

LINCOLN'S TRAVELS ON THE *RIVER QUEEN*

During the Last Days of His Life



WAYNE C. TEMPLE



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History is never quite what we think it is. This is a bittersweet tale of the 16th President and the time he spent on *The River Queen* during the final days of his life. The examination of each poignant moment of this piece of time provides insight into Lincoln at his pinnacle, of the others who played their parts in the closing days of America's Civil War, and to the vessel that housed them and hosted them during those historic events.

Little known and seldom remembered, *The River Queen* is no more, but during her day, she served this country well. On her decks walked the famous. Those representing both sides, Confederate and Union, discussed the terms of surrender over a good meal, and probably coffee and cigars. Wives and servants stood in the wings, watching history.

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Mayhaven Publishing

P O Box 557

Mahomet, IL 61853

USA

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Cover Design: Doris R. Wenzel

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Library of Congress Control Number: 2007929122

First Edition—First Printing 2007

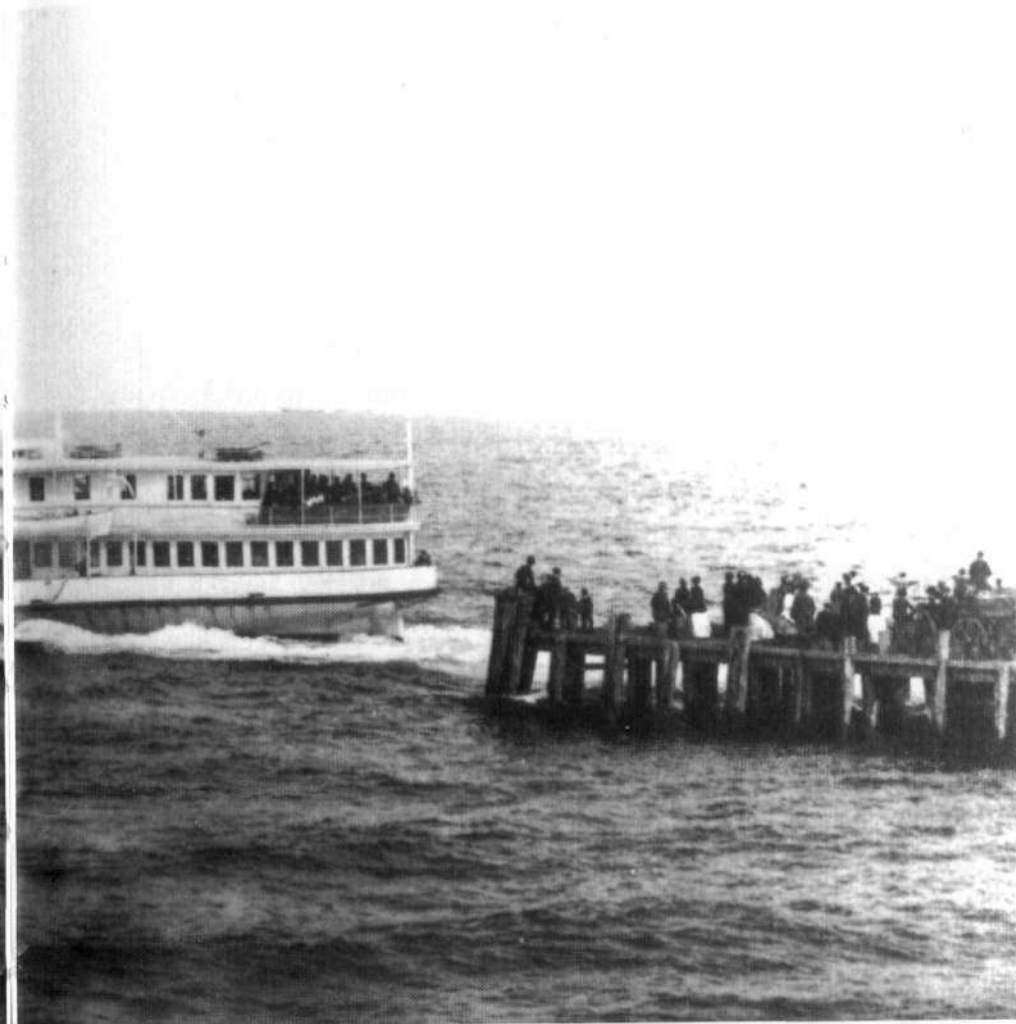
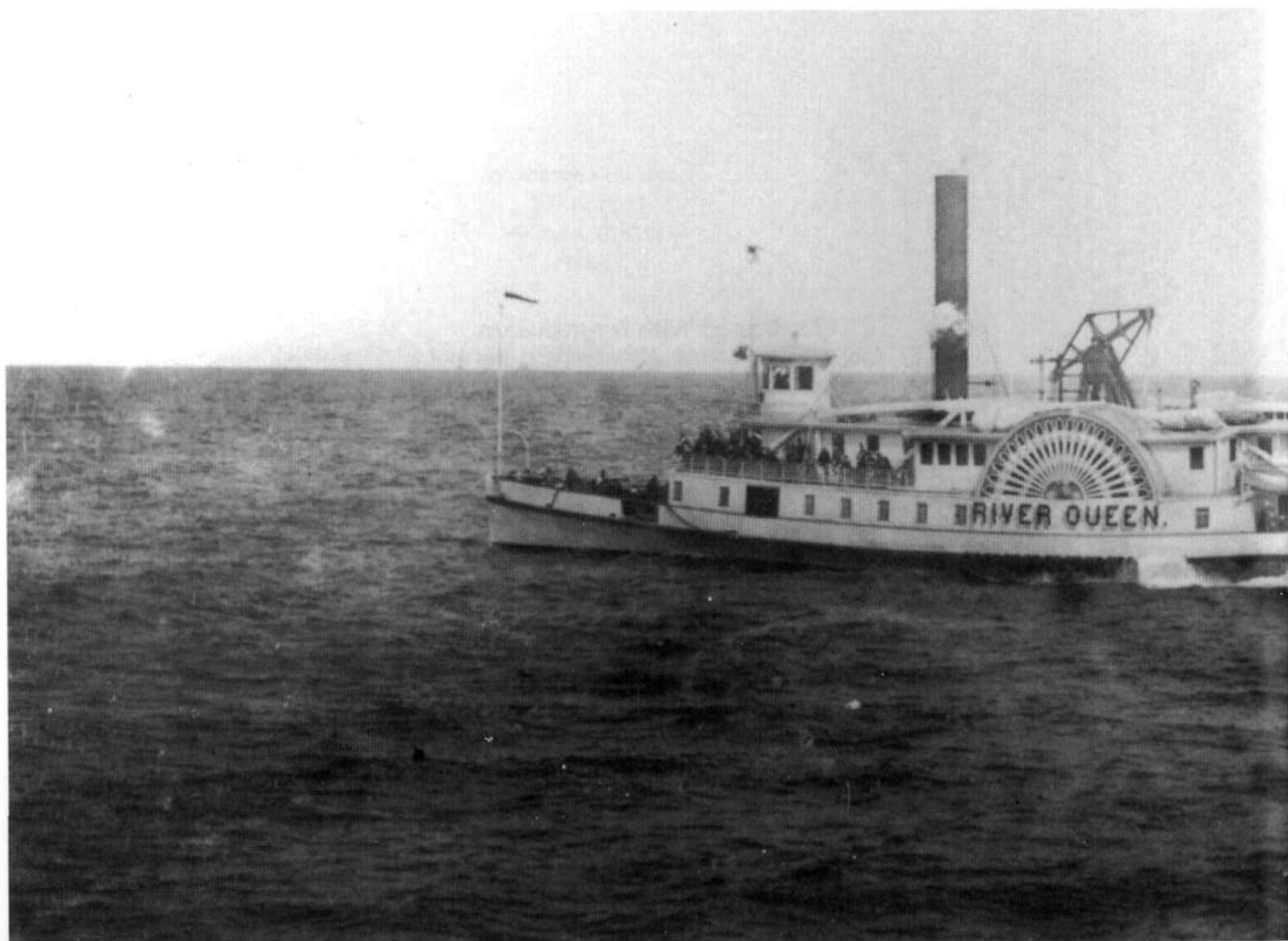
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

ISBN 13: 978-193227844-6

ISBN 10: 193227844-3

Dedicated With Appreciation
to
Pat Fenoff and Teena D. Groves





From an original photograph of
the *River Queen* in the Kunhardt
Collection.

—Courtesy of
Philip B. Kunhardt, III

The *River Queen*

One of the most distinguished vessels in service for the Union Army during the Civil War was the *River Queen*. Her decks were trod by the highest officers of both the executive and military branches of the Federal Government, including the President and the Secretary of State. Even three of the uppermost officials governing the Confederate States were once guests aboard her. She was built by the Benjamin C. Terry Company of Keyport, Monmouth County, New Jersey, under the watchful eye of Captain J. Wilhelm of the Providence-to-Newport crossing flotilla, and launched on March 31, 1864. She was the largest ship to be constructed at Keyport up until that time. Of impressive measurements for her class, she ran 181 feet long, 28 1/2 feet at the beam, with a nine-foot-high hold, a weight of 536 tons and a horsepower of 650. The engines' cylinders were 48 inches in diameter with a 10-foot stroke. She was a steam side-wheeler having one

smokestack and two wheelhouses (or lunettes) with a radius of at least six feet on which were an American Eagle on a Shield—carved and gilded.¹

Upon completion of the *River Queen's* construction, she was sent to Providence, Rhode Island, where Frank Mauran, Benjamin Buffum, Earl P. Mason, James T. Rhodes and Jedediah Williams became her owners. They ran passenger routes between Providence and Newport. But before these men actually formed a corporation, they sold the *River Queen* to George H. Power, Alfred Van Santvoord and Jack Packer who immediately enrolled her in New York City where she was docked.

On December 18, 1864, Captain William L. James, Army Assistant Quartermaster at New York, chartered this ship from George H. Power—acting for his firm—at the rate of \$241 per day. This contract was later duly signed and witnessed on December 27 by T. G. Haines and Jesse J. Baily. However, the *River Queen* was already at her assigned post and in Army service when the contract was finally signed and witnessed. She must have sailed south on or soon after December 18 because Lt. Gen. Ulysses Simpson Grant, on *December 27*, directed 1st Lt. David Essex Porter, Aide-de-Camp on his staff, to carry orders to Major General Benjamin Franklin Butler just off Wilmington, North Carolina. Lt.

Porter left immediately on Grant's dispatch boat, the *River Queen*, from either City Point or Fort Monroe.²

Although Power was listed as the "Owner," she was actually the property of Power, Martin & Company of Hudson, New York.³ As it seems, there were several silent partners.

