JOHN SURRATT.

"Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed," ominously quoted the judge on August 7, 1867, in his charge to the jury in the case of John Harrison Surratt, accused of participation with John Wilkes Booth in the murder of Abraham Lincoln. Surratt had escaped to Canada and been concealed for five months by friendly priests; he then fled to Liverpool, London, Paris, Rome; was discovered in the Papal Zouaves and arrested by order of the Pope; he later escaped to Egypt; was arrested again, to be brought in chains on a gunboat to Washington; tried for his life, released, and then deserted by the Genius of Adventure. (1)

Testimony was offered at the trial of the conspirators in May and June, 1865, to show that John Surratt had been in Washington on the morning of Friday, April 14, but in his own lengthy and highly sensational trial, two years later, he established that he had been in Elmira, New York, arranging for a prison delivery of Confederate captives when John Wilkes Booth played his last tragic act in Ford's Theathe, Washington. The evidence showed however, malice on the part of the prisoner toward the Federal Government and toward the deceased, Abraham Lincoln, for a long time prior to the murder. It was also proved that he was intimate with the other conspirators and that he had concealed arms at Surrattville which aided the escape of Booth and Herold. All of which he later acknowledged.

As with John Wilkes Booth, both before and after his capture, John Surratt during the months following the assassination also was "recognized" in many parts of the country. A news dispatch from Sheffield, Mass., May 1, 1865, reported the arrest of "one of Booth's accomplices who answers the description given." Whether they thought the party was Surratt or some other accomplice is not stated, but since all those directly connected with the plots had been apprehended except Surratt, he must have been the man described.

A New Orleans letter of the 14th of June says two men there were arrested charged with complicity, "One admitted having known Booth." The Southern Indicator

under the heading "The Penalty for Looking Like an Assassin," describes the arrest of its Editor in July 1865, as John H. Surratt. "He was taken to Washington in chains but later released."

On July 19, 1865, a man who answered the description of John H. Surratt was arrested in Memphis. He gave his name as John S. Ryan and stated that he was from Texas, and had been a captain in the Confederate service. He was sent to Washington in irons, but although he bore a "singular resemblance in features to Surratt, he was not held." (2)

"At the breaking out of the war," said Surratt in telling his story to a Rockville, Maryland, audience in 1870, (3) "I was a student at St. Charles College, in Maryland, but did not remain long there after that important event. I left in July, 1861, and, returning home, commenced to take an active part in the stirring events of that period. I was not more than eighteen years of age, and mostly engaged in sending information regarding the movements of the United States Army stationed in Washington and elsewhere, and carrying dispatches to the Confederate boats on the Potomac. We ran a regularly established line from Washington to the Potomac, and I being the only unmarried man on the route had most of the hard riding to do."

He then told of his meetings with John Wilkes Booth and the latter's proposition to kidnap President Lincoln and take him to Richmond. Surratt elaims that although at first "amazed, thunderstruck, and in fact, I might say, frightened at the unparalleled audacity of the scheme," yet after two days' re-flection, he concluded it to be practicable and "led on by a sincere desire to assist the South in gaining her independence," he told Booth that he was willing to try it. Then followed months of plotting to capture the President, plotting which failed.

claimed

In Surratt's own words: "One day we received information that the President would visit the Seventh Street Hospital for the purpose of being present at an entertainment to be given for the benefit of the wounded soldiers. The report reached us only about threequarters of an hour before the appointed time, but so perfect was our communication that we were instantly in our saddles on the way to the hospital. This was between one and two o'clock in the afternoon. It was our intention to seize the carriage, which was drawn by a splendid pair of horses, and to have one of our men mount the box and drive direct for Southern Maryland via Benning's bridge. We felt confident that all the cavalry in the city could never overhaul us. We were all mounted on swift horses besides having a thorough knowledge of the country, it being determined to abandon the carriage after passing the city limits. Upon the suddenness of the blow and the celerity of our movements we depended for success. By the time the alarm could have been given and horses saddled, we would have been on our way through Southern Maryland

toward the Potomac River.

"To our great disappointment, however, the President was not there, but one of the Government officials—Mr. Chase, if I mistake not . . . It was

our last attempt."

