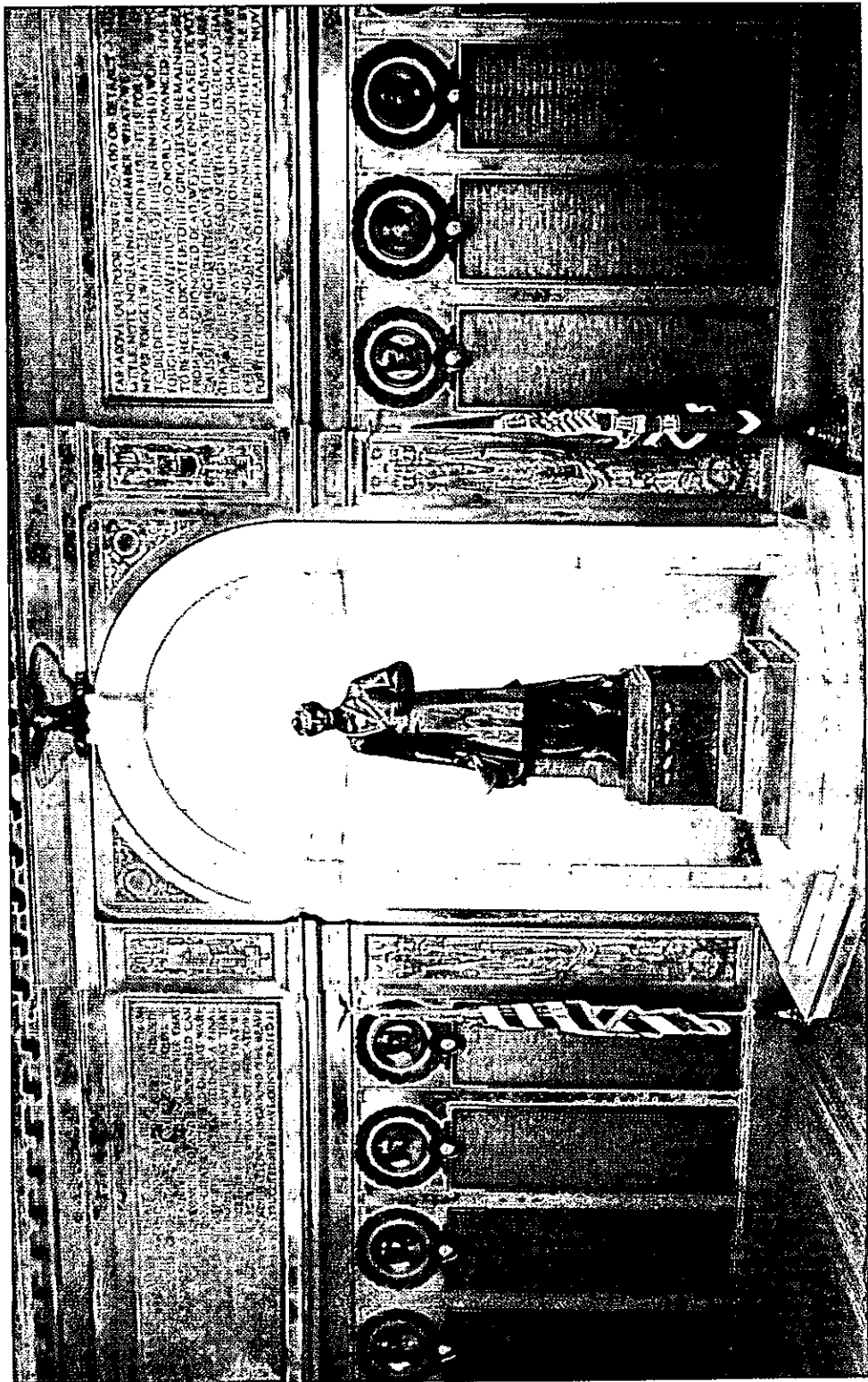




The Heritage Center
of The Union League of Philadelphia

Introduction to "While Lincoln Lay Dying: A
Facsimile Reproduction of the First Testimony
Taken in Connection with the Assassination of
Abraham Lincoln as Recorded by Corporal
James Tanner.", Full Document
Catalog Number: 1805.003.042

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The Lincoln Memorial Room in The Union League House in Philadelphia.