An important mogul in the early field of transportation, George H. Power,⁴ the son of John & Phoebe (Hussey) Power, was born in Hudson, Columbia County, New York, on September 4, 1817. His father had left Adams, Massachusetts, about 1790, and settled at Hudson, on the river of that same name, where as early as 1827 he was very largely engaged in business and transportation. As a callow teenager of 17, George became the master of a ship and ever after preferred to be called "Captain." In 1838, at 21, he wed Adeline E. Coffin and raised a large family: Emily C., Mary H., Margaret, George C., Ada and Kate. In 1853, Power organized a company which purchased the rolling stock of the Hudson & Berkshire Railroad. The census of 1860 listed him as the Superintendent of this line. His personal estate was valued at \$59,000 with \$27,130 in real estate. With such wealth, he and his wife employed two Irish servants, Mary McAroy and Catherine O'Shea.⁵

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In addition to the transportation industry, Captain Power also held vested interests in banking and agriculture. Twice he served as Mayor of Hudson and once, during the Civil War, as a New York assemblyman. Power had shares in several vessels—besides the *River Queen*—which were also leased for service in the North's war effort. In 1870, he listed his occupation as a "Freighter by Steam Boat."⁶ By 1880, he reported that he owned and operated a ferry boat.⁷ Three years later, he had the steamship *Isabella* built.⁸ Power died on December 20, 1904, and was buried in the Hudson City Cemetery (Section 2 D).⁹

The other partner publicly mentioned was Milton Martin, about fifty years of age at the time of the signing, born in the State of New York and living in Claverack, Columbia County, New York. He listed himself as a "Farmer & Freighter," and he, too, was quite wealthy. His wife, Caroline, was about 44, and they had several children: George B., who later became a lawyer; Edgar H., who later became a steamboat clerk; Julia; and Carrie. At different times, there were two servants living in their house: Jane Wiley of Ireland and Christina Plass, born in New York. In 1854, Milton sat in the New York State Assembly. By 1870, he had acquired \$42,800 in real estate and \$60,000 in personal estate.¹⁰

As planned, the Army leased the *River Queen* as a dispatch boat for Lt. Gen. Grant who already had his own vessel, the *Carrie Martin*, for his necessary travel by water. The *River Queen* was to be stationed at Fort Monroe, which was near the mouth of the James River upon whose high banks Grant had his headquarters at City Point. (But she could be ordered to other ports or places at the discretion of the Army.) So, the *River Queen* functioned with a civilian captain and crew under contract to the Federal Government. She was valued at \$145,000, and if she was ordered south of Cape Henry, Virginia, the "marine risk" was "to be assumed by the United States." Her lease was to run for "a period of Three Months, and as much longer as her Service may be required."¹¹

According to an affidavit by the Head Bookkeeper and General Agent of the Catskill & Albany Steam Boat Company, his organization actually "fitted up" this vessel and operated her.¹² (Owners in many cases did not actually manage such vessels.) No doubt the *River Queen* had been finished at first as a ferryboat and therefore needed alterations and additions, such as staterooms, dining facilities, etc.

When the *River Queen's* charter papers were first executed in New York City on December 18, 1864, William Bradford was already aboard as her Master and listed as

such on that document. But unlike George H. Power, for instance, almost nothing is known about him. It was even most difficult to find his first name which was discovered only on the lease papers. Nevertheless, William Bradford commanded the *River Queen* from 1864-65. There are several official Army and Navy references to him, but he is merely identified in them as "Capt. Bradford." In her communications concerning him, Mary Lincoln simply referred to him as "Captain Bradford."¹³ However, Capt. William Bradford was listed in 1863 as an approved Shipmaster and received No. 2,252. No ship was listed as his responsibility at that time.¹⁴

After the *River Queen* reached Fort Monroe, she was utilized to transport troops and supplies to City Point or to Fort Monroe. Gen. Grant initially saw little use for a personal dispatch boat at that time. So, his supply clerks determined that the Army, perhaps, did not need this transport vessel. On January 25, 1865, the discussion began in the Quartermaster Department of Grant's forces in Virginia. However, upon learning that the Confederate Peace Commissioners were soon to appear, Grant determined that the *River Queen* should be kept under lease for a conference center, etc. Brevet Major General Montgomery Cunningham Meigs (1816-1892), Quartermaster General of the U. S. Army,

made the final decision and ordered her retained in service. A quartermaster with Grant at City Point gave his opinion of the *River Queen*: "This boat is almost new, is built in the most substantial manner, is very fast and powerful and well adapted for a dispatch boat." And she was retained in Grant's very small fleet.¹⁵

Quartermaster General Meigs probably made his decision based on the legal terms of the contract, which would not expire until March 18, 1865. Gen. Grant's economy-minded underlings must not have had access to the actual lease papers and merely thought the *River Queen* was an unnecessary expense to the Union Army. Meigs, on the other hand, certainly did not wish to be sued by New York State Assemblymen for breach of contract.

As the swelling and victorious Union forces pushed the dwindling Confederate armies into a smaller and smaller area, some in the North thought Jefferson Davis might be persuaded to sue for peace. One of those Republican elder statesmen was Francis Preston Blair, Sr. On December 28, 1864, President Lincoln signed a pass for Blair to visit Richmond. While there on January 12, 1865, Blair met with President Davis who offered to consider some negotiations but wanted his emissaries to meet Union officials in Washington for talks. When Lincoln learned this information from Blair, he penned a note

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to Blair on January 18, saying he would send someone to discuss the matter with any delegated Southern agents officially representing the Confederacy. However, Lincoln did not wish the talks to be conducted in Washington, but rather just behind the Union lines near City Point. When apprised of this offer, Davis picked three officers to negotiate for him, and they arrived on January 29 at the battlefield of Union Brigadier General Orlando Bolivar Wilcox, commander of the First Division of the IX Corps, Army of the Potomac.¹⁶

These Peace Commissioners from Davis were finally halted opposite U.S. Grant's headquarters at City Point, and President Lincoln eventually telegraphed his permission for Grant to let them pass through the Union lines the following day. These negotiators were: Confederate Vice President Alexander Hamilton Stephens; Robert Mercer Taliaferro Hunter, President of the Confederate Senate; and John Archibald Campbell, Confederate Asst. Sec. of War and formerly a Justice on the Supreme Court of the United States.¹⁷ Lt. Gen. Grant put them aboard his own ship, the *Carrie Martin*, a 25-ton-screw-propeller steamship from the Hudson River Line then in Union service on the James River for the use of the Union commander. (Grant rarely used this ship as a residence; he generally lived

ashore with his wife in a dwelling at City Point.) This vessel served as the Commissioners' living quarters as well as their transportation to and from the waters off Fort Monroe—often erroneously referred to as “Fortress Monroe”—where the conference would be held. The Commissioners came and went from their floating rooms without a guard, even visiting around City Point.¹⁸

Perhaps not taking the South's peace overture very seriously, President Lincoln merely chose as a representative his esteemed friend and confidant, Major Thomas Thompson Eckert (1825-1910), Chief of the War Department Telegraph Office, and sent with him a message for the Peace Commissioners. He departed on the evening of January 30.¹⁹ On the following day, Lincoln telegraphed Grant that Eckert was on his way. Major Eckert later told his colleague, David Homer Bates, what had happened. He met the Peace Commissioners alone aboard the *River Queen* on February 1, although Grant had wished to be present, too. Eckert said a firm “No” to that request. Major Eckert, at 4:15 p.m., simply handed the Commissioners Lincoln's letter outlining his position. At 8, they proclaimed their strong desire to go to Washington to see Lincoln in person. By 10 p.m. the meeting concluded without any agreement being reached.²⁰

Actually, Major Eckert was simply a messenger with no authority from Lincoln to negotiate terms. Evidently, the Confederate Commissioners did not completely understand Eckert's assignment and must not have been impressed with the lowly shoulder straps of a mere Major. (Though a few days later, on March 13, he received the brevet rank of Brigadier General.)²¹ After hearing from Eckert, Lincoln composed another set of instructions for a much higher governmental figure and this time dispatched them on the evening of January 31 with none other than Secretary of State William Henry Seward and Mr. R.S. Crew of the State Department who departed on the *River Queen*.²²

Lincoln cautioned Seward that he was just to listen to the Confederate offer and make no commitment. To follow up, Lincoln wired Eckert to place himself under the guidance of Secretary Seward in the event a meeting took place. Seward arrived at Fort Monroe at 10 p.m. on February 1, after which Gen. Grant telegraphed the President and intimated that the Peace Commissioners were in earnest. Upon receiving this promising intelligence, Lincoln determined to make his personal appearance there as quickly as possible.²³ Eckert met with Seward on the morning of February 2 to compare notes, so to speak.

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On February 2, the President telegraphed Grant in “cipher” that, indeed, he, himself, was coming down to Fort Monroe. He also informed Seward that “Induced by a despatch of Gen. Grant, I join you at Fort-Monroe as soon as I can come.”²⁴ So secret was his Presidential mission that he officially did not inform other Cabinet members of this trip to the front.²⁵ Of course, Secretary of War Edwin McMasters Stanton knew all about this adventure because he had arranged Lincoln’s transportation, and his telegraph operators, of course, handled all the secret messages to and from City Point. But quickly, news of the clandestine trip leaked out to the press.

About noon on February 2, President Lincoln departed from Washington with George S. Koontz, General Agent of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, and with two attendants: Andrew C. Smith, a policeman, and Charles Forbes, a footman-messenger, etc., both of the White House Staff.²⁶

Since it was extremely cold and the Potomac River was frozen to such an extent that residents were skating upon it,²⁷ Secretary Stanton ordered a locomotive and a single car to steam them eastward from Washington on Mr. Koontz’s rail line to Annapolis Junction and from that place onward with the Annapolis & Elkridge line to Annapolis.²⁸

At 1 p.m. Lincoln rattled into Annapolis. He then walked about a half mile to the boat landing at the U.S. Naval Academy and boarded the *Thomas Colyer*, a large U. S. Army steamer, which departed promptly at 1:40 p.m. A reporter vouched that she was “supposed to be the fastest in the world.” She threaded her way carefully through ice flows on the Chesapeake Bay, headed south to Fort Monroe where the *River Queen* lay in her normal home port.

The *Thomas Colyer* put the President and his little party ashore at Fort Monroe at 10:22 p.m. that same day. Lincoln immediately went to see Seward who did not expect him so soon after his late departure from Washington. While Lincoln was enroute, Gen. Grant dispatched the Confederate Peace Commissioners from City Point to Fort Monroe at 9:30 a.m. on February 2, where they were to await Lincoln. They later were invited on to the *River Queen* where Seward treated them to dinner. They proceeded with their meal, since nobody expected Lincoln to arrive until the next morning. Upon finishing their repast, the Confederates returned to their ship. Later, the President suddenly put in his appearance. Then he and Seward retired to spend the night in the comfort of the *River Queen*.²⁹

After a quiet night's rest, Lincoln arose on the morning of February 3, and soon the *River Queen's* giant paddle wheels swept her into the channel at Hampton Roads between Fort Monroe and the mouth of the James River where she anchored a half mile from her dock. Evidently, this open position at sea was a safer and more neutral setting, away from prying eyes and ears in Fort Monroe. There, Lincoln and Seward received Stephens, Hunter and Campbell when they stepped aboard that morning. They came from the *Carrie Martin* where they had slept, also at sea.³⁰

It was at Hampton Roads that the *U.S.S. Monitor* battled the *C.S.S. Virginia* on March 8-9, 1862, and where President Lincoln later toured the Union Forces on May 6-11 and July 8-9, 1862. Indeed, the place was familiar to him.

Even though the meeting was somewhat somber, Lincoln found an amusing sight when the diminutive Alexander Stephens appeared on the *River Queen*. It being unusually cold that February, Stephens was wearing a heavy, gray, woolen overcoat which reached all the way down to his feet. That comic sight remained in Lincoln's memory, and he later asked Grant if he had seen Stephens when he passed through the Union lines. The General replied that he had observed Stephens very closely. "Well," continued Lincoln,

“didn’t you think it was the biggest shuck and the littlest ear ever you did see?”³¹ Lincoln’s farming experience as a youth nearly always crept into his conversations when making a point. Lincoln, of course, had shucked many an ear of corn.

