *latter*, besides my mother and sisters, whom I love so dearly (although they so widely differ with me in opinion), seems insane; but God is my judge. I love *justice* more than I do a country that disowns it; more than fame and wealth; more (Heaven pardon me if wrong), more than a happy home. I have never been upon a battle-field; but oh! my countrymen, could you all but see the *reality* or effects of this horrid war as I have seen them (in *every State*, save Virginia), I know you would think like me, and would pray the Almighty to create in the Northern mind a sense of *right* and *justice* (even should it possess no seasoning of mercy), and that he would dry up this sea of blood between us, which is daily growing wider. Alas! poor country, is she to meet her threatened doom? Four years ago I would have given a thousand lives to see her remain (as I had always known her) powerful and unbroken. And even now I would hold my life as naught to see her what she was. Oh! my friends, if the fearful scenes of the past four years had never been enacted, or if what has been had been but a frightful dream, from which we could now awake, with what overflowing hearts could we bless our God and pray for his continued favor! How I have loved the *old flag* can never now be known. A few years since, and the entire world could boast of *none* so pure and spotless. But I have of late been seeing and hearing of the *bloody deeds* of which she has *been made the emblem*, and would shudder to think how changed she had grown. Oh! how I have longed to see her break from the mist of blood and death that circles round her folds, spoiling her beauty and tarnishing her honor. But no, day by day has she been dragged deeper and deeper into cruelty and oppression, till now (in my eyes) her once bright red stripes look like *bloody gashes* on the face of heaven. I look now upon my early admiration of her glories as a dream. My love (as things stand to-day) is for the South alone. Nor do I deem it a dishonor in attempting to make for her a prisoner of this man, to whom she owes so much of misery. If success attend me, I go

peniless to her side. They say she has found that "last ditch" which the North have so long derided and been endeavoring to force her in, forgetting they are our brothers, and that it is impolitic to goad an enemy to madness. Should I reach her in safety, and find it true, I will proudly beg permission to triumph or die in that same "ditch" by her side.

A Confederate doing duty upon his own responsibility.

J. WILKES BOOTH.

F.

INDICTMENT OF THE CONSPIRATORS.

CHARGES AND SPECIFICATIONS.

The following is a copy of the charge and specification against David E. Harold, George A. Atzerodt, Lewis Payne, Michael O'Laughlin, John H. Surratt, Edward Spangler, Samuel Arnold, Mary E. Surratt, and Samuel Mudd:—

Charge 1st.—For maliciously, unlawfully, and traitorously, and in aid of the existing armed rebellion against the United States of America, on or before the 6th day of March, A. D. 1865, and on divers other days between that day and the 15th day of April, 1865, combining, confederating, and conspiring together with one John H. Surratt, John Wilkes Booth, Jefferson Davis, George N. Saunders, Beverly Tucker, Jacob Thompson, William O. Cleary, Clement O. Clay, George Harper, George Young, and others unknown, to kill and murder within the Military Department of Washington, and within the fortified and intrenched lines thereof, Abraham Lincoln, and at the time of said combining, confederating, and conspiring, President of the United States of America and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy thereof; Andrew Johnson, now Vice-President of the United States as aforesaid; William H. Seward, Secretary of State of the United States aforesaid, and Ulysses S. Grant, Lieutenant-General of the Army of the United States aforesaid, then in command of the armies of the United States, under the direction of the said Abraham Lincoln, and in pursuance of, and in prosecuting said malicious, unlawful, and traitorous conspiracy aforesaid, and in aid of said rebellion, afterwards, to wit: On the 14th day of April, 1865, within the military department of Washington aforesaid, and within the fortified and intrenched lines of said military department, together with said John Wilkes Booth and John H. Surratt, maliciously, unlawfully, and traitorously murdering the said Abraham Lincoln, then President of the United States, and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, as aforesaid, and maliciously, unlawfully, and traitorously assaulting, with intent to kill and murder the said William H. Seward, then Secretary of State of the United States as aforesaid, and lying in wait with intent, maliciously, unlawfully, and traitorously, to kill and murder the said Andrew Johnson, then being Vice-President of the United States, and the said Ulysses S. Grant, then being Lieutenant-General and in command of the armies of the United States aforesaid.

