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LINCOLN AND THE BALTIMORE PLOT

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LINCOLN
AND THE
BALTIMORE PLOT

1861;

*From Pinkerton Records
and Related Papers*

Edited by

NORMA B. CUTHBERT

THE HUNTINGTON LIBRARY
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book has been in preparation for a long time, during odd moments snatched from routine duties in the Department of Manuscripts in the Huntington Library.

A definitive investigation of the Baltimore plot has not been possible, and in only two libraries, other than our own, has research been done: the New York Public Library and the Library of Congress. Nonetheless much help has been given and received. To my friends in San Marino, Messrs. Herbert C. Schulz, Robert G. Cleland, Godfrey Davies, Dixon Wecter, and Mrs. Marion Tinling; to the staff of the Library of Congress, particularly Dr. C. P. Powell; to Messrs. Robert A. Pinkerton and Ralph Dudley who have been so very generous in making available every resource of Pinkerton's National Detective Agency, even to the extent of shipping to California valuable archives of the firm; to Dr. Louis B. Wright, Director of the Folger Library; and finally to Mr. Lavern M. Hamand and Professor James G. Randall of the University of Illinois, I am deeply indebted, and offer my sincere and grateful thanks.

N. B. C.

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INTRODUCTION

On February 11th, 1861, Abraham Lincoln started on his journey from Springfield to Washington to be inaugurated President of the United States. The train was to leave at eight o'clock in the morning, and Lincoln allowed himself five minutes to say good-by to the friends and neighbors who had gathered at the Great Western Railway station to see him off. It was a sorrowful leavetaking. His words are well remembered: "No one, not in my position can appreciate my feeling of sadness at this parting . . . Here I have lived a quarter of a century . . . Here my children have been born, and one is buried. I now leave, not knowing when or whether ever I may return . . ." J. G. Nicolay and young John Hay, who were present, said the morning was stormy, with snow settling on the bared heads of the townsfolk. Henry Villard, reporter for the New York Associated Press, remembered it as a clear, crisp day. And Ward H. Lamon, Lincoln's intimate friend and former law partner, described it as a gloomy day with heavy clouds overhead and a cold rain falling.

But whatever the weather, it was a portentous day: not alone because it marked the end of an epoch in Lincoln's life, but because it also introduced one of the most tedious and difficult interludes he ever lived through. The triumphal progression from Springfield to Washington was a travesty—a fortnight of tense anxiety masked by levity and noisy ovations, by cautious commonplace speech-making, the so-popular routine of "measuring" contests, the ordeal of social amenities, the incessant handshaking, and finally, as a nightmarish climax, a sudden midnight trip

through Baltimore, which brought him into Washington secretly and ahead of schedule.

While all this was going on, the people who were not shouting in the streets waited—watching and listening as the crack along the Mason-Dixon line grew steadily wider, and the accompanying rumblings became louder. These signs and portents were not a sudden development. For a long time a strong aggressive element in the South had openly threatened the dissolution of the Union. Now these threats were attended by rumors of an uglier, more sinister character. In Springfield as well as in Washington dark hints and prophecies passed from lip to lip. It was whispered that there was a plan to kill General Scott and kidnap President Buchanan, to blow up the Capitol and seize the arsenal and navy yard; that Washington soon would be isolated, with railroad tracks torn up, bridges burned, telegraph wires destroyed; that armed secret societies were springing up throughout Virginia, Maryland, and the District of Columbia, ready and geared for action; that black lists were being prepared in anticipation of a *coup d'état*; that arms and ammunition, concealed in trunks and carpet-bags, were being quietly distributed to householders; that District militia and police were largely disaffected, as well as government officials from the Cabinet down—in short, that a reign of terror could, and probably would, break out at a moment's notice.

By the close of 1860, whispering had given way to open street-corner discussions, and all the foamy barroom rumors seemed to be boiling down to one vital objective: a well-implemented plot to prevent the inauguration. To this end every scheme focused on eliminating Abraham Lincoln, and Baltimore was generally conceded to be the logical

site for the trap to be sprung. There were many versions as to how the deed would be done. One "reliable source" had it that the President-elect would be shot with an air gun while driving through the streets, another insisted that a revolver was to be used, less hardy souls recommended a train derailment, or abduction to a boat waiting in the harbor for a quick get-away to the South—but blood-thirsty Baltimoreans demanded immediate dispatch with the bowie knife.

Up to the time of his departure from Springfield, Lincoln had considered a possible failure of the official count of the electoral vote, or perhaps an unfriendly demonstration at the inauguration, to be his only serious hazards in taking office. He refused to be alarmed by anonymous threats of personal violence, knowing that General Scott had been making adequate preparations in Washington, and that two committees of Congress were holding investigations for the purpose of exploding rumors, publicizing facts, and quieting needless apprehension. But as his journey drew to a close, public feeling in Baltimore was reported as having become increasingly tense, the attitude of the press decidedly hostile, and the warnings more and more ominous.

At length it became quite evident that the hospitality of the city was not to be extended to the presidential party. This omission of an official welcome, with the usual speeches, receptions, fanfare, and parade, was highly significant. It was a discourtesy made all the more conspicuous by the fact that Mr. Lincoln was scheduled to arrive at mid-day and drive all the way across town from one railway terminal to another. But it appeared that the slight would have to be borne, since it was then too late to arrange a necessarily elaborate detour. In effect there appeared to be

no other way to get the President-elect to his seat of government. But there was an alternative—a simple alternative—and when urgent last-minute warnings of imminent danger reached the party at Philadelphia, Lincoln was persuaded to adopt it.

Abandoning his published itinerary, he decided to pass through Baltimore secretly in a sleeping car on the midnight train. This could be done easily and without causing attention, as it was customary at that late hour to uncouple the cars and draw them slowly by horses through the quiet, deserted streets.

The maneuver worked, but it caused a furor. Many wagers were lost and won; Wall Street rallied; commissioners of the Peace Conference, sitting in solemn conclave in Washington, were jolted when the news came through, and the Missouri member was so dumfounded that he blurted out, "How the devil did he get through Baltimore?"¹ The cartoonists had a Roman holiday, and the comedy-relief provided by their response created a welcome diversion. Gentlemen of the press also made the most of the rare opportunity, and a bright reporter in Boston had an idea "that the ridiculous telegrams about assassination, etc., may not unreasonably be accounted for by supposing that something startling was necessary in order to divert the public mind from Mr. Lincoln's crude speeches."²

As to Lincoln's own reaction, biographers differ. Some have claimed that he regretted the incident, and felt mortified and chagrined. Elihu B. Washburne, who met him at the depot, had this to say: "I was the first man to see him after his arrival in Washington . . . and I know he was neither 'mortified' nor 'chagrined' . . . He expressed to me in the warmest terms his satisfaction at the complete success

of his journey . . .”³ Colonel Lamon, in another version, quoted Lincoln as having said: “You . . . know that the way we skulked into this city [Washington] . . . has been a source of shame and regret to me, for it did look so cowardly!”⁴ His longest statement on the subject was made to Benson J. Lossing in 1864, who gave it substantially in the President’s own words, as follows:

I arrived at Philadelphia on the 21st. I agreed to stop over night, and on the following morning hoist the flag⁵ over Independence Hall. In the evening there was a great crowd where I received my friends, at the Continental Hotel. Mr. Judd, a warm personal friend from Chicago, sent for me to come to his room. I went, and found there Mr. Pinkerton, a skillful police detective, also from Chicago, who had been employed for some days in Baltimore, watching or searching for suspicious persons there. Pinkerton informed me that a plan had been laid for my assassination, the exact time when I expected to go through Baltimore being publicly known. He was well informed as to the plan, but did not know that the conspirators would have pluck enough to execute it. He urged me to go right through with him to Washington that night. I didn’t like that. I had made engagements to visit Harrisburg, and go from there to Baltimore, and I resolved to do so. I could not believe that there was a plot to murder me. I made arrangements, however, with Mr. Judd for my return to Philadelphia the next night, if I should be convinced that there was danger in going through Baltimore. I told him that if I should meet at Harrisburg, as I had at other places, a delegation to go with me to the next place (then Baltimore), I should feel safe, and go on.

When I was making my way back to my room, through crowds of people, I met Frederick Seward. We went together to my room, when he told me that he had been sent, at the instance of his father and General Scott, to inform me that their detectives in Baltimore had discovered a plot there to assassinate me. They knew nothing of Pinkerton’s movements. I now believed such a plot to be in existence.

The next morning I raised the flag over Independence Hall, and then went on to Harrisburg with Mr. Sumner, Major (now General) Hunter, Mr. Judd, Mr. Lamon, and others. There I met the Legislature and people, dined, and waited until the time appointed for me to leave. In the mean time, Mr. Judd had so secured the telegraph that no communication could pass to Baltimore and give the conspirators knowledge of a change in my plans.

In New York some friend had given me a new beaver hat in a box, and in it had placed a soft wool hat.⁶ I had never worn one of the latter in my life. I had this box in my room. Having informed a very few friends of the secret of my new movements, and the cause, I put on an old overcoat that I had with me, and putting the soft hat in my pocket, I walked out of the house at a back door, bareheaded, without exciting any special curiosity. Then I put on the soft hat and joined my friends without being recognized by strangers, for I was not the same man. Sumner and Hunter wished to accompany me. I said no; you are known, and your presence might betray me. I will only take Lamon (now Marshal of this District), whom nobody knew, and Mr. Judd.* Sumner and Hunter felt hurt.

We went back to Philadelphia and found a message there from Pinkerton (who had returned to Baltimore), that the conspirators had held their final meeting that evening, and it was doubtful whether they had the nerve to attempt the execution of their purpose. I went on, however, as the arrangement had been made, in a special train. We were a long time in the station in Baltimore. I heard people talking around, but no one particularly observed me. At an early hour on Sunday morning, at about the time I was expected to leave Harrisburg, I arrived in Washington.⁷

And to another friend, Isaac N. Arnold, Lincoln had remarked: "I did not then, nor do I now believe I should have been assassinated had I gone through Baltimore as first contemplated, but I thought it wise to run no risk where no risk was necessary."⁸

*Mr. Lincoln's memory was at fault here. Norman B. Judd did not accompany Lincoln and Lamon from Harrisburg to Philadelphia.

Contradictory opinions as to the genuineness of the plot are still expressed. For the most part historians have accepted it as authentic and well implemented, but some have been doubtful, a few have categorically rejected it, and one man, who was in a better position to judge than any other of Lincoln's biographers, dissented in his *Life of Abraham Lincoln* (1872), and later concurred in *Recollections of Abraham Lincoln* (1895). This was Ward H. Lamon, the only member of Lincoln's party who accompanied him through every step of the entire journey. Here are the two conflicting statements by Colonel Lamon that have puzzled and confused historians:

For ten years [1861-1870] the author implicitly believed in the reality of the atrocious plot . . . It is perfectly manifest that there was no conspiracy,—no conspiracy of a hundred, of fifty, of twenty, of three; no definite purpose in the heart of even one man to murder Mr. Lincoln at Baltimore.⁹

And in the later book:

It is now an acknowledged fact that there never was a moment from the day he [Lincoln] *crossed the Maryland line,** up to the time of his assassination, that he was not in danger by violence, that his life was spared until the night of the 14th of April, 1865, only through the ceaseless and watchful care of the guards thrown around him.¹⁰

Therefore biographers relying on Lamon perforce have fallen into two camps: the ones who were satisfied to accept the earlier account on face value as being Lamon's opinion while his memory of events was still fresh, and those who preferred the second version as being his mature and considered judgment from a well-defined perspective of twenty years.

*The italics used in this quotation are the editor's.

A few years ago enlightening evidence concerning this contradiction was discovered at the Huntington Library, in San Marino, California. In the papers of Colonel Lamon, which were acquired by Mr. Huntington in 1914, are three thick folio volumes of manuscript copy which supplied the source material for Lamon's first book, published in 1872. This material is not an integral part of the Lamon Papers; it is a separate and distinct unit which Lamon acquired in 1869 from Lincoln's old friend William Henry Herndon consisting of transcripts of all the Lincoln material Herndon had accumulated up to that time. Immediately after the assassination Herndon had begun to collect Lincolniana, and as time went on he became more and more absorbed in this enterprise which was to occupy him for the rest of his life. He carried on a voluminous correspondence with people who had known Lincoln, traveled in Virginia, Indiana, and Illinois interviewing anyone who would talk, gathering first-hand evidence and taking down their reminiscences laboriously in longhand. This soon proved to be not only a time-consuming project, but an expensive one, and Herndon, with an eye to retrenchment, set his clerk, John G. Springer, to copying every letter and document that came to hand. By the end of 1868 some seventeen hundred folio pages of transcript were finished and ready for binding, and Herndon let it be known that he had a duplicate set of "facts, manuscripts, etc. of Mr. Lincoln . . . the most perfect on record . . ." and before long nibbles came from Isaac N. Arnold, and from Ward H. Lamon.

The minute Lamon heard about Herndon's records, he had visions of a fortune to be made out of them. This had been suggested to him by his close friend, Chauncey F. Black, son of Judge Jeremiah S. Black. (At the time, Lamon

was a law partner of Judge Black, in Washington, and the two younger men were constant companions.) He was easily convinced that he, Lamon, was the logical man to write a new and true life of Lincoln. The judge thought so, Chauncey thought so, and Herndon thought so. Finally, after seven months of dickering over terms, the three volumes of transcripts (with exclusive publication rights for a ten-year period) were turned over to Lamon in September, 1869. Meanwhile, young Black's enthusiasm had not been without a personal element, and he made Lamon a proposal that they become partners in the project. Black would do all the labor of writing; Lamon could contribute the first-hand knowledge of Lincoln and make all necessary outside contacts; both would share in the cost of Herndon's documents. Black also was smart enough to see that the sales value of the book easily might be influenced by his own background (his father, the Judge, having held two cabinet posts during President Buchanan's administration: Attorney General, 1857-60, and Secretary of State, 1860-61), and so gladly promised to keep strictly silent about their partnership, thus allowing Lamon to have all of the credit as sole author, and all of the glory. Lamon agreed.

The interesting story of the extraordinary circumstances attending the preparation and publication of *The Life of Abraham Lincoln from his Birth to his Inauguration as President* by Ward H. Lamon, often referred to as "the first debunking biography of Lincoln," has been ably told elsewhere,¹¹ and, except for the provocative treatment of the Baltimore plot, will not be reviewed here.

Historians agree that Lamon had virtually no part in the writing of this book that bears his name. According to young Black, "Lamon did not compose a line of it or furnish

the data upon which five lines were based."¹² Black held the pen, and Herndon furnished the data. Perhaps the treatment of the Baltimore plot is the one exception—most certainly it is an exception.

The source material in Herndon's transcripts relating to the Baltimore plot actually was supplied by Allan Pinkerton, pioneer detective and founder of the famous organization which in its century of growth has so remarkably kept pace with the development and expansion of the nation: Pinkerton's National Detective Agency. Pinkerton was the man who discovered the plot, he conducted the investigation in Baltimore, and he accompanied Lincoln and Lamon on the midnight train through that city. He had kept his own daily reports on the assignment, as well as those of the operatives who had assisted him. All these had been copied into the agency's Record Book in 1861.

Herndon had learned about this Record Book in 1866, through his friend Leonard Swett, and had immediately written to Mr. Pinkerton asking to be allowed to make a copy. Pinkerton agreed to lend the book, but subject to certain conditions. One of these was that Herndon must consider as highly confidential all references contained therein concerning Ward H. Lamon. The request was not surprising inasmuch as Pinkerton had sized up Lamon as "a brainless egotistical fool," and had so expressed himself in the reports.

After an exchange of preliminary letters, the Record Book was sent down to Springfield for Springer to copy. When the job was done it was returned to the detective agency's headquarters in Chicago. Somehow or other Springer neglected to put this particular transcript aside. Apparently it was placed with all the other transcripts he

was making, and before long was hopelessly mislaid in his enormous stack of papers. When the transcripts were bound Pinkerton's record, *Operations on Baltimore Conspirators* (for the assassination of President Lincoln), was with them; and when the volumes were sold Herndon had lost his Baltimore material, and broken his promise to Pinkerton. Lamson had the Pinkerton record. Then, and not until then, was it "perfectly manifest" to Lamson that there had been no conspiracy in Baltimore.

In presenting the record of Pinkerton's operations on the Baltimore conspirators, it must be pointed out that not all of these reports are unpublished. A few excerpts were used in Lamson's *Life of Lincoln* (pp. 514-16), introduced by Black to illustrate his pronouncement that "these documents are neither edifying nor useful: they prove nothing but the baseness of the vocation which gave them existence."

The Lamson-Black opinion was shared by another contemporary writer, the Maryland historian, J. Thomas Scharf, whose point of view also was decidedly biased. Scharf in his *History of Maryland* (III, 384-97) closed his discussion of the Baltimore plot with this emphatic statement: "We have deemed the subject worthy of this extended notice, not only because of the importance apparently attached to it by the organs and representatives of the republican party, but also because it is of consequence that a matter involving the fair fame of one of the chief cities of the country should be settled once for all. Yet, though again and again refuted, this charge is again and again repeated with the persistence of malice or the fatuity of prejudice; and we have little doubt—so strong is the tenacity of life in a robust falsehood—that it will continue to be uttered so long as it can excite interest or do harm." Nicolay and Hay, on the other hand,

treated the subject with characteristic caution: "This theory [that there was a bona fide plot] has neither been proved nor disproved by the lapse of time; Mr. Lincoln did not entertain it in this form nor base his course upon it. But subsequent events did clearly demonstrate the possibility and probability of attempted personal violence from the fanatical impulse of individuals, or the sudden anger of a mob, and confirmed the propriety of his decision." (*Abraham Lincoln, A History*, III, 303.) Recent writers usually concur in this opinion, but there are still some dissenters, for example George F. Milton, who says: "The best historical judgment is that no such plot was ever actually instrumented by any Southern group, and that the wild talk that went around was mere gasconade." (*The Eve of Conflict*, 1934, p. 542.)

The Pinkerton record, accompanied by a statement from Norman B. Judd about what occurred in Harrisburg (an incident not covered by Pinkerton), together with pertinent letters addressed to William H. Herndon by Messrs. Swett, Pinkerton, and Judd, comprise the present volume. It is not in anticipation of proving the authenticity of the Baltimore plot that these papers at last are put into print. Whether they throw enough significant light on the question to decide it is a point for Lincoln students to determine. The papers are offered to historians because as source materials they belong with the literature of the Baltimore plot; because they reveal a peculiarly significant personal element behind the Lamon-Black treatment of the plot; and finally, because in these documents real detectives tell about their own cloak-and-dagger operations—a true story of counter-espionage in the 1860's that is racy and entertaining; history more colorful than fiction.

NORMA B. CUTHBERT

December 14, 1948

LINCOLN AND THE BALTIMORE PLOT



PINKERTON'S ACCOUNT OF THE PLOT, 1866

Four letters of 1866 relate to Herndon's acquisition of the Pinkerton record and a fifth gives Pinkerton's account, written from memory, of the details.¹³

Leonard Swett to Herndon, Chicago, July 23, 1866:

A short time ago Allan Pinkerton, the detective, called at my room at Philadelphia, and the conversation turning upon Lincoln's passage through Baltimore, he gave me the secret history of the plot, how he discovered it, & just how Lincoln was taken through. It was interesting and much of it was new, particularly the exact location of the scene of the intended assassination.

He said he had never made the facts public, but had all the evidence and records in his office in this city.

Upon my telling him that you were writing his history¹⁴ and would probably like to be accurate upon this subject, he said you might peruse the record.

If you would like it, write me and I will have it sent down to you upon your promise to take care of it and return it.

I have never written you my views of the Proclamation. If it is not too late, I will try to do it.

Swett to Herndon, Chicago, July 28, 1866:

Pinkerton has a branch office here. The Record of the first assassination plot is here. I have applied there for it, for you, this afternoon. Pinkerton is in Philadelphia. The

officers here say they will give me the Record upon his order. So I have made a written application to Pinkerton, reminding him of our conversation, and asking [him] to send an order out here for its delivery to me. The application will go on tonight & I suppose in a week or so, I can send it to you. I will write you soon.

Allan Pinkerton to Herndon, Philadelphia, Aug. 5, 1866:

Your favor of the 1st Inst. is duly received. Some days since, I received a letter from Hon. Leonard Swett in reference to the Records containing an account of Mr. Lincoln's passage to Washington through Baltimore on his way to be inaugurated in the the Spring of '61; to which I replied granting yourself and Mr. Swett their use, with the pledge from you both that you would consider as strictly confidential all matter contained therein relating to the affairs of the Phila. Wil. & Balt. R. R., also that the name of the Broker [Mr. Lockett] who occupied rooms adjoining mine in Baltimore should be omitted, as although he was undoubtedly a rebel at heart, yet he is a man of not much means; he has lost considerable during the war, and the publication of his name might tend to his serious injury in business. I deprecate this in any publications coming from my records. Also that you would consider as confidential any remarks which are found therein concerning Ward H. Lamon, Esq.¹⁵ I shall be very glad to correspond with you, or assist you in any way in which I can in compiling of your valuable history. If your letters are addressed to me at Chicago they will be sure to be forwarded to me wherever I may be, which will probably be the best for you to do as I am travelling a great deal.

Pinkerton to Herndon, Philadelphia, Aug. 11, 1866:

I am in receipt of your favor of the 8th Inst. addressed to me at Chicago. I presume ere you receive this you will have received the volume of Records. At all events I have again written my Chief Clerk [George H. Bangs] to forward them to you. I do not expect to be in Chicago for six or eight weeks. If you are there about that time I should be glad to meet you and have a talk over the matters more fully. Anything which is contained in my Records of interest to you, in connection with the late lamented Lincoln, I shall cheerfully furnish you.

The great trouble with me is, that my mind is so much taken up with present business I have scarcely any time to think of these events of the past.

Your book must be one of great interest to the American People, owing to your long and intimate acquaintance with Mr. Lincoln; and if I can add a mite to aid you it shall be done cheerfully.

Pinkerton to Herndon, Philadelphia, Aug. 23, 1866:

Yours of the 18th Inst. is duly received, and I hasten to reply.

I see you are at a little loss to understand the manner in which the Records start. I will endeavor to give you hurriedly what I supposed my Chief Clerk had sent you from Chicago, an idea of how to attain all which is of interest in connection with Mr. Lincoln.

I cannot now recollect the dates, my Record, however, will show an application from Mr. S. M. Felton,¹⁶ at that time President of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore R. R., requesting me to ascertain through my Detective Force if there was an attempt on the part of the

Secessionists of Maryland to seize the large Steamer of the Company used in ferrying their trains across the Susquehanna River at Havre-de-Grace, and also to burn the Bridges¹⁷ of the Company between Havre-de-grace and Baltimore.

If I recollect aright, I commenced Detective Operations for this purpose in January, 1861. You will probably find this under the heading of Reports of A. P., or the time set when, accompanied by several of my Operatives (Detectives), I left Chicago for Baltimore. Upon arriving at Baltimore I distributed my Operatives around the City for the purpose of acquiring the confidence of the Secessionists. One of these Detectives, named Timothy Webster, accompanied by a Lady [Mrs. Hattie H. Lawton], was stationed by me at Perrymansville, a Station about 9 miles South of Havre-de-Grace, on the P. W. and B. R. R., where a Rebel Company of Cavalry were organizing. Webster, as you will find from his reports under the Heading of T. W., and those of the Lady who accompanied him, under the heading of H. H. L., succeeded admirably well in cultivating an acquaintance with the Secessionists. You will find much of interest in Webster's Reports, showing the manner in which the first Military organization of Maryland Secessionists was formed,¹⁸ and the promises repeatedly made by Governor Hicks¹⁹ of arms being furnished to them; and, if my recollection serves me aright, of arms finally being furnished to that Company; their drilling at Belle Air, etc. Webster was afterwards executed at Richmond, Va., as a Union Spy, and was the first who paid the penalty of his life for such Service. If you wish to bring in this subject, I will furnish you all the Reports relating to it, or will write it as soon as I can.

I located my own Head Quarters at Baltimore under the name of John H. Hutchinson, Stock Broker, renting Offices for that purpose.²⁰ Here I formed the acquaintance of a Mr. Luckett (I think that was his name) a Stock Broker having Offices on the same floor with my own. From my Reports you will see how accidentally I discovered the plot to assassinate the President elect, at that time. If I mistake not the Initials of the Operatives who were upon this operation for the P. W. & B. R. R. Co., they were, beside those already mentioned, A. F. C., C. D. C. W., and M. B., and their Reports show the state of feeling in Baltimore at that time, and how embittered and poisoned it was, showing that the Secessionists of that city were prepared to do anything which they deemed necessary in order to break up the Union. As you will observe by the Records the various circumstances connected with the attempt to assassinate Mr. Lincoln came gradually to light; but not until about the time Mr. Lincoln left Springfield on his tour to Washington, there to be inaugurated, did the plot culminate in very decisive information that he was to be assassinated upon his arrival and passage through Baltimore. Police were entirely in the hands of the Secessionists; their chief being George P. Kane, a rabid Rebel, who was subsequently a long time imprisoned in Ft. McHenry, and after being discharged from there made his escape into the lines of the Confederacy, and became a Brigadier General in the Rebel Army. He is a man with some fine feelings, but thoroughly Southern, and in that respect unscrupulous.

Mr. Lincoln's published progame was for him to leave Harrisburg via the Northern Central Rail Road and land at Calvert Street Station, at which point he and his Suite were to take carriages to the Eutaw House, and thence to

Camden Street Station by carriage to take the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad train for Washington. The distance between the two stations is a little over a mile. No provision for his reception had been made by any Public Committee in Baltimore. The few Union men that were there at the time were over awed by the Secessionists, and dared not make any demonstration.²¹ Remember at that time that James Buchanan was filling the Presidential chair, and the whole Nation was without any protection, while the Rebels were arming in every direction. It was but a few days after the passage of Mr. Lincoln through Baltimore that the Mass. 6th was mobbed in passing through that city although they were an armed and organized troop. In order to show how easy it was to assassinate Mr. Lincoln at that time every attention should be called to the condition of the country, especially of Baltimore and Maryland, at that time. A sample of the feeling among these people at that date may be found from the young man (whose name I do not recollect) [O. K. Hillard] whom you will find repeatedly spoken of in the Reports of my Operative, A. F. C. [Harry W. Davies], and who was to be one of the Assassins, as frequently using the words of Brutus: "It is not that I love Caesar less, but Rome more," when his conscience roused him to a contemplation of the awful crime he was about to commit, which he seemed to think a justification of his course.

Everything was nearly in readiness about the time Mr. Lincoln started from Springfield. The plan was skilfully laid and would have been an effective one, had it not fortunately been discovered in season to prevent its execution. Chief of Police Kane had intimated that he had not any special Police to spare for the occasion, and could not de-

tail many to attend at the Calvert Street Station, but would send what he could of them. One of the leading Spirits in this murderous plot was a Barber whose name I do not remember [Cypriano Ferrandini], but you will find it in the Reports. His place of business was under Barnum's Hotel, the Head Quarters of Secessionists from all parts of the country. There every night as I mingled among them I could hear the most outrageous sentiments enunciated. No man's life was safe in the hands of those men. The whole Municipal power of Baltimore was Secession, as were also the Courts at that time. Those Bullies were all armed, and would not hesitate on the slightest provocation to use these arms to shoot down a Union man. Ballots²² were drawn at a secret meeting, in which those who drew a certain kind of card were to consider themselves as bound to be the party to assassinate the President elect. None knew that any more than one of these ballots were drawn, although I think there were some six or eight who made themselves thus incumbent to strike the fatal blow, neither knowing that any one except himself was to strike it. The time when this was to be done was just as Mr. Lincoln would be passing through the narrow vestibule of the Depot at Calvert St. Station, to enter his carriage. A row or fight was to be got up by some outsiders to quell which the few policemen at the Depot would rush out, thus leaving Mr. Lincoln entirely unprotected and at the mercy of a mob of Secessionists who were to surround him at that time. A small Steamer had been chartered and was lying in one of the Bays or little streams running into the Chesapeake, to which the murderers were to flee and it was immediately to put off for Virginia.

Excuse me for endeavoring to impress the plan upon you. It was a capital one, and much better conceived than the one which finally succeeded four years after in destroying Mr. Lincoln's life. I am proud that just at that time their plots and plans were discovered. True it was accidentally by me. I was looking for nothing of the kind, and had certainly not the slightest idea of it. Had Mr. Lincoln fallen at that time it is frightful to think what the consequences might have been. Having tested the information and found it reliable, I deemed it my duty, inasmuch as all information acquired by me upon an Operation I consider the property of the parties who are paying me for my services, at that time to communicate the same to Mr. Felton, the President, as I have previously said, of the P. W. & B. R. R., who was and is now a thoroughly reliable Union man, and one who has proved himself true during the worst hours of our Nation's troubles. I said to him that I knew this information was theirs, but I knew no reason why it should not be imparted to Mr. Lincoln or his friends with a view to avoiding the peril which threatened his passage through Baltimore according to the schedule which was then arranged and published in the Papers throughout the country.

A Mr. Wood²³ was at that time acting as Agent or manager for Mr. Lincoln and his Suite until their arrival in Washington. I asked Mr. Lincoln, subsequent to the time I have been speaking of, as you will see by the Reports, who this man was. He said that he did not know the man, and that he had been sent to him by some friends to fill that position and he had allowed him to do so—an evidence of the confiding and innocent feeling of the man, at that time upon whom the Nation's destiny rested.