While Lincoln Lay Dying

A Facsimile Reproduction of the First Testimony
Taken in Connection with the Assassination
of Abraham Lincoln as Recorded by
Corporal James Tanner.

With a Biographical Introduction

by

MAXWELL WHITEMAN

PHILADELPHIA

THE UNION LEAGUE OF PHILADELPHIA

1968

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Introduction

The Union League of Philadelphia is proud to offer to the academic community, to Lincoln scholars and to historians of the Civil War, this facsimile reproduction of the testimony recorded by James Tanner.

Its publication was suggested by the many inquiries for copies of this manuscript, one of many notable documents in the archives of The Union League pertaining to Lincoln and the Civil War. The history of the testimony, how it came into the possession of The Union League, and the biographical data on Corporal Tanner should help answer many of the questions directed to us since the Civil War Centennial. It is gratifying to note that in addition to the Tanner manuscript, all of the source materials used by Maxwell Whiteman are in the League archives and library.

My thanks are due to the Committee on History and Art for continuing the League's traditional interest in the American past.

A brief note on the Civil War background of The Union League appears fitting to this introduction. The following account is quoted from the early records of the League:

On December 27, 1862, The Union League of Philadelphia was organized to support the Constitution of the United States, discountenance by moral and social influence all disloyalty to the Federal Government, encourage and maintain respect for its authority, compliance with its laws and acquiescence in its measures for the enforcement thereof, and for the suppression of insurrection, treason and rebellion, as duties obligatory upon every American citizen. Its inspiration was pure and disinterested patriotism; its foundation was devotion to the Union. Within six months after organization a military committee was appointed to recruit a regiment under its auspices. The ranks were rapidly filled, so that by July 4, 1863, recruits were called for a second regiment. Before December (1863) three full regiments, known collectively as

The Union League Brigade, had been raised and placed at the disposal of the national Government. During the winter of 1863-4 another full regiment (Fourth Union League) was put into the field. In July, 1864, the Fifth Union League regiment was enlisted; and shortly after, the Sixth Union League regiment was organized. In December, 1864, the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Union League regiments were formed. Aid was also furnished in the equipment of five companies of cavalry, including the "Dana Troop," between June, 1863, and March, 1864. In all, the Military Committee of The Union League gave to the government a body of 10,000 troops, for which they raised and expended \$108,000. Thus, the name of The Union League was carried on the battlefield to encourage and inspire resistance to the armed foes of the nation, while no less strenuously opposing open and secret enemies at home.

Within six weeks after The Union League was organized the Board of Publication was appointed to obtain the best talent to discuss the principles involved in the great struggle, in a plain and intelligent manner, for the enlightenment of the public mind, and to print and distribute the same with a view to creating and encouraging a wholesome public sentiment of loyalty to the Government of our country. From 1863 to 1868 inclusive, four and one-half millions of documents were published, at an expense of nearly \$100,000 and distributed in such a manner that the remotest homestead was supplied with sound Union Doctrine.

J. PERMAR RICHARDS, JR.
President

The Union League of Philadelphia

A Note on the Committee on History and Art

The Committee on History and Art of The Union League traces its origin to a number of events uncommon to the history of most private clubs: the organization of the Art Association in 1870, the Lincoln Association in 1891—possibly the first of its kind in the United States—and the first Committee on History in 1899.

Initially, the task of the Committee on History was to gather the wartime records of the League. Subsequently, it undertook to bring together all records pertaining to the growth and development of the League. One result of its earlier undertakings was the publication of the *Chronicle of The Union League* in 1902. Although the Committee originally functioned independently from other League groups, it has since assumed some of the responsibilities of its predecessors. It is known today as the Committee on History and Art of The Union League.

Publication of the Tanner testimony reflects the continued interest of the League in the history of the United States.

SAMUEL E. FULTON, *Chairman*

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JOSEPH S. RIEBEL

James Tanner
as
Soldier & Civilian

During the mid-afternoon of August 30, 1862, at the second Battle of Bull Run, a lean and green country boy, newly elevated as a corporal, was struck by a shell that shattered one leg and tore away the other.

The boyish-looking soldier, James Tanner, had run away from his farm home to enlist in Company C, 87th New York Volunteer Infantry. He had survived unscathed the battles of Williamsburg, Fair Oaks, Yorktown, Seven Days, and the battles before Richmond and Malvern Hill.