Surratt stated-further that the enterprise was then abandoned, and that soon afterward he was given Confederate dispatches to carry from Washingtion to Richmond, where he arrived on "Friday evening before the evacuation of that city." He left the next morning and again reached Washington "the following Monday," at four o'clock p.m., April 3, 1865. He claims that he left for New York the next day without having seen Booth, and that this was his last time in Washington "until brought there by the United States Government a captive in chains."

declared

He attempted to see Booth in New York but was informed that the actor was in Boston. Surratt then proceeded to Montreal, and after remaining a week was instructed to proceed to Elmira, New York, to make sketches of the military prison and gather information that would aid in the release of the Confederates confined there. Surratt testified that he registered as "John Harrison" in Elmira on the Wednesday before the assassination, palmed himself off as a Canadian in an "Oxford cut jacket and a round-top hat, peculiar to Canada at that time, and remained there until Saturday, when he learned of the assassination and that it was rumored John Wilkes Booth was the assassin.

On the following Monday, after spending the week-end in Canandaigua,

a village near Elmira, with the intention of going back to Baltimore, he bought some New York papers and was startled with: "The assassin of Secretary Seward is said to be John H. Surratt, a notorious secessionist of Southern Maryland. His name, with that of J. Wilkes Booth, will forever lead the infamous roll of assassins."

Montreal, not Baltimore, suddenly became his destination. Arriving in Montreal, which had become the home

of many Southerners, Surratt was secreted in the house of a friend where he remained until advised that his hid-

ing place was suspected and the house was to be searched. He left immediately, but after the authorities had satisfied themselves that he was not there, he returned and remained until he left Montreal about a week later. Then as Charles Armstrong and disguised as a huntsman he hid in the home of Father Charles Bouchers, a priest in St. Liboire, a small town lying about 45 miles south of Montreal in a thinly settled territory.

During these days he naturally became greatly worried about the possible fate of his mother, who had been arrested and was being tried as one of the assassination conspirators. He was assured by friends, however, that there was no cause for uneasiness and that any action on his part would only make matters worse.

These friends, he says, became frightened at the prospect of breaking the news of his mother's death sentence, and it was only by accident that, several hours after the death

trap had been sprung, he procured a paper containing the news of her execution.

Surratt told his Rockville audience that after



partly recovering from the effect of the shock he went to his room and remained there until dark; then signified his intention to leave the place immediately. "I felt reckless," he said, "as to what should become of me. After visiting Quebec and other places, with the reward of \$25,000 hanging over my head, I did not think it safe to remain there, and so I concluded to seek an asylum in foreign lands."

Father LaPierre (Surratt Trial Records—p. 908), a priest of Montreal, cared for Surratt from late in July until early in September, and then accompanied him to Quebec, where, disguised and under the pseudonym of McCarty, he placed him on board the Peruvian, bound for Liverpool. Convinced that there was an American detective on board, and bewildered by his own imagination, Surratt confessed to Dr. McMillan, the ship's physician, his true identity in an effort to obtain protection and advice.

Either feeling it was his duty or with a desire to collect the reward still offered for Surratt, the doctor, on September 26, informed the United States Consulate at Liverpool of the presence of the fugitive. The vice-consul conveyed this intelligence to Washington, but to his surprise, on October 13, received the following from the Acting Secretary of State:

"I have to inform you that, upon a consultation with the Secretary of War and Judge Advocate General, it is thought advisable that no action be taken in regard to the arrest of the supposed John Surratt at present."

The only explanation that has ever been given for this action, and the subsequent delays in apprehending Surratt, is that official Washington began to doubt whether the execution of Mrs. Surratt had been advisable and was not anxious to reawaken the storm that resulted from what many termed her "official murder."

After waiting until early in November for funds expected from Canadian friends, Surratt made his way to London and then to Rome by way of Paris, where after a few months, under the name of John Watson, he enlisted in the Papal Zouaves. This was during the war between Pope Pious IX and Garibaldi, and recruits were welcome in either camp.

By a strange coincidence, Henri St. Marie, a Canadian who had known Surratt three years before in Washington, had also become a Zouave and recognized him. Surratt appealed to St. Marie to keep his secret, but the latter succumbed to the temptation of the large reward. He (Continued on page 50)

informed General Rufus King, then American minister at Rome, of Surratt's whereabouts and of the details of a confession he had made. General King advised the Papal Government of these disclosures and by order of the Pope, the following instructions were issued:

November 6, 1866.