Mr. Felton at once assented to my proposition and directed me to inform Mr. Lincoln of what had been discovered. Accordingly upon the day Mr. Lincoln arrived in New York City, fearing to leave Baltimore myself in case of anything vital taking place there which would need my immediate attention, I sent a lady, Mrs. Warne, who had been for many years in charge of my Female Detective Force, and upon whose discretion I knew I could rely, with a letter to my friend the Honorable N. B. Judd,²⁴ who was at that time accompanying Mr. Lincoln and was with him in New York. Knowing the difficulty of getting an interview with Mr. Judd, I also gave her a letter to my friend E. S. Sanford, Esq., of New York, Vice President of the Adams Express Company, and President of the American Telegraph Co., with a request for Mr. (now General) Sanford to arrange for an interview with Mrs. Warne, which was done, and Mr. Judd, having read my letter and obtained what additional verbal information he could from Mrs. Warne, arrived at the conclusion that he would not tell Mr. Lincoln until after the arrival of the party in Philadelphia. I was telegraphed from New York by Messrs Sanford and Judd, as also by Mrs. Warne, to say nothing to anyone and to meet Mr. Judd in Phila. upon the arrival of the Presidential party. I did so, and through the agency of Capt. Burnes [i.e. George H. Burns], met Mr. Judd at the St. Louis Hotel on Chestnut Street, the President of the P. W. & B. R. R. accompanying me. At that time the Streets were crowded with people. All was excitement. The loyal mass were waiting to congratulate and welcome their future Ruler. As you will observe by my Report, I communicated to Mr. Judd the particulars of the plot in my Room at the St. Louis Hotel only in the presence of Mr. Felton. Mr. Judd was deeply

impressed with the danger which surrounded Mr. Lincoln, but he said that he feared very much if he would be able to get him to change his route, which was what I urged; my idea and that of Mr. Felton's being to have him leave Phila. that night by the midnight train for Washington, thus passing through Baltimore thirty six hours before the time when he would be expected. Mr. Judd said that Mr. Lincoln's confidence in the people was unbounded, and that he did not fear any violent outbreak; that he hoped by his management and conciliatory measures to bring the secessionists back to their allegiance. There was no doubt whatever in Mr. Judd's mind of the correctness of the information, the manner in which it was obtained stamping it as reliable. After a long conversation and discussion, Mr. Judd desired that I should go to the Continental Hotel with him and have an interview with Mr. Lincoln. We did so. A dense crowd of people filled Chestnut Street, every square inch of ground was occupied by them as Mr. Lincoln was holding a Reception at the Continental, and it was with the utmost difficulty that we were able to get into the building.

I think [it was] somewhere about 11 o'clock in the evening that I met Mr. Lincoln at Mr. Judd's rooms. He asked me several questions upon the subject, which I do not now recollect, but you will find them detailed in my Report. He then asked Mr. Judd and myself what course we thought he had better pursue, and I urged upon him that as the train would not leave Phila. for about an hour he had better take that train, thus avoiding the Conspirators as his passage through would not be expected. This Mr. Lincoln firmly and positively refused to do, saying that he had an engagement for the next morning to raise a flag on Independence Hall in Philadelphia, and that he had also prom-

ised the citizens of Penna. to meet them at Harrisburg on the following day; that he had positively engaged this to Governor Curtin, and that he would fulfill those engagements under any and all circumstances, even if he met with death in doing so. Mr. Lincoln said, however, that after the Meeting at Harrisburg on the following day, if I could arrange matters, he would make his programme as follows: He would hoist the Union Flag on Independence Hall about 6 A.M. the next morning, take Breakfast at the Continental at 7 and leave for Harrisburg by Special train about 8 or 9 o'clock; at Harrisburg meet Governor Curtin and the Pennsylvanians, and after his reception was over there, come back to Philadelphia by special train in time to connect with the Regular Midnight train leaving for Washington, placing himself entirely in my hands; but that he would not forego his engagements for the next day at Independence Hall and Harrisburg whatever his fate might be.

During the interview Mr. Lincoln was cool, calm and collected. During the years of the war I was pretty well acquainted with him. When he came to the Army of the Potomac to review the Troops I invariably met him. In fact my tent²⁵ was more of a place of resort for him than even that of General McClellan's; and I never saw him more cool, collected and firm than he was on that evening at the Continental Hotel. In fact he did not appear to me to realize the great danger which was threatening him at that moment. He said that if once he reached Washington there was no danger; Mr. Buchanan would soon vacate, and he could rely upon General Scott until that time for protection.²⁶

You may recollect his speech on the following morning at the raising of the flag on Independence Hall. I cannot

quote it correctly, but I think I have got an extract from it at my office in Chicago. It was something like this:

“I will preserve the Union even if the Assassins knife is at my heart.”

I do not know as this is anything like the quotation, as it was much more eloquent, but such was the substance as it was impressed on my mind.²⁷ This speech at that time received marked attention, and you will probably be able to find it in the files of some of the Daily Newspapers. I have a complete file of the Chicago Newspapers in my office there.

Finding Mr. Lincoln resolute, I told him that I would endeavor to make the necessary arrangements for his passage from Harrisburg after dark on the following evening to Philadelphia, and thence to Baltimore and Washington, being well acquainted with the Officers of the Penna. R.R. After leaving Mr. Lincoln and promising to call and see Mr. Judd again during the night (it was now about 1 A.M.), I started to find my friend Col. Thomas A. Scott, Vice President of the Penna. R.R., with a view to arrange with him for a Special train to bring Mr. Lincoln from Harrisburg to Phila. I found he was out of town, and consequently applied to my friend G. C. Franciscus, at that time Supt. of the Division of the Penna. R.R. between Harrisburg and Phila. The city being all excitement I had some difficulty in finding Mr. Franciscus, and did not do so until about three A.M. Knowing him well as a true and loyal man, I had no hesitation in telling him what I desired. He at once said that he would make the arrangements for a Special train for Mr. Lincoln, saying, however, that there were many difficulties in the way as there were so many special trains leaving Phila. for Harrisburg which would return on

the same evening which Mr. Lincoln proposed to go over the Road; but that he would arrange that Mr. Lincoln's train should be the last of those special trains which would leave Harrisburg on that evening, and would side track all the other trains leaving Harrisburg prior to Mr. Lincoln's so that they would not arrive until after Mr. Lincoln had left for Baltimore. This being satisfactorily arranged, I then hunted up Mr. E. S. Sanford, President, as I have previously said, of the American Tel. Co., who was then in town, and arranged with him to have the proper parties sent to Harrisburg in the morning with a view that at the time Mr. Lincoln would leave Harrisburg all the telegraph wires leading out of that city in every direction should be cut, except that of the Railroad Co. which was necessary to be left on account of the running of the trains. I omitted to state that I had also arranged with Mr. Franciscus for none but trusty Operators to be at the wires of the Company, and that no dispatch should be sent over the wires, excepting such as related to the running of trains.

About 6 o'clock the next morning Mr. Lincoln addressed the people of Phila. at Independence Hall and raised the flag. About 7 A.M. I met Mr. Judd and told him of my arrangements, and it was agreed that Mr. Lincoln alone, should leave Harrisburg, of all his party so as to avoid any suspicion, and that just before leaving he should withdraw to his room on the plea of indisposition. Mr. Lincoln had remarked that none should be acquainted with his secret but Mrs. Lincoln. This he said he could not avoid, as otherwise she would be very much excited at his absence. I also learned that morning that General Scott and Mr. Seward had discovered some evidence of a plot to assassinate Mr. Lincoln when he passed through Baltimore, and had employed some

New York Police Officers,²⁸ with a view to ferreting out the same, who had found evidences of it, though not as clearly as my own men, but yet at the same time sufficient to impress upon General Scott and Mr. Seward with the idea that there was danger to Mr. Lincoln if he followed the programme which had been published in passing through Baltimore. Mr. Seward had therefore sent a communication²⁹ by his son Frederick to Mr. Lincoln to the effect that they had information of a plot to assassinate him in Baltimore, urging upon him to change his route; to which he replied to Mr. Seward that he might do so and would attend to his suggestion, but without giving any idea as to how soon he would arrive in Washington, if he did change his programme.

Mr. Lincoln left for Harrisburg with his suite, and during the day I arranged with Mr. Felton the programme for the passage through Baltimore and to Washington. This was that Capt. Burnes, Mr. Sanford's Confidential Agent, Mr. H. E. Thayer and Mr. Andrew Wynne should proceed to Harrisburg to cut the wires, the same not to be again united until after Mr. Lincoln would have reached Washington; that in the evening shortly before the departure of the Regular train for Baltimore I was to send Mrs. Warne, accompanied by Mr. George Dunn, of Newark, N. J., to engage two sections, the rear ones, if possible, of the Sleeping Car through to Washington, for a sick friend and party, while I myself, in company with H. F. Kenney Esq., now General Supt. of the Phila., Wilmington and Baltimore Road, was to meet Mr. Lincoln with a carriage at the West Phila. Depot of the Penna. Central R.R., and convey him from there to the Depot of the P. W. and B. R.R.,³⁰ so that none of the employees of that Road, with the exception of Messrs.

Felton and Ste[a]rns (the Gen'l Supt.) and Mr. Kenney, should know ought of the important passenger who was to pass over their line. Mr. Felton arranged for the delay of the train a short time by instructing the Conductor that the train should not leave the Depot until he received a package from him (Mr. Felton) addressed to E. J. Allen (the name which I went under in Washington), at Willard's Hotel, Washington, which package he should hand to the Conductor of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to have delivered to its proper address. This package was bogus, put up for the occasion by myself and delivered to Mr. Kenney to deliver to the Conductor after Mr. Lincoln and myself were in the Sleeping Car. I arranged my own Operatives along the line of the Road at certain points with instructions to be out displaying a particular sign, which I could see from the platform of the car, if all was right.

Mr. Lincoln arrived in Phila. accompanied by Mr. Lewis, Gen. Supt. at that time of the Penna. R.R. and Mr. Francisus, the Division Supt., as also by Mr. Ward H. Lamon of Bloomington, Ills. Mr. Lincoln received me very kindly, but was as cold, calm and collected as I ever have seen him. He wore an overcoat thrown loosely over his shoulders without his arms being in the sleeves, and a black Kossuth hat, which he told me somebody had presented to him. The story of the Scotch cap I may as well at this time pronounce a falsehood made up out of the whole cloth.²¹ Mr. Lincoln took a seat in the carriage with Mr. Lamon and myself; and as it was too early for us to approach the Baltimore Depot, Mr. Kenney had the driver take us around the City, apparently as if he was looking for someone, until it was just about time to reach the Depot five minutes after the starting of the train. We left the carriage at a dark spot a short dis-

tance from the Depot, and Mr. Lamon keeping a little in the rear of Mr. Lincoln and myself, Mr. Lincoln leaning upon my arm and stooping a considerable [*sic*] for the purpose of disguising his height, we passed through the Depot rapidly and entered the Sleeping car, and within two minutes from the time we had entered the Depot, Mr. Kenney having passed rapidly up to the Engine and delivered the package, the train was in motion, and we were whirling away towards Baltimore on our eventful Journey.

None of the party slept any. At Havre de Grace Mr. Lincoln remarked to me, upon my returning inside the car, after having been out to see if the signals were all right: "We are at Havre de Grace, we are getting along very well. I think we are on time." Although Mr. Lincoln did not sleep, he was not by any means restless. I cannot realize how any man situated as he was could have shown more calmness or firmness than he did during the whole trip to Washington. Upon arriving at the Depot of the Baltimore and Ohio R.R. in Baltimore we had to wait about half an hour. I was the only one of the party who went out of the car at that time. I recollect well of Mr. Lincoln's telling me some jokes upon my return to the car, but in a quiet voice so that no one heard it but Mr. Lamon and myself. At Baltimore Mrs. Warne left the car and proceeded to the Hotel for the purpose of ascertaining what the feelings of the people were in the city, as I proposed to return there by the evening train. I think we arrived at Washington about 6 A.M. and were met by Mr. Washburne of Illinois and Mr. Seward.* We proceeded at once to the Hotel (Willard's)⁵² by carriage where Mr. Lincoln registered his own name and

*According to the contemporary record (*infra*, p. 83), Mr. Seward did not meet the party at the depot.

those of Mr. Lamon and myself, and was assigned rooms, though not the ones which were expected he would have as he had arrived very unexpectedly.

During the morning, after the news of Mr. Lincoln's arrival spread, the wildest excitement prevailed in Washington. Few were willing to believe that he had arrived, and many were the vile and bitter imprecations which I heard heaped upon his head, while mixing among the excited secessionists of that, I think at that time, most rebellious city.

Mrs. Lincoln, accompanied by Mr. Judd and the rest of the cortege, left Harrisburg and went through to Baltimore. Before she left, however, the news had been telegraphed all over, of the arrival of Mr. Lincoln in Washington. Upon the arrival of the party in Baltimore they met with anything but a cordial reception. These things, however, you can glean from the Newspapers of that day.⁸³

At Mr. Lincoln's request I returned to Baltimore that afternoon for the purpose of learning whether any attempt was to be made to assassinate him at the Inauguration, and remained there until after that ceremony had taken place.

I have thus endeavored to give you a brief account of this matter as it comes to my recollection, in which you will, doubtless, upon referring to the Records, find many errors; but I think it will give you considerable assistance.

You will observe that many of my Operatives simply detail the feelings of the Secessionists at the time they were in Baltimore. This arises from the fact that they were seeking for the feelings of these people with regard to the danger to the Steamer and Bridges of the P. W. and B. R.R. and not for any plot to assassinate Mr. Lincoln.

I hope this will prove satisfactory to you. If not, when I return to Chicago, which I expect will be in about two

months, I will endeavor to take the Record and go over the thing more fully than I have here.

There are many matters of interest connected with Mr. Lincoln which appear from time to time in my Records of the Secret Service of the War Department, Army of the Potomac, etc., which I think would be useful and tend to show the man in his true light as a great man and true philanthropist. I cannot recall them now, but if I could sit down with you and talk, there are many things which would come up in my mind without wading through the mass of my Records. After my return to Chicago (in about two months) I expect I will shortly have to leave again, and it will probably be about three months before I will have much time in Chicago. If that will not be too late for you, I will truly enjoy to meet you there and talk over any matters which may be of use to you in compiling the life of the noblest statesman America has ever produced.

P.S. Please consider Mr. Lockett's name as confidential.⁸⁴

II

ALLAN PINKERTON'S RECORD BOOK, 1861

Operatives' Who's Who—Various authorities from time to time have made lists of the names of Pinkerton operatives active in 1861. Relatively few of these names appear in the records of the Baltimore plot; on the other hand, there are names in these records not to be found on any of the lists. This, of course, is due to a somewhat inconsistent use of aliases.

Only four of the seven operatives represented used their own names and initials. Pinkerton signed his reports with his own initials, though in the course of the investigation he used at least two aliases; his "lady superintendent of the female department" used two aliases, and signed her reports with the initials of one of them; and each of the two remaining men appears to have used only one alias, and signed his reports with the corresponding initials. Pinkerton, in his *Spy of the Rebellion* further complicates the puzzle, for real names are accompanied there by purely fictitious ones which never were used as working aliases.

A key to the initials with which each contributor's report is introduced in the Record Book is as follows:

"A. P." (Allan Pinkerton), native of Scotland, first detective on the Chicago police force; in 1850 founded one of the earliest private detective agencies in the United States; by 1860 he had an enviable reputation and was known everywhere for his honesty and sagacity. During the Baltimore investigation Pinkerton used the aliases "J. H.

- Hutcheson" (or variants of that name), and "E. J. Allen."
- "G. H. B." (George H. Bangs), Superintendent of the Agency, and Pinkerton's chief of staff, stationed at the agency's headquarters in Chicago; apparently did no active sleuthing, and used no alias.
- "C. D. C. W." (Charles D. C. Williams), the alias of an unidentified agent stationed in Baltimore, probably one of these three: Pryce Lewis, John Scully, or Samuel Bridgman.
- "A. F. C." (?), the initials of an unidentified alias used by Harry W. Davies, stationed in Baltimore. In *The Spy of the Rebellion* (p. 55) Pinkerton describes him as follows: "One of these men, whom I shall call Joseph Howard, was a young man of fine personal appearance, and of insinuating manners. He was of French descent, and in his youth had been carefully educated for a Jesuit priest, but finding the vocation distasteful to him, he had abandoned it. Added to his collegiate studies, he possessed the advantage of extensive foreign travel, and the ability to speak with great facility, several foreign languages. He had a thorough knowledge of the South, its localities, prejudices, customs and leading men, which had been derived from several years residence in New Orleans and other Southern cities, and was gifted with the power of adaptation to persons whom they wish to influence, so popularly attributed to Jesuits."
- "W. H. S." (William H. Scott) was the man chosen by Pinkerton to carry his warning of the assassination plot to Mr. Judd. Scott caught up with the presidential party in Cincinnati on February 13th, delivered his message and returned to Chicago; the record shows no further activity on his part.

- "M. B." (Mrs. M. Barley), the alias of Mr. Pinkerton's Lady Superintendent. Her real name was Kate Warne, but she seldom used it. A second alias, "Mrs. Cherry," also was used on this case. Pinkerton considered her one of the most valuable members of his corps. (*The Spy*. . . . p. 75): "Of rather a commanding person, with clear-cut expressive features, and with an ease of manner that was quite captivating at times, she was calculated to make a favorable impression at once. She was of Northern birth, but in order to vouch for her Southern opinions she represented herself as from Montgomery, Alabama, a locality with which she was perfectly familiar, from her connection with the detection of the robbery of the Adams Express Company of that place. . . . She was a brilliant conversationalist when so disposed, and could be quite vivacious, but she also understood that rare quality in womankind, the art of being silent."
- "T. W." (Timothy Webster), considered by his chief as the most capable and brilliant detective of them all, was stationed at Perrymansville, Maryland, a secessionist hot-spot, where he joined a company of "rebel" cavalry, and fully identified himself with their cause. It was through this contact that Pinkerton finally became convinced as to the authenticity of a *bona fide* plot. A year later Webster, while serving under Pinkerton as a U. S. Secret Service agent, was hanged in Richmond as a Federal spy.
- "H. H. L." (Mrs. Hattie H. Lawton), associated with Webster and stationed at Perrymansville. Her role at this time was inconspicuous, but she became famous in her later work as a U. S. Secret Service agent. Mrs. Lawton, like Webster, apparently used no alias during this investigation.

The Manuscript Copy of Pinkerton's Record Book—The Springer copy of Pinkerton's Records, now in the Huntington Library, appears to be unique. According to a note in the preface of his book *The Spy of the Rebellion*, Pinkerton states that the original documents were destroyed in the Chicago fire, in 1871.

In any transcription errors are likely to creep in, and this manuscript, which actually is a copy of a copy of a copy, has numerous textual peculiarities and discrepancies which cannot be explained with any assurance of accuracy.

The very first memoranda, upon which the records were based, presumably were jotted down day by day, more or less on the spot. Later these reports were copied, apparently quite at random, into the book, and this in turn was copied by Springer. Also there were any number of verbal reports which occurred at intervals not always indicated in the manuscript.

Therefore, in order to make the continuity of events more evident, a re-arrangement of entries has seemed advisable, and the individual reports are presented here in chronological sequence. No other liberty has been taken with the manuscript. Where dashes and rows of asterisks occur it is because the manuscript has them; orthographical faults have been retained; a few insertions have been made for purposes of clarity, but always within square brackets.

OPERATIONS ON BALTIMORE CONSPIRATORS.
(FOR THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.)

Sunday 27th February [i.e., January] 1861.

A letter was written of which the following is a copy—

Chicago 27th January 1861

S. M. Felton Esq.
Prest. P. W. & B. R. R.
Philadelphia.
Sir.

Should the suspicions of danger still exist, as was the case at our interview on the 19th Inst. I would suggest in view of the brief time we now have to operate in—that I should myself with from four to six operatives, immediately repair to the seat of danger and first endeavor to ascertain if any organization is in existence which might directly or indirectly have for its object the commission of the offence you allude to, and if so, then to become acquainted with some of the members of such body, and, if practicable, some of my operatives should join the same, and so soon as we learn positively who the leading spirits are that would be likely to do *The Active Labor* on the project you alluded to, an *unceasing Shadow* should be kept upon them every moment and, if possible, a Shadow should even be located in the dwelling or boarding house occupied by the parties above alluded to. By some such an effort, I believe (if any organization exists—or any body of men are preparing for the service suspected), I could be able to learn their secrets and proposed plans of operations in sufficient time to be able to communicate them to you.

The only danger which I perceive to our operating is in the short time we have to work in. Basing all my operations

upon the attaining a controlling power over the mind of the suspected parties—Our operations are necessarily tedious—nay frequently very slow—Our strength lays in the secrecy of our movements, and thus we are frequently enabled to penetrate into the abodes of crime in all classes of society.

The shortness of time I design to make up for in part by the number of operatives detailed for this business—Had I plenty of time to work in, I might probably be able to ascertain all that you require with two or three operatives who could make their observations on one class of individuals, or individuals of a class, and after applying the necessary test to these parties if it was demonstrated that they were not connected with any such matters as we sought information regarding, my operatives could quit their observations upon them and commence to apply the tests to other suspicious characters. But allowing we were to be already at work the time is too brief for me to work safely in this manner—If any good is to be realized from a movement of the kind contemplated by you it can only be by an attack on every point we can find accessible—and on account of the great importance of the business I should think it best and safest to be under my own personal supervision.

As I have before remarked Secrecy is the Lever of any success which may attend my operations and as the nature of this service may prove of a character which might to some extent be dangerous to the persons of myself, or any operatives, I should expect that the Fact of my operating should be known only to myself or such discreet persons connected with your Company as it might be absolutely necessary should we be entrusted with the same. But on no conditions would I consider it safe for myself or my opera-

tives were the fact of my operating known to any Politician, no matter of what school, or what position.

As I have other matters which are pressing on me just at present you would confer a favor by letting me hear from you at your earliest convenience—By letter or Telegraph.

Respectfully yours,
Allan Pinkerton

[G. H. B.—REPORTS]

[Chicago,] Tuesday 12th February 1861

At 8.00 A.M. a Letter was received from A. P. enclosing one for N. B. Judd.

At 9.10 A.M. a Dispatch was sent of which the following is a copy—

“ Chicago 12th Feby 1861

“N. B. Judd

“in company with Abraham Lincoln

“Indianapolis

“Ind.

“I have a message of importance for you—
where can it reach you by special Messenger.

Allan Pinkerton.”

At 12:20 P.M. a dispatch was received of which the following is a copy—

“Indianapolis 12 Feby 1861

“A Pinkerton

“At Columbus the thirteenth—Pittsburg the
Fourteenth.

N. B. Judd.”

At 12.30 P.M. a Dispatch was sent of which the following is a copy—

“Chicago 12th Feby 1861

“W. H. Scott

“Lafayette

“Ind.

“J— says will be at Columbus Thirteenth—
Pittsburgh Fourteenth—form your own estimate by enquiring at Indianapolis.

G. H. Bangs.”

C. D. C. W.—REPORTS

[Baltimore,] Tuesday 12th February 1861

At about 9.00 a.m. I went to the Office and wrote my Reports. I also saw Mr. P—, and told him that I was afraid I could not play my part, as I had come across a Mississippi man who knew every place. A. P. said there was no danger, and all I wanted was self confidence.

I soon after left, and returned to my Hotel, where I got into conversation with Howell Sherwood, who superintends the Bar, and is brother to the Landlord. He told me he was for peace, but would go with the South, although he hated to give up the Stars and Stripes, but if it must be, he would go to Texas: that he was for the Union if it could be preserved, but if not he was for the South, although he did not belong to the Seces-crowd in the City: that there was a gentleman here (Baltimore) last week from South Carolina, and he met with an old friend who took him to one of their Secession Meetings, and the next morning he came and told himself, that if anyone had said there was such a conspiracy in this or any other City, amongst Chris-

tians, he would not have believed it: that last night he heard the vilest proposition proposed by men, calling themselves men, that ever was heard of: that they proposed to blow up the Capitol on the day that the Votes were counted, and then blow up the Custom House, and Post Office (Baltimore), and what else he dare not tell.

I said to Sherwood that it was all nonsense, and that the man was humbugging him. "Oh my God, it is so," said Howell, the man had to leave that afternoon by the boat or they would have killed him: that there is a d—d white headed son of a b—, a Lawyer, named Mc— something, who goes every day to Washington, and brings the news to this crowd, and that they hold secret meetings every night: that there was another blagard, Tom Smith, the Oyster-man, who would blow h— out of everything: that he was one of the principal leaders for a time: that he did not care what become of the town, so long as he and his party gained their point.

I said there were black sheep in every flock, but that I could not believe that they were so bad as he represented, because if they were why did not the authorities put them down, "Why d— it," said Howell, they hold their meetings secretly at the Eutaw House, or some such place: that at first they held their meetings at Reuben Hall, on Fayette street, but when they found honest men would not join them, they commenced holding meetings privately: that Tom Smith is a d—d black-hearted villian, and ruined the Democratic ticket in this City, and that he (Howell) voted for Bell and Everett.⁸⁵

* * * *

[A. F. C.—REPORTS]

[Baltimore,] Tuesday 12th February 1861

* * * *

We then returned to the Fountain Hotel, and from there went to my room on Holliday Street.

I will here mention that while I was in the parlor at Mr. Hall's, waiting for my room to be got ready—I was introduced by Hillard³⁶ to a man by the name of Hughes, a Daguerreau Artist, who said that he had lived in New Orleans, and New York, and that New Orleans was the Paradise of the United States. Hughes asked me how times were in New Orleans—I replied that times were hard—Hughes remarked “Well, times are hard here—I presume there is some excitement in New Orleans—they are all secession there—here we are about half and half. I understand *that they have men watching the Rail Road Bridge between here and Philadelphia: THE Rail Roads are afraid that they will be destroyed—but I do not know if it will do any good,*” winking at the same time. I then left him to go to my room, inviting him to call at my room when he had leisure—He replied that he would be happy to extend the acquaintance.

When Hillard and I left Mr. Hall's to go up the Street, he introduced me to a Mr. Starr, a Reporter for one of the Baltimore papers—about 30 years of age—and Hillard asked him to join us in a drink which invitation he readily accepted. On leaving Starr, Hillard and I went to supper at Mann's Restaurant, after which we went to Harry Hemling's Billiard Room, when I asked the latter to go with us to the Theatre—but he said it was now 8 o'clock, and too late for him to dress: that he would be pleased to go at any other time.

There was a man at Hemling's who had just arrived from South Carolina—and who was very much in favor of Southern Confederacy.

Hillard and I left Hemling's and went to the "Pagoda" Concert Saloon and remained there until about 10.00 p.m., when Hillard proposed to go to Annette Travis, No. 70 Davis Street, which we did. Hillard and his woman seemed very much pleased at meeting, and hugged and kissed each other for about an hour, when I proposed to go. Hillard's woman wished him to remain, and finally after asking him several times to come, I started for the door, went out on to the side-walk and shortly Hillard came out and we went to my room at Mr. Hall's, where we sat and talked until about 1.00 a.m. Hillard said that Company No. 4 National Volunteers⁸⁷ drilled to-night: that the Company which he did belong to would drill to-morrow night, and that he must go to the drill then. He then asked me if I had seen *a statement of Lincoln's route to Washington City*⁸⁸—I replied that I had—Hillard said "*By the By, that reminds me that I must go and see a certain party in the morning the first thing.*" I asked him what about—He replied "*about Lincoln's route, I want to see about the Telegraph in Philadelphia and New York and have some arrangement made about Telegraphing.*" I remarked "*how do you mean?*" Hillard said "*Suppose that some of Lincoln's friends would arrange so that the Telegraph messages should be mis-carried, we would have some signs to Telegraph by: for instance supposing, that we should Telegraph to a certain point "all up at 7," that would mean that Lincoln would be at such a point at 7 o'clock.*"

I would here state that in the evening we went to Farridina's Barber shop, under Barnums Hotel, but he was not in, Hillard inquired for Captain Farridina.⁸⁹

In the conversation with Hillard soon after going to my room, and after the Telegraph had been introduced in regard to Mr. Lincoln—I said to him “It is very singular that some plan of action, and mature arrangement by which you will know how to proceed, had not been proposed.” Hillard replied that there was a plan, and I asked him what it was—He said “My friend, that is what I would like to tell you, but I dare not—I wish I could—anything almost I would be willing to do for you, but to tell you that I dare not.”

On Hillard and I parting with Starr, the former said to me, “anything that I have said to you be careful not to mention.” He cautioned me in the same manner on leaving Harry Hemling’s Billiard Room—as “Be careful not to say anything around here”—From his remarks I inferred that he desired me to be more careful about saying anything around Mrs. Hall’s boarding House, and also around Hemling’s Saloon.

In the course of the conversation during the evening, Hillard remarked that there was something the matter with him. I remarked that it might be the —— at this he seemed horrified.

Hillard left me at 1 o’clock in the morning and went to stay all night, or the balance of it with his woman at Annette Travis’ house of prostitution No. 70 Davis Street, as he had promised her to come, so he said—He promised to meet me again at 12.00. m.

During the day Hillard did not drink as much liquor as usual. He appeared melancholy most of the time that he was with me.

W. H. S.—REPORTS

[Cincinnati,] Wednesday 13th February 1861

At about 2.00 A.M. I arrived at Cincinnati, and put up at the Burnett House, and learned that N. B. Judd had been in bed since about 11. o'clock, but that they would not disturb him: that I could see him in the morning as he did not leave until 9. o'clock.