Three days before the second Battle of Bull Run (Second Manassas), Stonewall Jackson swooped down on Federal troops and obliterated five companies at Manassas Junction. The next day Generals Hooker and Kearny engaged Jackson at Bristoe Station, where Union men were also cut up by the Confederates. Tanner's company and the remains of the 87th were then consolidated with the 105th Pennsylvania Regiment. The Union troops marched on to Bull Run where they were repulsed with heavy losses.

On the second day of the battle, Tanner's brigade paused alongside of a peach orchard in the center of a field, beyond which a ravine stretched at right angles. Some of the forward men, unable to resist the ripe fruit in the trees at the top of the hill, were soon detected by the enemy, whose batteries immediately began pitching their shells. The brigade was ordered to lie close to the ground with fixed bayonets and to wait for a lull in the fire. Tanner was stretched forward on his stomach waiting for the opportunity to use his musket. The heel of one foot was thrown up over the other. At about 3 p.m., Jackson's Corps had gotten the exact range of the line and let loose a storm of shot and shell. Tanner was talking to the

sergeant-major of the 105th Pennsylvania when a fragment from a bursting shell struck his lower left leg, "*nearly severing the foot at the ankle, and then shattering the right leg below the knee into a mass of crushed flesh and splintered bone.*"

At the first opportunity his companions carried him to a rim of safety. Before he lapsed into unconsciousness Tanner recalled how "*the boys picked me up . . . laid me on a blanket—no stretcher being available—and twisted a musket in on each side and lifted me to their shoulders. Neither of my legs had been entirely severed; my feet were hanging by shreds of flesh. The blanket was short, and lying on it on my face, I looked under and saw my feet dangling by the skin as they hung off of the other end. Some kind hearted soul gently lifted them and laid them on the edge of the blanket.*" At the field hospital the surgeon amputated his mangled legs about four inches below the knees.

Meanwhile, weakened Union lines crumbled and the troops retreated across Bull Run to Stony Ridge and the neighboring fords with the enemy pursuing them. There was only time enough to remove Tanner and some two hundred other critically wounded soldiers to a nearby farmhouse that was quickly converted into a hospital. The wounded were stretched out on the bare ground and left in the care of one doctor. They were soon overtaken by Confederate troops, who swept in and took them prisoners. Before night came, a cold drenching rain fell on the inadequate shelter and soaked the bodies of the feverish inhabitants who crowded it. But they were among the more fortunate of the wounded.

Almost 2,000 wounded Federal soldiers were left behind, scattered over a field five miles long and three miles wide. An army retreating in confusion could offer nothing to its fallen men. Unattended for days, they died of hunger and thirst, of shock, gangrene and erysipelas. While the wounded were putrefying on the field, the prisoners at the improvised hospital were transferred to a tent in a Confederate camp. For the first four days they received little food and what little medical attention could be provided by their surgeon. Supplies that reached them under a flag of truce had to be divided with the Confederate guard.

On September 9, the wounded prisoners were paroled and taken in horse-drawn ambulances on a long and harrowing ride to Fairfax Seminary Hospital near Alexandria, Virginia. On the following day, the wearisome journey over, the miseries of the wounded were temporarily relieved by the improved conditions at Fairfax.

In the grueling and difficult months of convalescence, Tanner often hovered between life and death. When he recovered sufficiently to travel, he began the long journey home. He was required to rest briefly in Philadelphia, where he received a fresh pillow and some necessities along with comforting words from the hospitable attendants of the Cooper Shop Refreshment Saloon. Clergymen of varied denominations were busy pressing tracts into the hands of any who would accept them. And the agents of the recently organized Union League moved about briskly distributing their own literature. It was a scene that Tanner never forgot.

Upon his return to his native Richmondville, New York, where he was born in 1844, Tanner, like so many disabled veterans, brooded about his future. He practiced walking on his newly fitted artificial legs and trained himself to maintain a correct balance with the use of a cane. Before the war, Richmondville, the Schoharie County town where he was educated, had offered him the opportunity to become a schoolmaster. His ambition had been to teach in a local business college. When Tanner was sufficiently mobile he attended Ames's Business College in Syracuse, New York, in order to study shorthand. The proficiency which he attained in phonographic writing became his major qualification for employment. During this transition, Richmondville lost its former lure. Other ambitions tugged within him. He no longer lamented the loss of his legs—in fact, his disability sharpened his patriotic feelings and renewed his strong faith in the Union for which he was so grievously wounded. Tanner yearned to return to Washington.