For four hours, Lincoln and Seward conferred with the Peace Commissioners in the grand saloon of the *River Queen*. However, Lincoln insisted upon freeing the slaves, a complete surrender of the Confederacy, and a reuniting of the States. But the Commissioners would not commit to Lincoln’s immovable terms. The President’s firm stand certainly impressed the Commissioners that Lincoln could not be compromised. For the Confederacy, it was the beginning of the end soon to come with Grant’s blue legions about to capture Lee’s battered army. And so the conference ended by 3 p.m. that day. Maj. Eckert immediately informed Stanton that the President and his party would depart on the *River Queen* at 4:30. He requested Stanton to have a train waiting at Annapolis by 7 a.m. the following morning.³² No agreement had been reached, and the two parties had simply parted. (By February 5, the Confederate Peace Commissioners had made their way back to Richmond.)³³

Actually, it was 5 p.m. on the 3rd when the President with his supporting suite, which included Seward and Eckert, plus Brig. Gen. Rufus Ingalls of the Quartermaster Department, and most certainly Smith and Forbes, departed aboard the *River Queen* for home. They would retrace their original route in returning. Their luxurious vessel reached Annapolis at six a.m. on the morning of February 4, and her little band of elite passengers left at 7:30 on that special train provided by order of Stanton. Approximately two hours later, all were safely back in Washington.³⁴

This voyage was President Lincoln's first excursion on the *River Queen* whose presidential accommodations were certainly much better and more private than any he had ever experienced on any other vessel. She, indeed, was a grand ship, sometimes called the "President's Yacht." Back in 1848, the Lincolns had sailed on the *Globe* through the Great Lakes from Buffalo to Chicago. She was a much bigger sidewheel steamer of 1,300 tons, the largest and fastest on the Great Lakes. But she was a commercial vessel, accommodating many passengers and cargo with little privacy except in one's own cabin.³⁵

There was one sentimental incident at this abortive peace conference. Both Lincoln and Stephens had been Whig colleagues in Congress from 1847 to 1849. They, and others of

their party, were then known as the “Young Indians.” Therefore, they now could exchange pleasantries and reminisce about much happier times. At the conclusion of the discussions, Lincoln asked Stephens if he could do anything personal for him. Stephens replied that his nephew, Lt. John A. Stephens, was a prisoner-of-war on Johnson’s Island at Sandusky, Ohio. Lincoln immediately agreed to exchange him for a Union officer of like rank held in Richmond, Virginia.

True to his word, the very next day after his return, February 4, President Lincoln wired Col. Charles Wesley Hill, commandant at Sandusky, to release Lt. Stephens “and send him to me.” Lt. Stephens was straitway forwarded to Lincoln the following day. On February 10, Lincoln penned a short letter to Alexander H. Stephens informing him that his nephew was being dispatched to him with that very “note,” as Lincoln termed it.³⁶ Even in war, Lincoln and Stephens could remain friendly adversaries in a tragic conflict of old friend against old friend.

Worries connected with the raging and prolonged Civil War played havoc with President Lincoln’s health. In addition, by March 13, 1865, he became “quite sick,” and he “denied himself to all visitors.” On the following day, the press reported that he was

“confined to his bed” with influenza. But by the 15th Lincoln appeared “greatly improved” and was able “to give audience to a host of visitors.”³⁷ Nevertheless, he needed a restful vacation to convalesce.

By March 22, 1865, Noah Brooks, a California journalist and personal friend of Lincoln's, reported, “The President's health has been worn down by the constant pressure of office-seekers and legitimate business...and he now rigidly adheres to the rule of closing the [office] door at three o'clock in the [after]noon....”³⁸ Mrs. Lincoln confirmed that her husband's heavy burdens had completely tired him out, and she thought that a “change of air & rest may have a beneficial effect on” him.³⁹ Likewise, Julia (Dent) Grant, wife of General Grant, had heard of Lincoln's weariness and reasoned that a relaxing sojourn to the Army of the Potomac would do him a world of good. She spoke to both Capt. Robert T. Lincoln and her husband who finally agreed with her that Grant, himself, should issue a special invitation for a trip down to City Point. Originally, Grant had thought that if Lincoln wished to get away from his arduous labors, he would just come down on his own. Finally, he saw his wife's wisdom when reminded that many politicians often criticized the

President for interfering in military operations. Grant's personal invitation would avoid any nasty censure from his political opponents and the carping press in general.⁴⁰

Finally convinced, General Grant dispatched a telegram to Lincoln on March 20, 1865, from his headquarters. "Can you not visit City Point for a day or two?" Grant entreated. "I would like very much to see you, and I think the rest would do you good." At 6 p.m. that same day, the President replied: "Your kind invitation received. Had already thought of going immediately after the next rain. Will go sooner if any reason for it. Mrs. L[incoln] and a few others will probably accompany me. Will notify you of exact time, once it shall be fixed upon."⁴¹ (Perhaps the water in the Potomac was then low and that somewhat hindered navigation.)

Upon learning of Grant's solicitation and its acceptance, Gustavus Vasa Fox, Asst. Sec. of the Navy, sent a telegram to Lincoln from Norfolk, Virginia, on March 21. "General Grant," Fox divulged, "would like to see you, and I shall be in Washington tomorrow morning with this vessel (the *Bat*), in which you can leave in the afternoon. She is a regular armed man-of-war and the fastest vessel on the river. I think it would be best for you to use her."⁴²

Indeed the *Bat* would have been a prime choice of transportation for the Commander-in-Chief. She had formerly been a foreign blockade runner out of Liverpool, England, but had been captured on October 10, 1864, by the *U.S.S. Montgomery* after a chase and battles with several Union warships somewhere off the coast of North Carolina. Immediately, she was repaired and placed in service for the United States. She ran 230 feet long, 26 feet wide at the beam; 9 feet six inches tall in her hold and was constructed of molded steel by Messrs. Jones, Quiggin & Co. of Liverpool. She had two double oscillating engines built by Watt & Co., producing 180 horsepower. These engines had cylinders of 52 inches with a 4-foot stroke. Her draft, when loaded, was six feet six inches. She carried coal for long voyages and had the capacity to accommodate 850 bales of cotton—which she had been sent to seek in the South in exchange for shoe manufacturing machinery. Her speed was 14 to 15 knots or more. After her capture, the Navy installed guns on her. She was a “side-wheel steamer with two masts and two smokestacks.”⁴³

Lt. Commander John S. Barnes, Master of the *U.S.S. Bat*, went to the White House to offer his vessel in person only to learn Mrs. Lincoln and a few others wished to go with the President. Upon learning this fact, Barnes decided that the dispatch boat *River Queen*

was the only suitable ship for civilians—especially women. However, the *Bat* was ordered by G.V. Fox to accompany the *River Queen* and provide an armed escort for the safety of the President and party, both going and coming.⁴⁴ As for Lincoln, he asked for “only plain, simple food and ordinary comfort.”⁴⁵ As mentioned previously, the *River Queen* was also a new ship, just a year old, with a dining room on the Main (or Lower) Deck, complete with black waiters, but Capt. Barnes soon learned that on this voyage, the President ate but little food.⁴⁶ A true evaluation; Lincoln was not a large eater at this period of his life.⁴⁷ There were also two black female servants aboard to care for the President’s housekeeping needs. The Marquis de Chambrun personally observed that there was but one security person [Capt. Penrose] assigned to the President, and he was decidedly military.⁴⁸ A grand Saloon ran along the Upper Deck, and one of the several roomy staterooms had been converted into an office. In this billet stood a cherry-wood, drop-leaf, oval table with one drawer. It measured 27 1/2" tall, 36" wide, and 46 1/2" long. Upon this historic piece of furniture sometimes both Lincoln and Grant wrote out communications, etc. Fortunately, this beautiful artifact, with the proper certification dated October 1, 1868, now rests in the Hendrick Hudson Chapter NSDAR Museum at

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113 Warren Street, Hudson, New York.⁴⁹ Lincoln's private quarters were located in the choice After-Cabin.⁵⁰ In this stateroom was an elegant mirror which is now owned by the Whaling Museum of New Bedford, Massachusetts.

When the Presidential party was completed, it consisted only of Lincoln, his wife, an unnamed maid, "Tad" Lincoln and Capt. Charles Penrose whom Mary Lincoln *claimed* as "her officer."⁵¹ There is no proof that William H. Crook accompanied the President as a guard on this voyage.⁵² Capt. Penrose was personally detailed by Secretary of War Stanton to escort President Lincoln on this mission and see to his safety and every personal need.⁵³ Like most army officers, Penrose certainly was armed with a revolver and was a favorite of Stanton's. Also, Capt. Penrose was a particular friend of Capt. Robert Todd Lincoln.⁵⁴ Charles Bingham Penrose was born in Pennsylvania and joined the Volunteer Army from that state, being commissioned as a Captain in the Commissary of Subsistence Department on August 3, 1861. Twice during the war he was brevetted, once as a Major and once again as Lt. Colonel. He joined the Regular Army at the end of the war as a Captain in this same branch and was promoted to Major in 1889. He died on September 18, 1895.⁵⁵ Stanton trusted him so well that after Lincoln was killed, he



At left: This oval, drop-leaf table of cherry wood has one drawer and measures 27 1/2" high, 36" wide and 46 1/2" long. It was on the *River Queen* and used by President Lincoln, General Grant, and other Union officers of high rank.

Photograph Courtesy of Pat Fenoff



At left: After the Civil War, T. A. Boynton purchased it from Milton Martin, the owner of the *River Queen*. It is now in the Museum of the Hendrick Hudson Chapter, NSDAR, Hudson, New York.

Photograph Courtesy of Pat Fenoff

ordered that a “disbursing officer” be assigned to accompany the funeral train to “defray the necessary expenses, keeping an exact and detailed account thereof... .”⁵⁶ A reporter discovered that this man was Capt. Charles B. Penrose.⁵⁷

After the President had determined to consort with Grant, he, on March 21, wired his oldest son, then serving with Grant, in cipher, saying to Robert, “We now think of starting to you about One p.m. Thursday [March 23]. Don’t make public.”⁵⁸ Both parents would enjoy seeing their son about whom Mrs. Lincoln worried needlessly after he had joined the Army on February 11, 1865.

With the Lincolns packed and ready to leave, G. V. Fox informed Commodore J. B. Montgomery, Commandant of the Navy Yard at Washington, that the *River Queen* would leave the Sixth Street Wharf at approximately 1 p.m. on March 23. The *Bat* was again ordered to accompany the *River Queen* “to City Point and back.”⁵⁹ That same day, President Lincoln telegraphed Lt. Gen. Grant that “We start to you at One p.m. to-day. May lie over during the dark hours of the night.”⁶⁰ Joining this Presidential excursion was the *Columbus* which carried the necessary horses which would be needed by

Lincoln and others down on the James River.⁶¹ Prior to the Union acquiring the *River Queen*, Noah Brooks reported to his readers that the President had sometimes used the *Carrie Martin*.⁶²

At the foot of Sixth Street, where the *River Queen* docked, were Union hospitals, mess halls and wharves. Docks ran from P Street beyond 6th and 7th. These were near the U.S. Arsenal.⁶³ The *River Queen* pushed away from its dock at the appointed time on March 23.⁶⁴ (Noon sailings were common, perhaps because of the ocean tides.) Secretary Stanton intended to see the Lincolns off, but “reached the arsenal with Mrs. Stanton...a few minutes after you had got under way. I hope you have reached Point Lookout safely [at the mouth of the Potomac River], notwithstanding the furious gale that came on soon after you started. It did a great deal of damage here, blowing up trees, unroofing houses; wrecked a vessel at the wharf; killed a hackman and his team in the street upon whom a roof fell...Please let me hear from you at Point Lookout and how you and Mrs. Lincoln stand the voyage.”⁶⁵

The *River Queen* experienced a rough passage, and the drinking water on board was tainted, too. Lincoln asked for a fresh supply at Fort Monroe after such a turbulent voyage.

Maj. William L. James, Acting Quartermaster at that fort, had charge of such matters, but he failed to have the water replaced promptly by a subordinate.⁶⁶

William Levis James was born August 14, 1833, in West Chester, Pennsylvania. Before the war, he labored as a clerk and a newspaper editor. He rose through the ranks to brevet Brigadier General and mustered out on July 21, 1866. Following the war, he managed a steamship company.⁶⁷ The President did not make an issue of this matter, and evidently the Major was not censured, because the incident did not harm his Army career.