They gave me a room, and I went to bed. I got up at 7.00. A.M. and waited until 8 o'clock, when I saw "Judd" and gave him A. P—s letter.

After reading A. P—s letter, "Judd" said that he had been looking for this, and was going on to say more, when I said to him that from information received from A. P—, I was satisfied that he (A. P.) desired this letter to him to be strictly confidential. Judd replied "that is true, and I am very much obliged to you and A. P— for the information." I asked him if he desired to Telegraph to A. P—, and after a moments reflection said "I think not," but would write to A. P—and that he had his address. I told him that I had a Cipher with me if he desired to Telegraph A. P. Judd said that he would like to take it with him in case he should conclude to do so. I replied that we had but [one?] in the Office and I could not spare it, the matter then dropped.

Judd repeated that he was very glad that he had got A. P—s letter, and asked me if I had just come through from Chicago. I replied that I had. He said that he had Telegraphed to us in Chicago that he would be in Columbus, Ohio, to-day. I replied that I left before this Dispatch was received. He spoke very feelingly of A. P. and said they had trained in the same school to-gether.

I then shook hands with Judd, and left for the Rail Road Depot, as I had been told a train left for Chicago at 9.00.

A.M. On arriving at the Depot I learned that the morning train had left at 5.40. A.M. and that the next train left at 7.35. P.M. so I remained in town and saw the train leave with the President-Elect, and suite on board.

In buying my ticket I had to use some Eight Dollars of Illinois bills,⁴⁰ for which I had to allow fifteen per cent before I could get my ticket. I left at 7.35. p.m. for Chicago.

A. P.—REPORTS

[Baltimore,] Friday 15th February 1861

* * * *

These opinions pleased Lockett very highly, and he d—d Governor Hicks for the course he had taken, and alluded to the fact that the Legislature of Maryland had called a Convention⁴¹ in despite of the opposition of the Governor. Mr. Lockett said that he was elected a member of that Convention which meets in Baltimore next Monday, that he was elected by the whole vote of his county but two, and that after a full and [candid?] expression of his views for immediate secession, Mr. Lockett said that he told the meeting which elected him, that this was not a time for men to be elected who would falter in doing their duty: that the responsibility attending on members of the Convention were of such a nature as required men only to be elected who would not hesitate if necessary to peril their lives for the rights of Maryland and the Southern Confederacy—and said that the *time was now come for us to act*; talking was now at an end—it was action which was necessary, and that action must be soon—No Hesitancy—If people or Governors, or Presidents, called it Treason—which they would after Lincoln is inaugurated—let them call it Treason, but

let us act. Mr. Lockett said that the Maryland Convention would appoint a Committee to confer with the Convention at Richmond, Virginia, and that when Virginia Seceded Maryland would, and that then the District of Columbia having originally been [ceded?] to the United States of America specially as a Capitol so long as the United States existed, and now as that Union had ceased to exist, the District [reverted?] to the original owners, and that then Maryland and Virginia would take it, let the consequences be what they may: that those two States could concentrate a Hundred Thousand men around the Capitol in a very short time, and then see where General Scott would be.

Mr. Lockett said that the Northern Rail Roads were using their Roads to transport Troops to Washington, but that this would soon be ended: that the Roads would be stopped by law, or act of the Convention, and by the Virginia and Maryland Troops: that this should, and would be done. Mr. Lockett said that today there was a number of Troops coming from the North—they would be here this afternoon, but not many more should be allowed to pass through: that there were Thousands of Mechanics who were at the present time with their families in a state of starvation—*We are enlisting* them daily—said Mr. Lockett, we can get as many as we want of them—just say to them “all your sufferings come from this Black Republican rule, and we will give you each Ten Dollars and bread for your family, and good pay every month—We do not want you to leave your families, or your houses, but to stay here and fight for them—How many will refuse this”? said Mr. Lockett.

“I tell you my friend” said Mr. Lockett, “it will be but a short time until you will find Governor Hicks will have

to fly, or he will be hung—He (Gov. Hicks) is a traitor to his God and his Country.”

Mr. Luckett in reply to a remark of mine about President Lincoln passing through Baltimore said—“He (Lincoln) *may pass through quietly but I doubt it.*” “There are a great many men in this City Mr. Hutcheson—good men—aye, and good blood to[o].” I remarked that Police Marshall Kane had promised Lincoln a safe transit through Baltimore. “Oh!” said Mr. Luckett “that is easily promised, but may not be so easily done—Marshall Kane don’t know any more than any other man, and not so much as some others—but time will tell—time will tell.”

Mr. Luckett said that probably when the Southern Congress met it would prohibit the importation of Slaves into the Confederate States from the States outside the Confederation, and that if they did so, then the Border Slave States must join the confederation or become Free States.

I fully endorsed this view of Mr. Luckett, and took strong grounds for immediate secession, and the occupancy of the Capitol. Mr. Luckett said that I should soon see a move made in the right direction: that no more Northern troops should be allowed to pass Southward through Maryland: that there was an organization here which was powerful enough to bid defiance to Lincoln and his Abolitionist Crew. I (Luckett) shall never, so help me God, acknowledge it as a Government—never, Mr. Hutcheson—never. We are raising money and giving it to the organization to purchase Arms, and also getting Arms, and amunition on hand so we can arm the mechanics who are out of employment and starving—“Those men,” said Mr. Luckett, “will fight when they believe that Lincoln is the cause of all this misery, aye, and they will fight to the death.” Look Mr. Hutcheson at

our City—at what it is now, and what it has been, and tell me if we are not going to ruin—Mr. Luckett here told me of several business firms who had become Bankrupt within a few days—Of course in all these things I cordially sympathized with Mr. Lucketts views, and taking out my wallet said that I was but a stranger to him, but that I had no doubt but that money was necessary for the success of this patriotic cause, and as I fully agreed with them, I begged to lay my mite at their disposal, and handed Mr. Luckett Twenty five Dollars, telling him that I should be obliged if he would see that this was employed in the best manner possible for Southern rights, and that when more was required I hoped he would call on me, and then took occasion to caution Mr. Luckett to impress it upon the minds of his friends to [be] cautious in talking with outsiders, for myself I did not desire to aught—I would trust Mr. Luckett, and such like patriotic minded men &c. &c.

Mr. Luckett said they were *exceedingly cautious* as to who they talked with: that they *knew* who they talked with: that some time ago they found that the Government had spies amongst them, and that since then they had been *very* careful: that none knew anything about the movements of the Southern rights men, but such as were sworn to keep it secret: that he (Mr. Luckett) was not a member of the secret organization, for there were but very few who could be admitted, but he knew many who were, and that Captain Ferrandina an Italian was the leading man: that he (Ferrandina) was a true friend to the South and was ready to lose his life for their cause, and that he (Ferrandina) had a plan fixed to prevent Lincoln from passing through Baltimore, and would certainly see that Lincoln never should go to Washington: that every Southern Rights

man had confidence in Ferrandina, and that before Lincoln should pass through Baltimore he (Ferrandina) would kill him: that Ferrandina had not many friends that knew his purpose, but was a particular friend of his (Lucketts), and that the money I had given him (Lockett) would be given to Ferrandina.

Mr. Lockett said that he was not going home this evening and if I would meet him at Barr's Saloon on South Street he would introduce me to Ferrandina. This was unexpected to me, but I determined to take the chances, and agreed to meet Mr. Lockett at the place named at 7.00. p.m. Mr. Lockett left about 2.30. p.m. and I went to dinner.

I was at the Office in the afternoon in hopes that Mr. Felton might call, but he did not, and at 6.15. p.m. I went to supper. After supper I went to Barr's Saloon, and found Mr. Lockett and several other gentlemen there. He asked me to drink and introduced me to Captain Ferrandina, and Captain Turner. He eulogized me very highly as a neighbor of his, and told Ferrandina that I was the gentleman who had given the Twenty five Dollars, he (Lockett) had given to Ferrandina.

The conversation at once got into Politics, and Ferrandina who is a fine looking, intelligent appearing person, became very excited. He shows the Italian in I think a very marked degree, and although excited, yet was cooler than what I had believed was the general characteristic of Italians. He has lived South for many years and is thoroughly imbued with the idea that the South must rule: that they (Southerners) have been outraged in their rights by the election of Lincoln, and freely justified resorting to any means to prevent Lincoln from taking his seat, and as he spoke his eyes fairly glared and glistened, and his whole frame

quivered, but he was fully conscious of all he was doing. He is a man well calculated for controlling and directing the ardent minded—he is an enthusiast, and believes that, to use his own words, “Murder of any kind is justifiable and right to save the rights of the Southern people.” In all his views he was ably seconded by Captain Turner.

Captain Turner is an American, but although very much of a gentleman and possessing warm Southern feelings, he is not by any means so dangerous a man as Ferrandina, as his ability for exciting others is less powerfull—but that he is a bold and proud man, there is no doubt, as also that he is entirely under the control of Ferrandina. In fact it could not be otherwise, for even I myself felt the influence of this mans strange power, and wrong though I knew him to be, I felt strangely unable to keep my mind balanced against him.

Ferrandina said that never, never shall Lincoln be President—His life (Ferrandina) was of no consequence—he was willing to give it for Lincoln’s—he would sell it for that Abolitionists, and as Orissini⁴² had given his life for Italy, so was he (Ferrandina) ready to die for his country, and the rights of the South, and, said Ferrandina, turning to Captain Turner, “we shall all die together, we shall show the North that we fear them not—every Captain, said he, will on that day prove himself a hero. The first shot fired, the main Traitor (Lincoln) dead, and all Maryland will be with us, and the South shall be free, and the North must then be ours.” “Mr. Huchins,” said Ferrandina, “*If I alone must do it, I shall—Lincoln shall die in this City.*”

Whilst we were thus talking we (Mr. Luckett, Turner, Ferrandina and myself), were alone in one corner of the Bar Room, and while talking two strangers had got pretty near us. Mr. Luckett called Ferrandina’s attention to this,

and intimated that they were listening, and we went up to the Bar—drinks again at my expense, and again retired to another part of the room, at Ferrandina's request to see if the strangers would again follow us—whether by accident or design, they again got near us, but of course we were not talking of any matter of consequence. Ferrandina said he suspected they were Spies, and suggested that he had to attend a secret meeting, and was apprehensive that the two strangers might follow him, and at Mr. Luckett's request I remained with him (Luckett) to watch the movements of the strangers. I assured Ferrandina that if they did attempt to follow him, that we would whip them.

Ferrandina and Turner left to attend the meeting, and anxious as I was to follow them myself, I was obliged to remain with Mr. Luckett to watch the strangers—which we did for about fifteen minutes, when Mr. Luckett said that he should go to a friend's to stay over night, and I left for my Hotel, arriving there about 9.00. p.m., and soon retired.

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C. D. C. W.—REPORTS

[Baltimore,] Friday 15th February 1861

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I then returned to Sherwoods, as I had made an appointment with Sherrington to go to see "Tom Smith." We first went to his (Tom Smith's) Oyster Establishment on Market Street, but not finding him there we returned by way of Market Street, and overtook him (Smith) on the corner of Second and Market Streets.

Sherrington introduced him to me, when we went into [a] Saloon on Market Street and had quite a talk. Smith informed Sherrington that they had broken up their meet-

ings as they could do nothing: that they had become disheartened, and he was disgusted with Maryland: that he was going to settle up his business [this?] Summer, and go to South Carolina in the Fall: that he was really ashamed to own that he was a native of Maryland: that he had talked and talked to them but all to no use: that in five years we would be able to cut a good crop of grass in the streets of Baltimore. Sherrington then asked Smith if Lincoln was not coming through on Saturday. Smith replied that he did not know whether he was or not: that he doubted if Lincoln would ever pass through Baltimore. Smith said this in a peculiar manner, and winked at me—"if he does," said I, "I'll be d—d if I don't leave here, and go to South America, for I wont live under him." "Nor will I," said Sherrington. "If he does," said Tom, "mark me—if he does, then this town is ruined and grass will grow in the Streets": (He spoke in a slow deliberate manner, seeming to weigh every word, but never once getting excited): that the Marylanders were too slow for him: that they "blow" to[o] much, and don't act enough." I then asked him (Smith) what would have happened if Maryland had acted like South Carolina. He replied that Washington would have belonged to the Southern Confederacy, and Lincoln shall never have taken his seat: that there was no use talking to the d—d fools any more (meaning the Marylanders): that we must be ready to act, for by God there was hot work ahead. I asked him what he thought of the "Force-Bill."⁴³ Tom said that they must never try that, for they could never subjugate the South—they might exterminate them, but they would never surrender.

Sherrington then wanted to know where they held their meetings now. Tom replied that he did not know, for he

had nothing to do with them, "Well," said I, "they say us Secessionists want to blow H—I out of everything. "If they won't let the South have what belongs to them, then I say "blow" up the property sooner than let the North have it," said Smith. "Do you know," said I, "that we have a lot of d—d spies in town—Dick Sherwood told us so to-day: that they had been to him for information as he was a Union man." Smith replied to this that there was a S— of a B— who stopped at Bucks Saloon on Lafayette Street: that he pretended to be selling watch pockets, made of canton flannel, and pine-burs sewed on them: that they had watched him going to the Telegraph Office several times a day &c." I said if he would show him to me I would make it too hot for him here, Smith answered that he wished to G—d I would for he (the spy) was watching their every movement, and then said he reckoned we were all right, and to be on hand to act when wanted. He then bade us goodby, and we parted.

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M. B.—REPORTS

[Baltimore,] Monday 18th February 1861

I got up at 7.30. A.M. and breakfasted at 8.30. a.m.— During the forenoon Mr. P— called and said I must get ready to go to New York on the 5.16. p.m. train. He also gave me my instructions and some letters for N. B. Judd, and E. S. Sanford, and then left.

After dinner I made arrangements to leave, paying my Bill &c., and told them I wanted to take the train for Philadelphia. At about 4.00 p.m. I left for the Depot where I saw Mr. P—, and at 5.16. p.m. I started for New York.

M. B.—REPORTS

[New York,] Tuesday 19th February 1861

I arrived in New York at 4.00. a.m. took a carriage, drove to the Astor House, where I got a room, after much trouble, and went to bed, but did not sleep. I got up at 7.30. a.m. and had breakfast, after which I sent a note to Adams Express Office for E. S. Sanford. I waited until 3. o'clock, when, not receiving any answer, I sent a second note to him (E. S. Sanford)

At 3.30. p.m. Mr. Burns came to my room with a note from Mr. Sanford. He acknowledged the receipt of my two notes, and said that anything I had for him I could send by Mr. Burns, also anything I had to say Mr. Burns would hear for him. I gave Mr. B—the letter from A. P—to E. S. Sanford, but told Mr. Burns that I could not talk with him. Mr. Burns then left promising to call again in the evening with any message that Mr. Sanford would have.

At 4.00. p.m. the President and Suite arrived at the Astor House. Lincoln looked very pale, and fatigued. He was standing in his carriage bowing when I first saw him. From the carriage he went direct into the House, and soon after appeared on the Balcony, from where he made a short speech, but there was such a noise, it was impossible to hear what he said. Just about this time Mr. Burns came again saying that Mr. Sanford would call to see me at 7.00. p.m.

I then wrote a note to N. B. Judd, and asked him to come to my room so soon as convenient. I gave the note to the bell-boy and told him to deliver immediately—The boy soon returned, and said that Judd had been left in Albany, but would be in New York on the first train, and so soon as he arrived would get the note.

It was now about 6.30. p.m., so I went down and had supper—from the supper table I went direct to my room, and had no more than got in, when Mr. Judd called. I gave him a letter from A. P—, which he sat down to read, first asking me if he could light his cigar.

After reading the letter, Mr. Judd asked me a great many questions, which I did not answer, I told him that I could not talk on the business, but if he had any message for A. P— I would take it. He asked me when I would leave for Baltimore—I told him I should leave early in the morning. He said he was much alarmed and would like to show the letter I had given him to some of the party, and also consult the New York Police about it. I advised him to do no such thing, but keep cool, and see Mr. P—. Judd asked me what he should do. I told him [I] would go direct to Baltimore, and have Mr. P— advise him by letter, and by Telegraph. Judd said that he wanted to see A. P— and asked me if I did not think he would come to New York if he Telegraphed for him. I said I knew it would be impossible for him (A. P—) to leave in time to see him (Judd) in New York: Judd did not know what to do; said that he would see me again so soon as possible, and that he must consult with one of his party.

Just at this moment E. S. Sanford came in, and I introduced him to N. B. Judd. Mr. Sanford then handed Mr. Judd a note from Mr. Pinkerton. Mr. Judd read it, and said it was all right, and that he was glad to meet Mr. Sanford. Mr. Sanford replied that anything he could do for him (Judd) would be done with pleasure. Mr. Judd then left promising to see me again during the evening.

After Mr. Judd had gone, Mr. Sanford excused himself for not coming directly to see me on receipt of my Notes:

said the fact of the matter was he was keeping out of sight for a few days, and did not want to be seen by any one, for all supposed him to be in Philadelphia, and said "Now what is the trouble"? I replied that I had come to deliver letters to him and Mr. Judd, and was ready to take any message back to A.P.—: that I would leave early in the morning, and that was all I had to say on business. Mr. Sanford said there was something more, and I could tell him, for Allan always told him anything and everything. I replied that that was no reason why I should tell him all I knew, and that I had no more to say. Mr. Sanford rejoined "Barley, there is something more, and if you will only tell me how you are situated, and what you are doing at Baltimore I can better judge how to act." I said again "Mr. Sanford, I have nothing more to say." He appeared quite dissatisfied, and said he supposed I had "roped" so many, I thought I could not be "roped" myself. I replied that it was as easy to "rope" me as any one else, but that just now I really had nothing to say. Mr. Sanford laughed at this, and said that I was a strange woman. He seemed good natured again, and asked my advice about writing a Dispatch to A. P.—, and sending Burns to Baltimore.

He (Sanford) then wrote a Dispatch, and read it to me, after which he went down to send it, but before going asked me if he could bring Mr. Henry Sanford to my room, and introduce him to me. I said that if it was necessary I should see Henry Sanford in regard to any business matter, I would do so, but not otherwise.

Mr. Sanford sent the Dispatch, and saw Mr. Judd, when he returned to my room, and talked to me about sending Burns to Baltimore: said that it would be a great assistance to Mr. P— for he would give Burns the full controll of the

Telegraph wires from Baltimore to any point A. P— would wish, and that Burns could help A. P— very much in case he needed him. Mr. Sanford then said that he thought we were frightened (meaning Mr. P—, and myself). I suppose he thought now that I would go on and tell him all I knew, but I said nothing, only that we were not frightened and what was more I had never known A. P— to be frightened.

We now conversed on different subjects, and Mr. Sanford told me that he was keeping out of sight, to keep from having some old papers served on him: that it was an old California matter of the Adams Express Company's,⁴⁴ for a Hundred and Forty Thousand Dollars: that himself, Dinsmore, and Shoemaker had to keep out of sight until Friday next. He laughed about it, and said I should tell A. P— that the Officers were after him (Sanford). He was very friendly and staid until after 10. o'clock, when he bade me good night and left.

Mr. Sanford had not gone long when I received a Dispatch from Mr. P—, saying "Tell Judd I meant all I said, and that to-day they offer Ten for one, and Twenty for two." I immediately sent for Judd, who came at once to my room, I gave the Dispatch, and he (Judd) wanted to show it to Vice President Hamlin, and also that I should have an interview with Hamlin. I said that it would never do: that I could not say anything more to Hamlin than I had said to him (Judd), and that in the morning I should return to Baltimore.

Mr. Judd urged me to have Mr. P— come on to Philadelphia and meet them there, so as to advise what to do. I promised Mr. Judd I would tell Mr. P— all he had said, and would do what I could to get him (A. P.) to meet them at Philadelphia. Mr. Judd then told me about having been

left in Albany, and said he never felt so mortified in all his life. I could not but laugh to see how bad he felt. He also spoke of Mrs. Lincoln and said that she was tickled to death with all she had seen since leaving home. Mr. Judd left my room at 11.30. p.m. I then sent word to be wakened in time to take the early train for Baltimore in the morning—I went to bed tired.

T. W.—REPORTS

[Perrymansville,] Tuesday 19th February 1861

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Captain Keen and some four or five others then came in, and got up a game of Ten-pins, we played until 1.45. p.m., when Springer, Taylor, and I went in to dinner—They commenced talking about what route Lincoln would take to Washington. Springer said that he was going over the Philadelphia, Willmington, and Baltimore Rail Road, and Taylor said “No”, that Lincoln would go over the Central Road: that he (Lincoln) had better not come over this road with any Military—for if he did that Boat would never make another [trip?] across the River. Springer replied that they had not better attempt to take any Military over this Road, for if they did Lincoln would never get to Washington.

Taylor got the Horse and Buggy ready, when Springer and I left for Aberdeen. We had got about two miles on our way, when we had to turn back on account of the bad roads. On the [way?] Springer talked some about Lincoln, and said that when Lincoln arrived in Baltimore, they would try to get him out to speak, and if he did come out, he (Springer) would not be surprised if they killed him: that there was in Baltimore about One Thousand men well organized, and ready for anything. I asked if the leaders were good men. Springer said they had the very best men

in Baltimore, and that nearly all the Custom House Officers were in the Organization. I could not learn from him any of their names.

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A. F. C.—REPORTS

[Baltimore,] Tuesday 19th February 1861

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After leaving there about half an hour, Hillard came bringing me a pair of worked slippers as a present—At the time I was lying on the bed, and he said to me “You look sober—what is the matter with you?” I replied “I am thinking about what a d—d pretty tumult this country is in—I have had all kinds of bad thoughts shoot through my mind—you know you cannot prevent a man from thinking.” Hillard replied “Of course not—what have you been thinking about?” I told him that I was thinking if a man had the ——— how he could immortalize himself by taking a knife and plunging it to Lincoln’s heart; but it is impossible to find a man with the pluck to do it—It is not as it was in the time of Brutus and Ceaser—there is not the courage now that was then.” Hillard rejoined “There are men who would do it!” I said “I will give Five Hundred Dollars to see the man who will do it, although it is of no interest to me; that I was out of the Union—I had no claim on this Government and did not belong here, nevertheless I would give Five Hundred Dollars to see a man do it.” Hillard said to me “Give me an article of agreement that you will give my Mother Five Hundred Dollars, and I will kill Lincoln between here and Havre-de-Grace,” and then exclaimed in the language of Brutus “Not that I love Lincoln less, but

my Country more"! He added the "Five Hundred dollars would help my Mother, but it would do me no good, because I would expect to die—and I would say so soon as it was done—Here gentlemen take me—I am the man who done the deed. Hillard also remarked "If our Company would draw lots to see who would kill Lincoln, and the lot should fall on me, I would do it willingly, even if my Captain should tell me to do it I would do it." I said to him "By the By, friend Hillard, talking about your Company, you remind me of one thing I wanted to say to you, which is this: "Yesterday you contradicted yourself in your statements to me in regard to your Company—now you know I am a frank man, and have no desire, for it is none of my business to ask you questions about your Company, and no desire to know anything about it only so far—that I of course feel an interest in the cause; that you know is natural, being a Southern man." He replied, "Yes my friend—I have told you all I have a right to tell you—and I tell you all I dare without compromising myself, my friends, and my honor—I have unbounded confidence in you, and know you to be a gentleman—I am a judge of human nature—I have been asked by my friends who you was, what you was &c., and I have replied that you was a gentleman, and that was all I knew about it, and all I wanted to know."

We had left my room while this conversation was going on, and on arriving at the corner of Baltimore and Holliday Streets, Hillard said to me "I will go to supper and from there to the National Volunteer room, and will return at 9.00. p.m. to your room. I persuaded him however to go to supper with me at Mann's Restaurant, where we went up stairs to a private dining room and there resumed our conversation—He said to me "ever since I went to Washing-

ton⁴⁵ I am very careful in what I say—there are Government spies here all the time, (in Baltimore) even now, do you see that old man at the other end of the Room?” “This is the first time I have noticed him—just as likely as not he is a government spy—there is no telling—and may be before this he has my name down, and what I have said. We are all more careful (meaning the National Volunteers)—twenty times more careful than we were previously. I never recognize any of the boys now in the Street when I see them—We have to be careful. Do not think my friend that it is a want of confidence in you that makes me so cautious, it is because I have to be. I do not remember to have spoken to a person out of our Company, and the first thing I knew I was at Washington before that Committee—*We have taken a solemn oath, which is to obey the orders of our Captain, without asking any questions, and in no case, or under any circumstances reveal any orders received by us, or entrusted to us, or anything that is confidential, for instance I was called to Washington City before the Committee⁴⁶—I must not divulge the object nor the nature of our organization, but evade and if necessary decline to answer their questions.*”

I asked Hillard what was the first object of the Organization. He replied, “*It was first organized to prevent the passage of Lincoln with the troops through Baltimore, but our plans are changed every day, as matters change, and what its object will be from day to day, I do not know, nor can I tell. All we have to do is to obey the orders of our Captain, and whatever he commands we are required to do. Rest assured I have all confidence in you, and what I can and dare tell you I am willing to and like to do it—I cannot come out and tell you all—I cannot compromise my honor.*”

[C. D. C. W.—REPORTS]

[Baltimore, Wednesday 20th February 1861]

Head Quarters

National Volunteers

Baltimore Feb. 20. 1861

This is to certify that Charles Williams is an enrolled Member of the National Volunteers, Company "A" and entitled to all the privileges of the same.

Robt. E. Hasletz. William Byrne,⁴⁷ President.

After getting our Certificates, Mr. Hack, Sherrington, and I went to Gerry's Saloon. I asked Mr. Hack what drill they used. He replied that they used no regular drill yet: that the trouble was there were too many "bosses": that he had been drilling Company "B," but had been ordered to attend "A," and also that there was some talk of sending Five Hundred men to Charleston next week. I told him I was some acquainted with Military Tactics, and would like to copy their drill so as to be ready to act when wanted. Mr. Hack said that he had been through the Mexican War, and made me promise to attend next Monday, when they intended Organizing and electing their Officers, and that he intended running for first Lieutenant.

On our return to the Hotel I got into conversation with two gentlemen who were stopping at Sherwoods—one was an Englishman, but said that he came to this country when he was sixteen months old: that he had recently come from Alabama here (Baltimore), and was travelling with his friend, who had some business to transact.

In the evening we went to the Melodion Concert Hall together. The Englishman said his name was "Thompson",

and his friends name was "Davis". Thompson said that he owned a nice little farm in Lymer [*i.e.*, Lyon?] County, Iowa, which he intended some day settling on. I asked him if he was not for the South. He said "Oh! Yes," but he was for peace, and hoped that the Union would be preserved. I replied that I too owned land in Iowa, but I would be d—d if I would live in a Northern State.

Thompson was very talkative about his farm, and in the middle of his conversation turned to Davis and said, "Don't forget—you must go after that money to-morrow." There was something peculiar about their movements that Sherrington did not like. He told me to be careful of them, for he believed they were two d—d spies. Davis talked some about the Alabama River, where it seems he had run a Scow—this gave Sherrington a little more confidence in them, but still he suspected that they were not "all right."

Mr. Thompson said that he would show me a splendid Revolver, that had been sent him from London, if I would remind him of it to-morrow. On returning to the hotel they took a lamp and went to their room. Sherrington again remarked that he did not like those fellows.

H. H. L.—REPORTS

[Perrymansville,] Wednesday 20th February 1861

We had breakfast at 7.00. a.m. after which we conversed some but nothing was said worthy of note. Just before dinner a stranger came and asked if he could have something to eat. Mr. Taylor said that dinner would soon be ready and asked him to wait, which the stranger said he would do.

At 2.00. p.m. we all sat down to dinner, when the stranger told us that he was a Minister, and was going to preach at

a place some six miles from Perrymansville—also that he had lost some money in Philadelphia. After he had finished eating his dinner he told Mr. Taylor that he could not pay him for he had no money, and asked if he (Mr. Taylor) would take a pledge, or wait until he (the stranger) got the money, when he would send it—said that his name was “Jones,” and that he was from Louisville, Kentucky: that he travelled from place to place preaching &c.

Mr. Taylor was very indignant at the way the stranger had managed to get his dinner, and said that was what he called sneaking mean; that the man had not better come to his place again, for he would not fare quite so well if he did. Mr. Taylor went on to say that he believed this man had plenty of money, and reckoned that all he came in the country for was to have the Slaves rise up against their Masters, and he hoped no more would come.

After the 6.30. p.m. Train had passed, Mrs. Taylors little boy picked up some cards which he brought into the house. Mrs. Taylor remarked that she thought it very strange that they should be thrown of[f] here. I replied to this that persons got tired playing sometimes, and would throw them out of the window when they did not want them any more.

We had two strangers at supper, and remarks were made about the Preacher who dined with us. During the evening Mr. Taylor came into the house and said that he was going to Havre-de-Grace in the morning to make arrangements about getting his Mother-in-law to live with him the rest of her life. Nothing more transpired worthy of note. At 9.45. p.m. I went to bed.

A. P.—REPORTS

[Philadelphia,] Thursday 21st February 1861

I went to breakfast at 7.00. A.M., and at 8.45. A.M. I called at No. 413 Prune Street, and saw Mr. Burns. I requested him to telegraph Mr. Judd who was with the Presidential Party, and who could be reached at either Newark or Trenton, New Jersey, and say to him (Judd) that I was in Philadelphia and would see him this evening.