Late in 1864 Tanner arrived in the nation's capital. He found employment in the Ordnance Bureau of the War Department and on the first of December entered upon his duties as clerk. In the evenings he took dictation from Senate reporters and transcribed their notes. He lived in modest rented quarters on Tenth Street and avidly studied the conduct of the war. It was his ability to take shorthand and the proximity of his residence to the scene of Abraham Lincoln's assassination that thrust Tanner into the midst of the events that followed the shooting at Ford's Theatre.

On the night of April 14, 1865, James Tanner, in company with a friend, took the horsecar to Grover's Theatre to see "Aladdin, or the Wonderful Lamp." It was there that he heard of the shooting of Lincoln. When the startled audience was turned out of the theatre, Tanner made his way home. As he approached the silent

crowd that circled the house of William Petersen, where the dying President was taken, he was halted by the guard on duty: "*On my statement to the officer in command of the guard that I lived in the house next door, I was passed through the lines and went up to my room. The parlor and bedroom I occupied comprise the second story front. There was a balcony there and I found my rooms and the balcony crowded with other residents of the house.*" The loyalties of some of the residents were suspect but, according to Tanner, not even the hostile would have dared to speak an ill word of the dying President.

At about midnight, General Christopher C. Augur, in command of all the troops in Washington, came out on the steps of the Petersen house and called for someone able to take shorthand. Albert Daggett, a clerk in the State Department and also a boarder in the house where Tanner lived, was standing on the balcony overhanging the entrance to the Petersen house when General Augur made his request. Daggett immediately mentioned Tanner, who was asked at once to come to the Petersen house.

Contrary to many descriptions of what took place at this time, it appears that Tanner had only one pencil in his possession and if he supplied himself with paper, it was of the most unevenly cut stock available. Nor did the toeless corporal tiptoe down the hallway to the rear parlor after General Augur escorted him into the Petersen house, as some popularizers of the episode have stated.

Tanner later described the scene which took place in the room adjacent to where Lincoln lay dying. "*I found Secretary Stanton sitting on one side of the library and Chief Justice Cartter of the Supreme Court of the District at the end. They had started in to take what testimony they could regarding the assassination, having some one write it out in long hand. This had proved unsatisfactory. I took a seat opposite the Secretary and commenced to take down the testimony.*" Thus began the first testimony in connection with the assassination of Abraham Lincoln.

About midnight Tanner began taking shorthand with pen and ink which was provided for him. He continued the testimony on the same sheet of paper on which his unidentified predecessor had entered eleven lines of longhand. The first witness, Alfred Cloughly, a clerk in the Second Auditor's Office, was recalled. Cloughly had witnessed the escape of the would be assassin of Secretary Seward. B. A. Hill interrogated the witness for David Kellogg Cartter, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of

the District of Columbia, while Secretary Stanton listened intently. Tanner was so excited at the time he began, that he feared most of all that he would be unable to read back what he was writing. He soon regained his composure and faithfully recorded the testimony on the unruled sheet of paper in the standard shorthand he had learned the year before.

Cloughly was followed by Lieutenant A. M. S. Crawford of the Volunteer Reserve Corps. Crawford had observed the movements of John Wilkes Booth prior to his entrance into the President's box. Harry Hawk, the only actor on the stage when Booth made his dramatic leap from Lincoln's box, spoke next. Then came James C. Ferguson, the neighborhood saloon keeper who knew Booth well and had hurried to the Petersen house to tell what he knew. Henry B. Phillips, the actor-singer from Philadelphia, and Colonel George V. Rutherford of the Quartermaster Corps were the last two witnesses. Many years later Tanner stated that Laura Keene, the star of "My American Cousin" at Ford's Theatre, also appeared to give testimony, but if her statement was recorded it has not survived in the Tanner papers.