Colonel: Cause the arrest of the Zouave Watson, and have him conducted, under secure escort, to the military prison at Rome. It is of much importance that this order be executed with exactness.

The General, pro-minister, Kanzlei.

Lieutenant-Colonel Allet, Commanding Zouave Battalion, Velletri.

Lieutenant-Colonel Allet telegraphed as follows:

Pontifical Zouaves, Battalion Headquarters, Velletri, November 7, 1866.

General: I have the honor to inform you that the Zouave John Watson has been arrested at Veroli, and will be taken tomorrow morning, under good escort, to Rome. While he was searched for at Trisulti, which was his garrison, he was arrested by Captain De Lambilly, at Veroli, where he was on leave.

I have the honor to be, General, your Excellency's Very humble and obedient servant,

Lieut.-Colonel Allet.

His Excellency, the General-Minister of War, Rome.

PONTIFICAL TELEGRAPH Velletri, 8:35 A.M. Nov. 8, 1866.

His Excellency, the General-Minister of War, Rome:

I received the following telegram from Captain Lambilly: At the moment of leaving the prison, surrounded by six men as guards, Watson plunged into the ravine, more than a hundred feet deep, which defends the prison. Fifty Zouaves are in pursuit.

Lieut.-Colonel Allet.

The story of these three days cannot be more graphically related than by Surratt himself: (Interview-with Surratt-Boston Sunday Post, April 9, 1898.) (5)

"In the meantime I was confined in a cell in the old monastery. The second day

He Arranged a Plan of Escape aftermy arrest, or rather the second night, a messenger arrived from Antonelli direct-

ing the officer in command of the post, the Baron De Serappo, who you will remember married Miss Polk of North Carolina, to have me sent to Rome under heavy guard the moment the summons was received. I was awakened at four a.m. by the rusty key grating in the lock of my cell, and by the light of a flickering lantern I saw that my untimely visitors were an officer and six soldiers, all heavily armed. At once I knew what it meant, and when the lieutenant in command ordered me to dress at once in order to go to Rome I at once made up my mind that, let the consequences be what

they may, I would not go to the Eternal City. (6)

"While dressing I mentally arranged a plan of escape. This old monastery was built on the side of the mountains, nestling on one side, and the west side was directly over a precipice over a hundred feet high. A wall four feet high guarded the court yard. I was determined to break away from my captors and go over the precipice. When I was finished dressing I was placed in the center of this guard and we slowly ascended the stone steps of the old building, worn smooth by countless feet of many generations of monks. We reached the court yard and turned towards the left. Just as we reached the point I had selected for my attempt I made a break for liberty, and running quickly across the court yard jumped

> A Fearful Leap for Liberty

on the wall. Gathering myself for the attempt I took a long breath and jumped

into space, doubling my legs slightly under me as I did so. About thirty-five feet from the top of the precipice there was a bare ledge of rock jutting out from the face of the mountain and about four feet broad. By great good fortune I landed safely on that ledge."

Surratt was asked whether he knew of the existence of the ledge or landed on it by accident.

"Know of it?" was his answer. "Why of course I knew of it. Do you think I would have been such an idiot as to jump over a 100-foot precipice to certain death in that manner? Many and many a time my comrades and myself in hours of idleness would lean over that precipice and wonder how many feet it was from the wall of the court yard to the ledge, and it was an open question as to whether a man could jump from the wall and land safely on the ledge. While dressing I was determined to make the attempt. It makes my blood run cold to think of it now, though. However, I managed to land on it safely and my legs doubling up under me, my head struck the bare rock with fearful force."

After describing the scene of wild confusion and surprise by his sudden break for freedom and the attempt made by his guard to shoot him, Surratt continued. "I was brought back to my senses by the reports of their rifles from above and the bullets flattening themselves on the bare rocks unpleasantly near my head. Dizzy and sick and shaken, I managed to gather myself together and crawl out of danger and gradually make my way down the side of the mountain to the little town which nestled at its base. Running along the main street of the town I ran directly into the arms of a detail of Zouaves. They were as much surprised as I, but I had the advantage of being on the alert. With me it was almost a matter of life and death. Doubling quickly on my tracks and expecting every moment to be hit by some of the bullets which were flying around my head, I ran like a frightened deer; through alleys, down dark streets and across lots I sped, and managed to elude my pursuers.