Specification 1st.—In this that they, the said David E. Harold, Edward Spangler, Lewis Payne, John H. Surratt, Michael O'Laughlin, Samuel Arnold, Mary E. Surratt, George A. Atzerodt, and Samuel A. Mudd, incited and encouraged thereunto by Jefferson Davis, George N. Saunders, Beverly Tucker, Jacob Thompson, William O. Cleary, Clement O. Clay, George Harper, George Young, and others unknown, citizens of the United States aforesaid, and who were then engaged in armed rebellion

against the United States of America, within the limits thereof, did, in aid of said armed rebellion, on or before the 6th day of March, A. D. 1865, and on divers other days and times between that day and the 15th day of April, A. D. 1865, combine, confederate, and conspire together, at Washington City, within the military department of Washington; and within the intrenched fortifications and military lines of the said United States, there being, unlawfully, maliciously, and traitorously; to kill and murder Abraham Lincoln, then President of the United States aforesaid, and Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy thereof, and unlawfully, maliciously, and traitorously, to kill and murder Andrew Johnson, now Vice-President of the said United States, upon whom, on the death of the said Abraham Lincoln, after the 4th day of March, A. D. 1865, the office of President of the said United States, and the Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy thereof, would devolve, and to unlawfully, maliciously, and traitorously kill and murder Ulysses S. Grant, then lieutenant-general, and under the direction of the said Abraham Lincoln, in command of the armies of the United States aforesaid, and unlawfully, maliciously, and traitorously to kill and murder William H. Seward, then Secretary of State of the United States aforesaid, whose duty it was by law, upon the death of said President and Vice-President of the United States aforesaid, to cause an election to be held for electors of President of the United States; the conspirators aforesaid designing and intending by the killing and murder of the said Abraham Lincoln, Andrew Johnson, Ulysses S. Grant, and William H. Seward as aforesaid, to deprive the army and navy of the said United States of a constitutional commander-in-chief, and to deprive the armies of the United States of their lawful commander, and to prevent a lawful election of President and Vice-President of the United States, aforesaid; and by the means aforesaid to aid and comfort the insurgents engaged in armed rebellion against the said United States as aforesaid, and thereby aid in the subversion and overthrow of the Constitution and the laws of the United States; and being so combined, confederated, and conspiring together in the prosecution of said unlawful and traitorous conspiracy on the night of the 14th day of April, A. D. 1865, at the hour of about ten o'clock and fifteen minutes P. M., at Ford's Theatre, on Tenth Street, in the City of Washington, and within the military department and military lines aforesaid, John Wilkes Booth, one of the conspirators aforesaid, in pursuance of said unlawful and traitorous conspiracy, did then and there, unlawfully, maliciously, and traitorously, and with intent to kill and murder the said Abraham Lincoln, discharge a pistol then held in the hands of him the said Booth, the same being then loaded with powder and leaden ball, against and upon the left and posterior side of the head of the said Abraham Lincoln, and did thereby then and there inflict upon him, the said Abraham Lincoln, then President of the said United States, and Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy thereof, a mortal wound, whereof afterwards, to wit: on the 15th day of April, A. D. 1865, at Washington City aforesaid, the said Abraham Lincoln died, and thereby then and there, and in pursuance of said conspiracy the said defendants and the said John Wilkes Booth did unlawfully, traitorously, and maliciously, with the intent to aid the rebellion, as aforesaid, kill and murder the said Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, as aforesaid, and in further prosecution of the unlawful and traitorous conspiracy aforesaid, and of the murderous and traitorous intent of said conspiracy, the said Edward Spangler, on the said 14th day of April, A. D. 1865, at about the same hour of that day, as aforesaid, within said military department and the military lines aforesaid, did aid and assist the said John Wilkes Booth to obtain an entrance to the box in the said