At 9.10. A.M. I met Mr. Felton at the La Pierre House, and walked with him to the Depot of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Rail Road. Whilst walking with Mr. Felton, and after arriving at his Office, I made a full Report of what had come to my knowledge, in regard to an attempt being likely to be made upon the President-Elect and his Suite while passing through Baltimore on Saturday next, and said that judging from the Reports of my Detectives, and allowing that even they were probably imperfectly posted, that I had no doubt but that there would be an attempt made to assassinate Mr. Lincoln and his Suite. Not that I believed there was any large organization or body of men who would be willing to go so far, but that from all I could learn, there was not probably over Fifteen or Twenty men who would be reckless enough to attempt anything of the kind, and instanced O. K. Hillard as a specimen of the recklessness of this class, and argued that a few determined men by uniting in their effort and taking advantage of the large crowd of people who would probably be turned out on the occasion of the passage of the President Elect, that these determined persons could accomplish a great deal, and that from the excitibility of all Mobs, and more especially a Baltimore Mob—the first shot fired—the

first blow struck, and the whole became a living mass of mad ungovernable people.⁴⁸

I also stated to Mr. Felton the substance of the conversation I had over-heard of Police Marshall Kane on Saturday afternoon last at Barnums Hotel, when Kane had discredited the idea of "giving a Police Escort" for [the] same purpose, and I further said to Mr. Felton that I knew of nothing likely to transpire in Baltimore which might require a Police Escort, except it was on the arrival of the President Elect, and assuming that Marshall Kane meant this arrival and could not see the necessity of a Police Escort, then I argued that there was more danger to Mr. Lincoln, for from the familiar manner of Marshall Kane and many of the rabid Secessionates, there could be no doubt but that they were aware that Kane was not going to give an Escort. I also argued that it was impossible for Marshall Kane not to know that there would be a necessity for an Escort for Mr. Lincoln on his arrival in Baltimore, and, that if with this knowledge Marshall Kane failed to give a Police Escort, then I should from this time out doubt the loyalty of the Baltimore Police.

Mr. Felton approved of what I had said and of the view I had taken of the case, and said that after having seen Mr. Wm. Stearns⁴⁹ on his return from Baltimore, and received the verbal report from me—he (Mr. Felton) had mentioned the existence of danger to Morton McMichael Esq. Editor of the "Philadelphia North American," and that Mr. McMichael had taken a deep interest in it, and had this morning left to meet the Presidential Party on the way from New York to Philadelphia, and that he (Mr. Felton) had instructed Mr. McMichael not to mention the subject to anyone in the "Cortege" except Mr. Judd—not even to Mr.

Lincoln himself, and that he (Mr. Felton) should like very much to have me meet them (Judd and McMicheal) with himself this evening and suggest to them the absolute necessity for a change in the Presidential Programme. I agreed to meet the gentleman as Mr. Felton requested, and informed him of the presence of Mr. Burns in Philadelphia, and the power conferred on Mr. Burns by Mr. Sanford to be used in case of necessity.

I remained with Mr. Felton until 11.15. A.M., when Mr. Felton having some other business to attend to, agreed to meet me at 1.00. p.m. at his Office. On leaving Mr. Felton I went to the St. Louis Hotel and directed M. B. to remain in the Hotel as I might require her.

I next called at Mr. Burns house but he was not at home, so I left word that I would endeavor to see him again at 3.00. p.m. I then went to the Express Office to ascertain if Henry Sanford had arrived from New York, but found he had not, and it being now nearly 1.00. p.m., I went to the Depot of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Rail Road to keep my appointment with Mr. Felton. I found him in his Office, but he being engaged I made an appointment with him to meet at the La Pierre House at 5.00. p.m.

At 2.30. p.m. I found Mr. Burns at his Mother's, No. 413 Prune Street. He informed me that he had Telegraphed to Mr. Judd as I had requested, and informed me that he (Burns) had received a Dispatch from E. S. Sanford Esq. saying that Henry Sanford would leave New York for Philadelphia at 2.00. p.m. if I thought it necessary. I said that as far as the safety of the Express was concerned, from attack by a Mob, that I thought I should be able to receive information regarding such an attempt in season to notify the Express Company, but that I thought it would

be advisable to have the Messengers between Philadelphia and Baltimore and Harrisburg doubled, and that none should go as Messengers but good, resolute, reliable men, and that they should be well armed, and that as these changes could be made by Mr. Burns, through Col. Bingham, the Philadelphia Superintendant of the Adams Express Company, I did not think it necessary for Henry Sanford to come over, but as it was now too late to reply to this Dispatch I supposed that it was just as well to let the matter go. Shortly after Mr. Burns received another Dispatch from E. S. Sanford Esq. saying that Henry Sanford had left at 2.00. p.m. and requesting Mr. Burns to arrange with Col. Bingham to meet Henry Sanford at the Girard House at 8.00. p.m.

I said to Mr. Burns that in making arrangements for putting on the extra Messengers, I did not suggest it in view of any real danger of which I had information, but merely as a precautionary measure, and that I did not desire that either Col. Bingham or Mr. Shoemaker of Baltimore, the manager of the Adams Express Company at that point, should know of my being the party who advised it or furnished the information.

I requested Mr. Burns to go to the Kensington Rail Road Depot, and await the arrival of the Presidential Party who was expected to arrive about 3.00. p.m., and watch for the first opportunity to see Mr. McMicheal, and say to him that it was Mr. Felton's desire to meet him (McMicheal), and Mr. Judd, with myself at the earliest possible moment after the Cortège should reach the Continental Hotel, where Mr. Lincoln and Suite were going to put up, and that failing in seeing Mr. McMicheal, he (Mr. Burns) was to endeavor to see Mr. Judd, and arrange for a meeting with myself and Mr. Felton at the earliest possible moment: that in regard to

the place for meeting there would be such a crowd at the Continental that I did not think it safe for me to go there for fear of being recognized, neither did I think the Girard safe, nor the La Pierre House on account of the number of Southerners stopping at those Houses; that upon the whole I deemed my room at the St. Louis the best and safest for the meeting, but that I should meet at any place which might be deemed most advisable and convenient for Mr. Judd.

I told Mr. Burns that I had to meet Mr. Felton at the La Pierre House at 5.00. p.m., and I should inform Mr. Felton of what I had done in this respect and would expect Mr. Burns there about 5.00. p.m. to let us know when the arrangement for the meeting was perfected.

At 5.00. p.m. I met Mr. Felton at the La Pierre House and we talked over the probable chances of Mr. Lincoln changing his route. I said to Mr. Felton that I had some delicacy in recommending a change in the route, as it might hereafter be argued that it was a trick devised to encourage travel by a Mail Rail road Line, but that I felt satisfied that there was imminent danger in Mr. Lincoln taking the published route from Harrisburg to Baltimore, Via the Northern Central Rail Road and that I should not hesitate in saying so, leaving it for Mr. Lincoln and his advisers to change the route or not, just as he saw fit.

Mr. Felton approved of this, but said that if it was possible for Mr. Lincoln to leave his party tonight and take berths in the sleeping Car through to Baltimore and Washington, it would be the best and safest thing which could be done, as he (Mr. Felton) felt assured from other sources of information, besides what I had, that there would be blood-shed in Mr. Lincoln's attempting to pass through Baltimore openly by the route proposed.

Mr. Felton also said that he had just to-day received a Telegraph from Vice President Elect Hamlin asking for a special Car on the Noon Train, South from Philadelphia to-morrow for him (Hamlin) to go to Baltimore in. Mr. Felton feared that this dispatch would get into the Telegraph news of associated Press and might thus complicate any change of route which Mr. Lincoln might deem advisable.

I informed Mr. Felton that I expected Mr. Burns every moment to apprise me of when and where we would meet Mr. Judd, and that when Mr. Burns arrived I should have him Telegraph Mr. Sanford at New York to prevent the appearance of this Dispatch in the Telegraph news—but that in view of this move of Mr. Hamlin I thought it would be advisable for us to meet Mr. Judd as early as possible and lay the whole matter before him.

Just at this time I heard the sound of Music, and concluded that the Presidential Procession was going down Walnut Street, and went out and found it to be so. Just as I reached Walnut Street, I saw Mr. Burns break through the ranks of the Police surrounding the carriage in which was the President Elect and Mr. Judd, and hand Mr. Judd a note—in a few minutes afterwards Mr. Burns came through the crowd which was very dense, when I met him, and he told me that the meeting was arranged for to be in my room at the St. Louis Hotel, at 7.30. p.m. I requested Mr. Burns to endeavor once more to see Mr. Judd and say to him that some circumstances had transpired which rendered it advisable to meet earlier, and ask Mr. Judd if he could not name an earlier hour. How Mr. Burns was to get through the crowd and overtake the carriage I could

not see, nor how he would again break the ranks of the Police I could not tell. But he left me and with superhuman strength I saw him go through the crowd like nothing, and bursting through the ranks of the Police again reach the carriage. In a few minutes he returned and said that Mr. Judd would see me immediately at the St. Louis.

Mr. Burns and myself then went to the La Pierre House and informed Mr. Felton who agreed to come right down to the meeting. I also arranged with Mr. Burns to telegraph Mr. Sanford in relation to suppressing the news of the intended departure of Vice President Hamlin from New York or the route chosen by him.

I left the La Pierre with Mr. Burns who went to the Telegraph Office, and I to the St. Louis and had a fire made in my room No. 21. Soon Mr. Felton arrived, and about 6.45 p.m. Mr. Judd arrived. I introduced him to Mr. Felton, and Mr. Felton explained his cause for fearing that the track of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Rail Road was in danger, and consequently his employment of me, and how in my researches of this kind I had discovered the fact that some persons meditated the assassination of the President Elect. Mr. Felton also informed Mr. Judd that from all he had heard from other sources he had no doubt but that if Mr. Lincoln adhered to the published programme he (Felton) did not doubt but that there would be bloodshed in Baltimore, and that should blood be shed it would certainly precipitate War.

Mr. Judd said that he knew me well enough to know that I would not in any case exaggerate or speak of anything without I felt assured that it was so, and told Mr. Felton how long he had known me, and paid me a very high compliment for Ability, honesty, integrity &c.

At Mr. Judd's request I briefly detailed to him the circumstances which had come to my knowledge as detailed in the Reports of my operations. I dwelt at some length on the statement of Marshall Kane, which I had overheard at Barnum's Hotel, assuming that Kane was at that time alluding to the Presidential Cortege not to receive an escort of Police in passing through Baltimore.

I also informed Mr. Judd of the drilling and movements of the Rangers of Perrymansville, and the Infantry troops at Bel-Air which was about midway between Cockeysville on the Northern Central Rail Road which was on the published [program] for the Presidential Cortege to take from Harrisburg to Baltimore, and Perrymansville on the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Rail Road. I communicated at some length on the character, standing &c. of O. K. Hillard, and assumed that there was imminent danger from this class of men, whose patriotism was influenced, and who looked upon their Country as being entirely South of Mason and Dixons Line, whose every sympathy was with the South and would deem it an honor to become martyrs in their cause. In this respect I instanced the courage of John Brown, who almost single handed threw himself into a fight against the Nation. I also told Mr. Judd that in my opinion a large body of men was not necessary to accomplish the object desired to be obtained: that a few resolute men could in a crowd do more than even a large body would, because they could act more united. I also spoke of the oath bound associations of National Volunteers spoken of by Hillard; and his statement that he "would do whatever his Captain called upon him to do, without asking a why or a wherefore," and to the avowed determination of those men that Lincoln should not pass through Baltimore alive. I also spoke

of the Privateer spoken of by Captain Sherrington, and the Fire Balls or Hand Grenades spoken of by the Baltimore Secessionists, and to the disloyalty of the Baltimore Police, who it was even doubtful if they would make a decent show to preserve order, and instanced the difficulty experienced by the Presidential Party in Buffalo, where with a Loyal Police the pressure was great as to seriously injure Major Hunter one of the Party. I said to Mr. Judd that the danger was from a small number of men in the crowd acting in concert, and asked what would be the consequences where the Presidential Party was hemmed in [in] a crowd unable to move, and a few men bent on taking life—Armed, prepared and determined on doing so even if they had to give a life for a life—and argued that situated as the country was, this was no time to go into War, which would be the result if the President Elect was assassinated in Baltimore: that at present we had no Government and could have none before the Inauguration of Lincoln: that as things stood now Mr. Lincoln had no power: that nameless and unknown as I was, I could stand a better chance for my life than did Mr. Lincoln, as I at least had some of my own men with me who would die in their boots before I should be injured. I said that the danger was not so much to the President whilst upon the Train, as it was from the time he landed at the [Calvert Street Station] Northern Central Depot until he could pass in an open carriage about a mile and a quarter to the [Camden Street] Depot of the Washington Branch Rail Road, and said to Mr. Judd that I did not believe it was possible he (Lincoln) or his personal friends could pass through Baltimore in that style alive.

I enquired of Mr. Judd if he knew if any arrangements had been made in Baltimore by any parties with view to the

friendly or patriotic reception of the President elect, and he replied that he did not know of any such arrangements.⁵⁰ I then enquired of Mr. Judd who Mr. Wood was, who was acting as manager for the Presidential Party, and Mr. Judd said he did not know, nor could not tell who he was: that he had asked Mr. Lincoln himself this same question and could not learn that Mr. Lincoln knew anything about him further than that he came from New York and had been recommended by Erastus Corning, and Gov. Seward.

Mr. Judd said that all this was a very important subject, and that after what he had heard he believed there was great danger to Mr. Lincoln to attempt to pass through Baltimore according to the Programme: that he had not mentioned this to Mr. Lincoln, as in my letters to him at Cincinnati and New York, I had exacted strict secrecy and that he should now have to see Mr. Lincoln in regard to it, and enquired of Mr. Felton and myself what we thought best to be done. Mr. Felton advised that if it could possibly be done, Mr. Lincoln should quietly leave the Party to-night and with me take a passage in the Sleeping Car and go on to Washington arriving there to-morrow morning.

I assured Mr. Judd that I thought this could be done in safety, and that from what Mr. Felton had told me of General Scott, I believed that if once the President Elect was in Washington that he would there be safe, and further said that I was positive that if he (Lincoln) ever arrived at Washington at this time, he must pass through Baltimore by a Stratagem.

Mr. Judd expressed his thanks to Mr. Felton and myself for an interest in this affair, and in accordance with our request promised that we should not be exposed or known in this matter whatever the consequences might be, and also

that he would maintain secrecy to all except with Mr. Lincoln as to the aid we had received or expected to receive from E. S. Sanford President of the American Telegraph Company.

Mr. Judd said that it was 9.00. p.m. and he would like if I would go with him to the Continental Hotel and meet Mr. Lincoln and lay the subject before him and decide upon what course we had better pursue. He (Judd) expressed himself very decided in reference to the necessity of a change of route from that which had been published, and said he had no doubt but that Mr. Lincoln would, upon the circumstances being laid before him, see the necessity for action of this kind.

On leaving the St. Louis we parted from Mr. Felton, and I agreed that I would see Mr. Felton at the La Pierre House so soon as Mr. Lincoln had decided, and let him (Mr. Felton) know what the decision was,—from the immense crowd in Chestnut Street and the Continental Hotel I afterwards found that it was impossible for me to fulfill this engagement.

On Mr. Judd and myself arriving within a block of the Continental Hotel the crowd was one dense mass of people. I accordingly took Mr. Judd around to Samson Street where we obtained an entrance by the rear of the Hotel. On getting Mr. Judd in, I told him that I would join him soon, and went to the Girard House to meet Mr. Burns and Henry Sanford Esq., with whom I had made an engagement, but found it utterly impossible to get into that house owing to the denseness of the crowd. It took me over Thirty minutes to again get out of the crowd, when I returned to Samson Street and entered the Continental. The interior of the house was as densely crowded as was the outside

and I found that all were "getting up stairs." When I reached the last of the stairs I found that Mr. Lincoln was in a balcony at the head of the first landing, bowing to the people as they passed up the stairs. There was no way for me to get up but go into the jam and go up with the human tide, so I went in—but such a jam. In due time however I reached the head of the stairs where I found the Halls about as much crowded as they were below. The people were kept moving in a steady stream around through a double file of Police to the stairway on Tenth Street and thus out. I managed to get outside of the file of Police and soon found Mr. Judd's room where I found him waiting for me. Judd said that as soon as Mr. Lincoln got through with receiving the people on the Balcony he (Judd) would send for him to come to his room.

I sent a note by a waiter to George H. Burns or Henry Sanford at the Girard House, and soon after Mr. Sanford came to Mr. Judd's room. I introduced him to Mr. Judd and talked over with him in relation to the co-operation I might require from the Telegraph Company to secure the successful carrying out of my plans in reference to the change of route now deemed [necessary] for the President-Elect.

I also suggested to Mr. Sanford that as a precautionary measure I should think it advisable for the Express Company to double their Messengers for the present on the runs between Philadelphia and Baltimore, and between Harrisburg and Baltimore. Not that I had any idea that any parties who might be contemplating an attack on the life of President Lincoln meditated an attack on the property of the Express Company, but that should anything of the kind occur, professional thieves seeing an opportunity offer to operate successfully might, with a view to plunder, join the attacking party.

Mr. Sanford said he would see Col. Bingham and at once have this attended to, and at my request said that no explanations should be made to Mr. Shoemaker of Baltimore in relation to the reason for doubling the force of Messengers. I made this request not that I doubted the Honesty or Loyalty of Mr. Shoemaker, but that I feared his discretion.

About 10.15. p.m., having learned that Mr. Lincoln had retired to his room, I carried a note from Mr. Judd to him saying that he (Judd) desired to see him (Lincoln) at his (Judd's) room so soon as convenient on Private business of importance. Col. Ellsworth⁵¹ who was officiating as Equery in waiting refused to deliver the note, but accompanied me to Mr. Judd's room, who at once ordered Ellsworth to deliver the note, and in about ten minutes thereafter Mr. Lincoln entered the room—of course a very large crowd followed him to the door which was at once guarded by Ellsworth. Mr. Judd introduced me to Mr. Lincoln who at once recollected me. I then introduced Henry Sanford Esq. who immediately retired.

Mr. Judd briefly detailed to Mr. Lincoln the circumstances under which I had gone to Baltimore to operate with a view to the protection of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Rail Road, and that whilst so operating amongst the Secessionists I had discovered a determination amongst certain parties to attempt taking the life of him (Mr. Lincoln) whilst passing through Baltimore.

Whilst Mr. Judd was talking Mr. Lincoln listened very attentively, but did not say a word, nor did his countenance which I had watched very closely, show any emotion. He appeared thoughtful and serious, but decidedly firm.

When Mr. Judd had concluded he requested me to detail the circumstances connected with Ferrandina, Hillard and

others, and what my opinion was of the probable attempt. I did so commenting at some length on the fact of overhearing Col. Kane, Marshall of Baltimore, state last Saturday at Barnum's Hotel that he would give "no Police Escort," probably referring to the passage of Mr. Lincoln through Baltimore. I alluded to the expressions of Hillard and Ferrandina: that they were ready to give their lives for the welfare of their Country, as also that their country was South of Mason's and Dixon's line: that they were ready and willing to die to rid their Country of a tyrant as they considered Lincoln to be. I said that I did not desire to be understood as saying that there were any large number of men engaged in this attempt—but that on the contrary I thought there were very few—probably not exceeding from fifteen to twenty who would be really brave enough to make the attempt,—but that I thought Hillard was a fair sample of this class—a young man of good family, character and reputation—honorable, gallant and chivalrous, but thoroughly devoted to Southern rights, and who looked upon the North as being aggressors upon the rights of that section and upon every Northern man as an Abolitionist, and he (Mr. Lincoln) as the embodiment of all those evils, in whose death the South would be largely the gainers. I also told Mr. Lincoln that there would be a very large crowd in Baltimore on the occasion of his passing through that City: that he (Mr. Lincoln) had had some experience of the danger in a large crowd from [the] accident which met Col. Hunter at Buffalo where the Police were loyal, but it would be infinitely worse in Baltimore, where, owing to the depression in all kinds of business, there were very many people out of employment, and the crowd would in all probability be very large—this with "no Police Escort", or

if there was an Escort it would be by a Disloyal Police, and the slightest sign of discontent would be sufficient to raise all the angry feeling of the Masses, and that then would be a favorable moment for the conspirators to operate: that again, as by the published route, he (Mr. Lincoln) in taking the Northern Central Rail Road from Harrisburg to Baltimore, would arrive at the Calvert Street Depot, and would have about one mile and a quarter to pass through the city in an open carriage, which would move but slowly through the dense crowd, and that then it would be an easy matter for any assassin to mix in with the crowd and in the confusion of the moment shoot Mr. Lincoln if he felt so disposed: that I felt satisfied in my own mind that if Mr. Lincoln adhered to the published programme of his route to Washington that an assault of some kind would be made upon his person with a view to taking his life.

During the time I was speaking Mr. Lincoln listened with great attention only asking a question occasionally. We were interrupted once by the entrance of W. H. Lamont of Bloomington, Ills. who entered the room to give a note to Mr. Lincoln. Mr. Lamont recognized me, but I am positive he could not have known me had he not been informed by some one that I was with the President Elect.

After I had concluded Mr. Lincoln remained quiet for a few minutes apparently thinking, when Mr. Judd inquired, "If upon any kind of statement which might be made to him (Lincoln) would he (Lincoln) consent to leave for Washington on the train to-night." Mr. Lincoln said promptly "No, I cannot consent to this. I shall hoist the Flag on Independence Hall to-morrow morning (Washington's birthday), and go to Harrisburg to-morrow, then I (Lincoln) have fulfilled all my engagements, and if you

(addressing Mr. Judd), and you Allan (meaning me) think there is positive danger in my attempting to go through Baltimore openly according to the published programme—if you can arrange any way to carry out your views, I shall endeavor to get away quietly from the people at Harrisburg to-morrow evening and shall place myself in your [hands].

The firmness of tone in which Mr. Lincoln spoke shewed that there was no further use in arguing the proposition, and Mr. Judd inquired of me what I thought best to do in the emergency and I said that if Mr. Lincoln could manage to get away unobserved, from the people at Harrisburg by about dusk to-morrow evening that I thought we could get a special Train on the Pennsylvania Rail Road to bring him from Harrisburg to Philadelphia in time for the train going South on the Philadelphia Wilmington and Baltimore Rail Road, when we could secure seats in the sleeping Car which goes directly through to Washington and thus save us from being observed at Baltimore, as we would not require to get out of the Car.

This was finally after some discussion agreed upon, and I promised to see the Superintendent of the Pennsylvania Rail Road in regard to procuring the special train, and making all the arrangements for the trip. I requested Mr. Lincoln that none but Mr. Judd and myself should know anything about this arrangement. He said that ere he could leave it would be necessary for him to tell Mrs. Lincoln and that he thought it likely that she would insist upon W. H. Lamon going with him (Lincoln), but aside from this no one should know.

I said that secrecy was so necessary for our success that I deemed it best that as few as possible should know any

thing of our movements: that I knew all the men with whom it was necessary for me to instruct my movements, and that my share of this secret should be safe, and that if it only was kept quiet I should answer for his safety with my life.

At 11.00. p.m. Mr. Lincoln left. The crowd was very dense around the door of the room all the time he was in.

I omitted to mention that I enquired of Mr. Lincoln if any arrangement had been made in Baltimore with the public Authorities for his reception in that City, and he said he did not know of any, nor had he heard from a single individual in that City: that he (Lincoln) had left that arrangement with Mr. Wood, but that Wood had not said anything to him in relation to any reception. I then enquired "Who Mr. Wood was," and what he knew of him, and Mr. Lincoln said he knew "Nothing of him": that he (Wood) had been recommended to him (Lincoln) as being all right by Gov. Seward. Mr. Lincoln said that Mr. Wood should not know anything in regard to our movements.

When Mr. Lincoln left I told Mr. Judd that I would now get a carriage and go to find T. A. Scott Esq. Vice President, Pennsylvania Rail Road, and arrange for the special train to-morrow evening and that I should call back and see him. Henry Sanford came into Mr. Judd's room and agreed to wait until I should return.

I immediately took a carriage and drove to Mr. Scott's on Spruce Street, but found he was at Harrisburg, and I drove to Mr. Franciscus, Division Superintendent, Pennsylvania Rail Road, on Chesnut Street, but found that he was at the Continental Hotel to which place I returned and upon enquiry found that he had gone home shortly before my arrival. It being now about 12.00. p.m.

A. P.—REPORTS

[Philadelphia,] Friday 22d February 1861

At 12.10. A.M. I again left the Continental Hotel in search of Mr. Franciscus, having previously called on Mr. Judd and requested him to remain until I could return. Henry Sanford was with Mr. Judd. I drove to Mr. Franciscus' house but was informed that he was not at home, but sent word to his family that he had gone to his Office in West Philadelphia. I accordingly drove there and found him. I went with him to his Office and told what was required—viz. a special train to bring Mr. Lincoln from Harrisburg to Philadelphia this evening. Superintendent Franciscus said that if this was necessary of course it should be done, but that they all ready had three special trains on the Road for this evening, which would be fully loaded with Citizens and soldiers. [At] My request Mr. Franciscus accompanied me to the Continental Hotel, and to Mr. Judd's room, where we found Mr. Sanford. It was fully arranged that as early after dark as possible Mr. Lincoln was to leave Harrisburg and get out to the train which would be about half a mile from the Depot, and that Superintendent Franciscus would himself take charge of the train and have Mr. Lincoln in West Philadelphia to meet me at about 10.30. p.m. This being arranged, and it being now about [blank].00. a.m., I left with Mr. Franciscus and took him home in the carriage, and from thence drove to Mr. Burns' house on Prune Street, rung the bell and waked him up, and told him of what arrangements had been made, requesting him to be ready early in the morning to go to the Telegraph Office and get a practical Telegraph Climber and make arrangements for the Climber and him (Burns) to go to Harrisburg on the Presidential Train this morning at nine o'clock

and to isolate Harrisburg from Telegraphic communications with the world by six p.m. and to keep it so until 7.00. A.M. tomorrow.

After leaving Mr. Burns I drove to the St. Louis Hotel it being now [*blank*], and settled with the Hack-driver. At this time the people were rapidly assembling in front of Independence Hall to witness the raising of a United States flag by Mr. Lincoln, which was announced for sun-rise.

Having washed and put on some clean clothes at 6.00. a.m. I went to see Mr. Dunn, Agent for Harnden's Express Company to procure him to go to Baltimore to see A. F. C. and procure the Reports of Operations in Baltimore since I left. Mr. Dunn consented to go on the 8.00. a.m. train. I did not explain what the nature of the business was, but I gave him a key to the Office and a letter to "A. F. C." requesting "A. F. C." to give him the Reports of himself and C. D. C. W., which had been made since I left, and also to send by him any verbal Report he might deem necessary for me, and assuring him (A. F. C.) that the bearer (Dunn) was fully reliable. I also gave Mr. Dunn Fifteen Dollars to pay his expenses and directed him to return on the train leaving Baltimore for Philadelphia at 5.15. p.m. and that on arriving at the Depot at Philadelphia he would there find "M. B." and to procure for her such tickets as she might require and see to her getting seats in the sleeping car, as also to deliver to M. B. all reports, verbal and written, he might receive in Baltimore and to keep a look out in the Depot for my arrival which would be a few minutes after the time for the departure of the trains.

After fully instructing Mr. Dunn I returned to [the] St. Louis and had breakfast, after which I went to Mr. Burns' house on Prune Street and arranged with him, that he have

some person in the Telegraph Office in this City all evening to supervise any or all Telegraph messages which might be received or sent, to or from this Office bearing on this affair, and if any such were received that they should not be delivered, and if any such were brought in to be sent, that they should not be sent until the next morning. Mr. Burns agreed to see to this, and then I went to the Girard House and met Mr. Sanford (Henry). I rather urged upon Mr. Sanford who was about to return to New York to remain and stay in the Telegraph Office and supervise the messages, but he declined, saying that he must return to New York today, but stated that he would aid Mr. Burns to get things in a shape so that this would be taken care of.

It being now about 8.10. a.m. I went to the Continental Hotel to see Mr. Judd prior to the Presidential Cortège leaving for Harrisburg. Mr. Judd was not in his room. I saw W. H. Lamon, Esq. who said that he would find Mr. Judd and send him to his room, so I went there and waited. In a few moments Mr. Judd came in. He said that the arrangements I had made last night in regard to the conveyance of Mr. Lincoln to Washington was all satisfactory and that I might go on and make the balance of them, and rely upon meeting Mr. Lincoln at West Philadelphia this evening: that he (Mr. Judd) had thought the whole subject over and that he still [considered ?] the course I had suggested as the only feasible one under the circumstances: that it would doubtless create a great deal of excitement throughout the Country and with the Politicians, but that this could not be helped, and that he (Judd) would take the responsibility of it. I assured Mr. Judd that I fully believed the course I had indicated was the only one to save the country from Bloodshed at the present time.

After leaving Mr. Judd I went to the La Pierre House, where I met Mr. Felton, and made a full report of what had transpired last night and the arrangements made with reference to Mr. Lincoln going to Washington on tonight's train. Mr. Felton approved of what I had done and desired that I should see Mr. Franciscus and urge him to have the special train with Mr. Lincoln in on time, so as not to delay the departure of other trains on the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Rail Road, as if that Train was delayed too late, the train from Baltimore to Washington would start, and then Mr. Lincoln would be obliged either [to] lay over in Baltimore, or hire a special train to take him through.