The arrangement of the testimony in its present order, with transcriptions immediately following the shorthand, was not made until fifty years after the events which it recorded took place. And it was not made by the man who took it down. Any analysis of the order of the testimony would be merely speculative. However, there is no doubt that Alfred Cloughly was the first witness, a fact established by the earlier record in longhand. Cloughly's testimony of the escape of Lewis Paine, recently described as the man who did not attack Secretary Seward, is of special interest in light of this new analysis of the so-called conspiracy. One by one the five witnesses who followed implicated Booth. Two days after this awesome experience, Tanner stated in a letter to Hadley F. Walch with whom he had studied shorthand in Syracuse that "*In fifteen minutes I had testimony enough down to hang Wilkes Booth, the assassin, higher than ever Haman hung.*" Tanner also reported that "*Our work was often interrupted by reports coming into Secretary Stanton and more often interrupted by him when he halted the testimony to give orders.*"

By one-thirty A.M. the interrogation of the witnesses was completed. Many years later the hour recorded by Tanner was used to question Stanton's delay in sounding the alarm for Booth's capture. Even with the interruptions, it was quite

possible for Tanner to have taken down the shorthand within the time he indicated. Still writing with pen and ink, he immediately began to transcribe the testimony, using paper of different size than that containing the shorthand. His fears were allayed when he realized that he could read it back without difficulty.

At 6:45 A.M. Tanner finished transcribing his notes and then entered the room where the President lay dying. About forty-five minutes later, Tanner wrote, "*The Surgeon General crossed the pulseless hands of Lincoln across the motionless breast and rose to his feet.*"

In the stunned group of dignitaries who stood at the death bed, The Reverend Phineas D. Gurley, Lincoln's pastor, sanctified the silence by reciting a short prayer. The frustration of that anguished moment was vividly recalled by Tanner: "*I snatched pencil and note book from my pocket, but my haste defeated my purpose. My pencil point (I had but one) caught in my coat and broke, and the world lost the prayer—a prayer which was only interrupted by the sobs of Stanton as he buried his face in the bed clothes. As 'Thy Will Be Done, Amen' floated through that little chamber, Mr. Stanton raised his head, the tears streaming down his cheeks.*" Stanton, whom Tanner described as the one man of steel, quickly regained control of himself, directed General Thomas M. Vincent to take charge of the body, and called a meeting of the cabinet in the room where the testimony was taken.

The nightlong vigil ended. Tanner returned to his apartment adjoining the Petersen house and began a second longhand copy of the transcribed testimony for Stanton. He was not pleased with the quality of the first transcript and felt that the Secretary of War deserved a neater copy. Tanner retained the original testimony.

"*I had been thus engaged but a brief time, when hearing some commotion on the street, I stepped to the window and saw a coffin containing the body of the dead President being placed in a hearse which passed up Tenth Street to F and thus to the White House, escorted by a lieutenant and Ten privates. As they passed with measured tread and arms reversed, my hand voluntarily went to my head in salute as they started on their long, long journey back to the prairies and the hearts he knew and loved so well, the mortal remains of the greatest American of all time . . .*" Toward midday Tanner took the testimony to Stanton, but the Secretary of War had retired and Tanner left the manuscript with an attendant. In the trial of the conspirators that followed, there was no mention of the first testimony taken in connection with the assassination of Lincoln. And

the testimony itself, the legal process of which may be questioned, was the first step taken by Stanton in utilizing his self-assigned authority.

In September, 1865, following the death of the President, Corporal Tanner returned to New York and obtained employment in the New York legislature. For the next few years he studied law with Judge William C. Lamont and in 1869 was admitted to the bar. But instead of practicing law, he accepted a clerkship in the Custom House of New York. During the same year, he received an appointment as Deputy Collector of the Port of New York by General Chester A. Arthur, an office which he held until 1877. From that time until 1885 he served as Collector of Taxes in Brooklyn. He relinquished that office for the lecture platform, which occupied him for the following four years.

Tanner meanwhile had married Mero L. White of Jefferson, New York. Two sons and two daughters were born to them. While his family was being raised he found ample time for activity in the Grand Army of the Republic, the veterans organization that represented the men of the Union Army. The problems that confronted the veteran—employment, medical aid for the disabled, care for the poorly adjusted and homeless, and the need for an adequate pension system—engaged Tanner's attention. These were vital issues which the G.A.R. undertook to meet and improve and in Tanner, the veteran found an energetic advocate and lucid spokesman.