On this expedition to the front, President Lincoln wore a “long-tailed black frock coat, not buttoned, black vest, low cut, with a considerable expanse of rather rumpled shirt front, ... necktie,” black trousers without straps at the bottom of the legs to keep his trousers from riding up when he was on horseback, white socks, and his usual silk hat. Barnes also noted that Lincoln was a good horseman.⁶⁸

Just before noon on the 24th of March, the *River Queen* docked at Fort Monroe.⁶⁹ Immediately, Capt. Penrose dutifully wired Secretary Stanton of their arrival. He reported a safe trip, but hinted that the President had not felt well on this tempestuous sail.⁷⁰ (On the night of the 24th, Capt. Penrose again telegraphed Stanton that they had arrived that evening

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at City Point. To confirm for the record that Lincoln and his family had been seasick, Capt. Penrose finally admitted that Lincoln, his wife and "Tad" finally were "entirely recovered from their indispositions of this morning."⁷¹

Actually, the *River Queen* steamed into its anchorage at Hampton Roads (Fort Monroe) just a few minutes before noon on the 24th.⁷² Despite the rough overnight journey there, Mrs. Lincoln immediately shrugged off her malaise and rushed to the official War Department telegraph office in Fort Monroe to send a message to Mrs. Mary Ann Cuthbert, housekeeper at the Executive Mansion, asking "if all is right at the house?"⁷³ It seems the President fell asleep during at least part of the trip and dreamed that the White House was on fire!⁷⁴ Upon hearing this tale from her husband, Mary determined to learn if the dream had come true. Both husband and wife often became very superstitious when it came to dreams, Mary especially so. And when Mrs. Cuthbert did not immediately reply, Mrs. Lincoln dispatched another demanding telegram to Alphonso T. Donn, the Doorkeeper at the White House, inquiring why Mary Ann had not answered her urgent inquiry.⁷⁵

After an hour delay, the *Bat* led the *River Queen* up the smooth flowing waters of the James River.⁷⁶ The *River Queen* deposited her distinguished passengers at City Point at

exactly 8:30 p.m. that same day where the prying journalist, Sylvanus Cadwallader, spotted the Lincoln family as they disembarked under the watchful eye of Capt. Penrose.⁷⁷ In a telegram to Secretary Stanton, Lincoln reported that he had landed at City Point on March 24 at “about 9 p.m.”⁷⁸ (Lincoln, of course, was recalling that event on the following day at 8:30 a.m.) In a nearby area, the weather was clear and very windy.⁷⁹ Back in Washington, Secretary Stanton reported to Lincoln that the weather was “cold, windy, and very disagreeable, so that I think you went to the Sunny South in good time.”⁸⁰

When Lincoln awoke on the morning of March 25 aboard the *River Queen* anchored out in the James River at City Point, he still was not fully recovered from the unpleasant transit. He consumed but a little breakfast and while eating, Robert Lincoln came on deck for a visit with his parents and “Tad.” Being on Grant’s staff, Robert reported the latest news of an ongoing battle, “a little rumpus up the line,” as Abraham Lincoln termed it.⁸¹ Upon hearing that the Confederates had attacked but were being turned back,⁸² President Lincoln determined to see the battlefield, although Gen. Grant attempted to talk him out of such a dangerous adventure. After leaving the *River Queen*, Lincoln climbed up the hill

to Grant's headquarters. Acceding to the Commander-in-Chief's wishes, Gen. Grant provided a train to carry Lincoln, his wife, and a small party of others to the battle site. They departed about noon and reached the front just south of Petersburg approximately an hour later. From there, the men mounted horses and proceeded to the place of the latest armed action by way of the headquarters of Maj. Gen. George Gordon Meade, commander of the Army of the Potomac. One of his officers, Col. Theodore Lyman, noted that President Lincoln "looks very fairly on a horse."⁸³ (An experienced horseman, Lincoln had ridden horseback on a law circuit for many years.)

Bringing up the rear following those on horseback were Mrs. Lincoln and Mrs. Grant in an Army ambulance with two passenger seats and one for the driver. The winter of 1865 had been one of very heavy rainstorms, and as a result, the roads were nearly impassable. To improve these extremely muddy conditions, the Army engineers had cut trees and put them over the trails as corduroy surfaces.⁸⁴ Needless to say, a ride in any vehicle over such a roadway was extremely bumpy and most uncomfortable. Mrs. Lincoln, especially, grew very irritated during this ride.

As their escort, General Grant had detailed Lt. Col. Adam Badeau to accompany them. He was Grant's military secretary and somewhat of a scholar. Trying to entertain the ladies, he mentioned that Grant had sent all the wives of the officers away except for Sally V. (Carroll) Griffin, wife of Brig. Gen. Charles Griffin, who had special permission from the President to remain with her husband. Immediately, Mary Lincoln flew into a rage, screamed that she never allowed any woman to see her husband alone. (Did the President see her alone?) She then yelled and attempted to leave the vehicle and walk into camp to confront her husband. Mary Lincoln embarrassed everybody within sight or hearing. Mrs. Grant tried to calm her but to little avail. Later, Maj. Gen. Meade attempted to protect the President by explaining that it was the Secretary of War who had given Mrs. Griffin permission to stay with the Army of the Potomac. That explanation seemed to quiet Mary Lincoln for the moment.

Perhaps Mrs. Griffin was the only wife with her husband in the Army of the Potomac, but Mrs. Grant, of course, was with her husband who had exempted her from his own order concerning wives with the Army. Maj. Gen. E. O. C. Ord commanded the Army of the James, and he kept his wife with him, also, as will be seen later.

Abraham Lincoln may well have given his permission for Sally Griffin to remain at the front. When Sally Carroll, daughter of William Thomas Carroll, Clerk of the Supreme Court of the United States, married Capt. Charles Griffin of the Regular Army on December 10, 1861, in Washington, the busy and harried President had actually attended her wedding. Lincoln had had a firm friendship with Sally's father ever since the former's congressional days in the 1840's. And when little "Willie" Lincoln died in 1862, Mr. Carroll allowed Lincoln to place the body temporarily in his private family mausoleum.⁸⁵

During the afternoon of March 25, Lincoln visited the Federal troops with Generals Grant and Meade. He learned that the Confederates had launched their attack at daylight and suffered a huge defeat. The President closely observed the Rebels that had been captured and saw that they were a ragged, disheveled, tired and probably very hungry lot. An early estimate by Grant's command thought that the enemy had suffered twice or three times the casualties of the Union forces. Commanders boasted of at least ten enemy battle flags captured as well as approximately 3,000 "butternuts."⁸⁶

As Union troops marched toward the battlefield and passed their Commander-in-Chief, they quickly formed into a casual reviewing formation and saluted President Lincoln who, while riding along on horseback, returned their salutes with a bow and a tip of his hat. Sadly, he saw the dead being carted to the train station where he later boarded his special train and returned to City Point. There, he continued to converse with General Grant about the terrible war and its great bloodshed, and he expressed hope the conflict would soon be ended with a Union victory. He divulged that he never doubted that the Union would win at the bitter end. When the dinner hour arrived at his headquarters, Grant cordially invited Lincoln to eat at his table. However, the President declined and returned to his floating hotel, the *River Queen*.⁸⁷ It had been a bittersweet day for him: on one hand a Confederate defeat, but on the other, more Union soldiers killed, wounded or captured. When Secretary Stanton found out that Lincoln had ridden right up to the battlefield, he telegraphed him a gentle warning. He hoped that the President would remember General William Henry Harrison's "advice to his men at Tippecanoe, that they 'can see as well a little farther off.'"⁸⁸ But Abraham Lincoln had scant regard for his own safety. He had personally directed the capture of Norfolk in May of 1862 and

was actually under enemy fire at Fort Stevens on two days in July of 1864.

As usual, Lincoln slept aboard the *River Queen* where he was at 9 a.m. on the morning of March 26 when he wired Stanton that "I am on the boat, and have no later war news than went to you last night."⁸⁹ General Grant then sent a message to Rear Adm. David Dixon Porter at Jones' Landing: "The President will start up the river about 11 o'clock this morning."⁹⁰ Since October 12, 1864, Porter (with two stars) had directed the North Atlantic Blockading Squadron. His command encompassed the shore of Virginia, which included, among other points, the James and Elizabeth rivers. President and Mrs. Lincoln were scheduled to pay a visit to the Army of the James, commanded by Maj. Gen. of Volunteers Edward Otho Cresap Ord since January of 1865.

At the appointed hour, a little party departed from Grant's headquarters and boarded his ship, the *Carrie Martin*. This group included Lincoln and his wife, Grant and his wife, Porter, Ord and the diminutive Major General Philip Henry Sheridan and a few other officers. The President was very shocked to observe how short Sheridan was as he had not seen him previously. The little General stood only 5 feet, 5 inches. Because Sheridan had taken complete control of the Shenandoah Valley after thoroughly destroying Jubal A.

Early's forces, as well as the entire Rebel countryside, so that there were no provisions there of any kind available to a Confederate raiding force, he became a national hero and received not only the thanks of Congress but also the permanent stars of a Maj. Gen. in the Regular Army. That was a most unusual promotion, since it would insure that he would hold that rank after the war. Most officers had only temporary rank in the volunteer forces and were reduced to a much lower rank if they went into the Regular Army after the war.

After his huge success in the Shenandoah, Grant assigned Sheridan to command all of the Cavalry and brought him down to the Army of the Potomac. From the deck of the *Carrie Martin*, Lincoln watched as Sheridan's tough troopers in huge numbers were crossing the James River to the south bank on a pontoon bridge at Deep Bottom. The Presidential excursion had only been sailing up the river for an hour when this sighting was observed by Lincoln with keen interest. Sheridan would cut off all avenues that Lee might try to use in escaping Grant's encircling blue columns.

At noon, Lincoln and his party reached the place where Adm. Porter's flotilla lay at anchor. They all went aboard the Admiral's flagship, the *Malvern*, for a sumptuous lunch.

After that, Lincoln led his male guests on horseback to a parade ground to review Union troops in the Army of the James. Following the men came the women—Mrs. Lincoln and Mrs. Grant—again in an ambulance, which made poor time over the muddy roads. As a result, they arrived after the parade had started. As soon as Mrs. Lincoln observed the young and pretty wife of General Ord riding her horse near the President, she threw a terrible fit of jealousy, berating Mary Ord, escorted by Lt. Commander John Barnes. She screamed and denounced everybody present, including Mrs. Grant, a very genteel lady. It was a most embarrassing scene which was long remembered, especially by Julia Grant who determined not to be caught in Mary Lincoln's presence again. (Is it any wonder that she told her husband to turn down the Lincolns' invitation to accompany them to Ford's Theatre on April 14?) The First Lady even went so far as to inform Capt. Barnes that she did not even want Mrs. Grant to step foot on the *River Queen*! It was Barnes who had once put an armed guard of sailors on the *River Queen* to protect the President, yet she blamed Barnes, too, for just riding with Mrs. Ord.⁹¹ Mary's anger knew no bounds.

Lincoln left the review, and the *Carrie Martin* steamed his party back to City Point, which they reached as it was getting dark. He reboarded the *River Queen* for dinner and

had a military band play for a dance there while General Grant and himself talked in his After-Cabin.⁹² Eventually, Lincoln learned of the despicable scene which Mary had caused earlier that day when she even attempted to have Lincoln censure the loyal Capt. Barnes!

Upon awakening the next day, the 27th, Lincoln soon put his mind on other matters. He determined to take Robert Lincoln on another field trip that started about noon on the *River Queen* which steamed from City Point up the Appomattox River about four miles to Point of Rocks where there was not only an Army base, but also a very tall signal and observation tower. From that height, one could look far away and even see many of the tents of Lee's army. Lincoln climbed up the great number of steps on this lookout to observe the countryside, too. After lunch at the camp there, the *River Queen* sailed back to City Point which it reached at 3:35 p.m.