I left Mr. Felton to endeavor to see Mr. Franciscus, but on going to the Office of the latter, I found he had gone to Harrisburg on [the] special train on which was Mr. Lincoln. I then returned to Mr. Felton's Office and had a very long interview with him in regard to this business. Mr. Felton said that he thought it would be advisable to have both the Messrs. Stearns come into Philadelphia so that we could take steps to have Wm Stearns go to Baltimore and see the Superintendent of the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road and say to him that in the event of this afternoon train on the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Rail Road, that the train on the Washington Branch Road should be delayed until the arrival of the train on the Philadelphia on account of important Government Dispatches being on said train. Mr. Felton said that he did not think it safe to entrust the Superintendent of the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road of the fact that Mr. Lincoln was going through to-night, and that as the Telegraph office [i.e. operator ?] of the Rail Road Company at Philadelphia, George Stearns, could be instruct-

ed to Telegraph from Wilmington to Wm Stearns at Baltimore the time the train passed Wilmington, so that if the train was much behind time, Mr. Wm Stearns could go and see the Superintendent of the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road and get an order to delay the train on the Washington Branch until the arrival of the Train on the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Rail Road, and that if the train was likely to be on time nothing need be said to the Superintendent of the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road.

Mr. Felton said that he should like to have me call again at his office at 1.00. p.m. and meet Mr. Kinsey,* Master of Transportation of the Philadelphia Wilmington and Baltimore Rail Road who would arrange to take this evening's train until the arrival of Mr. Lincoln and myself.

On leaving Mr. Felton I went to the St. Louis Hotel and received the following Notes and Telegram:

“Office of Adams Express Company

“320 Chestnut Street

“Philadelphia, [February 22,] 186[1]

“I opened this to Burns and it interests you more than him. I leave it with you.”

H[enry] S[anford]

“Westvilt† has gone to Harrisburg and the tel wire from N. Y. thro, will be watched lest a message be sent around via Buffalo.”

*The surname incorrectly written “Kinsey,” or “McKinsey,” throughout this report, probably is the copyist's error. It should be Kenney. Henry F. Kenney was Superintendent of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad.

†“Westvilt,” should be spelled Westervelt. W. P. Westervelt was Superintendent of the American Telegraph Company.

Boston XXII N. D. [February, 1861]

"G. H. Burns

"Phila

"Tell Plums* I had all Sumac messages explained, there are none that appear irregular—none from points along the route to any one party or to any parties in Baltimore except from Hood who has charge of trains. Is it possible that Plums has fallen on parties who are operating for the same object as himself and they are pumping each other.

E. S. Sanford."

* * * *

"Friday 10. A.M.—I go to N. Y. at 11. o'clk. It is all arranged to have Telegraph cut at Harrisburg in all directions at 6.00. p.m. This is the better plan for I could not prevent operators talking after dispatches were rec'd here of the kind we apprehend [they] would be. We found Mr. Westervilt in town—he coincides in this plan and will go to Harrisburg at 12. with a professional Climber to do the needful thing in the right place & at the right time. I think we may safely rely that Harrisburg will be isolated completely. For your sake I hope.

H. Sanford"

*For "Plums" read Pinkerton; for "Sumac," read telegraph.

At 12.18. p.m. I went to the Express Office and wrote the following Dispatch which Mr. McCullough sent to the Telegraph office.

I. C. Babcock,

Adams Express, New York

Telegraph Sanford that Plums is here and says no mistake—no doubt—no question—It is positive and beyond all cavil—as sure as cotton ever had Ten—and that he shall as certainly ruin if his orders is as warmly backed as Lemons did then.

Plums will Sumac Lemons from⁵²

(Signed) R. P. McCullough”

At 1.00. p.m. I went to Mr. Felton's Office and met him and Messrs Stevens* and McKinsey. We had a very long discussion on the programe for this evening. It was finally agreed that Wm Stearns should go to Baltimore on the accomodation train this evening and be prepared to act as Mr. Felton had suggested in our previous interview, as also that George Stearns should Telegraph Mr. Sanford from Wilmington as agreed upon. Mr. Felton put up a Package of old papers and addressed it to E. J. Allen Esq. Williams [i.e., Willard's] Hotel, Washington, D. C., sealed it and marked it valuable, and gave it to Mr. Kensey and wrote a note to the Conductor of the evening train South—requesting him not to start his train until he would receive this package from Mr. Kinsey, as this package *must* go through to Washington on *to-night's train*. Mr. Felton directed Mr. Kinsey to meet [us] at the West Philadelphia Station of the Philadelphia [i.e., Pennsylvania] Rail Road at 9.45. p.m. and to come with myself and Mr. Lincoln to near the Philadelphia,

*i.e., Stearns.

Wilmington and Baltimore Rail Road Depot, and after seeing that myself and Party were on board, to run into the Depot and hand the Conductor the package and Start the train.

Mr. Felton said that in order not [to] appear *Privy to any of these arrangements* he would go to the Theatre with his family this evening.

At 3.30. p.m. I left Mr. Felton and returned to the St. Louis Hotel and after getting dinner went to M. B's room and directed her to be ready to leave the St. Louis about 9.20. p.m.: to get a private carriage and drive to the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Rail Road Depot and meet Mr. Dunn who would arrive from Baltimore at 9.50. p.m., and have him procure Tickets for three from Philadelphia to Washington, and also to secure four double berths and also to receive from Dunn all written and verbal reports he might have for me from Baltimore, then to get in the sleeping car and *keep* possession of the Sleeping Car Berths until my arrival with Mr. Lincoln. I directed her to secure the Berths in the rear part of the Car, which would be the last in the train, and to request Mr. Dunn⁵⁸ to get the rear door in the car opened so I could enter by it.

I then went to the Telegraph and Express Offices to see if any dispatches had been received, but found none. I remained around the St. Louis in a State of suspense until about 8.30. p.m. when I telegraphed

"Geo. H. Burns
Harrisburg,
Where is Nuts [i.e., President]
J. H. Hutcheson."

At 9.15. p.m. I received the following Dispatch.

Harrisburg Feb'y 22 1861

"J. H. Hutcheson

St. Louis Hotel Philadelphia.

Nuts left at six—Everything as
you directed—all is right.

(Signed) Geo. H. Burns."

I then procured a carriage for M. B. and went with her to the corner of Tenth and Chesnut Streets, where I got out and she went on to the Depot.

I then hired a carriage near the Girard House and drove with it to West Philadelphia. I stood with the carriage a few rods west of the Stairs leading from the Street to Mr. Franciscus Office, and was soon joined by Mr. Kinsey. About three minutes past ten, Mr. Lincoln accompanied by W. H. Lamon, Superintendent Lewis, and assistant Superintendent Franciscus arrived. I met them on the steps. Mr. Lincoln wore a brown Kossuth Hat, and an overcoat thrown loosely over his shoulders. The evening was chilly but not cold. We immediately proceeded to the carriage and Messrs Lewis and Franciscus parted from Mr. Lincoln. Mr. Lincoln thanked them for their kindness &c., and I promised to Telegraph them in the Morning. As the train on the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Rail Road did not start until 11.50. p.m. I suggested to Mr. Kinsey to get on the box with the Driver and consume the time by driving Northward in search of some imaginary person, so that we should not arrive at the Depot until about 11.00. p.m.

Mr. Lincoln, W. H. Lamon and myself took seats in the carriage. Mr. Lincoln said that after I had left him last night

at the Continental, and he had gone to bed, that a son of Governor Seward's had called him up, and delivered him letters from his Father (Governor Seward)⁵⁴ and General Scott, Stating substantially the same as I had, but much stronger: that about Fifteen Thousand men were organized to prevent his passage through Baltimore, and that arrangements were made by these parties to blow up the Rail Road track, fire the Train &c., and urging upon him (Lincoln) to change his route. Mr. Lincoln said that he had received the letters, but merely told young Mr. Seward that he would give him an answer at Harrisburg: that he (Mr. Lincoln) had in the morning after leaving Philadelphia told Mr. Judd about this, and on Mr. Judd's advice he had finally told young Seward that "He would change his route": that after pledging himself to me to secrecy he did not think he had the right to speak to anyone on the subject, nor would not until Mr. Judd told him he (Judd) would take the responsibility of his (Lincoln's) telling Seward and make it right with me.

Mr. Lincoln also said that upon his telling Mrs. Lincoln of the step he was about to take that she insisted upon Mr. Lamon accompanying him, and that he (Lincoln) found it impossible to get away from the crowd without the aid of Governor Curtin and Col. Sumner, whom he was finally obliged to inform of this movement to secure their co-operation in order to cover his absence: that all approved of the step he had taken, but the Military men were anxious to accompany him, expressing doubt but that I might be leading him into a trap and selling him (Lincoln) to the Secessionists—to all of which Mr. Lincoln said that he knew me, and had confidence in me and would trust himself and his life in my hands.

Mr. Lincoln said that from the great interest I had manifested in this matter he had every confidence in me.

Mr. Lamon offered Mr. Lincoln a Revolver and Bowie Knife and I at once protested, saying that I would not for the world have it said that Mr. Lincoln had to enter the National Capitol Armed: that I anticipated no trouble: that if we went through at all we must do so by stratagem, but that if fighting had to be done, it must be done by others than Mr. Lincoln. Mr. Lincoln said that he wanted no arms: that he had no fears and that he felt satisfied that all my plans would work right.

Mr. Lincoln was cool, calm, and self possessed—firm and determined in his bearing. He evinced no sign of fear or distrust, and throughout the entire night was quite self possessed.

On arriving at the vicinity of the Depot we left the carriage, and I walked round the corner to the Depot. Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Lamon followed. I met Mr. Dunn in the Depot who showed me to the sleeping car. I entered by the rear, followed by Mr. Lincoln—no one appeared to notice us. I found M. B. and got into our Berths. Mr. Dunn soon left us and in about three minutes from the time we got aboard the train started.

I received from M. B. the reports written and verbal brought by Mr. Dunn. Mr. Lincoln soon laid down in his Berth, and when the Conductor came around for his Tickets, I handed him the Tickets for Mr. Lincoln. He did not look in the Berths at all—left and did not return again during the trip.

None of our party appeared to be sleepy, but we all lay quiet and nothing of importance transpired.

M. B.—REPORTS

[Philadelphia,] Friday 22d February 1861

At about 3.00. a.m. A. P. came to my room, sick, and tired out, and told me that he would not leave the city until evening. Mr. P— then went to his room and I went to bed tired out.

I got up at 6.00. a.m. and saw Lincoln raise a Flag on the State House. The streets were crowded with people. After breakfast Mr. P— told me that Lincoln would go to Harrisburg, and at 6.00. p.m. would leave for Philadelphia: that I should leave the St. Louis Hotel at 9.45. p.m. for the Baltimore Depot, where I would meet Dunn and get a verbal report from him, and also any package he might have for Mr. P—. A. P. gave me all necessary instructions and then left.

Just as I was about leaving the St. Louis Hotel, Mr. P— came with a carriage, and drove to the corner of Tenth and Chesnut Streets, where he got out and left me to go to the Depot.

On arriving at the Depot I met Mr. Dunn who gave me his verbal reports, and some written reports. He then bought three Tickets to Washington, and got me four double Berths in the sleeping car.⁵⁵ I found it almost impossible to save the Berths to-gether. This sleeping car was conducted differently from any I ever saw before—they gave no Tickets, and any person could take a Berth where they pleased. I gave the Conductor half a dollar to keep my berths, and by standing right by myself we manage[d] to keep them.

Just before the train started Mr. P— accompanied by Mr. Lincoln and Col. Lamon came into the Car. I showed Mr. P— the berths and everything went off well. Mr. P—

introduced me to Mr. Lincoln. He talked very friendly for some time—we all went to bed early. Mr. P— did not sleep, nor did Mr. Lincoln. The excitement seemed to keep us all awake. Nothing of importance happened through the night.

Mr. Lincoln is very homely, and so very tall that he could not lay straight in his berth.

A. P.—REPORTS

[Baltimore,] Saturday 23d February 1861

We arrived at Baltimore on time about 3.30. A.M., when M. B. left the train, took a Carriage and went to the Hotel. I got up out of my Berth on arriving at the [President Street] Depot of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Rail Road. Whilst at that Depot Mr. Wm. Stearns came in and I learned from him in a whisper that all was right. We now proceeded on to the [Camden Street] Depot of the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road, where at 4.15. A.M. we left for Washington. Mr. Lincoln did not get up—while at the latter Depot we had considerable amusement by the repeated calls of the Night Watchman of the Company to rouse the Ticket Agent who appeared to be asleep in a wooden building close by the sleeping car. He repeatedly attempted to awaken the sleepy Official, by pounding on the side of the building with a club, and hallowing "Captain its Four o'clock." This he kept up for about twenty minutes without any change in the time, and many funny remarks were made by the passengers at the Watchman's time being always the same. Mr. Lincoln appeared to enjoy it very much and made several witty remarks showing that he was as full of fun as ever.

We arrived at Washington about 6.00. A.M. and being all ready we left the Car amongst the first. In passing through the Depot I observed Mr. Wm. Stearns close by us—A gentleman looked very sharp at Mr. Lincoln who was on my right, and as we passed him he caught hold of Mr. Lincoln saying “Abe you can’t play that on me.” I hit the gentleman a punch with my elbow as he was close to me, staggering him back, but he recovered himself, and again took hold of Mr. Lincoln remarking that he knew him. I was beginning to think that we were discovered, and that we *might* have to fight, and drew back clenching my fist, and raising it to take the gentleman a blow, when Mr. Lincoln took hold of my arm saying “Don’t strike him Allan, don’t strike him—that is my friend Washburne—don’t you know him?”

I at once told Mr. Washburne as we walked along not to do or say aught which would attract the attention of the passengers—and we walked out of the Depot and took a Hack—Mr. Lincoln, Messrs Washburne, and Lamont, and myself got in and drove to Willards Hotel.

Mr. Washburne said that he was at the Depot, expecting Mr. Lincoln on account of a Telegraph Dispatch received from the Son of Governor Seward, and that Gov. Seward was to have been at the Depot also, but that he (Washburne) did not see him.⁵⁶ I apologized for “Punching” him at the Depot, on the ground that I did not know him, and he expressed himself satisfied, saying that he ought to have been more cautious. Before arriving at the Hotel, Mr. Lincoln, Washburne, and myself left the carriage and walked to-wards the ladies entrance, and Mr. Lamont drove to the Hotel to request Mr. Willard to meet us at the Lady’s entrance. He did so, and showed us up to a room, when he

would get the suite of rooms designed for Mr. Lincoln ready. In a few minutes Governor Seward arrived and was introduced to Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Lamon, and myself by Mr. Washburne.

Mr. Lincoln explained to the Governor the nature of the information I had given him (Mr. Lincoln) coming to Washington in this manner. Governor Seward said that he (Seward) and General Scott fully approved of the step and that it had their cordial endorsement—as he felt sure that as circumstances were at present it was the wisest and best course for him (Lincoln) to take: that he (Seward) had in his possession conclusive evidence showing that there was a large organization in Baltimore to prevent the passage of Mr. Lincoln through that City, and he felt confident that Mr. Lincoln could not have come through in any other manner without blood-shed: that this knowledge was what induced him after consultation with General Scott to send his (Seward's) son to Philadelphia to meet Mr. Lincoln with these letters and to urge a change of route: that this change would doubtless create quite a "Furore", but that he (Seward) would defend it, and endorse it, and that had Mr. Lincoln not taken this step—Genl. Scott was so plainly convinced of the danger to Mr. Lincoln that in all probability he would have sent United States Troops to Baltimore today to receive and escort the President Elect.

I informed Governor Seward of the nature of the information I had, and that I had no information of any large organization in Baltimore, but the Governor reiterated that he had conclusive evidence of this.

Mr. Lincoln expressed himself rather tired, so we left him and at Govr. Seward's request went with him to his house where we again talked over this danger of Mr. Lincoln's

coming through Baltimore according to the published programme. I soon left the Governor's, and with W. H. Lamon, I returned to Willards Hotel, where I registered the name E. J. Allen, New York, had a bath and breakfast, and then went and sent the following Dispatches.

"N. B. Judd
 "Harrisburg, Pa.
 "Arrived here all right.
 (Signed) E. J. Allen."

"C. G. Franciscus or E. Lewis
 "Superintendants, Penn R. R.
 "Philadelphia
 "All right.
 E. J. Allen."

"E. S. Sanford
 "Genl Superintendant, American Telegraph Co.
 "New York
 "Plums arrived here with Nuts this morning—
 all right.
 E. J. Allen."

"G. H. Bangs
 "80 Washington Street, Chicago
 "Plums has Nuts—arri'd at Barley—all
 right.*
 E. J. Allen."

*Decoded: "Pinkerton has President—arri'd at Washington all right."

"S. M. Felton

"President, P. W. & B. R.R.

"Philadelphia.

"Arrived here all Safe.

E. J. Allen."

After sending the Dispatches I met Mr. Lamon. He was very much excited about the passage of Mr. Lincoln, and was anxious to Telegraph C. S. Wilson of the Chicago Journal in relation to it, and that he (Lamon) had arrived with Lincoln.

I endeavored to impress upon him that the arrival of Mr. Lincoln was yet considered secret, and that nothing should be done by anyone to make it public until it had been desired by Mr. Lincoln and his advisers what shape his sudden arrival should assume, urging upon Mr. Lamon that the shape first given to Mr. Lincoln's secret passage through Baltimore would in all probability be the shape it would retain: that this question, in the present excited state of the public mind, was fraught with grave consequences, and that great care should be taken by all to consider well what was the best light to place it in. I also reminded Mr. Lamon that whatever light this movement might be placed in, he must remember that I held Mr. Lincoln's pledge that I should for ever remain unknown as having anything whatever to do with it. All I could say to Mr. Lamon however appeared to be futile—regardless of all consequences he was determined to make a "Splurge" and have his name figure largely in it. The movement had been endorsed by Gov. Seward, and "*it must be right*", and Lamon would act upon no reasoning of mine. He talked so foolishly that I lost patience with

him and set him down in my own mind as a brainless egotistical fool—and I still think so.

I left Lamon and walked up the Avenue and returned in about an hour, when I observed Lamon in conversation with the Reporter of the New York Herald, Mr. Hanscomb. They were in the Hall near the desk and I could plainly see that Lamon had been drinking. As I passed them without recognizing Lamon I observed Hanscomb look very hard at me and he kept his eye on me while I was around—pretty soon Hanscomb [and] Lamon went to the bar and dranked—talked for a short time and dranked again—soon after repeating the dose. Then Hanscomb went to the table accompanied by Lamon and commenced writing, occasionally stopping to talk to Lamon.* I saw that Hanscomb was “pumping” Lamon, and I motioned Lamon to me, and at once very angrily accused Lamon of telling Hanscomb about me, and who I was. Lamon said that Hanscomb knew me, and all about me, and I replied “I suppose you have told him.” He (Lamon) said yes, when Hanscomb assured him that he did not [*sic*] know me. I got quite angry and *swore some* and told Lamon that Hanscomb did not know me, but had taken that method to draw it out of him, and

*On the margin of the manuscript at this point, in Lamon’s handwriting, is the following significant note: “*This is an infamous lie from beginning to end. This Detective, Allen Pinkerton was angry with me because I would not take sides with him, and make a publication in his favor when he and Kenedy, the New York detective had the difficulty as to which of them the credit of saving Lincoln’s life was due from the public. Ward H. Lamon.*”

Lamon of course is in error here, since Pinkerton’s report was written seven years before the Pinkerton-Kennedy disagreement (*infra*, pp. 114-16) took place. Lamon’s true reason for refusing to “make publication” in Pinkerton’s favor in 1868 was obviously in retaliation for having been made to “hold his tongue” on the 23d of February, 1861. Then, in 1869, when this report of Pinkerton’s came by mistake into his hands, he was angrier than ever, and more than willing to acquiesce in Black’s handling of the chapter on the Baltimore plot in Lamon’s *Life of Lincoln*.

that I had already told him (Lamon) that I held Mr. Lincoln's pledge of secrecy as regards me, [and] I should at once see Mr. Lincoln and insist upon his (Lincoln) making Lamon hold his tongue. Mr. Lamon was very much excited at this, and begged that I should not do this, and that he would at once see Hanscomb and have him keep my name out of the paper. Lamon left me and returned and took a seat by Hanscomb.

I remained around the Hotel until about 2.00. p.m. when I sent a card signed E. J. Allen to Mr. Lincoln, saying that I was about to leave for Baltimore and requesting to see him for a moment. I received an immediate reply asking me to come to his room. There was a delegation of Members of Congress there, Governor Seward and several other gentlemen. Mr. Lincoln took me into an adjoining room and thanked me very kindly for the service I had rendered him, saying that [he] fully appreciated them &c., &c., and requesting me to call upon him every time I came to Washington, and let him know when he could be of any service to me. He asked me how long I thought I should be in Baltimore and I replied that I presumed I would be there until the Inauguration, and he requested that if I had anything further to communicate I could do so either directly to himself or to Mr. Judd. He again assured me that my connection with the affair should be kept secret by him. I shook hands, and retired to the Office where I paid my bill, and then left for the Depot, taking the 3.10. p.m. train for Baltimore.

At the Annapolis Junction we met the train with Mr. Lincoln's Suite on board. I had an opportunity of seeing Mr. Judd for a moment, and he said that there was some very

tall swearing being done by the members of the party, but that this would soon be all done; that none of them could understand it, nor why they each were not taken into the secret. I informed Mr. Judd of the Foolish conduct of Mr. Lamon and he promised to attend to the fool on his arrival in Washington.

I arrived in Baltimore about 5.00. p.m. and in the Depot met Mr. Lockett. He was very glad to see me, and took me [to] one side and told me about the d—ble manner in which Lincoln passed through Baltimore. He said that he was collecting money for the *friends* in Baltimore, and they would yet make the attempt to assassinate Lincoln: that if it had not been for d—d spies somewhere, Lincoln never could have passed through Baltimore: that the men were all ready to have done the job, and were in their places, and would have murdered the d—d Abolitionist had it not been that they were cheated. He said that Captain Ferrandina had had about Twenty picked men with good revolvers and Knives: that their calculation was to get up a row in the crowd with rotten eggs, and brick-bats, and that while the Police (some of whom understood the game) would be attending to this, that Captain Ferrandina and his men should attack the carriage with Lincoln and shoot every one in it, and trust to mixing up in the crowd to make their escape—but that if any of the members were taken, the others were to rescue him at all cost, and at all hazard.

Mr. Lockett was very much excited and swore very hard against the d—d spies who had betrayed them, remarking that they would yet find them out, and when found they should meet the fate which Lincoln had for the present escaped.

I said to Mr. Lockett that it was indeed highly important that the spies should be found out, and trusted that no effort should be spared for this purpose, and as I understood that Mr. Lockett was collecting money for the friends of Southern rights, I begged he would allow me to contribute a little more to this, and I took out my purse and handed Mr. Lockett Ten dollars, but he refused saying that I had already been liberal enough, and I finally allowed him to return me Five dollars.

On leaving Mr. Lockett I went to the Hotel and left my satchel and went to the Office where I found the men and received their reports, after which I went to the Post Office and got my mail. The whole people were in an excited state. The Hall of the Post Office was crowded full with gentlemen and all sorts of rumors were afloat. I mixed in with them and of all the excitement I ever did see it was there—everybody appeared to be swearing mad, and no end to the imprecations which were poured out on Lincoln and the unknown Spies. I staid there about an hour, when I returned to the Hotel and found the following Dispatch.*

A. F. C.—REPORTS

[Baltimore,] Saturday 23d February 1861

Hillard and I got up at 7.00. a.m., and he started for his boarding house, agreeing to return to my room at 11.00. a.m. I then went to Mann's Restaurant and got breakfast, and from there went to the Office and wrote my reports. At 11.00. a.m. I returned to my room where I found Hillard. He was very much excited on account of a rumor that Lincoln had passed through Baltimore incog. early in the morn-

*This dispatch is missing.

ing. Hillard said that he did not believe the report: that he had orders to be at the Depot⁵⁷ at 12.30. p.m., and he had to go and wanted me to accompany him: that the council had ordered out the National Volunteers with instructions to be there (at the Depot).

We went to Mann's and had dinner, and from there to the Depot. On our way there he showed me large numbers of the Volunteers, some of whom he stopped and spoke with. Today he (Hillard) wore his Palmetto Tree⁵⁸ on the outside of his vest and in full view. I would here mention that along the streets and around the Depot were congregated some ten or fifteen thousand people.

On arriving at the Depot, Hillard said to me that if Lincoln had passed through Baltimore as was rumored, there would be an attack upon the Capital (Washington): that the Ball had commenced now for certain: that he did not know how in the H—I it leaked out that Lincoln was to be mobbed in Baltimore, but that it must have leaked out or he would not have gone through as he (Lincoln) did. I told him he (Hillard) belonged to a d—d nice set: that seven thousand men could not keep track of one man. He replied that they had men on the look out all the time and he did not see how Lincoln got away—but it must be that they could not have been with him all the time: that there would be an attack made on Washington sure. At a little after 1.00. p.m. I left Hillard at the Depot and came up Baltimore Street. He was still under the impression that the rumor was a sell, and that Lincoln had not gone through.⁵⁹ Before leaving the Depot I made an engagement with Hillard to meet him at my room at 4.00. p.m.

The Street on each side of the hill from the top down was crowded with men, standing close side by side, prob-

ably two thousand or more, and were supposed to be members of the National Volunteers—there were also large numbers around Monument Square. Hillard afterwards told me that all those men standing there were National Volunteers, and that they stood in that position on the side of the hill so as that when the carriage containing Lincoln should come up the hill they could rush en-mass upon it, and around it, when Lincoln was to be slain—they reasoning that with such a dense crowd around the carriage, it would be impossible for any outsider to tell who did the deed. In connection with this Hillard said that from his position he would have the first shot, as the Members of the Volunteers forbid a line across the street: that the men at Monument Square were put there for the like purpose, if by any mishap Lincoln should reach that point alive: that at the meeting of the Committee the night previous that was the course determined upon. Hillard added in a significant manner “You did not see any Police on the Street—they would not have interfered.” He also stated that there had been five thousand dollars raised that day among the business Classes with which to buy arms.

I went to my room at about 4.00. p.m. and Hillard not being there I returned again to Mann’s Restaurant. At about 5. o’clock I again started for my room and on Fayette Street near Hemling’s Billiard Room I met Hillard in conversation with a man who he introduced me to as a Mr. Bradford, and who he subsequently told me was an officer in the National Volunteers. Hillard and Bradford were both under the influence of liquor—the latter more so than Hillard. I asked Hillard if he was coming to my room with me. He replied “Hold on a minute,” but I remarked that it was raining and I could not wait and I went to my room

alone. Shortly after Hillard came there he began to pace up and down the room and was unusually noisy. I told him to sit down, or lay down, and keep quiet. I said to him "that man Bradford you introduced me to was pretty tight." He then said as I have above stated that Bradford was an officer of the National Volunteers, and continually cautioned me to be careful and not breathe a word of what he told me, because he had no right to tell me and it would be bad with him if it was known that he had said anything to me.

Bradford is a man about 45 or 50 years of age: about 6 feet high, and has the appearance of a gentleman.

Hillard said that it was so arranged, or was so understood by him, that the Police were not to interfere only sufficient to make it appear that they were endeavoring to do their duty. He added "All that heavy Police Force that went down there (to the Depot), they all went into the Station House, and even if they had interfered what could they have done? We had four thousand of the Volunteers at and about the Depot besides what were at Monument Square, and if you did not see Marshall Kane around, He knows his business." This was said in significant manner, peculiar to Hillard. He then remarked "I should not be surprised if the National Volunteers marched to Washington, between this and the second day of March."

The National Volunteers, so Hillard said, have a meeting this evening, and showed me the place where the secret Committee met—which is on Fayette Street near Barnum's Hotel, Democratic Headquarters, and as Hillard and I passed the building I stopped and listened a moment, but could distinguish nothing that was said. There seemed to be a great deal of bustle and noise in the room, which is in the third story, some one was speaking at the time and at inter-

vals there was clapping of hands and stamping of feet.

Hillard said, "it is a good thing that Lincoln passed through here (Baltimore) as he did, because it will change the feeling of the Union men—they will think him a coward and it will help our cause—the fact of Lincoln passing through Baltimore in the Manner he did shows that he is Sectional". He said that he would tell me in the morning what course the National Volunteers had determined on this evening.

Hillard left my room soon after 6.00. p.m. and said he was going to his boarding house. I then went to the Howard House to see Mr. P— and made a verbal report to him.

From the Howard House I went to Mann's Restaurant and had supper, then returned to my room a little before 8.00. p.m., and Hillard came at 8.00. p.m. He was not sufficiently under the influence of liquor to show it. I commenced questioning him to which he gave evasive answers. I then proposed we should do something to pass away the Evening, and we took a stroll up the Street, when he suggested that we should go to Annette Travis no 70. Davis Street and see his woman, and we went. While there Hillard got to talking with his woman (Anna Hughes) in relation to some fights there had been near the house, at the Depot, originating out of expressions like as, "they wished Lincoln would come through there—they would like to see him &c.," and for which some one would knock them down. At Annette Travis we had some wine, and in the meantime a man by the name of Smith came into the house, who Hillard introduced me to as a friend of his. He and Hillard got conversing about Lincoln, when Smith said winking, "I don't think he would have been hurt if he had come through Baltimore." Smith and Hillard appeared to be warm friends,

and Smith also has a woman at Annett Travis (Smith was a Grocer in Baltimore).