theatre in which the said Abraham Lincoln was sitting at the time he was assaulted and shot as aforesaid by John Wilkes Booth; and also did, then and there aid said Booth in barring and obstructing the door of the box of said theatre so as to hinder and prevent any assistance to or rescue of the said Abraham Lincoln, against the murderous assault of the said John Wilkes Booth, and did aid and abet him in making his escape after the said Abraham Lincoln had been murdered in the manner aforesaid; and in further prosecution of said unlawful, murderous, and traitorous conspiracy; and in pursuance thereof, and with the intent as aforesaid, the said David E. Harold did, on the 14th of April, A. D. 1865, within the military department and military lines aforesaid, aid and abet, and assist the said John Wilkes Booth in the killing and murder of the said Abraham Lincoln; and did then and there aid and abet and assist him, the said John Wilkes Booth, in attempting him to escape through the military lines aforesaid, and did accompany and assist the said John Wilkes Booth, in attempting to conceal himself and escape from justice after killing and murdering the said Abraham Lincoln aforesaid; and in further prosecution of said unlawful and traitorous conspiracy, and of the intent thereof, as aforesaid, the said Lewis Payne did on the same night of the 14th day of April, 1865, about the same hour of ten o'clock, fifteen minutes P. M., at the City of Washington, and within the military department and the military lines aforesaid, unlawfully and maliciously make an assault upon the said William H. Seward, Secretary of State as aforesaid, in the dwelling-house and bed-chamber of him, the said William H. Seward, and the said Payne did then and there, with a large knife held in his hand, unlawfully, traitorously, and in pursuance of said conspiracy, strike, stab, cut, and attempt to kill and murder the said William H. Seward, and did thereby then and there, and with the intent aforesaid, with said knife, inflict upon the face and throat of said William H. Seward divers grievous wounds; and said Lewis Payne, in further prosecution of said conspiracy, at the same time and place last aforesaid, did attempt, with the knife aforesaid, and a pistol, held in his hand, to kill and murder Frederick W. Seward, Augustus H. Seward, Emrick W. Hansel, and George F. Robinson, who were then striving to protect and rescue the said William H. Seward from being murdered by the said Lewis Payne, and did then and there, with the said knife and pistols held in his hands, inflict upon the head of said Frederick W. Seward, and upon the persons of said Augustus H. Seward, Emrick W. Hansel, and George F. Robinson, divers grievous and dangerous wounds, with intent then and there to kill and murder the said Frederick W. Seward, Augustus H. Seward, Emrick W. Hansel, and George F. Robinson.

And in further prosecution of said conspiracy, and its traitorous and murderous designs, the said George A. Atzerodt did, on the night of the 14th of April, A. D. 1865, and about the same hour aforesaid, within the military department and the military lines aforesaid, lie in wait for Andrew Johnson, then Vice-President of the United States, aforesaid, with the intent unlawfully and maliciously to kill and murder him, the said Andrew Johnson.

And in the further prosecution of the conspiracy aforesaid, and of its murderous and treasonable purpose aforesaid, on the nights of the 13th and 14th of April, A. D. 1865, at Washington City, and within the military department and military lines aforesaid, the said Michael O'Laughlin did then and there lie in wait for Ulysses S. Grant, then Lieutenant-General and Commander of the armies of the United States as aforesaid, with intent then and there to kill and murder the said Ulysses S. Grant.