"In the meantime the entire town was in an uproar. Everyone had the alarm, and all the gates were guarded. Selecting a good point I managed to get over the wall and headed down the white Italian road toward the coast. I should have said at the beginning that all this took place during the early hours of the morning. It was four a.m. when I was aroused and told to dress. By the time I had left the town a few miles in the rear, the sun was high in the heavens and I was congratulating myself on my three escapes when I was suddenly startled by the sharp command:

"'Halt! Who goes there?"

"'Friend,' I answered in my best Italian, recognizing that I had run into a Garibaldian camp. Glancing at my papal uniform, the outpost was by no means reassured. In the meantime I had raised my hands above my head. Bringing his rifle to his shoulder he was pressing the trigger unpleasantly hard. Raising my hands even higher in the air I sang out to him 'Lower your rifle, man; can't you see my hands are up?' Still covering me with his rifle he ordered me to advance within a few paces of him and called out lustily for the corporal of the guard. That officer came on the run, and seeing my rig called for the sergeant of the guard. He no sooner caught glimpse of my dress than he called for the officer of the guard. To make a long story short, I was soon surrounded by a mob of Garibaldians of all ranks and sizes. When I told them that I was an American, a deserter from the Papilo Guardo and wanted to get to the coast, they treated me with the greatest kindness."

It was the third of November when Surratt escaped from the Papal Zouaves. On the sixteenth, having made his way to Naples, he there represented himself to the British consul as a Canadian citizen and obtained, through the aid of the consul, passage to Eygpt. But the American Consul of Alexandria, having been informed of his destination through the authorities in Naples, boarded the vessel upon its arrival there and placed Surratt, easily recognizable in his Zouave uniform, under arrest.

Surratt remained in an Egyptian government prison in Alexandria from November 27 until December 21, when a naval vessel, the Swatara, dispatched to that point, received him in chains and sailed for the Washington Navy Yard. The Swatara was quite small and the commander was in a quandary just where to put his prisoner. According to one of the officers on board, the "commander finally concluded to relinquish his bathroom, which was outside his cabin, with a door opening on the spar deck, and it was fitted up as a stateroom, and the prisoner made as comfortable as could be." (Geo. D. Barten, New York Sun, May 20, 1916). (7)

Surratt Is Sent Back to Washington Two months later, after storming through heavy seas and a hard gale on

February 21, 1867, Surratt, who was a wretched sailor and had suffered greatly from seasickness, was again in Washington, facing an indictment in the criminal court for the District of Columbia for the murder of Abraham Lincoln.

On June 10, 1867, his sixty-one day trial began. Few murder trials have been more spectacular or harder fought. Joseph H. Bradly, Sr., Surratt's leading counsel, lost his temper and challenged the judge to a duel. While in Washington, St. Marie, the fellow-Zouave who had betrayed him, was

complicity in

"in constant, though apparently groundless, terror of being assassinated," and when St. Marie suddenly appeared on the stand to testify, newspaper correspondents present noted "a single, deadly glance passed between him and Surratt."

More than two hundred witnesses were examined, some of whom testified that Surratt was in Washington on April 14, 1865, the day of the assassination. But the defense was able to impress eight of the jury, seven of whom were southern born, that Surratt's alibi was sufficient for acquittal. After three days' balloting the judge was informed that the jury was divided and "could not possibly make a verdict." They were dismissed and Surratt sent back to the old Capitol prison, where he remained until June 22 of the following year. He was then released on twenty-five thousand dollars' bail.

Three months later, the prosecution, realizing the apparent futility of proving that Surratt took part in the assassination of President Lincoln, attempted to press charges of conspiracy and treason. It was then learned that the two-year limitation for such an indictment made a trial on these charges impossible and the court freed John Harrison Surratt from further duress. (8)

After attempting a profitless lecture tour, he settled in Baltimore and for many years was employed by one of the Chesapeake steamship companies. The remainder of his life was uneventful, and his death occurred early in May, 1916—fifty-one years after it would have taken place had he been tried by the same tribunal that sent his mother to the gallows.

Surratt was not inclined to talk of his experiences, and few who met him ever knew that behind his piercing gray eyes, deeply hidden beneath heavy brows, there was the memory of hairbreadth escapes rivaling in romantic interest and dramatic detail those of the wildest fiction.