Meanwhile, Gen. Sherman slipped into Fort Monroe on board the U.S. Army Transport Steamer *Russia* (under command of Capt. A.M. Smith) during the late morning hours of March 27. He came up from Goldsboro, North Carolina, where his army rested and awaited supplies. That afternoon, he proceeded on to City Point for a conference with Grant and

Lincoln. That evening, the three men gathered in the After-Cabin of the *River Queen* to compare notes and talk strategy. By now, Lincoln had regained his high spirits.⁹³

With the *River Queen* anchored in the James River channel on the morning of March 28, President Lincoln again received Gen. Grant and Gen. Sherman, plus Adm. Porter, for a unique meeting. Never before had these four giants been together, and they would never all meet again after that day. It was a scene not to be forgotten. The three visitors arrived by tugboat and conferred in a general way for about an hour and a half with their Commander-in-Chief in the Upper Saloon where Grant lit up his cigar and smoked.⁹⁴ They made some plans for the end of the war, and the momentous scene was later painted in 1868 by George P.A. Healy who titled it "The Peacemakers." It is in the White House Collection now. Also that same day, Albert Hunt sketched Lincoln sitting in a chair at City Point.⁹⁵

With the conference ended, the *River Queen* pulled up anchor and moved to a dock at City Point where the three commanders departed the ship. Lincoln remarked to Sherman as he debarked that he would feel much relieved when the tough old commander rejoined his "bummers" back at Goldsboro. Sherman assured Lincoln that he left his victorious and hardened troops in very good hands. After a brief conference with Grant, Sherman

announced shortly after noon that he was ready to depart. Rear Admiral Porter ordered Lt. Commander Barnes of the *U.S.S. Bat* to transport Gen. Sherman and his small staff back to New Bern, or Beaufort or wherever he might wish to go. After that, Barnes was to return to City Point as quickly as possible.⁹⁶ For, the *Bat* served as Lincoln's armed escort vessel and Barnes his dedicated protector. That very afternoon, Sherman took his leave of City Point and steamed away with Capt. Barnes. By sailing all through the night, they reached a spot near Cape Hatteras, North Carolina, on the morning of March 29.⁹⁷ Indeed, the *Bat* was one of the fastest ships in the fleet. As mentioned previously, the *Thomas Colyer* also claimed that title.

Before Sherman departed, he had mingled with not only Lincoln but also Grant, Meade and Sheridan. That was a memorable occasion, also.⁹⁸

General Grant began his final push on Lee's forces at Petersburg and Richmond on March 29. As a result, Grant decided to move his headquarters up to a spot very near the fighting line. He left with his staff—including Captain Robert Lincoln—on that morning. The President said goodbye to both Grant and Robert and then took a trip with Admiral Porter up the Appomattox River, riding on a barge being towed by a tugboat. They visited

the various forts along the way and then floated back to City Point where Lincoln had lunch on the *River Queen*. While the fighting went on, rain began to fall. From his ship, Lincoln could hear the roar of the cannon in the distance. The attack on Petersburg had begun in earnest.⁹⁹

The rain continued on March 30,¹⁰⁰ and Lincoln spent much time with Lt. Col. Theodore Shelton Bowers whose little hut sat next to the telegraph shack. There, Lincoln monitored the messages coming back from Grant. Because Capt. Barnes was away on the *Bat* transporting Sherman back to his command, Adm. Porter stayed close to Lincoln as his guard and companion, and Secretary of State Seward again arrived at City Point.¹⁰¹ It seemed that many politicians wanted to be in on the surrender of Lee's depleted and ragged army.

Knowing President Lincoln's great anxiety back at City Point concerning the ongoing battles, Gen. Grant kept in close touch with him by means of the telegraph and messengers with maps. (These efforts were unlike Grant's early months in the West when his superiors thought that he did not communicate enough.) During the Civil War, the Union Army Signal Department and its Telegraph Corps, made up mostly of civilians, did yeoman duty

stringing wire as the army advanced. Communications were a vital part of the North's winning efforts. In this war, it moved troops by railroad, and on the Eastern front it controlled those shores with a warship blockade and with transport ships for army supplies and even troop movements. It was a very modern war, even having repeating weapons.

At 2 p.m. on the 30th, Grant informed Lincoln that "I understand the number of dead left by the enemy yesterday...was much greater than our own dead." Union troops were still pushing forward. Sheridan's cavalry was also winning battles.¹⁰²

At 7:30 p.m. that same day, Lincoln telegraphed Secretary Stanton from City Point telling him: "I begin to feel that I ought to be at home, and yet I dislike to leave without seeing nearer to the end of General Grant's present movement."¹⁰³ To this message, Stanton replied the following day at 9:30 a.m., "I hope you will stay to see it out, or for a few days at least. I have strong faith that your presence will have a great influence in inducing exertions that will bring Richmond; compared to that no other duty can weigh a feather. There is, in fact, nothing to be done here but petty private ends that you should not be annoyed with."¹⁰⁴ Noah Brooks, the California journalist and personal friend of

the President, was down at the front also and reported that Grant “induced the President to prolong his stay at City Point by a promise that in a few days he should go to Richmond unhindered.”¹⁰⁵

Grant informed Lincoln on March 31 that “There has been much hard fighting this morning....The heavy rains and horrid road[s] have prevented the execution of my designs....”¹⁰⁶ Later that day, Grant reported from Boydtown Road to Lincoln: “I will send you a rebel flag captured by our troops.” It was from the 56th Virginia Regiment of Appa Hunton’s Brigade.¹⁰⁷ When this prized trophy reached the President’s hands, young Master “Tad” Lincoln certainly cabbaged onto it. He had a great fondness for playing soldier, even in custom-made uniforms: one of which was that of a Zouave with a small rifle, and in the other he was attired as a Lt. Col. of Cavalry, complete with white gauntlets, sword belt, small sword, officer’s kepi, and shoulder straps.¹⁰⁸ After the Lincolns returned to the White House, the President addressed a crowd from one of its windows on April 10, while in the background stood “Tad” flourishing a Confederate flag! It was most certainly the very one presented to the President down at City Point.¹⁰⁹ Even the President collected a souvenir during one of his inspections of Petersburg or Richmond.

That was a Confederate five-dollar bill, which he tucked away in his wallet. It was still there the night he was shot in Ford's Theatre.¹¹⁰

For five days after Mrs. Lincoln's second tragic outburst of anger on March 26, she remained closeted in her quarters on the *River Queen*. Mary refused to see anybody who wished to pay their compliments to her as the First Lady. Finally, the President seems to have suggested that she return to Washington, and she agreed to go.

At noon on April 1, Mary Lincoln sailed from City Point on the *Monohasset*, a U.S. Army Transport Steamer. With her went Secretary Seward and Maj. Gen. Carl Schurz, Chief of Staff to Maj. Gen. Henry Warner Slocum who commanded troops under Sherman in the Carolinas. President Lincoln informed both Secretary Stanton and Alfonso T. Donn at the White House to tell Francis B. Burke, the coachman, to have a closed carriage at the Arsenal Wharf at 8 a.m. on Sunday, April 2, and wait until Mrs. Lincoln arrived. Donn was cautioned not to let Burke leave the landing until she got there.¹¹¹ Captain Penrose and "Tad" stayed behind with Lincoln at City Point. Charles Penrose, as a Commissary of Subsistence, obtained anything which the President might

need or desire. He was a most dedicated and efficient officer.

At 11 a.m. on April 2, Stanton telegraphed Lincoln that “Mrs. Lincoln arrived safely this morning.”¹¹² Likewise, Mary, herself, sent a message to her husband, saying: “arrived here safely this morning, found all well—miss Taddie and yourself very much.” The trip back to Washington must have calmed her down, because she added that she might “return with a little party on Wednesday [April 5].”¹¹³ Two days later, she informed Abram Wakeman that she had “promise[d]” her husband that she would return “with a little party of friends.”¹¹⁴ Before April 2 ended, Grant had completely surrounded Petersburg, and Lincoln congratulated him by writing: “Allow me to tender to you the nation’s grateful thanks for this additional and magnificent success. At your kind suggestion I think I will meet you to-morrow.”¹¹⁵

Upon arising on April 3 aboard the *River Queen*, he was told that Petersburg had been captured. When he walked into the dining room for breakfast, he discovered Adm. Porter and Capt. Barnes there. The extremely capable Barnes had just returned from transporting Sherman back to North Carolina. Lincoln informed them that he intended to visit

Petersburg that morning and asked them to accompany him there. By special train, they all departed and picked up Robert Lincoln on the way. That evening, upon his return from Petersburg to City Point at 5 p.m., he informed his wife that he and “Tad” had been with “Bob four or five hours.” “He is well,” reported Lincoln, “& in good spirits. Come down as you proposed.” To Stanton he wired that he had been with Gen. Grant for an hour and a half, and he intended to go to Richmond the next day, since it, too, had fallen. He assured Stanton that he would “take care of myself.”¹¹⁶ All during his long stay at City Point, Lincoln kept in constant touch with Stanton, passing on to him the reports of Gen. Grant. After coming back from Petersburg, Lincoln boarded the *Malvern* and had dinner with Adm. Porter before retiring to the *River Queen*.¹¹⁷ Rest and the success of Grant’s army greatly improved the tired President’s health.¹¹⁸

Once Richmond had also fallen to Union forces and the James River had been better cleared of obstructions upstream, Lincoln sailed with the *River Queen* on the morning of April 4 to examine the captured capital city of the Confederacy for himself. He and “Tad” wanted to actually walk its streets. The President’s ship was joined by the *Malvern, Bat,*

and *Columbus*; the latter vessel generally carried the necessary horses and mounted escort servicemen for such a presidential trip. Among the passengers was Charles Beckwith, a telegraph operator from City Point. When the river became impassable, Lincoln was transferred from one smaller boat to another and proceeded into Richmond with Capt. Penrose.

The Commander-in-Chief located the residence of the departed Jefferson Davis, sat in his chair and inspected the whole house while resting from the warm journey. A Rebel clerk noted that Lincoln had a mounted guard of thirty and later was put into a carriage for a continuation of his tour of inspection. This Confederate jotted down that the white citizens appeared quite annoyed that Lincoln was in *their* town, while the black folks cheered and flocked about their deliverer.¹¹⁹

Not only did Lincoln tour the smoking ruins of Richmond on April 4, but he also “passed last night” there, he told Secretary Seward when he returned to City Point on the 5th. He even boasted to Grant that he had been in Richmond on April 4 and 5.¹²⁰ Actually, Lincoln slept there on the *Malvern* overnight—not in the city—where the following morning he held more talks with Union officers and Confederate leaders still remaining in Richmond. Then he sailed back to City Point at 11:30 a.m.

Hearing that both Petersburg and Richmond had been captured, Mary Lincoln immediately set about organizing a small group of sycophants for a return trip to City Point so that she could make a grand and victorious visitation to Richmond. Always Mrs. Lincoln loved to travel and sightsee. To accompany her, she invited Senator Charles Sumner; Senator James Harlan, his wife, Ann E., and their daughter, Mary Eunice; the Marquis de Chambrun; and Elizabeth Keckly, her mulatto dressmaker and confidant who had once lived in Petersburg.¹²¹ It was most important to take the Harlans, since Robert Lincoln had been dating their daughter. Thus, Capt. Lincoln could see Mary again and show her about.

To ensure that she and her six guests received a royal welcome and breakfast, she telegraphed her husband on April 4, asking that he inform Capt. Bradford of the *River Queen* that “a party of seven persons, leave here tomorrow [April 5] & will reach City Point, on Thursday morning [the 6th] for breakfast.”¹²² Although this little assemblage steamed out of Washington on the 5th, the *Monohassett*, an ordinary troop transport ship, did not leave its dock until 11 a.m. That was a rather late start, since it could require 24 hours of sailing to reach City Point. Her ship was probably not as swift as the *Bat* and a few others. It was approximately a 270-mile voyage, and that distance might require a

ship to make at least 11 miles an hour or more. However, the *Monohasset* did drift into Fort Monroe's dock at 4 a.m. on the 6th, a rapid trip, indeed. But evidently, Mary Lincoln found difficulty in getting her ship to continue on to City Point. When she telegraphed her husband on that early hour of 4 a.m., she informed him that she estimated that she would get to City Point by noon. At 6 a.m. she was still at Fort Monroe and dashed off a message to Secretary Stanton to see if her husband could not remain at City Point until she finally got there. She feared that when the President learned that Secretary Seward had suffered a severe carriage accident on April 5, he would immediately steam for home. Mary wanted Lincoln to remain so that she and her guests could sail back to Washington on the *River Queen*. The *Monohasset* was not as luxurious as she desired, and she certainly did not feel pampered like a queen. At 9 a.m., Mary once again telegraphed Lincoln from Fort Monroe asking, "If you are compelled to return before we see you, which I shall much regret, cannot you return on some other vessel [? W]e are most uncomfortable on this & would like your boat..."¹²³

What else could the President do when dealing with a temperamental and demanding wife with an unstable mind? He stayed whether he wanted to or not. Finally, at noon, the

Monohassett docked at City Point. Capt. William Bradford and his dining-room help must have been rather miffed if they had prepared a regal breakfast for her only to have her show up at noon. Of course, Lincoln may have informed Bradford early enough to stop the special breakfast preparations.