And in the further prosecution of said conspiracy, the said Samuel Ar

nold did, within the military department and military lines aforesaid, on or before the 6th day of March, A. D. 1865, and on divers other days and times between that day and the 15th day of April, A. D. 1865, combine, conspire with, and aid, counsel, abet, comfort, and support the said John Wilkes Booth, Lewis Payne, George A. Atzerodt, Michael O'Laughlin, and their confederates in said unlawful, murderous, and traitorous conspiracy, and in the execution thereof as aforesaid.

And, in further prosecution of the said conspiracy, Mary E. Surratt did, at Washington City, and within the military department, and the military lines aforesaid, on or before the 6th day of March, A. D. 1865, and on divers other days and times between that day and the 20th of April, A. D. 1865, receive, entertain, harbor and conceal, aid and assist the said John Wilkes Booth, David E. Harold, Lewis Payne, John H. Surratt, Michael O'Laughlin, George A. Atzerodt, Samuel Arnold, and their confederates, with knowledge of the murderous and traitorous conspiracy aforesaid, and with intent to aid, abet, and assist them in the execution thereof, and in escaping from justice after the murder of the said Abraham Lincoln, as aforesaid; and in further prosecution of said conspiracy, the said Samuel A. Mudd did, at Washington City, and within the military department and military lines aforesaid, on or before the 6th day of March, A. D. 1865, and on divers other days and times between that day and the 20th day of April, A. D. 1865, advise, encourage, receive, entertain, harbor, and conceal, aid, and assist the said John Wilkes Booth, David E. Harold, Lewis Payne, John H. Surratt, Michael O'Laughlin, George A. Atzerodt, Mary E. Surratt, and Samuel Arnold, and their confederates, with knowledge of the murderous and traitorous conspiracy aforesaid, and with intent to aid, abet, and assist them in the execution thereof, and in escaping from justice after the murder of the said Abraham Lincoln, in pursuance of said conspiracy in manner aforesaid.

By order of the President of the United States.

J. HOLY, *Judge-Advocate-General.*

THE FINDING OF THE COURT.

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, July 5, 1865.

To Major-General W. S. HANCOCK, *U. S. Volunteers, commanding Middle Military Division, Washington D. C.*

Whereas, By the Military Commission appointed in paragraph 4, Special Orders 211, dated War Department, Adjutant-General's Office, May 6, 1865, and of which Major-General David Hunter, United States Volunteers, is President, the following persons were tried and sentenced as hereinafter stated, as follows:—

First.—David E. Harold.

Finding.—Of the specification "Guilty," except combining, confederating, and conspiring with Edward Spangler, as to which part thereof "Not Guilty." Of the charge "Guilty," except the words of the charge that "he combined, confederated, and conspired with Edward Spangler," as to which part of the charge "Not Guilty."

Sentence.—And the Commission therefore sentence him, the said David E. Harold, to be hanged by the neck until he is dead, at such time and place as the President of the United States shall direct, two-thirds of the members of the Commission concurring therein.

Second.—George A. Atzerodt.

Finding.—Of the specification "Guilty," except combining, confederating, and conspiring with Edward Spangler. Of this "Not Guilty."

Sentence.—And the Commission does therefore sentence him, the said George A. Atzerodt, to be hanged by the neck until he is dead, at such time and place as the President of the United States shall direct, two-thirds of the members of the Commission concurring therein.

Third.—Lewis Payne.

Finding.—Of the specification "Guilty," except combining, confederating, and conspiring with Edward Spangler. Of this not guilty. Of the charge "Not Guilty," except combining, confederating, and conspiring with Edward Spangler. Of this not guilty.

Sentence.—And the Commission does, therefore, sentence him, the said Lewis Payne, to be hanged by the neck until he be dead, at such time and place as the President of the United States shall direct; two-thirds of the members of the Commission concurring therein.

Fourth.—Mary E. Surratt.

Finding.—Of the specification "Guilty," except as to the receiving, entertaining, harboring, and concealing Samuel Arnold and Michael O'Laughlin, and, except as to combining, confederating, and conspiring with Edward Spangler. Of this not guilty. Of the charge "Guilty," except as to combining, confederating, and conspiring with Edward Spangler. Of this not guilty.