JOHN SURRATT

Notes Chit

- of the period, the official reports of the Surratt trial issued by the Government Printing Office in 1867, Surratt's Rockville, Md., speech reported in the Washington Star, December 8, 1870, and an interview with him which appeared in the Boston Sunday Post, April 3, 1898, The San Francisco Examiner, April 3, 1898, the New York Sun, May 20, 1916, and "The Assassination of Abraham Lincoln, by Oldroyd."
- (2) New York World, Aug 2, 1865.
- (3) Printed in the Washington Evening Star, December 8, 1870. Reprinted April 12, 1908.
- (4) S.T. p.908.
- (5) Interview with Surratt, Boston Sunday Post, April 3, 1898.
- (6) In 1866, Fredrick A Brady, New York, published "The Private Journal and Diary of John H. Surratt," Edited by "Dion Haco, Esq."

Considerable research on my part has not established its authenticity, neither have I found denials of it by Surratt. It closely follows the facts and is interesting both because it was published before the Parts.

Surratt trial and because it is confirmatory of the statements in Surratt's subsequent lectures.

the diary may have been fabricated to awale additional purposers of the Complisity of the Complisity

THE PRIVATE JOURNAL AND DIARY

Of

JOHN-H--SURRATT

Edited-by-Dion-Haco; -Esg.

The following et carts are reproduced from this alde typed diary!

"Booth and Mudd were with me today at the "National." We have planned out the roads to be taken if we only succeed in capturing Lincoln. Booth is indignant at the imbecility of the Confederate Government. So far, I believe he is right, and agree with him that, if a blow is to be struck, it should be an effective one and one that will make a lasting mark. Booth thinks we should do well to take Mother into our confidence, as I am so often away. I do not believe in woman; but in this case, perhaps it would be better. She could assist us greatly if she is mindful and willing.

"Must leave for Canada tonight; but I know nothing can or will be allowed to be done without the consent of the Confederate Government. The money-agent at Montreal is far too cautious to risk anything, unless there is a possibility of success, except an endorsement from the proper authorities as to the expenditure of the necessary funds.

" March 2, 1865.

"Have arranged all our plans, and secured the desired assistance. Booth is desparate, so are the others. They all seem ready to do anything to secure success. I don't think that young fellow Harold has much courage; but, then, he may be made of use by and by. The risk is great, but the reward greater. We have all we want for the work - everything except the opportunity.

"March 3. 1865.

"Too closely surrounded by his friends. No chance before the inauguration. The city is full and all the office seekers are buzzing around him like so many bees.

The Private Journal & Diary of John H. Surratt - Page 2.

Can't yet be done.

"March 5, 1865.

"Lincoln attends a review on the 7th. We have it all arranged now, and nothing can fail. He goes out unattended, and we shall be enough - seven of us. The suddenness of the whole thing will prevent any attempt at rescue until it is too late, and once safely in Richmond the independence of the South is certain and my fortune is made.

" March 6. 1865.

" All is prepared, Tomorrow afternoon.

" March 7, 1865.

"Ruined! My prospects blighted! The whole thing has failed! How was it that the route was changed after having everything so finely planned. I could blow out my brains. Pshaw! what am I writing.

" March 18, 1865.

"Booth called today and told me that he had gotten together in Washington all who were necessary for the purpose intended; that they could be ready at a minute's notice. He had a long conversation with Mother, at the end of which he said that if anything was to be done, it should not be delayed, otherwise it would be too late. He declared his intention of going to New York at once to perfect matters.

" April 5. 1865.

"Called on Booth here in New York. Told him not to be too hasty in carrying out the plan upon which we had agreed. Shall leave this evening for Canada.

" April 6, 1865.

"Arrived here in Montreal today. Called at once on the Confederate agent, and handed him the dispatches I had brought from Richmond. He examined them and said, "This makes the thing all right." He then talked with me about our proposed plan of carrying off the President, Secretary of State, and other officials, and said that the Confederate authorities had consented to the movement. He added that he hoped we should

The Private Journal & Diary of John H. Surratt - Page 3.

make a sure thing of it. Tomorrow I am to receive the necessary funds for the venture.

"April 7, 1865.