Upon arrival, Mary and her civilian passengers immediately transferred to the *River Queen*. That afternoon Lincoln sent them off to Richmond on that ship so his wife and her vacationing friends could experience the devastated Confederate capital.¹²⁴ He remained ashore at City Point, spending lots of time with Bvt. Colonel Theodore Shelton Bowers, the Assistant Adjutant General on Grant's staff and a most competent officer, greatly favored by Grant who kept him on after the war.

Mary later gloated that "We had a gay time I assure you, & Richmond we visited as a matter of course, & 'the banquet halls' of Jeff Davis looked sad and deserted."¹²⁵ In addition to Jeff Davis' residence, they also toured the city, the capitol building, and passed by the prisons.¹²⁶ It was nearly dark when the little party returned to the *River Queen*. Night navigation on the James River was still risky because of all the sunken vessels and Confederate mines. So, they spent the night nearby at anchor on the *River Queen*.¹²⁷

By 9 a.m. on the 7th, Mary and her guests had returned to City Point where at noon they boarded a special train for a visit to Petersburg. Mary convinced her husband to join them. Of course, with the President along, a special car was attached to the train. As it was about to leave, several black waiters from the *River Queen* slipped quietly aboard the President's car and seated themselves behind Lincoln's party. They wanted to see Petersburg, too. Lincoln paid no attention to these interlopers. Nothing was said to the blacks or to the several Union officers who had also entered the car without an invitation. At Petersburg some residents tendered Lincoln a cordial welcome. The train carried the party slowly back to City Point, and they went aboard the *River Queen* that evening where Elihu Benjamin Washburne, a Republican Congressman from Illinois, and James Gillespie Blaine, a Republican Congressman from Maine, were invited to join them.¹²⁸ Blaine asked the President for a pass to visit Richmond, and Lincoln obliged him: "Allow the bearer Hon. Mr. Blaine, to pass from City-Point to Richmond & return."¹²⁹ Washburne, of course, was one of Grant's best friends and his sponsor.

The next morning, on the 8th, Lincoln left the *River Queen* for City Point where he saw Washburne again and reviewed the garrison troops there. At approximately noon, he went

to the Depot Field Hospital where he talked to both Union and Confederate patients. Both wounded and sick were arranged into unit hospitals for each corps. He spent at least five hours chatting with these men and the staff. It is said that he passed by 5,000 suffering soldiers. Back at his ship, Lincoln felt tired but extremely satisfied. The *River Queen's* crew had planned a grand soiree for this last night at City Point. Invitations were sent to various important Union officers and civilian officials who happened to be on hand; however, Vice President Andrew Johnson was purposely skipped. Julia Grant did not receive one, either, so she threw her own celebration on her own ship, complete with a band. The *Carrie Martin* steamed past the *River Queen* with music blaring loudly. Mary Lincoln could have cared less. A military band also played joyfully for her grand party. Finally, at 10 p.m., the *River Queen*—escorted by the *Bat*—took its leave of City Point.¹³⁰ The long journey home had begun. Although the President had put City Point on the map, the diehard Confederate sympathizers living there later changed the town's name to Hopewell. They desperately wished to forget their city's connections to Lincoln, Grant and the Union Army. They probably also resented the fact that some black soldiers had policed them, too.

The little convoy stopped at Fort Monroe for mail, telegraphic messages and supplies.

There, Capt. Barnes returned to the *Bat* for the remainder of the voyage. He had stayed aboard the *River Queen* with a naval guard to protect the President until the *River Queen* reached safe waters.

All during the following day, Palm Sunday, April 9, the passengers were entertained by Lincoln expounding upon his philosophy of things and reading to them. Mainly, he favored Shakespeare, especially the play *Macbeth*, a most tragic piece of literature but a great favorite of his. Mary Lincoln recalled that he also quoted "Resignation." It is attributed to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, but research shows that it was probably a translation of his from another author, Malherbe. Mrs. Lincoln described it as having very "heartbreaking lines."¹³¹ If Lincoln began his recitation with the first lines of this poem, he rendered these words:

There is no flock, however watched and tended,
But one dead lamb is there!
There is no fireside, howso'er defended,
But has one vacant chair!¹³²

While the *River Queen* was cruising majestically up the Potomac River to Washington, Mount Vernon came into view. The Marquis de Chambrun remarked to the President that as George Washington had made his beloved estate famous, so Lincoln's hometown of Springfield, Illinois, would become equally famous. "As though awakened from a trance," Chambrun vouched, "the President exclaimed; 'Springfield, how happy I shall be four years hence to return there in peace and tranquility!'"¹³³ But we know for certain that Mary Lincoln did not wish to live there again. Abraham Lincoln knew that fact, too. He told John Todd Stuart that "Mary does not expect ever to go back there, and don't want to go—but I do—I expect to go back and make my home in Springfield for the rest of my life."¹³⁴

Mary's insane outbursts, her volatile temperament and snide remarks had alienated her from not only former friends but also from members of her own family living in Springfield. A corroborating document recently surfaced which confirms this fact. The Reverend Dr. Phineas Densmore Gurley, personal pastor of the Lincolns in Washington at the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church, traveled with Lincoln's body on the funeral train to Springfield. After giving the final benediction for the burial ceremony at Oak

Ridge Cemetery, he remained in town several days talking to the residents. Upon his return to Washington, he wrote a letter to a friend revealing the results of his interviews. "Everybody in Springfield loved Mr. Lincoln," Gurley discovered, "but as to Mrs. L., I cannot say as much. Hard things are said of her by all classes of people, and when I got to know how she was regarded by her old neighbors and even by her relatives in S., I did not wonder that she had decided to make her future home in Chicago."¹³⁵ And she did, unless travelling far and wide.

As the President glanced away toward Mount Vernon, he must have remembered that he had personally visited that hallowed site on February 27, 1848, as a freshman Congressman. Mary Lincoln, too, had toured Mount Vernon with a group of friends on February 21, 1861, shortly before the war started.¹³⁶

Onward the *River Queen* proudly proceeded with her huge paddle wheels churning the placid waters of the Potomac until she reached her accustomed dock at the Sixth Street Wharf at 6 p.m. on the 9th. The little party had greatly increased from the number aboard when the Lincolns had first departed on March 23. Now it consisted of Lincoln and his wife; "Tad" Lincoln; Captain Charles Penrose; Attorney General James Speed; Assistant

Secretary of the Interior William T. Otto; Senator Charles Sumner; Senator and Mrs. James Harlan and their daughter, Mary; the Marquis de Chambrun; and Elizabeth Keckly, whom the local press ignored completely because of her color and station in life.¹³⁷

President Lincoln had been gone for eighteen days—certainly his longest vacation while President. Before leaving the waterfront, he expressed his gratitude toward Capt. Penrose and Lt. Comdr. Barnes for their diligent and faithful attention to their duties and then climbed into the White House carriage for the last leg of his final vacation on earth. Later that evening, he would learn by telegraph that Lee had at last surrendered to Grant.

Although tense at times, and perhaps somewhat worried because of the slow and prolonged fighting around Petersburg and Richmond, Lincoln had received more rest there than his strenuous White House routine ever allowed before. His very presence at the front lines had lent encouragement to both the Union officers and their men. For instance, when the Commander-in-Chief told Lt. Gen. Grant on April 7 to “Let the *thing* be pressed,” commanders—like Sheridan, who had first said, “If the thing is pressed I think that Lee will surrender”—quickly did the pressing.¹³⁸

Mary Lincoln thought she had “a gay time” and expressed relief that all during the

excursion she had not once encountered Thurlow Weed, editor of the New York *Commercial Advertiser*, who had constantly complained about her padded expense accounts for the White House functions, etc. Even the stilted and dignified Senator Sumner had acted like a young lad.¹³⁹

In contrast, however, President Lincoln's political antagonist, Salmon Portland Chase, who always wanted to be President, viewed the trip differently. He wrote a very carping polemic to his son-in-law, Senator William Sprague, on April 14 complaining about Lincoln's tour to Virginia. Formerly the Secretary of the Treasury who had used his position to gain his own political followers against Lincoln, Chase was now Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. The forgiving Lincoln had appointed him—despite his treachery—to this high office to hold the party together. Chase stated, “The president has been at Richmond! And every body has been on nettles to know what he was doing there. I fancy that he did very little except satisfy his own curiosity & gratify in some measure that of the public by sending telegrams to Stanton. What little he did besides was, I fear, not well done.”¹⁴⁰ What an ungrateful attitude toward the physical and mental giant who had done so much for him.



At left: Sherman, Grant, Lincoln and Porter on the *River Queen*, March 28, 1865.

George Peter Alexander Healy (1813-1894) painted this scene aboard the *River Queen* showing (left to right) William Tuscumsah Sherman, Ulysses S. Grant, Abraham Lincoln, and David D. Porter at their meeting on March 28, 1865, which Healy titled "The Peacemakers." He executed it in 1868 with Leonard Swett posing as Lincoln. The original painting is in the White House Collection.

This photograph is courtesy of The Library of Congress.

After the villain, John Wilkes Booth, assassinated President Lincoln, the *River Queen* was used by Grant, Meade and others of high military rank.¹⁴¹ Finally, the Army cancelled the lease for the *River Queen* on October 30, 1865,¹⁴² and she went north for civilian transportation. At this time, Capt. William Bradford disappeared as her master. By May of 1866, the *River Queen* was lying at a dock in Hudson, New York. She still possessed all the furniture used in the Saloon and the After-Cabin that had been occupied by President Lincoln.¹⁴³ This historic steamer was then chartered to run from Newport, Rhode Island, to other points.¹⁴⁴

Before the Fall elections of 1866, President Andrew Johnson began his "Swing Around the Circle" to drum up votes for his political agenda and party faithful. He gathered a passel of his Cabinet members as well as military heroes of the Civil War and departed from Washington by train at 7 a.m. on August 28.¹⁴⁵ From New York City they sailed up the Hudson River, bound for Albany and eventually Chicago and many other points. Their ship was none other than the *River Queen*. Now, another president had ridden her, and among Johnson's party was General U.S. Grant, now wearing four stars. So, he, too, was aboard her once more. With great fanfare, she slowly cruised past Hudson at

5 p.m. on August 30. In addition, there was William H. Seward, also a former voyager on her.¹⁴⁶

Later, by 1868, the Catskill & Albany Steam Boat Company, under the presidency of Milton Martin, sold the *River Queen* to the Nantucket Steam Boat Company, which put her and the *Island Home* on a ferry run between New Bedford, Massachusetts, and Nantucket Island. Before the sale was final, Mr. Martin sold the historic table and bed used by Lincoln, Grant and others to a Mr. T.A. Boynton of his firm.¹⁴⁷

On September 6, 1866, Alfred Van Santvoord and Milton Martin chartered the *River Queen*. Then, on March 15, 1867, she went to David S. Williams and then back to Van Santvoord and Milton Martin on April 23, 1868. They had her chartered in New York City, but she ran on the Potomac. During the summer in 1868, Van Santvoord and Martin allowed the Long Branch & Sea Shore Railroad Company to bring her back north on the water link between Spermacetti Cove, near Sandy Hook and New York City. By the fall of 1868, James F. Thorn of New York City had her. Later, in April of 1873, the Newburgh Steamboat Company had used her to run from New York City to Newburgh on the Hudson River.