I drank but very little during the evening, though Hillard was quite merry. Smith left Annette Travis at about 11.30. p.m., and at the proper time I took Hillard to my room. After we had got at the room Hillard remarked that there would be by Monday (25th Inst.) fifty men in Washington City to watch for a chance to kill Lincoln: that the National Volunteers are to have another meeting on Monday evening: that he had been told that there was a man in Baltimore who would give Five thousand dollars to the man who would kill Lincoln. I asked him who the man was and he replied that he did not tell me.

Hillard also told that one Charles Meyers, a liquor dealer in Baltimore, had today given Five thousand dollars to the National Volunteers. I asked him if Smith belonged to the National Volunteers. He said he did not. Hillard had repeatedly said, pointing to a group of men, while we were around the Streets, "they are National Volunteers—" but he would not give me any names—and if I asked him if such and such a one, or Mr. so and so belonged to the National Volunteers, he invariably replied that he could not tell me.

Hillard and I continued our conversation in my room until about 1.00. a.m. which was chiefly a repetition of what he had already said in the course of the day, and from what I could gather from him Washington City appeared now to be the principal point for action by those in the plot to take Lincoln's life. Hillard felt merry from the effect of the wine he had drank during the evening, still he was not drunk—and he remarked to me "I feel good, but I am not drunk—I could go into a drawing room and entertain it full of ladies." He also remarked to me "You thought this after-

noon that I was tight, but I was not—I did not feel the liquor—it was the excitement. We went to bed at a little after 1.00. A.M.

A. F. C.—REPORTS

[Baltimore,] Sunday 24th February 1861

Hillard and I got up at about 8.00. a.m. and he went to his boarding house, I to Mann's Restaurant, and got my breakfast. I then went to the Office and wrote my Report for Saturday, and remained there until noon, when I returned to my room where I found Hillard with a gentleman named Foster from Tennessee. Foster was a strong Secessionist—nothing of interest transpired and Foster left at about 1.00. p.m.

Soon after, Hillard and I went to dinner at Mann's, and from there went to the Cathedral to vespers. At 5.00. p.m. we returned to my room and remained until 7.00. p.m., when we went for a walk, and to get supper, which we had at Mann's Restaurant.

During the day there was nothing of any importance said in relation to the present political crisis.

After returning to my room for the evening, I asked Hillard if the National Volunteer Committee had come to any understanding as to what course they were going to pursue. He said they had, and from what had been intimated to him they would make a descent on Washington City: that they had received three thousand Dollars more—making Eight thousand in all—with which to purchase Arms, and that they (the Volunteers) would make a pretty hard fight: that there were two thousand Federal Troops in Washington, but said he “we can easily clean them out.” I asked him if the National Volunteer Committee would have an-

other secret meeting on Monday night, to which he replied "no": that on Monday night they were going to drill, and on Wednesday night they would have another meeting: that he was satisfied before another three days had passed, they would swell up to Ten thousand men: that "some d—d Son-of-a-B— had published in a Harrisburg (Pa) paper all the plot and detail." Hillard gave me the names of two of the Captains of the National Volunteers—one a Captain Samuel McAleby, who was in the Custom House—the other one Captain Thomas ——. The latter has a Restaurant on Lexington Street. Hillard said the National Volunteer Committee was composed of Fifty four members. He seems to have great faith in their success—appeared in good spirits.

Foster, the man from Tennessee, who is a travelling Agent for some Baltimore Firm, belongs to a Military Company in this City called the Baltimore Guards, who he says are all Secessionists.

Hillard and I went to bed at about Midnight.

A. P.—REPORTS

[Baltimore,] Monday 25th February 1861

I arrived at the Office at 8.40. a.m. and found C. D. C. W. and A. F. C. and received verbal reports from them. From Williams report and description of Thompson and Davis who had been stopping at Sherwood's Hotel, I inferred that they were Detectives from the Metropolitan Force, New York, and that Thompson was "Sampson", and Davis probably Captain Walling, but I was very positive that Thompson was Tom Sampson. Williams said that Sherrington and others suspected those men of being Government Spies,

and that they would be annihilated in Washington if opportunity offered.

* * * *

At 4.00. p.m. Geo. H. Burns arrived from Philadelphia bringing the New York Herald of today, which gives my real name in connection with the "movement" of Mr. Lincoln. I concluded to send Mr. Burns to Washington with a verbal report to Mr. Judd, and as it was but barely time to get to the Depot, I went with him and got a carriage and drove to the Depot, giving him the particulars to report to Judd.

We arrived at the Depot just in time for the Train starting at 4.20. p.m. I directed Mr. Burns to say to Mr. Judd that Lamon and Judge Davis of Illinois were surely playing the Devil, and unless they shut their heads about me, I would be obliged to leave: that if I was kept secret I would remain—if I was made public I would certainly leave.⁶⁰

A. P.—REPORTS

[Baltimore,] Tuesday 26th February 1861

At 10.30. a.m. T. W. returned from Washington, D. C., and made a Verbal report in relation to Detective Tom Sampson, and Ely De Voe, who were the parties known as Thompson and Davis, late of Sherwood Hotel. They were both very much frightened at the receipt of the news by T. W. and left their Hotel without paying the bill or getting their baggage—in short they made a precipitate retreat, thanking T. W. for his information.

T. W. had also called on N. B. Judd in his room at Willards Hotel. Judd was very much pleased to see T. W.

and laughed very heartily at the New York Detectives being discovered.⁶¹

T. W.—REPORTS

[Perrymansville,] Tuesday 26th February 1861

I had breakfast, after which I went to the Depot and took the 7.40. a.m. Train for Baltimore.

On arriving at Baltimore I went to the Office, saw A. P. and reported to him. We then walked up town, A. P. all the time giving me my instructions. He requested me to leave Perrymansville on Wednesday, or Thursday, and laid the plan by which I was to draw off. A. P. also told me that I was to go with one of his men (Williams) in the afternoon and get acquainted with some of the leading men of the Military Companies that were recruiting for South Carolina service. Williams was to meet me at the White Beer Brewery, and introduce me to Sherrington, after which we would go to the Drill room and get an introduction to Col. Haskill. Williams then went to look for Sherrington, while Mr. P. went and "spotted" the White Beer Brewery to me.

I then left A. P. and went to Springer's Store. I found Mr. Forward in, but Springer had gone out to collect some bills. Forward and I had a glass of beer—whilst we were drinking he told me that the boys felt mighty sore about Lincoln's giving them the slip: that if Lincoln had gone through when he was expected, he would have been shot, and then Baltimore would have been the battle-field, but now he thought Charleston would be. I said that was just what I thought. I then bade him good bye and went to the White Beer Saloon, where I took a seat and called for a glass of beer.

In about half an hour Williams and Sherrington came in, Williams called for two glasses of beer, and whilst drinking started up quite suddenly, came towards me and said "my God, Webster, when did you come up here &c." He then introduced me to Sherrington, and told him that I was of the right stripe—we then had another glass of beer each, and began talking politics. I said I thought Baltimore was going to be the battle-field, but old Abe had got safe to Washington. Sherrington replied "By G—d, he would not if the boys had got their eyes on him, that they would have shot him, for they had everything ready to do it with, and that if we would go up the street he would show us the kind of tools the boys carried here.

We then went to a Store on Baltimore Street, where he got the Clerk to show us some pistols. Sherrington said they were the kind that he was telling me about, and was the best Pistol that was made. I went into the back-room and tried one, and found it very good. Sherrington said that those were the kind the boys carried, and that he was going to get one.

We then went to a Saloon and got a drink, and from the Saloon went to Sherwoods where we got some Oysters, and another drink. There were several persons in the place talking about shooting "Old Abe." Some said that they did not believe Lincoln would have been hurt, and others again said that they knew a d—d sight better, for they were acquainted with men who belonged to the Organization who were ready for anything, and would just as leave shoot Lincoln as they would a rat. We then went to the Drill room, but found very few men there. We waited there some time, when a few more came, with whom Sherrington and Williams got into conversation. They learned from this

last party that Col. Haskell would not be in Baltimore until Friday: that they expected him here to-day so as to make arrangements to go with him to Charleston. I said that that would just suit me. Sherrington replied that if I came there on Friday I could see him, and I promised that I would try to be there, so as to make arrangements to go with him to Charleston. We then took another drink and seperated.

I then went to the Office, and reported to Mr. P., after which I left for the Howard House, where I met H. H. L., and went with her to Mr. Springers Store. He told us that he would be in Perrymansville in the morning.

We then went to the Depot and took the 5.10 p.m. train for Perrymans, arriving there at 6.30. p.m., had supper, after which I called to see Captain Keen. I found Mr. Ellis and five or six others at the Store, talking about Lincoln's passage through Baltimore. Mr. Ellis said that they talked pretty hard about it in Baltimore, and believed just as we did here, that the Rail Road Company knew all about it several days before he passed through. James Micheal (Captain Keen's brother-in-law) said that when you come to look at it, it was plain enough to see that the Company must have known all about it, and that was why they had so many men at the Bridges, and changing the Telegraph operatives. Mr. Ellis, a member of the Rangers, proposed to pull up the Rail Road track and stop the travel South: that it was the only thing left to bring them Northerners to their senses. James Micheal thought to make the work complete they should besides tearing up the Rail Road track, sink, or burn, the boat at Havre-de-Grace, so they could not cross the River. Captain Keen wanted to bet that before three weeks had passed, that Maryland would be out of the Union, and then he would like to see them run the

trains over this Road, or any other in the State. They talked on in this strain for some time, after which we all went over to Taylors Saloon. At 10.00. p.m. I went to my room, wrote my report and then went to bed.

A. F. C.—REPORTS

[Washington,] Thursday* 26th February 1861

I and Hillard, who occupied a room with me (at the National Hotel, Washington, D. C.) got up at 8.00. a.m. and had breakfast, after which Hillard went in search of a room, and I remained at the Hotel. Hillard returned at 11.00. a.m. and said that he had succeeded in finding a room, and I then went with him to said room, which was at the "European Hotel," situated on Eleventh Street. From there we went to the Capitol and remained until 2.00. p.m. On our way thense to our room, Hillard spoke to a man on the Street, and after passing the salutations of the day said to him "I have come to see *Old Abe*". The man said "Well, Old Abe had a quick trip through Baltimore." Hillard remarked "Yes, and it was well for him that he went through as quick as he did." This acquaintance of Hillard's then accompanied us down the Street, and on the way (the friend), remarked, pointing to a man, "There stands Jim Burns, Commander of the National Volunteers," upon which he left us, and I and Hillard continued our walk. Hillard afterwards told me that this James Burns was one of the principal men in the National Volunteers.

In the course of our walk, Hillard purchased a Baltimore paper, and seeing a notice in it for the Members of Company No. 9. of the National Volunteers to meet at

*Copyist's error, the day was Tuesday.

their room (in Baltimore) for the purpose of electing Officers, gave me to understand that this notice was only a "blind": that it was intended for all the Members of the Volunteers, and that there was no necessity for an Election of Officers—that the notice in the paper was to call all the Members to their respective quarters without giving the public a chance to speculate on the meaning and object of the meeting.

Before we had arrived at our Hotel, we had stopped into a Restaurant where we met a man by the name of Bement, who I had seen at Niles, Michigan, where he delivered a Lecture. He said to me "How are you—when did you leave South Bend?" I replied "I left some time since." Hillard in the meantime went into a little side room to see how the eating department looked. I called Bement outside of the Saloon and told him that I did not wish to be known there, as I was employed by the State Bank of Indiana to hunt up some Forgeries committed on the Branch at South Bend. This seemed to satisfy him. Hillard came out, and we left. He did not say anything in regard to what passed [between] Bement and me, but my impression was that he heard the word "South" but not "Bend".

On the Street we met a man from Kalamazoo, Michigan, by the name of S. Chadwick, who knew me, and on his coming up said, "How are you." I appeared not to know him, *but it was no go*. He said "Don't you know me—Kalamazoo against all the world! You and I used to play Billiards together there." I then said to him "How are you—I recollect you now." I took his arm, and leaving Hillard standing, stepped a few paces aside when I said to him, "I am very busy now, I will call over at your Hotel and see you". I then returned to Hillard. Chadwick having gone,

Hillard wanted to know where I had known that man. I replied "in New Orleans": that he was a gambler: that one evening in New Orleans with a party of my friends, I went into a Gambling House, and this Chadwick was there: that a stranger come in a little tight who said "Kalamazoo against the world!" and remarked that he could beat any man playing in the room: that Chadwick sat down and beat him out of his money—over Two thousand dollars, and ever since that time, whenever Chadwick met me, he would shout out "Kalamazoo against the World"! What Kalamazoo meant I did not know.

By this time we had arrived at our room. I asked Hillard if he had seen any of the National Volunteers. He replied that he had seen several on the Street. I asked him "How many have you seen—one or two?" He replied "I have, and more."

Hillard and I after supper went to the Odd Fellow's Hall to hear the New Orleans Minstrels and as we were going he saw a man at the door, who he knew and spoke to, but without looking at him, and almost in a whisper. We returned to our room from there at about 11.00. p.m., and went to bed.

Hillard today appeared cheerful in Spirits, but drank pretty heavy.

A. P.—REPORTS

[Baltimore,] Thursday 28th February 1861

I arrived at the Office at 8.30. a.m. and soon after went to the Post Office and received a letter from Superintendent Kennedy of which the following is a copy.

"N. Y. Feb. 26th 1861

"A. Pinkerton Esq.

"Dear Sir

"I regret I did not know you were in Balto.—Had I been apprised of it I could have seen you on my return. I left Washington yesterday afternoon at 3. o'clock and came through by the Owl, and find yours on my desk this morning."

"I shall at once have search made for the man and things you named, and inform you of the result."

"The field of operation is now transferred to the Capital. Whatever is done remote from there will be limited to raising funds and the collection of material, so that I have withdrawn my Corps Observation from your present vicinity—But for that reason I shall be happy to receive any suggestion from you that may require attention from my hands."

"Very Respectfully

Yours &c—

John A. Kennedy"⁶²

A. F. C.—REPORTS

[Baltimore,] Friday 1st March 1861

Hillard and I got up at 7.30. a.m., he going to get breakfast as he said, and I went to Mann's Restaurant and got mine—after which I went to the Office and wrote my report, and then returned to my room at 10.30. a.m.

At 11.30. a.m. Hillard came to my room. Nothing of note transpired, and at 12.30 p.m. we left the room, he starting for his boarding House, and I for Mann's Restaurant for dinner. At 1.30. p.m. Hillard came to the room, I having returned from dinner.

In conversation Hillard said "Some Detectives have got in with the National Volunteers," and he continued "Did you read where they (the Detectives) said that every man of the National Volunteers had to take an oath to kill Lincoln if they could?" I replied that I did not read it, but could not believe it was so. He said that they (the Volunteers) *had taken such an Oath*, and added "I need not do it because I have withdrawn, but I can exercise my own pleasure about it"—and that "the members are bound to kill Lincoln yet, if the opportunity presented itself," "I have not the right" said he, "to tell you this, but as the thing has leaked out, it is no harm to mention it to you—the Committee are to hold a meeting to-night."

We left my room together at 4.30. p.m. and went up Holliday Street to the corner of Baltimore Street, where I excused myself saying to Hillard that I had some little matter to attend to, and then left him and went to the Office to fill an appointment with Mr. P—.

On arriving at the Office I received orders from Mr. P— to go to Washington on Monday the 4th instant. I then returned to my room at 6.00. p.m. and found Hillard there. He was very anxious for me to go in the evening with him and visit his sister, a married lady about 40 years old, whose name I do not recollect, but I excused myself on the plea of indisposition, for the reason that I did not consider that my business called me there.

Hillard remarked that the *New York Herald* said that may be Lincoln would not be inaugurated *yet*. We remained at my room during the evening, and went to bed at about midnight. Hillard said that he was determined to go to Washington with me on Monday: that he was bound to see Lincoln Inaugerated—He drinks as much as usual.

III

JUDD'S ACCOUNT OF THE PLOT, 1866

In the fall of 1866 Herndon made an attempt to supplement his records of the Baltimore conspiracy by asking Pinkerton for information and interviewing Norman B. Judd. The following documents serve to round out the picture.⁶³

Pinkerton to Herndon, Philadelphia, Sept. 10, 1866:

I am in receipt of your favor of the 31st. Ult., but absence from this City has prevented me from replying sooner.

I shall probably be in Chicago in from four to six weeks when I shall be very glad to meet you and talk over matters more fully, and shall endeavor to have a Sketch of the life of Timothy Webster written up for you. At the present time, however, I am too busy, and besides that, all the papers are at Chicago, and it will consequently have to be deferred until I reach there.

I find it impossible to get copies of the Phila. Press containing an account of Mr. Lincoln's arrival in this city in Feb. 1861, but herewith send you extracts from the Phila. Inquirer covering all that ground, and what I hope you require.

I shall be pleased to hear from you at any time and render you all the aid in my power.

Pinkerton to Herndon, Chicago, Nov. 7, 1866:

After a very protracted absence in the East I returned here last Sunday for the purpose of voting, and will leave for the East again on Friday the 9th. Inst.

Had I been able to have met you during my brief stay here, I would have been glad to have done so, but I had so many business engagements pressing upon me that I found it out of my power. I expect to be absent about three weeks and after that time shall be very happy to meet you here.

I have just met my friend Hon. N. B. Judd, and had some conversation with him in regard to the passage of Mr. Lincoln through Baltimore in 1861. I find he is in possession of much valuable information connected with Mr. Lincoln's impressions after I had informed him of the attempt which was to be made in Baltimore to assassinate him, and especially in regard to the meeting which was held in Harrisburg for the purpose of consultation with Mr. Lincoln upon the question whether he should carry out the programme which he had arranged with me at the Continental Hotel in Phila. on the previous evening.

At this meeting were Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Judd, Hon David Davis, & Generals Hunter and Sumner, and Ward H. Lamon. I am satisfied that if you could see or correspond with Mr. Judd upon this your History of the matter would be more complete than it otherwise would be. Mr. Judd would also like to see your work in reference to this point previous to its being put in print.

I merely make these suggestions for the purpose of informing you of the facts.

Judd to Herndon, Chicago, Nov. 18, 1866:

I know of nothing at the present moment that will call me out of town on Thursday.

HERNDON'S NOTES OF AN INTERVIEW
WITH NORMAN B. JUDD⁶⁴

I got on the cars with Lincoln at Springfield and went the trip through—never heard, don't think that there is any truth in the Indiana or Ohio story⁶⁵ about throwing train off the track or in killing Lincoln. Got Pinkerton's letter at Cincinnati—sent special messenger with letter there to me. One of Mr. Pinkerton's female detectives met me at N. Y.—Spy—laid all the facts before me. I then arranged that on my arrival at Philadelphia [to] get a room, and arranged to meet Pinkerton.

Went to the Continental—quit it—went down to [*blank*] hotel [i.e., the St. Louis Hotel]. Met Pinkerton and Felton, Pres'd't of Baltimore and Wilmington R. R. There the evidence [that] was laid before me—Pinkerton laid all the evidence before me—was discussed. Pinkerton was exceedingly anxious that Lincoln should go on to Washington that night (11 o'clock train)—Felton and I agreed to it. The conclusion was that Pinkerton should go to the Continental, see Lincoln and lay the whole facts before him—which was done—went to my room—Lincoln was surrounded by the usual crowd. Lincoln was taken to a room. Probably Nicolay was there.

Lincoln liked Pinkerton—had the utmost confidence in him as a gentleman, and a man of sagacity. All the facts in detail were then given to Mr. Lincoln. Go you must. The world will laugh at you I know. Prepare to meet the charge of cowardice and [be] laughed at even by friends. I am convinced that there is danger. Pres'd't Felton says there is danger. Pinkerton too says there is danger. There is danger, but you must prepare to be laughed at by friend and foe. Lincoln said, "I can't go tonight." I impress this idea on Mr.

Lincoln, and you [Herndon] must enlarge on it [in your book]. The evidence was such as to convince all honest minds—yet the evidence could not be laid before the public because it would endanger the very agents of the Government, Pinkerton's men and all who were at that moment playing their wise game among the Secessionists—in the military Companies—one was hung.

I told Mr. Lincoln all and tried to impress the danger on him—told him that friend and foe would laugh at him—yet he must stand it—hear the sneers and scoffs and scorn of men—friend and foe alike. Evidence couldn't be got before the world. Mr. Lincoln said, "I have engaged to raise the flag on tomorrow morning over Independence Hall—I have engaged to go to Harrisburg. Beyond these I have no engagements. After these engagements are fulfilled you are at liberty to take such course as you please." I then said to Mr. Lincoln, "We don't [want] to take any course that will endanger you or bring you into ridicule, because you are to bear the burthen of the thing." Lincoln then said, "Well—I've known Pinkerton for years and have known and tested his truthfulness and sagacity, and my judgment coincides with yours." I then said to Lincoln, "We will then complete the arrangements, and I will tell you in detail on tomorrow in the cars between Philadelphia and Harrisburg." Mr. Nicolay knew of this interview—so did Lamon—neither knew of what was doing or said—or being said—yet they knew of the interview.

Mr. Lincoln then returned to the parlors in the Continental, and Mr. Felton, Pres'd't, Mr. Scott of Pa. Central and Mr. Sanford, General Telegraph agent of the United States, were sent for and came to the room (the one [in which]

we had the interview with Mr. Lincoln) and there we made the arrangements, engaged all—nearly all—night in arranging and completing the program of next day.

It was arranged that [a] Special car should leave Harrisburg at 6 o'clock P.M. and reach Phila. in season for the Train for Baltimore and Washington. That every train on the Penn. Central should be off the track from 6 till that Lincoln car had passed and going or reached Philadelphia. That Pinkerton should meet Mr. Lincoln with a carriage at or on the outside of the City, and convey him (L.) to the Depot of the Baltimore & Wilmington R. R., so as not to go through the heart of the city. Pinkerton did so—did his part well, artistically so, keenly, shrewdly and well. Pinkerton was and is a good friend of Lincoln. It was agreed that Felton should detain the 11 o'clock Baltimore train until Mr. L's arrival. That Mr. Sanford should see to the telegraph, and take the proper measures for the execution of the plan—that no telegraphic message went over any of the wires until all this, that evening, was accomplished, his knowledge and skill being equal to that task—i.e. Sanford.

Raised the flag—L. did—according to Programme—left for Harrisburg. In the morning just before the train was ready to start for Harrisburg, Mr. Lincoln sent for me to come to his room, and there I saw and met Fred Seward. Mr. Lincoln said, "Mr. Seward has been sent by his father to inform me of the same conspiracy that you and Pinkerton explained to me last night. . . and advises that I proceed immediately to Washington. You can explain to him so far as you think fit, what has been done." I said to Mr. Seward that arrangements had been made to pass Mr. Lincoln safely in Washington, and "You may so assure your father—that the mode, the manner in detail, it is not necessary to detail."

We left for Harrisburg, and on the way I gave to Mr. Lincoln a full and precise detail of all the arrangements that had been made. I said to him that the step to him was so important that I felt that it should be communicated to the other gentlemen of the Party. Lincoln said—"You can do as you like about that." As soon as the Ceremonies are over at Harrisburg, I will fix an interview between him and Col. Sumner, Maj. Hunter, Judge Davis, Capt. John Pope, and Lamon; they being part of the Presid't. Party. I changed my seat. Nicolay said to me, "Judd there is something *up*, what is it, if it is proper that I should know?" I said, "Geo. there is no necessity for your knowing & one man can keep a matter better than two."

Arrived at Harrisburg—ceremonies—got into the Parlor—explained to Sumner and the Party the facts as well as I could, and the Plan and programme that should carry Lincoln to Washington. Mr. Sumner spoke the first word—"That proceeding," said Sumner, "will be a d—d piece of cowardice." I replied to this pointed hit by saying that that view of the case had already been presented to Mr. Lincoln. A discussion⁶⁶ of the matter [followed,] Pope favoring our arrangement—Sumner said, "I'll get a squad of Cavalry Sir, and cut our way to Washington, Sir." I said, "Probably before that day comes the inauguration day will have passed; it is important that Mr. Lincoln should be in Washington that day." After considerable discussion, Judge Davis, who had expressed no opinion but had put various questions to test the truthfulness of the story, turned to Mr. Lincoln and said, "You personally heard Mr. Pinkerton's story, you heard this discussion, what is your judgment in the matter?" Mr. Lincoln said, "I have listened to this discussion with interest—I see no reason—no good reason—to change the Pro-

gramme, and I am for carrying it out as arranged by Judd." This silenced all discussion and now the question was—who should go with him (*all this* was at Harrisburg) to Washington? I stated that it had been deemed by those who had talked it over, that but one man should accompany Mr. Lincoln, and Mr. Lamon's name had been mentioned as that person. Sumner demurred, saying, "I have undertaken to see Mr. Lincoln to Washington."

Mr. Lincoln then went to his dinner. Lincoln heard all this conversation. A carriage [came] to the door of the —— hotel [Jones House] to take Mr. Lincoln back to the Cars, and thence to Philadelphia, where Pinkerton was to meet him as stated. [*The following passage is crossed out:*] Lamon was a fighting Cock. If I had gone, Sumner, Pope, &c. would have got mad, but Lamon's going could [neither] insult nor wound the feelings of any one. So it was concluded, Lincoln agreed with me, or I should have been kicked out of court. [*End of deleted passage.*]⁶⁷ Lincoln was at the dinner table when the carriage had arrived to take him to the track and thence to Phil. Lincoln was called and went to his room, and changed his coat—came down stairs into the hall with his party. I said to Lamon, 'Hurry with him.' He and Mr. Lincoln quickly passed out of doors, followed by the others of the party. I put my hand on Col. Sumner's shoulder, who was going to get into the carriage, and said 'One moment, Col.' He turned to me, and while he turned to me the carriage drove off—and a madder man you never saw. At 2 o'clock A.M. I rec'd a dispatch from Mr. Scott stating that Mr. Lincoln passed through Philadelphia. Lincoln was in a dress coat—dinner coat—changed his coat—his shawl, a felt hat &c. that he carried with him—called by the world Scottish plaid.

IV

WARD H. LAMON AND THE BALTIMORE PLOT

With Lincoln's inauguration safely accomplished, the tempo of events accelerated. The interval of anxious waiting was over, and the happenings of yesterday were swiftly overtaken by the urgencies of tomorrow. The Baltimore plot had been effectively circumvented, the sensational hegira was beginning to be forgotten, nobody cared about rounding up the conspirators, nobody called for an investigation, and nobody claimed credit for having saved the President's life. Every past issue was pushed aside by the compelling immediacy of war.

It was not until Lincoln actually had been assassinated that public interest in the plot of '61 revived, and then only for a short time following a suggestion that there might be a possible tie-in with the plot of '65. Nothing came of this, no connection was discovered, and the investigators quickly turned their attention elsewhere. But after the hue and cry had subsided, the historians took over, and the details of the Baltimore plot became a matter for research. By this time the story had already taken on a somewhat legendary aspect, with fact nicely balanced by fiction, and anyone even remotely connected with the affair felt free to make his own dramatization.

Meanwhile Allan Pinkerton had kept silent; but John A. Kennedy, the boss of the frightened New York detectives, had not. In 1866 while Benson J. Lossing was engaged in writing the history of the Civil War, he received a long

elaborate letter from Mr. Kennedy who saw a wonderful opportunity for a claim to glory.

The whole connection of Kennedy with the Baltimore plot had been curious and contradictory. As early as February 28, 1861, two days after he had written to Pinkerton (*ante* p. 105), he addressed an open letter to Colonel George P. Kane, Marshal of Police in Baltimore, declaring that he never did believe an attempt on Lincoln's life would have been made: ". . . no officer of mine has reported to me the actual existence of any band 'organized for the purpose of assassinating the President-elect,' . . . so far from having advised the change of Mr. Lincoln's route from Harrisburg, before leaving New York for Baltimore, on the 22nd, I sent a telegraph to Mr. Wood of Mr. Lincoln's party, advising him to go down on the Susquehannah road as perfectly safe. You are at liberty to make such use of this letter as you may deem proper."⁶⁸

But later, in the letter to Lossing, he went into reverse, and wrote a detailed account of the activities of his men stationed in Baltimore, with a special tribute to David S. Bookstaver, who had posed as a music agent, associating with "the better class of citizens," and praise for the other two detectives [Sampson and De Voe] who had joined "an organization of roughs." To prove the significance of Bookstaver's contribution, he quoted an extract from a letter he had received from Charles P. Stone, in which Stone said that he knew nothing of any connection of Mr. Pinkerton with the matter, and gave full credit to the New York detectives. Kennedy closed his letter to Lossing as follows:

The letter from which the above extract is made was sent to me by General Stone, in reply to an inquiry of mine, made in

consequence of having seen an article in a newspaper which gave the whole credit of the movement to a person [Pinkerton] who I supposed had little to do with it. My opportunity for knowing who the parties were that rendered this service to the country was very good, but I thought it advisable to have the testimony of one of the most active in it to sustain my views. For obvious reasons, I have not called on either of the other living parties to the matter, regarding the above sufficient to satisfy all reasonable persons that the assassination consummated in April, 1865, would have taken place in February of 1861 had it not been for the timely efforts of Lieutenant-General Scott, Brigadier-General Stone, Hon. Wm. H. Seward, Frederick W. Seward, Esq., and David S. Bookstaver, of the Metropolitan Police of New York.