"Called again today on the agent to get the money. He again conversed with me on the subject, listened to the plan we had proposed and inquired as to the part I was to take in the matter. Gave him all the information advisable. Would have given him more, but that his secretary seemed to be regarding me in a manner that I did not like. I am afraid too many know of this affair to warrant its success. Have not yet obtained the money.

" April 11, 1865.

"Have received the necessary funds, and shall start tomorrow for Washington to join Booth in his scheme.

"April 15, 1865.

"Lincoln is gone at last. Booth has carried out his oft-repeated threat, and has, so it is said, really taken the life of the tyrant. It seems too good to be true. But the "assassin" Saviour - is being pursued. If he takes the road planned out, he will certainly escape. He has indeed gained an immortality of fame.

"April 16, 1865.

"My name has been mentioned as connected with this affair. The States is no longer a safe place for me especially as Mother has been arrested.

"April 19, 1865, Montreal.

"What must be Mother's feelings at this time? Herself in prison and unaware of my safety. How did they discover her connection with the affair? Someone (Weichmann, one of the government's chief witnesses against the Surratts.) must have betrayed her. Hope W--/has not been babbling. Booth must have had some good reason for changing his plan or he never would have done so. We had agreed on so good a scheme, that to change it seemed like tempting destiny.

"April 28, 1865.

"The Yankees are going to mock Justice by pretending to try those whom they have captured. They cannot revenge themselves on Booth. He is out of their power. He died bravely, gun in hand, and without flinching. As for Herold, he was chicken-

The Private Journal & Diary of John H. Surratt - Page 4

hearted and deserves to be hung. I wonder what is intended to be done with Mother. Surely they will not hang a woman.

" July 8. 1865.

"They have hung my mother. Curse them! In every way curse them! She was no party to the mad freaks of Booth. She has been murdered by Johnson, but I will be even with them yet. After my sister pleading, as she did for her mother's life, and yet they have hung her. Payne and Harold; well, they were in the plot; but then that cowardly fellow, Atzerodt, Johnson ought to have pardoned him, if even only because he was too cowardly to attempt to kill him.

" Sept. 5, 1865. On boat.

"I wonder who the man is that sailed with me from Montreal to Quebec. He seems to have taken a great interest in my behalf, and when he learned that I was Surratt, the Confederate, he seemed both surprised and pleased. I recollect he asked me several questions among which was one inquiring whether or not I had been connected with the killing of Lincoln. "Not exactly that," I replied, "but I have been concerned in a trick to carry him off. The plan was concocted by Booth and myself; but while I was in Canada, the main features were changed by Booth."

" Oct. 1, 1865.

"Arrived in London and presented my letters. All right.

" Oct. 3, 1865.

"This England is a dull heavy place. No amusement. I live, it is true, in a grand hotel; but it is not like an American Hotel. There is no scarcity of money - it would not be wise for certain parties to let me run short. But this living in perpetual disguise is not very gratifying to my feelings. I do not like London and will try the Continent.

" Oct. 30. 1865.

"V-- wishes me to go to Spain, but I preferred Paris. He will get the letters prepared by that time and bring the funds.

The Private Journal & Diary of John H. Surratt - Page 5.

" Oct. 31, 1865.

"Were it not that I should put my own neck into the halter, I would send on to Washington the names of those who "aided and abetted" in the rebellion, and it will be found that they did not all belong to the Democratic Party.

"Nov. 2. 1866.

"Conversed with Mr. A -- today. He says Paris will ruin me, as I have already been recognized more than once. I think -- and the rest would like to get rid of me. They know that if I was out of the way, there would be none left to betray them. Although not the actual assassins, they had more to do with it than they would like known, especially -- of New York. A -- wants me to go to Rome and join the Papal Zouaves. I could then be better protected, and money could reach me as well there as in Paris.

" Nov. 6. 1866.

"Arrested! To be sent to the United States - what for? The Gallows?

Perhaps too true! I am to die, but not unavenged. I leave these papers for my
gallant companion D -- H with an earnest request that he will have them published
in America. I will not be hanged: a better fate will be mine. I have often noticed
the precipice. A leap down that will end my misery at once."

- (7) Geo.D. Barton, New York Sun, May 20, 1916.
- (8) "Men and Things in Washington" by L.A. Gobight, p.381.