Sentence.—And the Commission does therefore sentence her, the said Mary E. Surratt, to be hanged by the neck until she be dead, at such time and place as the President of the United States shall direct, two-thirds of the members of the Commission concurring therein; and

Whereas, The President of the United States has approved the foregoing sentences in the following order, to wit:—

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 5, 1865.

The foregoing sentences in the cases of David E. Harold, George E. Atzerodt, Lewis Payne, and Mary E. Surratt, are hereby approved; and it is ordered that the sentences in the cases of David E. Harold, G. A. Atzerodt, Lewis Payne, and Mary E. Surratt, be carried into execution by the proper military authority, under the direction of the Secretary of War, on the 7th day of July, 1865, between the hours of 10 o'clock A. M. and 2 o'clock P. M. of that day.

ANDREW JOHNSON, *President.*

Therefore, You are hereby commanded to cause the foregoing sentences in the cases of David E. Harold, G. A. Atzerodt, Lewis Payne, and Mary E. Surratt, to be duly executed in accordance with the President's order. By command of the President of the United States.

E. D. TOWNSEND, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*

In the remaining cases of O'Laughlin, Spangler, Arnold, and Mudd, the findings and sentences are as follows:—

Fifth.—Michael O'Laughlin.

Finding.—Of the specification "Guilty," except the words thereof as follows: "And in the further prosecution of the conspiracy aforesaid, and its murderous and treasonable purposes aforesaid, on the nights of the 18th and 14th of April, A. D. 1865, at Washington City, and within the military department and military lines aforesaid, the said Michael O'Laughlin did then and there lie in wait for Ulysses S. Grant, then Lieutenant-General and Commander of the Armies of the United States, with intent then and there to kill and murder the said Ulysses S. Grant." Of said words, "Not Guilty," and except "combining, confederating, and

conspiring with Edward Spangler." Of this not guilty. Of the charge "Guilty," except combining, confederating, and conspiring with Edward Spangler. Of this not guilty.

Sentence.—The Commission sentence Michael O'Laughlin to be imprisoned at hard labor for life.

Sixth.—Edward Spangler.

Finding.—Of the specification, "Not Guilty," except as to the words, "the said Edward Spangler, on said 14th day of April, A. D. 1865, at about the same hour of that day as aforesaid, within said military department and the military lines aforesaid, did aid and abet him," meaning John Wilkes Booth, "in making his escape, after the said Abraham Lincoln had been murdered in the manner aforesaid," and of these words, "Guilty." Of the charge, not guilty, but guilty of having feloniously and traitorously aided and abetted John Wilkes Booth in making his escape after having killed and murdered Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States—he, the said Edward Spangler, at the time of aiding and abetting as aforesaid, well knowing that the said Abraham Lincoln, President as aforesaid, had been murdered by the said John Wilkes Booth as aforesaid.

The Commission sentenced Spangler to be confined at hard labor for six years.

Seventh.—Samuel Arnold. Of the specifications—

Guilty—Except combining, confederating, and conspiring with Edward Spangler; of this, not guilty.

Of the charge—

Guilty—Except combining, confederating, and conspiring with Edward Spangler; of this, not guilty.

The Commission sentence him to imprisonment at hard labor for life.

Eighth.—Samuel A. Mudd. Of the specification—

Guilty—Except combining, confederating, and conspiring with Edward Spangler; of this not guilty; and excepting receiving and entertaining, and harboring and concealing said Lewis Payne, John H. Surratt, Michael O'Laughlin, George A. Atzerodt, Mary E. Surratt, and Samuel Arnold; of this, not guilty. Of the charge "Guilty," except combining, confederating, and conspiring with Edward Spangler; of this, not guilty.

Sentence.—The Commission sentenced Dr. Mudd to be imprisoned at hard labor for life.