Lossing published the letter in its entirety.⁶⁹

This was too much for Allan Pinkerton. He broke his cherished rule, abandoned his closely guarded anonymity, and released the whole story in the newspapers and in a privately printed and widely distributed brochure: *History and Evidence of the Passage of Abraham Lincoln from Harrisburg, Pa. to Washington, D. C. . . .* (1868). This document opened with a forthright statement addressed "To the People of the United States"; Mr. Lincoln's own narrative (*ante* pp. xv-xvi) followed, and the rest of the book was devoted to letters from various persons who had actively participated in carrying out the details of the midnight journey. Those represented were Samuel M. Felton, Norman B. Judd, William Stearns, H. F. Kenney, G. C. Franciscus, Enoch Lewis, John Pitcairn, Jr., George R. Dunn, Governor A. G. Curtin, H. E. Thayer, and Andrew Wynne. Conspicuously absent was the testimony of Ward Hill Lamon.

But this was not because Lamon had not been asked to contribute. Pinkerton had urged him to write. In a letter from Chicago, Oct. 31, 1867, Pinkerton said:

Dear Lamon:

I enclose you some printed Extracts from Lossing's History of the War, from which you will see that John A. Kennedy Esq., Genl. Supt. of the New York Police, seeks to claim the honor which belongs not to him in the passage of Mr. Lincoln from Philadelphia to Washington in 1861.

You accompanied me upon that important trip. You were my only companion with the exception of Mrs. Warn. You know that John A. Kennedy was a Passenger on that train and occupied a berth in the same sleeping Coach in which we took passage, yet knew not that he was traveling in Such excellent Company.

Upon the subject of the passage of Mr. Lincoln through Baltimore at that time I have up till this time kept entirely silent. I have said nothing in public, nor have I furnished anything to the press. I was willing to wait until the right time came. It seems that it has now come; and I ask as a favor that you will give me a full statement as to all you know in connection with the passage of Mr. Lincoln to Washington on the occasion referred to. Please make this as speedily as possible.

If Mr. Kennedy or Mr. Seward is entitled to any credit in this, I beg it of you to give it to them. If I am entitled to any, I hope you will do the same by me. Please make your statement as full as possible, and give me permission to use it for publication in the Press of the United States. I mean it shall have a very wide one.

I shall be very glad to hear from you at your very earliest convenience.⁷⁰

Pinkerton waited nearly a month, but no reply was forthcoming. On November 24th he tried again—still no response. Finally on the 28th of December he patiently wrote out a detailed review of the whole episode in order to refresh Lamon's memory. It was an ingratiating letter, recalling their first meeting, how he, Pinkerton had posed as a stranger, "but it was too plain that you knew me and my attempt was a failure"; reminding him of their drive at night through the streets of Philadelphia "as if looking for some person,

and not finding them turned towards the Depot so that we arrived there a few minutes after the regular time for the leaving of the train"; about their anxious wait in Baltimore when Mr. Lincoln "manifested great coolness and calmness, far beyond what would naturally have been expected," and how they themselves had not been quite so cool, and "took a drink, but you need say nothing about that." After filling ten closely written pages in which none of the "important features" was overlooked, he concluded with a last appeal: "I should feel gratified to have your statement with reference to this as early as possible."⁷¹

Lamon sat tight and was silent. It was a small revenge, but it was very sweet.

That was Lamon's first reprisal—before he had seen Pinkerton's Record Book. His second was to come a few years later when he aided and abetted Chauncey F. Black in his mordant account of the Baltimore plot for *Lamon's Life of Lincoln*. With what satisfaction he must have read, in print, such caustic gibes as these:

Being intensely ambitious to shine in the professional way, and something of a politician besides, it struck him [Pinkerton] that it would be a particularly fine thing to discover a dreadful plot to assassinate the President elect; and he discovered it accordingly.⁷²

And of Pinkerton's records, then in his hands:

These documents are neither edifying nor useful: they prove nothing but the baseness of the vocation which gave them existence.⁷³

And again:

It would seem like an easy thing to beguile a few individuals of this angry and excited multitude into expression of some criminal desire; and the opportunity was not wholly lost although the limited success of the detective [Pinkerton] under such favorable circumstances is absolutely wonderful.⁷⁴

The motive behind the vehement repudiation of the Baltimore plot in *Lamon's Life of Lincoln* in 1872 has been shown, but no satisfactory explanation has ever been given to account for the about-face in his later volume, *Recollections of Abraham Lincoln, 1847-1865*, which was compiled and edited by his daughter after his death. In order to clear up this contradiction with any degree of certainty, it seemed worth while to examine the sources of the posthumous book.

The concluding sentence of *Lamon's Life of Lincoln* reads: "In another volume we shall endeavor to trace his career as the nation's Chief Magistrate during the ensuing four years." But it was not until March 16, 1886 that the completion of the long-promised second volume was announced:

Denver, March 16. Ward H. Lamon has just finished writing his history of Abraham Lincoln's public and private life from his first inauguration to his assassination. The work also contains a brief chronological history of the war and the great political events of that period. Mr. Lamon probably knows more of the private life of Mr. Lincoln than any man now living, and this work contains much that is new and interesting. Mr. Lamon and Mr. Lincoln became law partners in 1849 and continued practising together until Mr. Lincoln's election to the presidency, when Mr. Lamon was appointed Marshal of the District of Columbia. During all these years the relations between them were very intimate, and many new things bearing upon the life of Mr. Lincoln are for the first time made public . . . For years Mr. Lamon has been engaged in writing this book, being during the past two years in Denver, where he has been busily employed on the work . . .⁷⁵

These remarks were followed by a pre-view consisting of extracts from the manuscript, and closed with a promise of more to come. But Lamon's second volume, announced as finished, in fact never was finished. These published extracts constituted the beginning and the end of the work in print

—that is, the work as it was originally set down by the hand of Lamon.

Consisting of some five hundred typewritten pages of first-hand anecdotal matter, interspersed with second-hand military narrative and political observations, his manuscript was anything but an integrated piece of writing, but because of its undoubted human-interest value and freshness it was not allowed to lie fallow. After Lamon's death in 1893, the material was re-worked by his daughter under the more appropriate title, *Recollections of Abraham Lincoln*. In the preface of the book she says: "If the production seems fragmentary and lacking in purpose, the fault is due to the variety of sources from which I have selected the material. Some of it has been taken from serious manuscript which my father intended for a work of history, some from articles written in a lighter vein; much has been gleaned from copies of letters which he wrote to friends, but most has been gathered from notes jotted down on a multitude of scraps scattered through a mass of miscellaneous material."

Dorothy Lamon, later Madame Teillard, has accurately described the miscellanea to which she had access in fashioning this book. From the "serious manuscript" she culled all biographical material, all portions that deal with Lincoln's reactions to men and events, all intimate thumb-nail sketches, and all the incidents in which Lamon himself played a part. Furthermore, she polished up Lamon's phraseology, corrected his slips in spelling and punctuation, re-wrote entire passages, and now and then made him say things he never intended to say. One striking example of this is her treatment of the Baltimore plot, to which she devoted some eighteen pages, whereas Lamon himself had

dismissed the unpleasant topic as hurriedly as possible in these few sentences:

When Mr. Lincoln went from Springfield Illinois to Washington to assume the duties of President of the United States his long continued and eventful trip from the scenes of his quiet western home to the great capital of the nation, the country was filled with hopes and fears such as never before influenced a peaceful or warlike people about a private citizen or prospective actor. Nothing or little at least was known that had been published as to what would be the policy of his administration. Before his arrival there was well founded apprehension for his safety in his transit, and it was believed by many of his partizan friends as well as by those who were opposed to him and his party, that a conspiracy had been formed to prevent his reaching Washington, by taking his life.

These apprehensions being timely made known to him induced him to change the programme of movement after arriving at Harrisburgh, Pa., and addressing the people there on the 22d of February en route. Under cover of the night of the same day he secretly took a special train on the Pennsylvania Central Railroad, taking one man only with him. Went to Philadelphia and about midnight took a sleeper, on the regular train of cars, and arrived safely in Washington the next morning about six o'clock, without a suspicion of any one (except his escort) on the cars, in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Harrisburgh or Washington knowing of his whereabouts. It is proper however to state that besides his escort and suit left in Harrisburgh, Gov. Curtin of Pennsylvania, Mr. Felton, President of the [*blank*] Railroad to Baltimore, Mr. Seward, Gen. Scott, Senator Trumbull and Representative Washburne all knew of his purpose to go through thus clandestinely, all favoring and advising the policy of the expedient, and all of whom approved and advised it [*the last eight words are deleted*].

Allen C. Pinkerton, a Chicago detective in the employment of Mr. Felton, accompanied him with Mr. Lincoln's friend in the train from Philadelphia to Washington, and to him mainly Mr. Lincoln was indebted for securing the sleeping berth and concealing his identity on the train. On his arrival at the Washington depot he was met by Honorable E. B. Washburne, a

Congressional Representative, from the Galena District in Illinois, and was conveyed to Willard's Hotel and was there met by Senator Seward of New York. He took possession of the rooms and accommodations negotiated for by telegraph by his friend who accompanied him from Harrisburgh to Washington.⁷⁶

No other direct reference to this incident has been found in Lamon's manuscript, or among the miscellaneous writings of his that were used by his daughter.

Towards the end of the Lamon manuscript, however, there is a chapter entitled "Conspiracy of Assassination" in which several abduction and assassination plots of the early '60s are discussed. Conspicuously absent is any mention of the conspiracy in Baltimore, but the scheme for kidnapping President Buchanan is dealt with, also the similar threat to President Lincoln in '62, and of course the assassination in '65. Summarizing his remarks on Lincoln's death Lamon made an impressive and dramatic observation. Lifted out of its context, and "edited" for the *Recollections*, it was altered to read as follows:

It is now an acknowledged fact that there never was a moment from the day he [Lincoln] *crossed the Maryland line*, up to the time of his assassination, that he was not in danger of death by violence, and that his life was spared until the night of the 14th of April, 1865, only through the ceaseless and watchful care of the guards thrown around him.⁷⁷

But this is what Lamon himself wrote:

There never was an hour from the time he *entered Washington on the 23d of February, 1861*,* to the 15th of April, 1865, that he was not in danger of his life from violence, and beyond question, had it not been for the watchfulness of his friends by day and night, he would have been murdered long before he was.⁷⁸

*Italics in these two passages are the editor's.

Dorothy Lamon may have known what her father in his heart believed, and therefore may have been justified in printing the retraction, but not by any written statement of his can any authority be found among his literary remains for his surprising change of face. Pinkerton never was forgiven.

NOTES

¹ Lucius E. Chittenden, *Recollections of President Lincoln and his Administration* (1891), p. 66.

² *Boston Post*, Feb. 25, 1861, p. 2.

³ Elihu B. Washburne, "Abraham Lincoln in Illinois," *North American Review* (1885), CXLI, 457-58.

⁴ Ward H. Lamon, *Recollections of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Dorothy Lamon (1895), p. 261.

⁵ This was a brand-new flag with a thirty-fourth star in honor of the new free state of Kansas, admitted to the Union on the 29th of January. The ceremony of raising the flag had been postponed until the occasion of Washington's Birthday, and the presence of the President-elect in Philadelphia.

⁶ The *New York World* of February 21, 1861, printed a little anecdote about hats:

Shortly after Mr. Barnum had requested the pleasure of Mr. Lincoln's company at the museum, the President elect was waited on by Mr. Knox, the hatter, who presented him with one of his hats, in which was inscribed "Abraham Lincoln." In the course of an hour, however, a message was received by the future President from Leary, the hatter under the Astor house, requesting the measure of his head. In compliance with this request, Mr. Lincoln tried on several of his hats, and finally sent down to Mr. Leary the one he had so lately received from Knox, stating that he believed that to be the best fit. In a short time the hat was returned, together with one of "Leary's best!" Mr. Lincoln seemed much pleased with both these gifts, and, upon being asked which was the better hat, is said to have remarked in his quaint way, that they mutually surpassed each other.

⁷ Benson J. Lossing, *Pictorial Field Book of the Civil War* (1866-68), I, 279-80.

⁸ Isaac N. Arnold, *The History of Abraham Lincoln and the Overthrow of Slavery* (1866), p. 171.

⁹ Ward H. Lamon, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln from his Birth to his Inauguration as President* (1872), p. 513. This work is usually referred to as "Lamon's Life of Lincoln."

¹⁰ Lamon, *Recollections* (1895), p. 47.

¹¹ Benjamin P. Thomas, *Portrait for Posterity* (1947), pp. 29-90; also, Albert V. House, Jr., "The Trials of a Ghost-writer of Lincoln Biography . . ." in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (1938), XXXI, 262-96.

¹² Herndon-Weik Collection, Library of Congress, Chauncey F. Black to William H. Herndon, Aug. 18, 1873.

¹³ The originals of the four letters immediately following are in the Herndon-Weik Collection, Library of Congress.

¹⁴ Herndon's declared purpose in collecting Lincolniana was to provide source materials for a definitive biography, but this was deferred for at least ten years upon the sale of the three volumes of transcripts to Colonel Lamon.

¹⁵ Pinkerton's remarks about Lamon are to be found in his report of February 23, 1861, *ante*, p. 87.

¹⁶ Mr. Felton's anxiety for the safety of his railroad, ferry, and bridges was the direct result of highly significant information brought to him by Dorothea L. Dix, the distinguished humanitarian. The incident was kept confidential until 1888, when it was told by Mr. Felton to Dr. Tiffany, Miss Dix's biographer:

. . . Early in the year 1861, Miss Dix, the Philanthropist, came into my office . . . Her occupation in building hospitals had brought her into contact with prominent men South. She had become familiar with the structure of Southern society, and also with the working of its political machinery. . .

I listened attentively to what she had to say for more than an hour. She put in a tangible and reliable shape by the facts she related what before I had heard in numerous and detached parcels. The sum of it all was, that there was then an extensive and organized conspiracy through the South to seize upon Washington, with its archives and records, and then declare the

Southern Confederacy de facto the Government of the United States. At the same time they were to cut off all means of communication between Washington and the North, East, and West, and thus prevent the transportation of troops to wrest the Capital from the hands of the insurgents. Mr. Lincoln's inauguration was thus to be prevented, or his life was to fall a sacrifice. . . .

Francis Tiffany, *Life of Dorothea Lynde Dix* (1890), pp. 333-34.

¹⁷ The Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad, a link in the vital communication line between New York and Washington, was especially vulnerable to sabotage on account of the Susquehanna ferry crossing, and the wooden bridges over the Bush River and Gunpowder estuary. These bridges actually were partially destroyed by fire, but not until April.

¹⁸ John G. Springer's transcript of the Record Book contains only two reports by Timothy Webster, and neither has to do with the manner in which the first military organization of Maryland secessionists was formed; nor are there references to Governor Hicks. Apparently this is only one of several instances of unexplained omissions in the Springer manuscript.

¹⁹ Thomas Holliday Hicks was "the State's governor whose policy was the joy of the friends of the Union and the despair of those who would lead Maryland into secession; a leader who gave that unorganized incoherent public opinion time—time to think, to organize, to decide, and in the end to win; but a leader who succeeded only in winning for himself in the eyes of posterity the stigma of indecision, of weakness, and of mediocrity." Carl M. Frasure, "Union Sentiment in Maryland, 1859-1861," *Maryland Historical Magazine* (1929), XXIV, 210.

²⁰ With reference to his quarters in Baltimore, Pinkerton said: "I . . . engaged a building situated on South Street, and in a position where I could receive prompt reports from

all quarters of the metropolis . . . The building I had selected was admirably adapted for my purpose, and was so constructed that entrance could be gained to it from all four sides, through alleyways that led in from neighboring streets." Allan Pinkerton, *The Spy of the Rebellion* (1883), pp. 50-51.

²¹ An interesting commentary on this statement is provided by the following excerpt from an editorial published in the *Baltimore American* for Feb. 26, 1861:

It appears that a few hundred men, particularly obnoxious to the people and public sentiment of Baltimore had determined to avail themselves of the opportunity to use Mr. Lincoln, and to accompany him in procession from the depot to his hotel.

They applied to Marshal Kane for protection by the police. He advised against the proceeding, assuring the parties that while Mr. Lincoln, in his passage through Baltimore, would be treated with respect due to him personally and to his high official position, there was no guaranty that the proposed procession would be similarly respected . . . He advised, therefore, that the idea of a procession should be abandoned, lest it might provoke some indignity which would involve the character of Baltimore and be very unpleasant to the President-elect.

J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (1879), III, 388.

²² In his *The Spy of the Rebellion* (pp. 78, 79) Pinkerton gives a fuller account of this crucial meeting:

The question to be decided this evening was: "Who should do the deed?" . . . For this purpose the meeting had been called tonight, and tonight the important decision was to be reached.

It was finally determined that ballots should be prepared and placed in a box arranged for that purpose, and that the person who drew a *red* ballot should perform the duty of assassination.

In order that none should know who drew the fatal ballot, except he who did so, the room was rendered still darker, and everyone was pledged to secrecy as to the color of the ballot he drew. The leaders, however, had determined that their plans should not fail, and doubting the courage of some of their num-

ber, instead of placing *one red ballot* in the box, they placed eight of the designated color, and these eight ballots were drawn—each man who drew them believing that upon him, his courage, strength and devotion, depended the cause of the South—each supposing that he alone was charged with the execution of the deed.

²³ The Springfield (Ill.) *Journal* of Feb. 13, 1861, under the heading, "Programme of Mr. Lincoln's Trip to Washington," had this to say about the arrangements made by the courier, Mr. W. S. Wood:

W. T. [*sic*] Wood, Esq., of New York City, who kindly volunteered to make arrangements for the journey of Mr. Lincoln to Washington, returned Friday. The arrangements for both the comfort and safety of the President-elect and suite, made by him, are perfect, and prove his managerial capacities to be of the highest order . . . He has provided special trains to be preceded by pilot engines all the way through.

Cards of invitation will be issued by him to all the participants in the journey, from point to point, and only holders will be allowed on the train. State and local authorities, and prominent men, without distinction of party, will be invited. To avoid crowding and the very great annoyance to Mr. Lincoln, representatives of the leading papers only will be admitted. In the different stopping places the Presidential party will be under the charge of the local committees. No party coloring being intended to be given to the trip, wide-awake and other demonstrations of a partisan character will prove objectionable. Military escorts through the stopping places will be accepted, but none on the journey.

²⁴ The Springfield (Ill.) *Journal*, of March 6, 1861, published a Washington correspondent's account of busy Mr. Judd:

One of the most indefatigable workers . . . is said to be Mr. Judd, whose name has got into the papers rather extensively of late in connection with the President elect. Judd is here, Judd is there, Judd is everywhere. He is like Sambo, in the farce of "The Padlock"—

"Sambo here, Sambo dere,
Sambo everywhere."

At Willards' one hears nothing but Judd. "Have you seen Judd?" "Where's Judd?" "There's Judd!" "Better see Judd!" "Judd knows." "I'll tell Judd." "Judd says so." "Judd's very busy." "Saw Judd just now!" "Judd won't do it!" "Judd'll see to *that*." "Judd'll do it, if man can." "Show this man to Judd!" "Letters for Judd." "Ask Judd to take a drink." "Judd's coming." "D—n it, Judd's gone." "Good day, Judd." "Good bye, Judd." "Don't forget, Judd." "Now's your chance with Judd." "Judd's great." "Judd's immense." "*Must* see Judd." "Judd's engaged all day, sir, all night, to-morrow, and the day after." "One moment, Judd." In fact it is Judd, Judd, Judd.

I had a great anxiety to see this wonderful man. He is a chunky gentleman of about five feet five inches. He has a broad ruddy face, which shows well from the contrast of his gray hair and flowing beard approaching whiteness. He has a dark blue eye, hooked nose—rather short, and a mouth neither expressive nor forcible. He is evidently a character of much more tact than talent, and is fully impressed with the onus of the mysterious position he occupies in relation to the President elect. The shrewd ones slyly say he managed to make Mr. Lincoln believe that he nominated him, and so puts in for a large share of the spoils.

²⁵ Details of two photographs showing Lincoln and Pinkerton in front of the latter's tent are familiarly known as "Meserve no. 45, and no. 46." The uncut originals include also the figure of General McClelland, who, on July 30, 1894, wrote as follows to Mr. William A. Pinkerton: "Your communication of the 27th instant is thankfully acknowledged. The incident it refers to is still fresh in my mind. It occurred in front of Allan Pinkerton's tent, which was close to General McClellan's headquarters on the stricken field of Antietam. It was there that the photograph of President Lincoln, Allan Pinkerton (your father), and myself was taken. Both the President and Allan Pinkerton were old acquaintances of mine." Cleveland Moffett, "How Allan Pinkerton Thwarted the First Plot to Assassinate Lincoln," *McClure's Magazine* (1894), III, 519.

²⁶ Soon after his election Mr. Lincoln began to receive

warnings and crank notes. They came from various parts of the country, but especially from the vicinity of Baltimore and Washington. By the end of the year the number of these had so increased that he decided to investigate quietly the state of affairs in the national capital, and on several occasions sent a personal representative to confer with General Scott. One of these men was Thomas Mather, Adjutant-General of Illinois, to whom the thoroughly aroused General exclaimed: ". . . present my compliments to Mr. Lincoln when you return to Springfield, and tell him I expect him to come on to Washington as soon as he is ready. Say to him that I'll look after those Maryland and Virginia rangers myself; I'll plant cannon at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue, and if any of them show their heads or raise a finger I'll blow them to hell." *Herndon's Life of Lincoln*, ed. Paul M. Angle (1930), p. 399.

²⁷In his reference to assassination, this is what Lincoln actually said: ". . . If this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle [that all should have an equal chance, as embodied in the Declaration of Independence], I was about to say I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it . . . I have said nothing but what I am willing to live by, and if it be the pleasure of Almighty God, to die by." *Abraham Lincoln—Complete Works . . .* ed. Nicolay and Hay (2 vols., 1894), I, 691.

²⁸Early in January, 1861, Superintendent Kennedy of the New York Metropolitan Police was called to Washington. He was accompanied by Captain George W. Walling, whose account of the incident follows:

During the journey the superintendent told me of the condition of affairs. He was alarmed at the state of public feeling in Maryland, especially in Baltimore, through which Mr. Lincoln was to pass on his way to Washington to assume office. Riots were feared, and there were sinister rumors of threatened attempts to assassinate the President elect. I learned from the superintendent that the Washington authorities were uneasy. They had requested that some of the most trustworthy

officers of the New York police should be detailed for service in Baltimore to ascertain what grounds there were for such suspicions.

Upon reaching Washington we were instantly admitted to consultation with a Government officer, high in position, whose nervousness was proof of the gravity of the crisis. With secret instructions from this gentleman we went to Baltimore. . . .

George W. Walling, *Recollections of a New York Chief of Police* (1887), pp. 68, 69.

²⁹The letter, dated "Washington, Feb. 21 [1861]" reads:
My dear Sir

My son goes express to you—He will show you a report made by our detective to General Scott—and by him communicated to me this morning—I deem it so important as to dispatch my son to meet you wherever he may find you.

I concur with General Scott in thinking it best for you to reconsider your arrangement. No one here but Genl. Scott, myself & the bearer is aware of this communication.

I should have gone with it myself but for the peculiar sensitiveness about my attendance in the Senate at this crisis. . . .

William H. Seward.

Two notes were enclosed. One, by Winfield Scott, dated "Feb. 21, 1861," reads:

My dear Sir:

Please receive my friend, Col. Stone, chief of Genl. Weightman's Staff, & a distinguished young officer with me in Mexico. He has an important communication to make.

The other, also dated Feb. 21, is unsigned but in the handwriting of Col. Charles P. Stone:

A New York detective officer who has been on duty in Baltimore for three weeks past reports this morning [to Col. Stone] that there is serious danger of violence to and the assassination of Mr. Lincoln in his passage through that city should the time of that passage be known—He states that there are banded rowdies holding secret meetings, and that he has heard threats of mobbing and violence, and has himself heard men declare that if Mr. Lincoln was to be assassinated they would like to be the men—He states further that it is only

within the past few days that he has considered there was any danger, but now he deems it imminent—He deems the danger one which the authorities & people in Balt. cannot guard against.

All risk might be easily avoided by a change in the travelling arrangements which would bring Mr. Lincoln & a portion of his party through Baltimore by a night train without previous notice.

These letters and Colonel Stone's memorandum are in the Robert Todd Lincoln Papers, in the Library of Congress.

⁸⁰ The "West Philadelphia" depot was located at the southeast corner of Eleventh and Market Streets. The region then known as West Philadelphia formerly had been an incorporated district in the County of Philadelphia; in 1854 it became a part of the city. The Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore depot was on the corner of Broad and Prime (afterwards Washington Avenue) Streets.

⁸¹ George C. Latham, of Springfield, Ill., said:

I was one of the party that on February 11, 1861 accompanied Mr. Lincoln to Harrisburg Pennsylvania, at which place Mr. Lincoln left the party and hastened off to Washington with Col. Ward H. Lamon, and the party of which I was one, followed on to Washington the next morning. . . . I think there was, among many other correspondents, one by the name of Howard [i.e., Joseph Howard, Jr.], who represented the New York Times. In the morning at Harrisburg, after Mr. Lincoln had left the night before, he said he must get up some sort of a story for his paper, and he is the one who fabricated the Scotch cap story. Mr. Lincoln wore a slouch hat and not a Scotch cap, as I learned while staying in the family during the week I was in Washington. He wore a cloak, but it was the same one that he had worn from Springfield and was fastened in front near the neck like many that were worn at the time. . . .

Statement made to Jesse W. Weik, Jan. 23, 1918, Herndon-Weik Collection, Library of Congress.

⁸² In the 1880's Ward H. Lamon wrote the following memorandum:

On arriving at Albany, N. Y.—meeting with Mr. Thurlow

Weed he asked me, knowing I was somewhat trusted by Mr. Lincoln, where he was going to be domiciled in Washington until he was inaugurated—I told him Messrs. Trumbull & Washburne had provided quarters for him—Had rented a house on 13th or 14th Street N. W. for his reception, and that Mr. Lincoln had submitted the matter to me for my decision, asking me to confer with Capt. John Pope, one of our cortege, who was an old friend of his, and to make just such arrangements as I thought best for his quarters in Washington.

Said Mr. Weed, it will never do to allow him to go to a private house to be under the influence of state control—He is now public property and ought to be where he can be reached by the people until he is Inaugurated. We then agreed to send a joint despatch to Joseph Willard of Willard's Hotel to arrange for his and his cortege's reception.

This arranged, and settled by a response to me, it was reported to Mr. Lincoln, and was satisfactory to everybody except Messrs. Washburne and Trumbull & I do not blame them for being disappointed; they had a right to make the provision they did, and a right to expect their hospitality w^d be accepted.

Lincoln said this arrangement, I fear will give mortal offence to our friends, but I think the arrangement a good one—I can readily see that many other well meant plans will “gang alee”—but I am sorry. The truth is I suppose I am now public property and a public Inn is the place where people can have access to me. You have done right. . . .

Lamon Papers, Huntington Library (LN 2405-2); cf. Lamon's *Recollections* (1895), pp. 34-35.

²³ The following account was written by the New York *Times* correspondent, Joseph Howard, Jr., who accompanied Mrs. Lincoln and the presidential party through Baltimore:

National Hotel, Washington,
Sunday, February 24, 1861.

It was well that Mr. Lincoln went as he did—there is no doubt about it. The City Authorities declined to extend him an invitation to visit the city, although the Mayor had made up his mind to receive him at the depot and ride with him to the Eutaw House, and many of the police were disaffected, al-

though the Marshal says he would have taken him through in entire safety. The scene that occurred when the car containing Mrs. Lincoln and her family reached the Baltimore depot, showed plainly what undoubtedly would have happened had Mr. Lincoln been of the party. A vast crowd—a multitude, in fact—had gathered in and about the premises. It was evident that they considered the announcement of Mr. Lincoln's presence in Washington a mere ruse, for thrusting their heads in at the windows, they shouted—"Trot him out," "Let's have him," "Come out, old Abe," "We'll give you hell," "You bloody Black Republicans"—and other equally polite but more profane ejaculations. Some rude fellows entered the private apartment in which Mrs. Lincoln was sitting with the accomplished daughters of the Speaker of the Pennsylvania Legislature, but were promptly turned out by Mr. Hay, who locked the door. As the parties composing the suite, and the various correspondents, issued from the car, there was an exhibition of rude vulgarity and disregard of personal comfort that I have never seen equaled. Without thinking of the consequences to us, the crowd rolled in upon us like vast tidal waves, and bore us with irresistible force against the side of the car. To go either way was a physical impossibility. If we had been in the crowd, we could have moved with or through them; but, as it was, we were compelled to stand still, and sustain, as well as we were able, the terrible rush of an excited, rude and thoughtless populace. Oaths, obscenity, disgusting epithets and unpleasant gesticulations, were the order of the day, . . . After half an hour's experience of this sort of thing, Mrs. Lincoln and her son were taken to a carriage, which they entered without attracting much attention, and were driven to the house of the President of the road [John S. Gittings]. A huge omnibus that chanced to be in the yard was chartered by Mr. Wood, and into it were piled Miss Williams, her sister, Hon. Mr. Williams, of Penn., Mr. Wood, Mr. Forbes, Mr. Nicolay, Mr. Hay, Colonel Ellsworth, Hon. Judge Davis, Dr. Wallace, Mr. Todd, Mr. Frisbee and the Times correspondent. As we drove through the dense masses of people we were saluted in divers and sundry familiar and jocular styles. At one point a knowing chap discovered that Mr. Wood, who has a very handsome beard, was the President elect, and at once the people

began to hurrah and shout and run after the bus. The scene was withal an exciting one, and long to be remembered.