He was a member of the G. A. R.'s important Resolutions Committee and of its National Pension Committee long before he reached his middle years. During his Brooklyn residence his concern with these problems led to the movement for the establishment by the State of New York of a suitable home for its homeless Union veterans. When he became commander of the New York Department of the G. A. R., a post he held from 1876 to 1878, he patiently pursued the idea of establishing a Soldiers' and Sailors' Home in Bath, New York, until a home was established. To Tanner later fell the honor of laying the cornerstone of the new building. Knowledge of his activity in the field of veteran care became so widespread that when the Confederate Soldiers' Home at Richmond was organized, he was invited by the Governor of Virginia to serve on the original Board of Trustees. Tanner later accepted the honor to address those against whom he had fought. It was on this occasion that he met the distinguished Confederate General John B. Gordon, who described the ex-

uberance, the cordiality and the good humor of the Union veteran. Gordon also recalled a fund-raising occasion for the Confederate Soldiers' Home in Richmond at which Tanner was the speaker of the evening. It was in 1895 at one of the largest gatherings of Confederate veterans. Tanner's persuasive patriotic oratory was voluminously acclaimed. His interest in and activity for both Union and Confederate soldiers' homes did much to heal the lingering wounds of war.

During his years on the public platform two themes dominated his lectures: an adequate veterans' pension, and the principles of the Republican Party to which he was so closely attached. As a representative of the G. A. R. and as a semi-official spokesman for the Republican Party, he was in an excellent position to present the claims of the veterans directly to two administrations: on one occasion to President Grant, and on another, to President Arthur. In 1882 Tanner's appeal resulted in an increase of 817 veterans employed by the pension office. In his campaign tours through the West and Midwest in 1886 and 1887 he helped win the soldiers' vote for the Republicans. And in 1888 his efforts were credited with winning the narrow margin of votes that carried Indiana for Benjamin Harrison.

Tanner was a splendid choice for the position of United States Commissioner of Pensions in the Harrison administration, an office which, however, became rife with national political controversy. He revised the disability ratings of many pensioners and was charged with doing so without application by the recipients. His object was to raise pensions to a monthly minimum of four dollars. Pension Office employees allegedly took advantage of Tanner's order to rerate many veterans by sending pensions to those who had not even applied. New names were added to the pension rolls and Tanner was soon charged with abuse of office and with liquidating the treasury's surplus. The Secretary of the Interior asked him to desist from these actions but Tanner insisted that he alone was responsible for the Pension Office. Less than a year after his appointment he submitted his resignation to President Harrison in September, 1889. Harrison upheld Tanner's integrity, which was strongly supported by the G. A. R. Tanner's brief, stormy term in office was used by the Democratic press in an attempt to undermine the Republican administration. An excellent example was the year long caricaturing in *Puck* in which Tanner was depicted as a Jack-the-Ripper veteran, blind to the interests of the nation. After his resignation Tanner became a pension attorney. In 1904, President Theodore Roosevelt ap-



Tanner's alleged political influence as Pension Commissioner, is caricatured by comic artist Fred Opper. From *Puck*, Sept. 11, 1889.

pointed him Register of Wills of the District of Columbia. In Washington he also took an active part in the reorganization of the Red Cross and was named as one of the incorporators of the reconstituted organization.

Although Tanner in his role as an orator seldom deviated from his two favorite themes—the Civil War and Republican Party politics—he avoided the tale of his own gruesome experience on the field of battle, and his dramatic participation in the recording of the Lincoln assassination testimony. He found great pleasure in campaigning for William McKinley, in sharing the platform with Frederick Douglass, an ex-slave who became the outstanding Negro leader and spokesman of the nineteenth century, and in frequent appearances before the Philadelphia Union League. His appearance on the public platform guaranteed a capacity audience. During the presidential campaign of 1896, in the company of Generals Oliver Otis Howard and Daniel E. Sickles, he is recalled speaking at a mass rally at Philadelphia's Academy of Music before an audience that crowded "the aisles to see the legless corporal, the one-legged Sickles, and the one-armed Howard."

In 1905, forty years after the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, an article appeared in the *Washington Post* which stated that of those who were present at the Petersen House while Lincoln lay dying, there were but few survivors. Tanner was evoked into telling the story of his own participation, and he reminisced freely for the press and on the platform, referring for the first time to a trunk full of mementos and manuscripts which included the original but forgotten testimony. Interest in the assassination was briefly re-awakened. Tanner recorded for the *Washington Post* of April 16, 1905 and other publications his own participation. Some readers must have doubted the authenticity of his statements. The transcribed copy prepared for Stanton could not be found; Tanner's own copy, the original notes made at the Petersen House, was still stored away. The manuscript was located, mounted by his son on sheets of linen, and sworn to by Tanner as being the original testimony. Once confirmed the manuscript was again forgotten.