Next, the *River Queen* plied her way in the New England waters; she was controlled by the New Bedford, Martha's Vineyard & Nantucket Steamboat Company, where she sailed between Woods Hole, Massachusetts, and Martha's Vineyard. Again in 1874, she went to the Nantucket & Cape Cod Steamboat Company, costing the new owners \$60,000. Her run was between Nantucket and Hyannis. It was then that President Grant and his family—once more—rode her for a New England vacation.

The New Bedford, Martha's Vineyard & Nantucket Steamboat Company bought her back in 1886. In 1892, after many years sailing on Nantucket Sound, the Mount Vernon & Marshall Hall Steamboat Company acquired her, took her south, and registered her in Washington, D.C., where she steamed again on the Potomac River. That run was between Washington and Mount Vernon. The Independent Steamboat & Barge Company secured her in May of 1898. She became known as the "Presidents' Boat," because three Presidents had ridden her. Excursionists were always impressed when they walked into the Saloon where Lincoln, Grant, Sherman and Porter had their war conference, and they could also view the area of the famous After-Cabin where Lincoln had lived down at Fort Monroe and City Point.

About 1910, Samuel Bensinger and Louis Jefferson of the Independent Steamboat & Barge Company purchased the *River Queen*, and she continued to run between the Nation's Capital and Mount Vernon. At that time, she was valued at \$25,000, and Mr. Bensinger spent \$2,000 to refurbish her. She carried a crew of twenty-one, and had a bar as well as several concession stands on board.

She docked, as usual, at the 7th Street, S. W., Wharf at about 6 on the evening of July 8, 1911. Most of the crew went ashore at 9 p.m., leaving on the ship only Quartermaster J.L. Adams, Fireman Thomas Turner and Watchman James Edwards. Just before midnight, fire broke out in the engine room and quickly progressed up through the old wooden decks. The three sailors sleeping aboard barely escaped with their lives by jumping off. Local wharf workers remarked that the timbers in the engine room were thoroughly soaked with oil from many years of equipment lubrication, and the many, many coats of paint on the boat increased the intensity of the flames. By the morning hours of July 9, despite the heroic efforts of the fire department, the *River Queen* had burned to the water's edge and settled into fifteen feet of water in the Potomac River. The proud old vessel was finished, and her owners had no insurance.¹⁴⁸

Thus vanished from view one of the most historic steamships in the United States. She had known the heavy tread of the immortal Abraham Lincoln and many other notables, too. Now, with her destruction, the hollow echoes of those ghostly footsteps could be imagined no more by any of her impressionable passengers who had a touch of the supernatural in them.

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End Notes and References

¹ *Washington Evening Star*, July 9, 1911, p. 2, c. 1; *American Neptune*, VI, 137 (Apr., 1946); Charles Dana Gibson & E. Kay Gibson, *The Army's Navy Series: Dictionary of Transports and Combatant Vessels...1861-1868* (n. p.: n. p. or d.), 273; Leon Reussille, *Steam Vessels Built in Old Monmouth 1841-1894* (Brick Twp., N.J.: J. I. Farley Print. Ser., 1975), 111-112. Special thanks to Jack Jeandron.

² John Y. Simon, ed., *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant* (Carbondale: Southern Ill. Univ. Press, 1985), XIII, 173; *O. R.*, Ser. I, XLVI, Pt. II, 770.

³ *Hudson Weekly Star*, May 10, 1866, p. 2 c. 5, courtesy of Pat Fenoff.

⁴ His middle initial probably stood for Hussey, his mother's maiden name.

⁵ U.S. Census 1860, 3rd Ward, City of Hudson, Columbia Co., N.Y., p. 89, 11. 26-35.

⁶ U.S. Census 1870, 4th Ward, City of Hudson, Columbia Co., N.Y., p. 67, 11. 16-24.

⁷ U.S. Census 1880, Warren St., 2nd Ward, Hudson, Columbia Co., N.Y., E. D. 17, p. 316, 11. 21-28. Son Frank was a Clerk on a boat.

⁸ *Columbia County at the End of the Century* (Hudson: Record Print. & Pub. Co., 1900), II, 195, 233. Power was a member of the Christ Episcopal Church in Hudson.

⁹ Information courtesy of Pat Fenoff.

¹⁰ U.S. Census 1860, Claverack, Columbia Co., N.Y., p. 508, 11. 32-38; U. S. Census 1870, *ibid.*, p. 135, 1. 38.

¹¹ Charter No. 192 in RG 92, Office of the Quartermaster General, MS., The National Archives, courtesy of Paul Kallina.

¹² Statement by T. A. Boynton, Hudson, N.Y., Oct. 1, 1868, MS., Hendrick Hudson Chapter, NSDAR Museum, Hudson, N.Y., courtesy of Pat Fenoff, Curator, Robert Jenkins House, Hudson, N.Y.

¹³ Justin G. Turner & Linda Levitt Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln: Her Life and Letters* (N.Y.: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), 213.

¹⁴ *Register of Approved Shipmasters, and Officers of Merchant Vessels Holding Commissions from the American Shipmasters' Association Chartered 1862* (N.Y.: n. p., Jan., 1866), 6. Courtesy of Cathy Williamson of the Mariners' Museum, Newport News, VA.

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¹⁵ Reussille, *Steam Vessels Built in Old Monmouth*, 111.

¹⁶ Donald E. Markle, ed., *The Telegraph Goes to War: The Personal Diary of David Homer Bates ...* (Hamilton, N.Y.: Edmonston Pub., 2003), 188.

¹⁷ For the correspondence, see Roy P. Basler, Marion D. Pratt & Lloyd A. Dunlap, eds., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1953), VIII, 274-285.

¹⁸ U. S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (N.Y.: Charles L. Webster & Co., 1886), II, 420-423; Michael Burlingame & John R. Turner Ettinger, eds., *Inside Lincoln's White House* (Carbondale: Southern Ill. Univ. Press, 1997), 251, 367 n. 311.

¹⁹ Markel, ed., *The Telegraph Goes to War*, 188.

²⁰ David Homer Bates, *Lincoln in the Telegraph Office* (N.Y.: The Century Co., 1907), 334-338. (Eckert's refusal to Grant's plea for permission to attend the meetings caused a rift between them that lasted some time.) *O. R.*, Ser. I, XLVI, Pt. II, 342.

²¹ Roger D. Hunt & Jack R. Brown, *Brevet Brigadier Generals in Blue* (Gaithersburg: Olde Soldiers Books, 1990), 186.

²² Markle, ed., *The Telegraph Goes to War*, 188. David Herbert Donald & Harold Holzer, eds., *Lincoln in the Times* (N.Y.: St. Martin's Press, 2005), 218-221. Koontz was about 34 years of age.

²³ Basler, ed., *The Collected Works*, VIII, 277-281; Michael Burlingame, ed., *An Oral History of Abraham Lincoln: John G. Nicolay's Interviews ...* (Carbondale: Southern Ill. Univ. Press, 1996), 94.

²⁴ Basler, ed., *The Collected Works*, VIII, 256.

²⁵ Burlingame, ed., *An Oral History*, 65.

²⁶ N.Y. *Herald*, Feb. 5, 1865, p. 1, c. 2; Frederick Hatch, "Lincoln's Missing Guard," *Lincoln Herald*, CVII, 106 (Fall, 2005). Ward Hill Lamon may have been responsible for picking Smith, since the White House police officers from the City of Washington reported to him. Wm. H. Crook, who went on duty at the White House on Feb. 15, 1865, thought Smith's first name was Alexander, but the official police dept. assignment records list him as Andrew C. Smith. W. H. Crook, *Through Five Administrations* (N.Y.: Harper & Bros., 1910), 1, 14. Crook is a most unreliable source.

²⁷ Markle, ed., *The Telegraph Goes to War*, 187.

²⁸ John W. Starr, Jr., *Lincoln & the Railroads* (N.Y.: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1927), 234.

²⁹ N.Y. *Herald*, Feb. 5, 1865, p. 1, c. 2. See also William C. Harris, "The Hampton Roads Peace Conference...," *Jour. Abraham Lincoln Assoc.*, XXI, No. 1, 46 (Winter, 2000). The *Thomas Colyer* was taken over by the U.S. early in 1861 at Alexandria. She could haul 90 bales of cotton in addition to 80 boxes of tobacco. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington: Govt. Print. Office, 1900), Ser. I, X, 321; *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: Govt. Print. Office, 1895), Ser. I, XLVI, Pt. II, 352.

³⁰ Basler, ed., *The Collected Works*, VIII, 286; *O. R.*, Ser. I, XLVI, Pt. II, 352. In 1906, the *Carrie Martin* spent several months being refurbished by the T. S. Marvel Shipbuilding Company of Newburgh where she got new furniture, carpeting, pilot house, an enlarged Captain's quarters on the Main Deck, upholstery replaced, and a new boiler, plus an engine nearly new. However, the original sideboard used by Gen. Grant in the dining room was kept on the ship and is "in a fine state of preservation," a most valuable piece. But by 1906, this ship was called the *Milton Martin* and owned by the Central-Hudson Steamboat Company. *Hudson Morning Republican*, July 25, 1906.

³¹ Grant, *Personal Memoirs*, II, 423.

³² *O. R.*, Ser. I, XLVI, Pt. II, 360.

³³ John G. Nicolay & John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History* (N.Y.: The Century Co., 1890), X, 118; Howard Swiggett, ed., *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary* (N.Y.: Old Hickory Bookshop, 1935), II, 409.

³⁴ Markle, ed., *The Telegraph Goes to War, 188-189*; N.Y. *Herald*, Feb. 5, 1865, p.1, c. 2.

³⁵ Wayne C. Temple, *Lincoln's Connections With the Illinois & Michigan Canal, His Return From Congress in '48 and His Invention* (Springfield: Illinois Bell, 1986), 33-34.

³⁶ Basler, ed., *The Collected Works*, VIII, 259, 287-288. On Mar. 13, 1865, Hill was brevetted both Brig. Gen. and Maj. Gen. of Vols.

³⁷ N.Y. *Herald*, Mar. 14, 1865, p. 4, c. 5; Mar. 15, 1865, p. 4, c. 5; Mar. 16, 1865, p. 5, c. 1.

³⁸ Michael Burlingame, ed., *Lincoln Observed: Civil War Dispatches of Noah Brooks* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1998), 175-176.

³⁹ Turner & Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 209.

⁴⁰ John Y. Simon, ed., *The Personal Memoirs of Julia Dent Grant* (N.Y.: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1975), 141-142.

⁴¹ *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: Govt. Print. Office, 1880—), Ser. I, XLVI, Pt. 3, p. 30.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁴³ *O. R. ... Navies*, Ser. I, X, 548-550.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Ser. I, XII, 77.

⁴⁵ John S. Barnes, "With Lincoln from Washington to Richmond in 1865," *Appleton's Magazine*, IX, 515-524 (May, 1907).

⁴⁶ Barnes in *Appleton's Magazine*, IX, 515-524 (May, 1907).

⁴⁷ Wayne C. Temple, "*The Taste Is In My Mouth a Little...*" (Mahomet: Mayhaven Pub., 2004), 25-26.

⁴⁸ Marquis Adolphe de Chambrun, *Impressions of Lincoln and the Civil War* (N.Y.: Random House, 1952), 69.

⁴⁹ T. A. Boynton purchased not only this table but also the bed (slept in by both Lincoln and Grant) from Milton Martin, President of the Catskill & Albany Steam Boat Company, for whom he worked as General Agent and Head Bookkeeper. Statement by Boynton, Hudson, N.Y., Oct. 1, 1868, MS., courtesy of Pat Fenoff.

⁵⁰ Barnes, in *Appleton's Magazine*, IX, 742-751 (June, 1907).

⁵¹ *Ibid.* The maid was not Elizabeth Keckly.