Mr. Coleman, at the Eutaw House, gave us a magnificent dinner, and deserves the greatest credit for the manner in which he freed the party from annoyance. On our arrival at the other depot we found Mrs. Lincoln, Mrs. Capt. Hazard, Robert Lincoln, and several old gentlemen, seated in a car, around whom had gathered a crowd of ill-bred men and boys, who had been insulting them in that most despicable of all ways, crying out dirty and foul language, peering impudently at them, and actually forcing up the windows which those inside had shut. The police did not know that the party were in that car, but had kept vacant a very large space about the train which was prepared for them, and when the information was given them they cleared those boys out in mighty short order. The ride to Washington was productive of no incident of note . . .

Mr. Nicolay, also a member of the party, recalled the incident some forty-five years later, as follows: "Mr. Lincoln's family and suite proceeded to Washington by the originally arranged train and schedule, and witnessed great crowds in the streets of Baltimore, but encountered neither turbulence nor incivility of any kind." John George Nicolay, *A Short Life of Abraham Lincoln* (1906), p. 174.

³⁴ The original of this letter is in the Herndon-Weik Collection, Library of Congress; a contemporary copy by John G. Springer is in the Herndon-Lamon Collection (LN 2408), Huntington Library. Cf. Pinkerton's 1883 version, as printed in his *Spy of the Rebellion*, pp. 46-103.

³⁵ John Bell of Tennessee and Edward Everett of Massachusetts were the candidates of the Constitutional Union Party in the nineteenth presidential election, Nov. 6, 1860.

³⁶ O. K. Hillard, soldier of fortune and secessionist, had recently returned to Baltimore after an absence of seven years. In his book Pinkerton called this young man Lieutenant Hill, and described him as one of the fast "bloods" of the city, who proudly wore upon his breast a gold Palmetto badge, and who was a Lieutenant

in the Palmetto Guards, a secret military organization of Baltimore. . . . Hill soon proved a pliant tool in our hands. Being of a weak nature and having been reared in the lap of luxury, he had entered into this movement more from a temporary burst of enthusiasm and because it was fashionable, than from any other cause. Now that matters began to assume such a warlike attitude, he was inclined to hesitate before the affair had gone too far, but still he seemed to be enamored with the glory of the undertaking . . . this rebellious scion of Baltimore . . . by reason of his high social position was able to introduce Howard [*i.e.* Davies] into the leading families, clubs and societies of the city.

Pinkerton's *Spy of the Rebellion*, p. 67.

⁸⁷ There are several conflicting contemporary accounts regarding the intended function of the organization known as the National Volunteers.

Prior to the presidential election of 1860, this group appears to have been a political club, or electioneering machine supporting the Breckinridge-Lane ticket; but shortly afterwards it became a military volunteer corps. At the turn of the year, two units of the organization had been set up: one in Washington, composed for the most part of property owners primarily interested in defense, and the other in Baltimore, whose professed purpose it was to prevent northern volunteer troops from passing through the state of Maryland. Representatives from both groups appeared before the Select Committee of Five, appointed by the House in January, 1861, during its investigation of an alleged hostile organization against the government.

⁸⁸ Lincoln's itinerary:

Monday, 11th

Leave Springfield, 8 A.M.; arrive at Indianapolis, 5 P.M.

Tuesday, 12th

Leave Indianapolis, 11 A.M.; arrive at Cincinnati, 3 P.M.

Wednesday, 13th

Leave Cincinnati, 9 A.M.; arrive at Columbus, 12 M.

Thursday, 14th

Leave Columbus, 8 A.M.; arrive at Steubenville, 2 P.M.

Leave Steubenville, 2:30 P.M.; arrive at Pittsburgh, 5 P.M.

Friday, 15th

Leave Pittsburgh, 10 A.M.; arrive at Cleveland, 4 P.M.

Saturday, 16th

Leave Cleveland, 9 A.M.; arrive at Buffalo, 4:30 P.M.

Sunday, 17th

Remain at Buffalo.

Monday, 18th

Leave Buffalo, 6 A.M.; arrive at Albany, 3 P.M.

Tuesday, 19th

Leave Albany, 10 A.M.; arrive at New York, 3 P.M.

Wednesday, 20th

Remain at New York.

Thursday, 21st

Leave New York, 9 A.M.; arrive at Trenton, 12 M.

Leave Trenton, 2:30 P.M.; arrive at Philadelphia, 4 P.M.

Friday, 22nd

Leave Philadelphia, 9:30 A.M.; arrive at Harrisburg, 2 P.M.

Saturday, 23rd

Leave Harrisburg, 9 A.M.; arrive at Baltimore, 12:30 P.M.

Leave Baltimore, 3 P.M.; arrive at Washington, 4:30 P.M.

Railroad lines represented: Great Western; Wabash Valley; Lafayette & Indianapolis; Indianapolis & Cincinnati (short line); Cincinnati, Dayton & Columbus; Columbus, Steubenville & Pittsburgh; Pittsburgh & Cleveland; Cleveland & Erie; Buffalo & Erie; New York Central; Hudson River; New Jersey; Pennsylvania Central; Northern Central; and Washington Branch of the Baltimore & Ohio.

Springfield (Ill.) *Journal* of Feb. 13, 1861, and other contemporary newspapers, some with slight variations.

³⁹ Cypriano Ferrandini (misspelled "Farridina" throughout the manuscript), one of the leaders of the National Volunteers, was an Italian by birth or descent, and a barber by trade. He had lived in Baltimore for sixteen years, and from time to time had been connected with various local military organizations as captain of infantry, drill master, and company commander. According to Pinkerton, "he was an enthusiast and fanatic, a dangerous man in any crisis, and particularly so in the one impending. . . Educated with Italian ideas and possessed of the temperament of his people, he openly justified the use of the stiletto, and fiercely advocated assassination as the means of preventing the President-elect from taking his seat in the executive chair." Pinkerton's *Spy of the Rebellion*, pp. 62-63.

⁴⁰ This abnormal exchange rate was due to the precarious free banking system then prevailing in the state of Illinois.

The banks really had no capital except the security bonds in the hands of the State Auditor. They were not engaged in the banking business in any proper sense of the word. . . . When the political sky became overcast [1860-61] the banks began to quake again, [as in the panic of 1857,] because the security bonds began to decline. The depreciation of the notes was rapid. Lists of banks, with the rates at which their notes would be received in trade, were posted in all shops, railroad offices and brokers' offices, and published in the newspapers. There was a merchants' list, a bankers' list, and a railroad list, and these were subject to change without notice. In August, 1861, the system collapsed.

Horace White, *Money and Banking* (1896), p. 356.

⁴¹ On the 18th and 19th of February, an irregular State Convention was held at Baltimore, in which most of the counties in the State were represented. Its object was to take into consideration the position of Maryland in reference to the national difficulties, and its deliberations resulted in an address and a series of resolutions.

The action proposed was simply to wait. The resolutions asserted that a full and fair expression of the popular will was most likely to be had by a Convention called on the recommendation of the Governor, and that, as it was asserted that the Governor would, by proclamation, authorize such a movement in the event of a failure upon the part of Congress and the Peace Conference, to adopt any satisfactory plan of compromise, the Convention approved that purpose, and adjourned until the 12th of March, to await the Governor's action; unless, intermediately, the State of Virginia should secede, when the Convention was to be immediately reassembled at the call of its President. If the Governor declined to call a "Sovereign" Convention previous to the 12th of March, then the Convention would at once recommend to the people to proceed to the election of delegates to such a Convention.

American Annual Cyclopaedia—1861 (1862), pp. 443-44.

⁴²Felice Orsini, Italian patriot and revolutionist, executed Mar. 13, 1858, for attempting to assassinate Napoleon III.

⁴³The reference to the Force-bill presumably relates to a measure then pending in the House of Representatives, sponsored by John A. Bingham, Republican, of Ohio. It was the same bill as that successfully employed by Andrew Jackson to defeat the nullification ordinance in South Carolina in 1833. From its introduction, December 31, 1860, to its demise in March for want of a two-thirds majority to bring it to a vote, the measure "received no consideration" in the House. Speech of John A. Bingham, Jan. 22, 1861, *Congressional Globe* (36th Congress, 2d Session) 1861, Appendix, p. 81.

⁴⁴In California's great financial crash of 1855, the Adams Express Company's western affiliate (styled Adams and Company's Express) went to the wall. The sudden collapse of this flourishing establishment, the repeated imputations of fraud, and apparent repudiation of the mother company, brought on a flood of litigations which kept the firm in hot water for nearly a decade.

⁴⁵Two weeks before this Hillard had been called before the

Congressional Select Committee of Five in Washington. He had testified that he was not connected with any military organization, and had no knowledge of any organization inimical to the government, or to Mr. Lincoln; he admitted that the National Volunteers might resist the passage of armed troops from the north through the city of Baltimore. When asked for the names of any members of that body, he refused to answer. He was not pressed on this point, but was warned that he would be recalled if the Committee deemed it necessary, and forced to answer. *Reports of the Select Committee of Five*, 36th Congress, 2d Session (1861), Report No. 79, pp. 144-55.

⁴⁶ On January 26, 1861, the following resolution was introduced in the House of Representatives:

Resolved, That the select committee of five be instructed to inquire whether any secret organization hostile to the Government of the United States exists in the District of Columbia; and if so, whether any official or employé of the city of Washington, or any employés or officers of the Federal Government in the executive or judicial departments are members thereof.

The resolution passed, and three days later the investigation opened. Twenty-four persons, chiefly residents of Baltimore and Washington, were examined. They ranged in importance from the head of the United States Army and the governor of the state of Maryland all the way down to Ferrandini the barber.

The proceedings were marked by conflicting testimony and much controversial evidence. Widely divergent opinions were voiced: the unconcerned mayor of Washington had not the "slightest ground for apprehension"; while General Scott, on the other hand, went so far as to say, "I should doubt whether you could get two hundred reliable volunteers within the District."

In their *Report* to Congress, the Committee said, in part: "The committee have pursued their labors with a determination on their part to ascertain the real facts so far as pos-

sible; and if, sometimes, they have permitted inquiries and admitted testimony not strictly within the rules of evidence, or within the scope of the resolutions it is to be attributed to their great anxiety to elicit the real facts and to remove unfounded apprehensions. . . ." In so doing one of the underlying motives for the investigation was performed, in that the principal undercurrents of rumor and intrigue were at least brought out into the open, and officially publicized. With this accomplished, they declared themselves "unanimously of the opinion that the evidence produced before them does not prove the existence of a secret organization here or elsewhere hostile to the government, that has for its object, upon its own responsibility, an attack upon the Capitol, or any public property here, or an interruption of any of the functions of the government." On February 14th the papers were laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-178.

⁴⁷ William Byrne was the delegate chosen to carry the electoral vote of the State of Maryland from Annapolis to Washington, in November, 1860. *Ibid.*, p. 159.

After the war, ". . . a man of the name of Byrne was arrested in Richmond, . . . for keeping a gambling house and for disloyalty to the Confederate government, he was released on the testimony of Mr. Wigfall, who, to prove the man's truth to treason, swore that he was captain of the band that plotted to assassinate President Lincoln in Baltimore." Josiah G. Holland, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (1866), p. 275.

⁴⁸ The incident anticipated for February 23d was merely deferred until the 19th of April, when the passage of the Sixth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers through the city of Baltimore resulted in mob violence, riot, and loss of life. Also in the city of Washington public opinion hung balanced on a hair, and General Scott has been quoted as saying: "We are now in such a state that a dog-fight might cause the gutters of the capital to run with blood." Charles

P. Stone, "Washington on the Eve of War," *Century Magazine* (1883), XXVI, 46.

⁴⁰ William Stearns was Master Machinist of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad.

⁵⁰ When Mr. Lincoln arrived at Albany he found a letter there from William G. Snethen on behalf of the leading Republicans of Baltimore explaining that it had been deemed unadvisable, "in the present state of things, to attempt any organized public display," but informed the President-elect that they, his political friends "in their individual capacity" proposed to meet him en route and escort him to Baltimore, and thence to Washington. (Letter from W. G. Snethen to Mr. Lincoln, Baltimore, Feb. 15, 1861, in the Robert T. Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress.)

This self-constituted committee of welcome carried out their scheme, but Lincoln gave them the slip, and they had only the doubtful satisfaction of accompanying the presidential party from Harrisburg to Baltimore.

⁵¹ Elmer E. Ellsworth, popular young colonel of a crack Zouave regiment, had joined the Lincoln party at Springfield as aide to the President-elect. The opening clause of Mr. W. S. Wood's "Circular of Instructions" to reception committees along the route indicates some of Ellsworth's duties and responsibilities during the journey: "First: The President-Elect will under no circumstances attempt to pass through any crowd until such arrangements are made as will meet the approval of Colonel Ellsworth, who is charged with the responsibility of all matters of this character; and to facilitate this, you will confer a favor by placing Colonel Ellsworth in communication with the chief of your escort, immediately upon the arrival of the train . . ." Three months later Ellsworth was shot to death for removing a Confederate flag from the roof of a building in Alexandria, Va. His untimely death was one of the first casualties of the War, and caused intense rage and grief throughout the North.

⁵²In April, 1861, Mr. Pinkerton sent Timothy Webster to Washington with a confidential letter for the President. In it was enclosed a telegraph code consisting of nearly two hundred words, with corresponding de-code. In applying this code to the telegraph messages in these reports it appears that Pinkerton must have made frequent revisions, since the April version is not entirely adequate for decoding this February message. For example: the word "Plums" still stands for "Pinkerton"; the word "cotton," according to the April version, is "Baltimore and Ohio Railroad"; the word "Ten" is not included at all, and there is only a blank space opposite the word "Lemons."

Indulging in a little guesswork, the message, which is addressed to an officer of the Adams Express Company, may be interpreted as a plea for the same kind of co-operation that Pinkerton was given by the express company on the Maroney case; and if the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad actually is intended for "cotton," it could be a reminder of a similar instance when Pinkerton was employed by the railroad.

The April code and covering letter are in the Robert T. Lincoln Collection in the Library of Congress.

⁵³Twenty-seven years later, Mr. George R. Dunn recalled this incident in a letter now in the Lamon Papers, in the Huntington Library. Written on March 27, 1888, from "no. 366 Sixth Avenue," New York, it is addressed to Ward H. Lamon:

Will you kindly pardon the infliction of this long epistle—but—as I fully believe you and I are the only persons living, who have a full personal knowledge of—and were directly interested in—the late President Lincoln's trip to Washington, prior to his inauguration, no doubt you have a full recollection of the event, the back journey from Harrisburg to Philadelphia, and the trip from the old Philadelphia Wilmington & Baltimore R. R. Depot at Broad & Washington Ave. Philada to Washington, D. C.

The object of this letter is to ask whether you still remember

the fact of Mr. Lincoln, Allan Pinkerton and yourself taking possession of the berths procured by me for the party, under Mr. Pinkerton's previous instructions, and in going through the rear door of the Sleeping Car?

Mr. Pinkerton had called on me very early on the morning of that day, told me what he desired, also saying that he wanted some one to carry out his instructions with the most watchful care—as I had been in other operations with Mr. P. and knew him well, had no hesitation in complying with his request & at once placed myself under his control. After carrying out his instructions for the days business exactly as he requested, in the evening, with his further instructions, I met the chief of his female staff—*called* Mrs. Cherry [an alias of Kate Warne]—at the old P. W. & B. R. R. Depot, Broad & Washn Ave. philad^a, to take further actions in matters relating to this trip—as I was to engage—pay for and get the berth tickets—see that everything was free, clear & safe—with some minor matters of detail.

Shortly after purchasing these tickets I walked thro' the train and into the Sleeper. On the front platform & inside the front door of the Sleeping Car, I noticed a small party of men, who from their quiet talk, vigilant appearance and watchfulness, seemed to be on the alert, for Somebody or Something—this feature was not at all satisfactory to me. Knowing the public feeling, I felt very sure that it boded no good to my expected party, and very quickly concluded that it was absolutely necessary for me to control a rear entrance to the sleeper. As this door was always kept locked, I went to considerable trouble to get a key—and by the use of this key, Mr. Lincoln, Pinkerton and yourself were let quietly into the car without any one but yourselves knowing anything of it. After securing this key, I went for Mrs. Cherry and spoke of it to her, and she thought it was all right, but, after seeing the crowd at the front door of the Sleeper, through which I piloted her, to take possession of the berth, she was more than certain that my judgment & action were very correct. So soon as the lady was comfortably fixed, I slipped quietly out of the back door, locking it after me, and kept a good lookout for your party, which after some delay arrived. I quickly caught Mr. Pinkerton's eye—he and the rest of you following closely—and in less time than it takes

to write this, all of you were safely housed, and locked in the rear end of the car—and in a moment the train was in motion.

In a subsequent talk with Mr. Pinkerton about this trip, he told me that the control of that rear door to the Sleeper had no doubt saved the party from considerable trouble, and complimented me very highly on my forethought and complete arrangements.

This long explanatory letter is about as much as you have any right to be troubled with by an entire Stranger, so I will conclude by asking you to please advise me at your earliest convenience, whether you recollect the circumstances herewith related, as to Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Allan Pinkerton & yourself going into the rear end of that Sleeping car, on that memorable occasion—and by so doing, very much oblige . . .

⁵⁴In 1890, Frederick Seward described his visit to Mr. Lincoln in Philadelphia as follows:

The train, a tedious one, brought me into Philadelphia about ten o'clock at night. I had learned from the newspapers, and the conversation of my fellow passengers, that the party of the President-elect would spend the night at the Continental Hotel, where he would be serenaded.

Arriving at the hotel, I found Chestnut street crowded with people, gay with lights, and echoing with music and hurrahs. Within, the halls and stairways were packed, and the brilliantly-lighted parlors were filled with ladies and gentlemen, who had come to "pay their respects." A buzz of animated conversation pervaded the throng, and in its center, presentations to the President-elect appeared to be going on. Clearly, this was no time for the delivery of a confidential message. I turned into a room near the head of the stairway, which had been pointed out as that of Mr. Robert Lincoln. He was surrounded by a group of young friends. On my introducing myself, he met and greeted me with courteous warmth, and then called to Colonel Ward H. Lamon, who was passing, and introduced us to each other. Colonel Lamon, taking me by the arm, proposed at once to go back into the parlor to present me to Mr. Lincoln. On my telling him that I wanted my interview to be as private and to attract as little attention as possible, the Colonel laughed and said:

"Then, I think I had better take you to his bedroom. If you don't mind waiting there, you'll be sure to meet him, for he has got to go there some time tonight; and it is the only place I know of where he will be likely to be alone."

This was the very opportunity I desired. Thanking the Colonel, I sat and waited for an hour or more in the quiet room that was in such contrast to the bustle outside. Presently Colonel Lamon called me, and we met Mr. Lincoln, who was coming down the hall. I had never before seen him; but the campaign portraits had made his face quite familiar. I could not but notice how accurately they had copied his features, and how totally they had omitted his care-worn look, and his pleasant, kindly smile. After a few words of friendly greeting, with inquiries about my father and matters in Washington, he sat down by the table under the gas-light to peruse the letter I had brought [*vide* p. 131]. Although its contents were of a somewhat startling nature, he made no exclamation, and I saw no sign of surprise in his face. After reading it carefully through, he again held it to the light and deliberately read it through a second time. Then, after musing a moment, he looked up and asked:

"Did you hear any thing about the way this information was obtained? Do you know any thing about how they got it? . . . Did you hear any names mentioned . . . such a name as Pinkerton?"

No, I had heard no such name . . . except those of General Scott and Colonel Stone.

He thought a moment and then said:

"I may as well tell you why I ask. There were stories or rumors some time ago, before I left home, about people who were intending to do me a mischief. I never attached much importance to them—never wanted to believe any such thing. So I never would do any thing about them, in the way of taking precautions and the like. Some of my friends, though, thought differently—Judd and others—and without my knowledge, they employed a detective to look into the matter. It seems he has occasionally reported what he found; and only to-day, since we arrived at this house, he brought this story, or something similar to it, about an attempt on my life in the confusion and hurlyburly of the reception at Baltimore."

"Surely, Mr. Lincoln," said I, "that is a strong corroboration of the news I bring you."

He smiled and shook his head.

"That is exactly why I was asking you about names. If different persons not knowing of each other's work, have been pursuing separate clues that led to the same result, why then it shows there may be something in it. But if this is only the same story, filtered through two channels, and reaching me in two ways, then that don't make it any stronger. Don't you see?"

The logic was unanswerable. But I asserted my strong belief that the two investigations had been conducted independently of each other, and urged that there was enough of probability to make it prudent to adopt the suggestion, and make the slight change, in hour and train, which would avoid all risk.

After a little further discussion of the subject, Mr. Lincoln rose and said:

"Well, we haven't got to decide it to-night any way, and I see it is getting late."

Then noticing that I looked disappointed at his reluctance to regard the warning, he said kindly:

"You need not think I will not consider it well . . ."

Shortly after breakfast Colonel Lamon met me in the hall, and taking me aside, said that Mr. Lincoln had concluded to do as he had been advised . . .

Frederick W. Seward, *Seward at Washington* (1891), I, 509-511.

⁵⁵ Rude attempts to provide sleeping accommodations were made as early as 1836, with day coaches divided into four compartments, each fitted with three bunks built along one side of the car. The first Pullman sleeping car, also a remodeled coach, appeared in the fall of 1859 on the Chicago and Alton Railroad.

This earliest sleeping car of the Pullman Company is about 44 feet long, and 6 feet high inside, with a flat roof. Four-wheel trucks with iron wheels and hunks of rubber to assist the meagre springs of that day, support the car. The narrow, one-sash windows do not seem designed to keep out much dust, nor were the candle lamps conducive to reading at night. Berths, braced by stanchions, and raised and lowered by pulleys,

form a shelf of fair width that clung to the flat deck during the day. Bedding was stored in one end section. Curtains hung before and between the beds. There was no linen. A blanket, mattress and pillow constituted the bed equipment. Heat was provided by two stoves, and filled wood boxes furnished the fuel. Toilet facilities were at each end of the car, but washing was performed in the open. It is assumed that a roller towel was used. . . . The railway conductor handled the tickets, and the brakeman made the beds.

The Catalogue of the Centenary Exhibition of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, 1827-1927 (Baltimore, 1927), p. 125.

⁵⁶ For the most part, historians have relied on Mr. Seward's own statement, written in a letter to his home on February 23: "The President-elect arrived *incog.* at six this morning. I met him at the depot; and after breakfast introduced him to the President and Cabinet: . . ."

Mr. Washburne's account of the incident contradicts this, and substantiates the Pinkerton version:

I propose now to tell about his [Lincoln's] arrival at Washington, from my own personal knowledge—what I saw with my own eyes and what I heard with my own ears, not the eyes and ears of some one else. As I have stated, I stood behind the pillar awaiting the arrival of the train. When it came to a stop I watched with fear and trembling to see the passengers descend. I saw every car emptied, and there was no Mr. Lincoln. I was well-nigh in despair, and when about to leave I saw slowly emerge from the last sleeping-car three persons. I could not mistake the long lank form of Mr. Lincoln, and my heart bounded with joy and gratitude. He had on a soft low-crowned hat, a muffler around his neck, and a short bob-tailed overcoat. Anyone who knew him at that time could not have failed to recognize him at once, but I must confess he looked more like a well-to-do farmer from one of the back towns of Jo Davies's county coming to Washington to see the city, take out his land warrant and get the patent for his farm, than the President of the United States. The only persons that accompanied Mr. Lincoln were Pinkerton, the well-known detective, recently deceased, and Ward H. Lamon. When they were fairly on the platform, and a short distance from the car, I stepped

forward and accosted the President: "How are you, Lincoln?" At this unexpected and rather familiar salutation the gentlemen were apparently somewhat startled, but Mr. Lincoln, who had recognized me, relieved them at once by remarking in his peculiar voice: "This is only Washburne!" Then we all exchanged congratulations, and walked out to the front of the depot, where I had a carriage in waiting. Entering the carriage (all four of us), we drove rapidly to Willard's Hotel, entering on Fourteenth Street, and before it was fairly daylight. The porter showed us into the little receiving-room at the head of the stairs, and at my direction went to the office to have Mr. Lincoln assigned a room. We had not been in the hotel more than two minutes before Governor Seward hurriedly entered, much out of breath, and somewhat chagrined to think he had not been up in season to be at the depot on the arrival of the train.

Elihu B. Washburne, "Abraham Lincoln in Illinois," *North American Review* (1885), CXLI, 456-57.

⁵⁷The Calvert Street Station, at the northeast corner of Calvert and Franklin Streets, was the Baltimore terminal of the Northern Central Railway.

⁵⁸Palmetto cockades, also called secession cockades, were made of blue silk ribbon, with a button in the center bearing the image of a palmetto tree, the emblem of South Carolina.

⁵⁹William Louis Schley wrote to Mr. Lincoln that same day, from Baltimore:

... A vast crowd was present at the Depot to see you arrive, this morning, but at "Ten" you may judge the disappointment at the announcement of your "passage" through *unseen, unnoticed* and *unknown*—it fell like a thunder clap upon the Community—was denied as a "hoax"—&c until the truth was made [known] beyond a doubt—A large "police force" was present to preserve the peace, besides your many friends to resist *attack*—which I now declare *was meditated* and *determined*. By your course you have saved *bloodshed and a mob*.

This letter is in the Robert Todd Lincoln Papers in the Library of Congress.

⁶⁰ One of the fundamental rules in Pinkerton's handbook outlining a detective's duties and behavior was the importance of maintaining secrecy. In his *General Principles of Pinkerton's National Police Agency* he put it this way: "It can not be too strongly impressed upon Detectives that Secrecy is the prime condition of success in all their operations."

⁶¹ Tom Sampson's own story of their sojourn in Baltimore provides an amusing sequel. Upon their arrival he and De Voe had posed as Southern sympathizers, mixed with the secessionists, were "very swaggering and loud-mouthed," joined a military company, and "for some weeks had a good time."

Then, suddenly, Sampson had had "an intimation of danger," and they realized that they were being watched. In a fit of jitters they made a hurried exit, and hopped the first train that came along. It was a train for Washington. Thankful for a narrow escape, they went to Willard's Hotel only to fall into a nest of the "Volunteers." In an effort to escape notice they tried to mingle with the crowd in the lobby, hoping to fade away, but almost immediately Sampson was accosted by "a man in a long overcoat with collar turned up to his nose and a heavy cap drawn over his eyes." After a period of anxious suspense, the stranger disclosed his identity as Timothy Webster, an old friend. He told them their lives were not worth a cent ("I swear to you there are twenty men after you this very instant"), and implored them to clear out of Washington as quickly as possible.

In order to get home to New York they had to return to Baltimore where they suffered further harrowing experiences, but eventually, with the help of Webster and a "jump for life" from a moving train, they got away, convinced that they owed their lives to the "good head and great heart of Tim Webster, the bravest, coolest man . . . that ever lived."

Sampson's hair-raising narrative comes to an end with the

following announcement: "Let me say that the change made by Mr. Lincoln as to the date of his arrival in Washington, prior to his taking the oath of office, and his escape from insult, were in no small measure due to the unwearied efforts of Superintendent Kennedy and Captain Walling." George W. Walling, *Recollections of a New York Chief of Police* (1887), pp. 69-77.

⁶² Five years later Kennedy, apparently never having known the true nature of Pinkerton's business in Baltimore in '61, appropriated to himself and the Metropolitan Police the entire credit for the discovery of the Baltimore plot. See *ante*, p. 114 *et seq.*

⁶³ The originals are in the Herndon-Weik Collection, Library of Congress.

⁶⁴ Mr. Judd's dictated statement, in Herndon's handwriting just as he jotted it down during their interview, is in the Herndon-Weik Collection; Springer's copy of this is in the Herndon-Lamon Collection in the Huntington Library.

⁶⁵ Several of the early biographies of Abraham Lincoln carry different versions of this rumor: "He [Lincoln] had been aware, ever since he left Springfield, that men were seeking for his life. An attempt was made to throw the train off the track that bore him out of Springfield; and at Cincinnati a hand grenade was found concealed upon the train. The fear excited by these hostile demonstrations was an indefinite one, but on his arrival at Philadelphia the plot was all unfolded to him." Josiah G. Holland, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (1866), p. 269.

⁶⁶ Among the persons present at this discussion was Alexander K. McClure. His version may be worth comparing. Leonard Swett quoted it in his: "Conspiracies of the Rebellion," *North American Review* (1887), CXLIV, 183-85.

⁶⁷ This deletion probably was requested by Mr. Judd, since the original manuscript has it; it is repeated in the Springer copy.

- ⁶⁸ J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (3 vols., 1879), III, 393.
- ⁶⁹ John A. Kennedy to Benson J. Lossing, August 13, 1866. Lossing's *Pictorial Field Book of the Civil War* (1866-68), II, 147-49.
- ⁷⁰ Letter in the Lamon Papers (LN 486), in the Huntington Library.
- ⁷¹ *Ibid* (LN 1249).
- ⁷² Lamon's *Life of Lincoln* (1872), p. 512.
- ⁷³ *Ibid*, p. 513.
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p. 513.
- ⁷⁵ Copied by the New York *World*. Mar. 21, 1886, under the headline: "Lamon's Life of Lincoln."
- ⁷⁶ Ward H. Lamon's original typewritten manuscript (LN 2418A), in the Huntington Library, pp. 104-05.
- ⁷⁷ Lamon's *Recollections of Abraham Lincoln* (1895), p. 47.
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