Two years later Tanner, or his son James A.—it is not known which—interviewed Harry Hawk and Henry B. Phillips, who were among those survivors present when Booth killed Lincoln. Whatever their views may have been at this time, no record has been located.

When Tanner learned of the special area set aside as a Lincoln Memorial Room by The Union League of Philadelphia, he informed President John Gribbel of his intention: "believing that they are of considerable interest to the general public owing to the circumstances surrounding their creation and believing they will become more so as the years pass, I write to say that if you care to give the volume a place among the treasures you may now possess or may naturally gather in the future regarding President Lincoln, I shall be glad to present them to you in perpetuity, limited only to the life of The Union League. If the League should ever discontinue its Lincolniana display or sever its connection therewith, I would like to have it understood that the testimony shall be returned to my heirs."

On the Fifty-fifth Founders' Day of The Union League, November 24, 1917, the Lincoln Memorial Room was dedicated. The magnificent life-size bronze statue of Lincoln sculptured in 1916 by J. Otto Schweizer, of Philadelphia, was unveiled, the testimony taken down by Tanner presented, and due recognition given to the surviving one hundred and twenty-five Union League members who fought in the Civil War—their names and rank spread across a series of bronze tablets on the west wall of the Lincoln Memorial Room.

Although Tanner was unable to attend the ceremony, he did have the opportunity to appear at The Union League the following year when he addressed a large audience, sharing the platform with Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University and Philander Knox, United States Senator from Pennsylvania.

Interest in Corporal Tanner's testimony and his account of the death of Lincoln was again revived when William E. Barton published *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* in 1925. The year before Professor J. Franklin Jameson had obtained and published with Tanner's permission the corporal's correspondence with Hadley F. Walch which Barton reprinted with one other relevant document. Two years later, in 1927, James Tanner, the old soldier who never surrendered the title of "corporal" in spite of the high offices which he held, died at the age of eighty-three.

But not until 1937, when Otto Eisenschiml undertook his study of the Lincoln assassination, was the testimony recorded by Tanner scrutinized with the care necessary for historical investigation. Since the appearance of Eisenschiml's *Why Was Lincoln Murdered?* most subsequent citations have been drawn from his work, or from Barton's *Life*. It is the hope of The Union League that this complete facsimile

will enable other historians and students of the tragic Lincoln episode to make direct use of the on-the-spot testimony.

MAXWELL WHITEMAN

The Union League of Philadelphia
September 3, 1968

Notes on the Sources

There are numerous references to the Civil War activity of James Tanner. The best and most reliable, although not lacking in drama and romance, is James E. Smith, *A Famous Battery and its Campaigns, 1861-64. The Career of Corporal James Tanner in War and Peace . . .* (Washington, 1892), 179-216. It is a useful source for eye witness accounts of the second Battle of Bull Run and Tanner's experience on the field. Tanner's own account of how he was wounded appeared in the *National Tribune* for 1887. The medical inadequacies that faced the wounded and how they were met are described by William Quentin Maxwell, *Lincoln's Fifth Wheel . . .* (New York, 1956). Allan Nevins introduction to this work, vii, emphasizes the medical conditions suffered by the Union Army at Second Manassas.

General biographical data can be found in the detailed necrology published in the *Washington Post*, Oct. 3, 1927 and the *N. Y. Times* of the same date. In reporting one of Tanner's political addresses, the *Philadelphia Press*, Oct. 25, 1896, recalls the charitable treatment administered in Philadelphia when the legless corporal was being returned home. The sketch in *Dictionary of American Biography* Vol. XVIII (N. Y., 1936), 297-298 is useful and supplies family background, but it is superseded by the new material on his later years contained in Mary R. Dearing, *Veterans in Politics. The Story of the G. A. R.* (Baton Rouge, La., 1952).

Tanner's experiences in Washington are drawn from his own statements. The scene in the Petersen house was first described by Tanner on April 17, 1865, in his shorthand correspondence with Hadley F. Walch with whom he went to school. It was originally published in the *American Historical Review* (April, 1924), 514-517 and was reprinted by William E. Barton, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* V. II (Indianapolis, 1925), 470-480. A new transcription of the Tanner-Walch shorthand correspondence edited by Howard H. Peckham, "James Tanner's Account of Lincoln's Death" is in *The Abraham Lincoln Quarterly* (Dec., 1942). The *Washington Post*, April 16, 1905 contains an interesting reminiscence of his Washington days.