⁵² Dr. William Hanchett has found that the reminiscences of Crook are highly unreliable if not completely suspect in several matters. Hanchett, "Persistent Myths of the Lincoln Assassination," *Lincoln Herald*, IC, 175 (Winter, 1997). Capt. Barnes vouched that there was no guard for Pres. Lincoln, and that on one occasion he assigned two officers, as acting Ensigns, together with a file of sailors, to stay with the President as guards. Barnes, *Appleton's Magazine*, IX, 742-751 (June, 1907). As another tall tale, Crook stated that he and "Tad" Lincoln testified at the trial of John Surratt. William H. Crook, *Through Five Administrations* (N.Y.: Harper & Bros., 1910), 46-47. True, young "Tad" did testify at the trial in Washington, but Crook's name is not among the witnesses! *Trial of John H. Surratt* (Washington: R. Sutton, 1867), 400. Crook wrote that on the trip down to see Grant, Lincoln awoke on the morning of the 24th and ate a big breakfast and was feeling fine. All other accounts report that Lincoln was suffering from bad water and seasickness. Donald C. Planz, *The Petersburg Campaign: Abraham Lincoln at City Point March 20 –*

April 9, 1865 (Lynchburg: H.E. Howard, 1989), 98, note 13. The Marquis de Chambrun reported seeing only one escort for the President, and that was a military officer. Marquis de Chambrun, *Impressions of Lincoln*, 69.

⁵³ Basler, ed., *The Collected Works*, VIII, 372 n.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, VIII, 381.

⁵⁵ Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army...* (Washington: Govt. Print. Office, 1903), I, 783.

⁵⁶ *O. R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XLVI, Pt. 3, p. 846.

⁵⁷ William T. Coggeshall, *The Journeys of Abraham Lincoln* (Columbus: Ohio State Journal, 1865), 139.

⁵⁸ Basler, ed., *The Collected Works*, VIII, 369.

⁵⁹ *O. R. Navies*, Ser. I, XII, 78.

⁶⁰ Basler, ed., *The Collected Works*, VIII, 372 and n.

⁶¹ Maj. Charles B. Penrose to editors of *The Century*, published in *The Century Magazine*, XL, 307 (June, 1890).

⁶² Noah Brooks, *Washington in Lincoln's Time* (N.Y.: The Century Co., 1895), 45. Brooks wrote from his contemporary news letters and has the name correct. Grant, years later, called her the *Mary Martin*, but the owner, Milton Martin, had a daughter named Carrie.

⁶³ Richard M. Lee, *Mr. Lincoln's City* (McLean, VA: E P M Pub., 1981), 151-152; Mark H. Dunkelman in *Lincoln Herald*, XCVIII, 89 (Fall, 1996).

⁶⁴ *N.Y. Herald*, Mar. 24, 1865, p. 1, c. 5.

⁶⁵ Stanton to Lincoln, Washington, Mar. 23, 1865, 8:45 p.m. in *O. R.*, Ser. I, XLVI, pt. 3, pp. 86-87. Despite the opinions of some authors, Stanton truly had a great fondness for Lincoln.

⁶⁶ Basler, ed., *The Collected Works*, VIII, 373 and n.

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⁶⁷ Heitman, *Historical Register*, I, 570; Roger D. Hunt & Jack R. Brown, *Brevet Brigadier Generals in Blue* (Gaithersburg: Olde Soldier Books, 1990), 312.

⁶⁸ Barnes in *Appleton's Magazine*, IX, 515-524 (May, 1907).

⁶⁹ *N.Y. Herald*, Mar. 26, 1865, p. 4, c. 4.

⁷⁰ *O. R.*, Ser. I, XLVI, Pt. 3, p. 96.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

⁷² *O. R. Navies*, Ser. I, XII, 81-82.

⁷³ Mary Lincoln to Mrs. Cuthbert, Fort Monroe, Mar. 24, 1865, telegram, MS., Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield, IL. The Army telegrapher sent the message but did not file the original with the archives in his office, perhaps thinking Mrs. Lincoln's wire was not an official communication, or else these telegrams were later removed.

⁷⁴ Barnes, *Appleton's Magazine*, IX, 521 (May, 1907).

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⁷⁵ Mary Lincoln to Alphonso Donn, City Point, Mar. 24, 1865, MS., Ford's Theatre Museum. This telegram is not in the *O. R.*, either.

⁷⁶ *O. R. Navies*, Ser. I, XII, 81-82.

⁷⁷ *N.Y. Herald*, Mar. 27, 1865, p. 1, c. 5.

⁷⁸ *O. R.*, Ser. I, XLVI, Pt. 3, p. 109.

⁷⁹ Swiggett, ed., *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, II, 457.

⁸⁰ *O. R.*, Ser. I, XLVI, Pt. 3, pp. 96-97.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 109; Wayne C. Temple, ed., *Campaigning With Grant* by General Horace Porter (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1961), 404; Miers, ed., *Lincoln Day by Day*, III, 322.

⁸² *O. R.*, Ser. I, XLVI, Pt. 3, p. 109.

⁸³ George R. Agassiz, ed., *Meade's Headquarters 1863-1865: Letters of Colonel Theodore Lyman* (Boston: Mass. Hist. Soc., 1922), 325.

⁸⁴ *Memoirs of U. S. Grant*, II, 437.

⁸⁵ Wayne C. Temple, *Abraham Lincoln: From Skeptic to Prophet* (Mahomet: Mayhaven Pub., 1995), 169-170, 186. For an excellent account of Mary Lincoln's actions on March 25, see Planz, *The Petersburg Campaign*, 7-8.

⁸⁶ *O. R.*, Ser. I, XLVI, Pt. 3, pp. 110-113, 181. The casualties on both sides were revised several times at a later date, but it was a Union victory.

⁸⁷ Planz, *The Petersburg Campaign*, 7-12.

⁸⁸ *O. R.*, Ser. I, XLVI, Pt. 3, p. 109.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

⁹¹ Barnes, *Appleton's Magazine*, IX, 742-751 (June, 1907).

⁹² Planz, *The Petersburg Campaign*, 13-19.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 20-25; *O. R.*, Ser. I, XLVI, Pt. 3, p. 196; *Memoirs of General William T. Sherman* (N.Y.: D. Appleton & Co., 1875), II, 324-325.

⁹⁴ *Memoirs of General William T. Sherman*, II, 330.

⁹⁵ Stefan Lorant, *Lincoln: A Picture Story of His Life* (N.Y.: Harper & Bros., 1952), 216.

⁹⁶ Planz, *The Petersburg Campaign*, 26-30; *O.R. Navies*, Ser. I, XII, 86.

⁹⁷ *Memoirs of General Sherman*, II, 332.

⁹⁸ Agassiz, ed., *Meade's Headquarters*, 327.

⁹⁹ Planz, *The Petersburg Campaign*, 31-33.

¹⁰⁰ Agassiz, ed., *Meade's Headquarters*, 330.

¹⁰¹ Planz, *The Petersburg Campaign*, 34-37. Bowers was the Asst. Adj. Gen. on Grant's staff and very close to him. Bowers was promoted to Bvt. Brig. Gen. on April 9, 1865, and remained with Grant after the war, dying in 1866, while with Grant at West Point where he is buried.

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102 *O. R.*, Ser. I, XLVI, Pt. 3, p. 280.

103 *Ibid.*

104 *Ibid.*, p. 332.

105 Burlingame, ed., *Lincoln Observed*, 180.

106 *O. R.*, Ser. I, XLVI, Pt. 3, p. 332.

107 John Y. Simon, ed., *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant* (Carbondale: Southern Ill. Univ. Press, 1985), XIV, 273-274.

108 Lloyd Ostendorf, *Lincoln's Photographs: A Complete Album* (Rockywood Press, 1998), 306, 308.

109 Noah Brooks writing under pen name of "Castine" in the *Sacramento Union*, May 8, 1865.

110 The artifacts from Lincoln's pockets are now displayed in the Great Hall of the Library of Congress.

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111 *O. R.*, Ser. I, XLVI, Pt. 3, p. 394; Basler, ed., *The Collected Works*, VIII, 381 and n.; *ibid.*, *Supplement, 1832-1865* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1974), 285; Wayne Andrews, *The Autobiography of Carl Schurz* (N.Y.: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1961), 311.

112 *O. R.*, Ser. I, XLVI, Pt. 3, p. 446.

113 Mary Lincoln to Abraham Lincoln, Washington, Apr. 2, [1865], telegram, MS., Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield.

114 Turner & Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 212.

115 *O. R.*, Ser. I, XLVI, Pt. 3, p. 449.

116 Basler, ed., *The Collected Works*, VIII, 385; *ibid.*, *Supplement* (1974), 285.

117 Planz, *The Petersburg Campaign*, 57.

118 Turner & Turner, *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 213.

119 Swiggett, ed., *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, II, 469-471.

120 Basler, ed., *The Collected Works*, VIII, 387, 388.

121 Elizabeth Keckly, *Behind the Scenes* (N.Y.: G. W. Carleton & Co., 1868), 163. It is now known that "Keckly" is the correct spelling.

122 Turner & Turner, *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 213.

123 *Ibid.*, 214, 215.

124 Planz, *The Petersburg Campaign*, 77-78.

125 Turner & Turner, *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 220.

126 Chambrun, *Impressions of Lincoln*, 75-77.

127 *Ibid.*, 77.

128 *Ibid.*, 77-78; Planz, *The Petersburg Campaign*, 83.

129 Basler, ed., *The Collected Works, Supplement* (1974), 286.

130 Chambrun, *Impressions of Lincoln*, 83; Planz, *The Petersburg Campaign*, 84-88.

131 Turner & Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 265.

132 Elwin L. Page, *Lincoln on the River Queen* (Concord: House of Representatives, 1943), 13.

133 Chambrun's prediction came true. Not only are the Lincoln Home and Lincoln Tomb shrines, but on Oct. 14, 2004, the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library opened, and on April 19, 2005, the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Museum opened in Springfield. In addition, other sites are heavily visited, such as the Old State Capitol and the Lincoln & Herndon Law Office, etc. Chambrun, *Impressions of Lincoln*, 83-84.

134 Interview on June 24, 1865, in Springfield where John G. Nicolay heard this from John Todd Stuart. Burlingame, ed., *An Oral History*, 14.

135 Phineas Densmore Gurley to "Darwin," Washington, D.C., May 22, 1865, MS., published in *The Rail Splitter*, X, Nos. 3-4, p. 11 (Winter-Spring, 2005).

136 Wayne C. Temple, "Lincoln's Admiration of George Washington and His Visit to Mount Vernon," *Lincoln Herald*, CVII, 64 (Summer, 2005).

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- 137 *Washington Star*, Apr. 10, 1865; Keckly, *Behind the Scenes*, 172-173.
- 138 Basler, ed., *The Complete Works*, VIII, 392.
- 139 Turner & Turner, eds., *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 220.
- 140 John Niven, ed., *The Salmon P. Chase Papers* (Kent: Kent State Univ. Press, 1998), V, 23-24.
- 141 Agazziz, ed., *Meade's Headquarters*, 359.
- 142 Gibson & Gibson, *The Army's Navy Series*, 273.
- 143 *Hudson Weekly Star*, May 10, 1866, p. 2, c. 5.
- 144 *The [Hudson] Daily Register*, June 12, 1866, p. 3, c. 2.
- 145 J. G. Randall, ed., *The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning* (Springfield: Ill. State Hist. Lib., 1933), II, 91.
- 146 *Hudson Daily Register*, Aug. 31, 1866.

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¹⁴⁷ Statement of T. A. Boynton, Hudson, N.Y., Oct. 1, 1868, MS., Hendrick Hudson Chapt. Museum, Hudson, N.Y.

¹⁴⁸ Reussille, *Steam Vessels Built in Old Monmouth 1841-1893*, 113-114; *Washington Evening Star*, July 9, 1911, p. 2, c. 1.

Special thanks to BreeAnna L. Groves, Stacey Skeeters, Sunderine Temple, and Doris R. Wenzel.

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ISBN-13: 978-193227844-6
ISBN-10: 193227844-3



Mayhaven Publishing, Inc.
Nonfiction - American History -
Lincoln

ISBN 13: 978-193227844-6

ISBN 10: 193227844-3

\$23.95 USA



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—Photograph by
Quintin Mathias Porter