The President's order in these cases is as follows:—

It is further ordered that the prisoners, Samuel Arnold, Samuel A. Mudd, Edward Spangler, and Michael O'Laughlin, be confined at hard labor in the penitentiary at Albany, New York, during the period designated in their respective sentences.

ANDREW JOHNSON, *President.*

The sentences were duly executed, except the Dry Tortugas was substituted for the Albany Penitentiary, for the imprisonment of Arnold, Mudd, Spangler, and O'Laughlin.

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"The tribute of a free-will offering."—Deut. xvi. 10.

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ILLUSTRATED.

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THE FIRST READING

OF THE

Emancipation Proclamation before the Cabinet,

By PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

It was the most critical period of the war. McCLELLAN'S campaign before Richmond, upon which hung the hopes of the whole loyal North, had just resulted in disastrous failure. After the most stupendous preparations known in modern warfare, the great sacrifice of life had accomplished absolutely nothing in crushing the Rebellion, which, flushed with success, was more defiant than ever. Universal depression and discouragement succeeded the first brilliant hopes engendered by the great uprising of the North, which followed the bombardment of Fort Sumter.

Thus far had the war been prosecuted by the Administration without touching SLAVERY in any manner. The Proclamations of FREMONT and HUNTER, in Missouri and South Carolina, had been nullified at Washington.

At length, the demand for a change of policy, beginning with a few radical men, became too decided to be longer ignored. The Anti-Slavery party, largely in the minority at the outbreak of the Rebellion, numbered its converts by millions, so deeply seated had become the conviction that SLAVERY was the sole root and cause of the War.

The President could no longer hesitate. The last of July, 1862, the first draft of the Proclamation was prepared and a Special Cabinet Meeting was called; but the occasion of the summons was not made known. The President said he had "fully decided to take the responsibility of the act of EMANCIPATION, but that suggestions as to the subject-matter were in order." Nothing was offered that he had not already anticipated and carefully considered, until Mr. SEWARD spoke: "This matter is of so much importance," said he, "that I fear its effect at this juncture; it may be considered the last measure of an exhausted Government—a cry for help—the Government stretching forth its hands to Ethiopia, instead of Ethiopia stretching forth its hands to the Government." Therefore, Mr. President, I suggest that you postpone the issue of the Proclamation until it can be given to the country upon Union *success* rather than *defeat*." The result was, that the Proclamation was reserved, and first given to the world amid the acclamations which followed the battles of SOUTH MOUNTAIN and ANTETAM.

This is the moment of time seized by Mr. CARPENTER in the composition of his picture. The President seems suddenly arrested and impressed by the wisdom of the view of the Secretary of State. In truth, it was an aspect of the case, as he informed the artist, that he had until that

moment entirely overlooked. His *marked* face and figure are turned towards Mr. SEWARD, who is in the act of speaking. He grasps the Proclamation in his left hand, which has dropped upon the table at his side; the old lines of humor are all gone from his face, and in their stead is a strange blending of firmness and anxiety. Slightly in the rear of Mr. LINCOLN is the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. CHASE, standing with arms closely folded over his breast. The President is supported on each hand by the Secretaries of War and the Navy, Mr. STANTON upon the right, and Mr. WELLES on the left; both of whom, together with Mr. CHASE, are looking, with varying shades of expression, towards the speaker, Mr. SEWARD. At the end of the table, opposite the President, leaning forward upon his arms, is JUDGE BAYNE, the Attorney-General. Immediately at his right, standing, as if having but recently entered the room, is MONTGOMERY BLAIR, the Postmaster-General. In the background, also standing, is the late CALVIN B. SMITH, then Secretary of the Interior.

By invitation of Mr. LINCOLN, Mr. CARPENTER occupied the State Dining-Room of the "White House" during the painting of the picture, which consumed about six months.

From the New York Tribune.

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From the Pittsburg Chronicle.

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