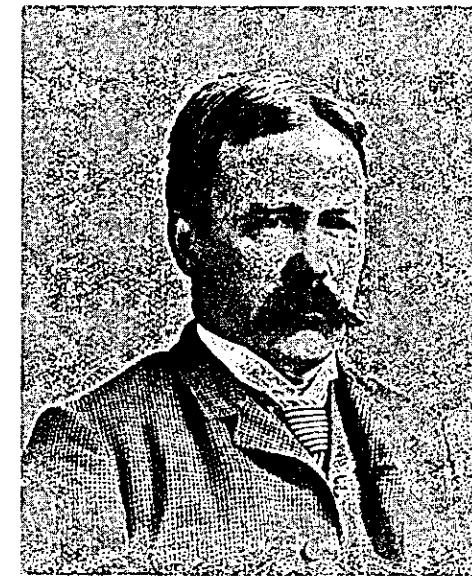
Popularizers of the assassination episode, especially James A. Bishop, *The Day Lincoln Was Shot* (New York, 1955), 238, 239 and 291, describe Tanner tiptoeing through the Petersen house, equipped with writing paraphernalia. There is no reference to the scribe responsible for the longhand testimony that preceded Tanner's. The reference to the arrangement and mounting of the original testimony is in *Tanner to the President* [John Gribbel] . . . of *The Union League*, Wash., D. C., Nov. 19,

1917. This letter accompanied the testimony when it was presented to the League. Gribbel is recalled as the noted collector of Robert Burns manuscripts, *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography . . .* V. XVII (New York, 1927), 51. Cloughly, the first witness, is unknown to Vaughan Shelton, *Mask for Treason* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1965) where the charges against Lewis Paine as Seward's attempted assassin are challenged. All of the other events pertaining to Tanner's experiences are in the sources cited.

The brief description of the funeral procession, written when Tanner was 79, was published in the *National Republic*, James Tanner, "At the Bedside of Abraham Lincoln," (Aug. 1926), 34. Tanner contradicts himself as to the hour of the day when he delivered the second transcription to Stanton; compare the *Washington Post* of April 16, 1905 with his letter to Walch, April 17, 1865.

The best detailed source of Tanner's early activity in the G. A. R. was prepared by League member Robert Beath, *History of the Grand Army of the Republic* (New York, 1889). The *Annual Report of the G. A. R.* is also of great value. The brief and intimate view of Tanner as an advocate of soldiers' homes is in John B. Gordon, *Reminiscences of the Civil War* (New York, 1903), 130-131. The excellent study by Dearing, *op. cit.*, 392-396 *et. seq.* reexamines his activity on behalf of the G. A. R., his political career and the pension imbroglio. Wallace Evan Davies, *Patriotism on Parade*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), 169-171 contains additional references on his veteran activities not noted elsewhere. Davies reevaluates Tanner's role as Commissioner of Pensions. References to the press have not been exhausted, but of the many comments and caricatures those appearing in *Puck* are outstanding: see, June 19 and September 11, 1889, and William Murrell, *A History of American Graphic Humor (1865-1938)* (New York, 1938), 86 and 88 for a description of Louis Dalrymple's cartoon of Tanner. References to Hawk and Phillips, dated 1907, are on the verso sheets of the mounted testimony.

In the *Founders' Day* program of The Union League, *Dedication of the Memorial Room . . .* (Philadelphia, Nov. 24, 1917), 43 Tanner's letter of presentation, *op. cit.*, is printed in full. A description of the Schweizer statue of Lincoln is in F. Lauriston Bullard, *Lincoln in Marble and Bronze* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1952), 221, 222. A description of the Lincoln Memorial Room is in *The Origin and Background of The Union League of Philadelphia With a Brief Guide to the League House*, (Philadelphia, 1968).



James Tanner in 1889

While Lincoln Lay Dying

THE FIRST TESTIMONY TAKEN
IN CONNECTION WITH THE ASSASSINATION OF

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

REPRODUCED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT

IN THE ARCHIVES OF
THE UNION LEAGUE OF PHILADELPHIA